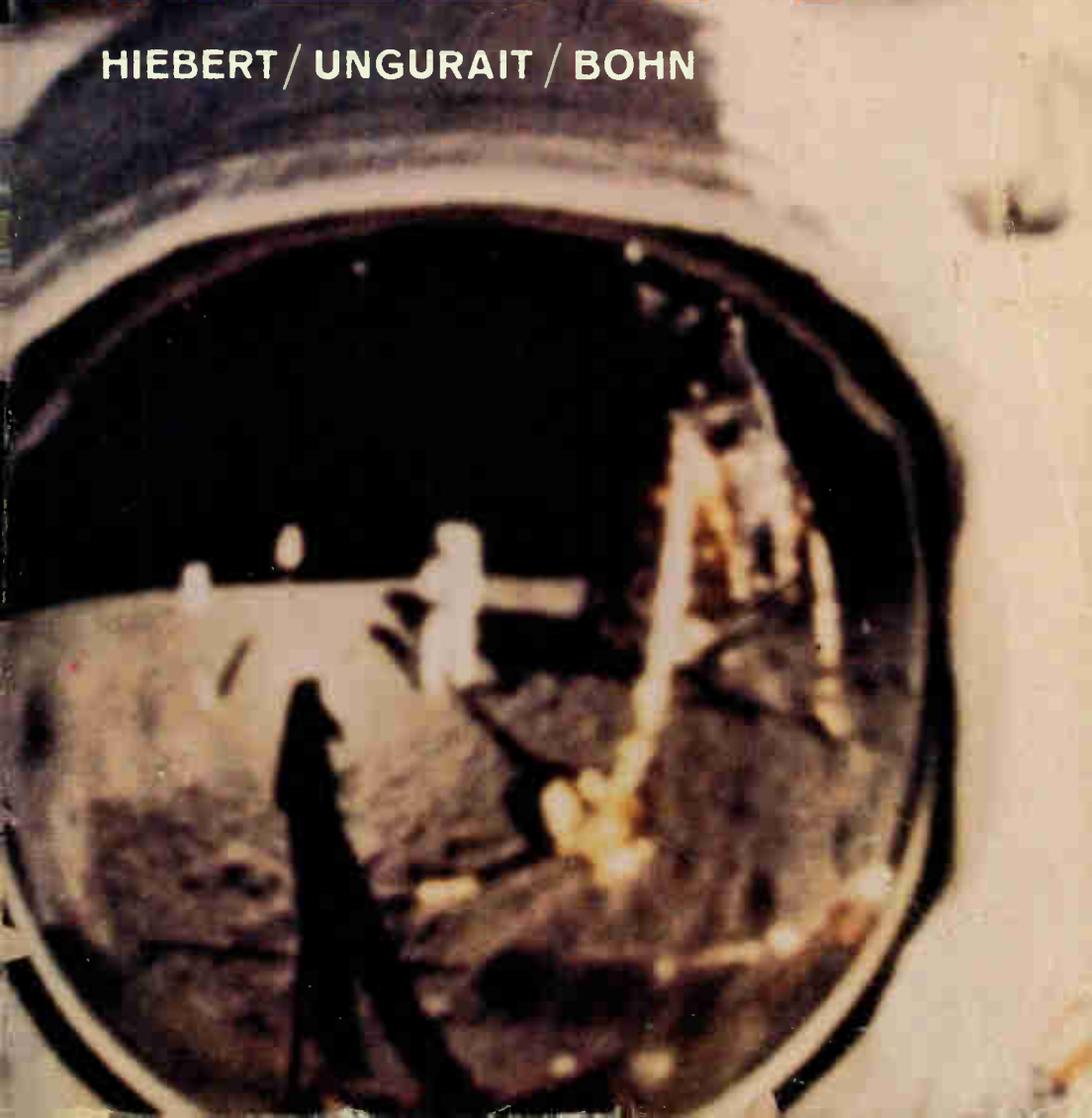


MASS

AN INTRODUCTION
TO MODERN
COMMUNICATION

MEDIA

HIEBERT / UNGURAIT / BOHN



MASS MEDIA

An Introduction to Modern Communication

Ray Eldon Hiebert, Donald F. Ungurait, and Thomas W. Bohn

In an age of mass communication perhaps nothing could be more vital than the study of mass media. This book introduces the student to the grammars of the mass media as we now know them. It approaches mass communication as a process, describing the component parts as well as the media themselves, the uses to which they are put, and the effects they have on society. Taking a timely, relevant, youth-oriented approach, it surveys *all* the mass media, establishes a truly theoretical base, sets up a new conceptual view of the media, yet it also discusses the practical aspects of communication.

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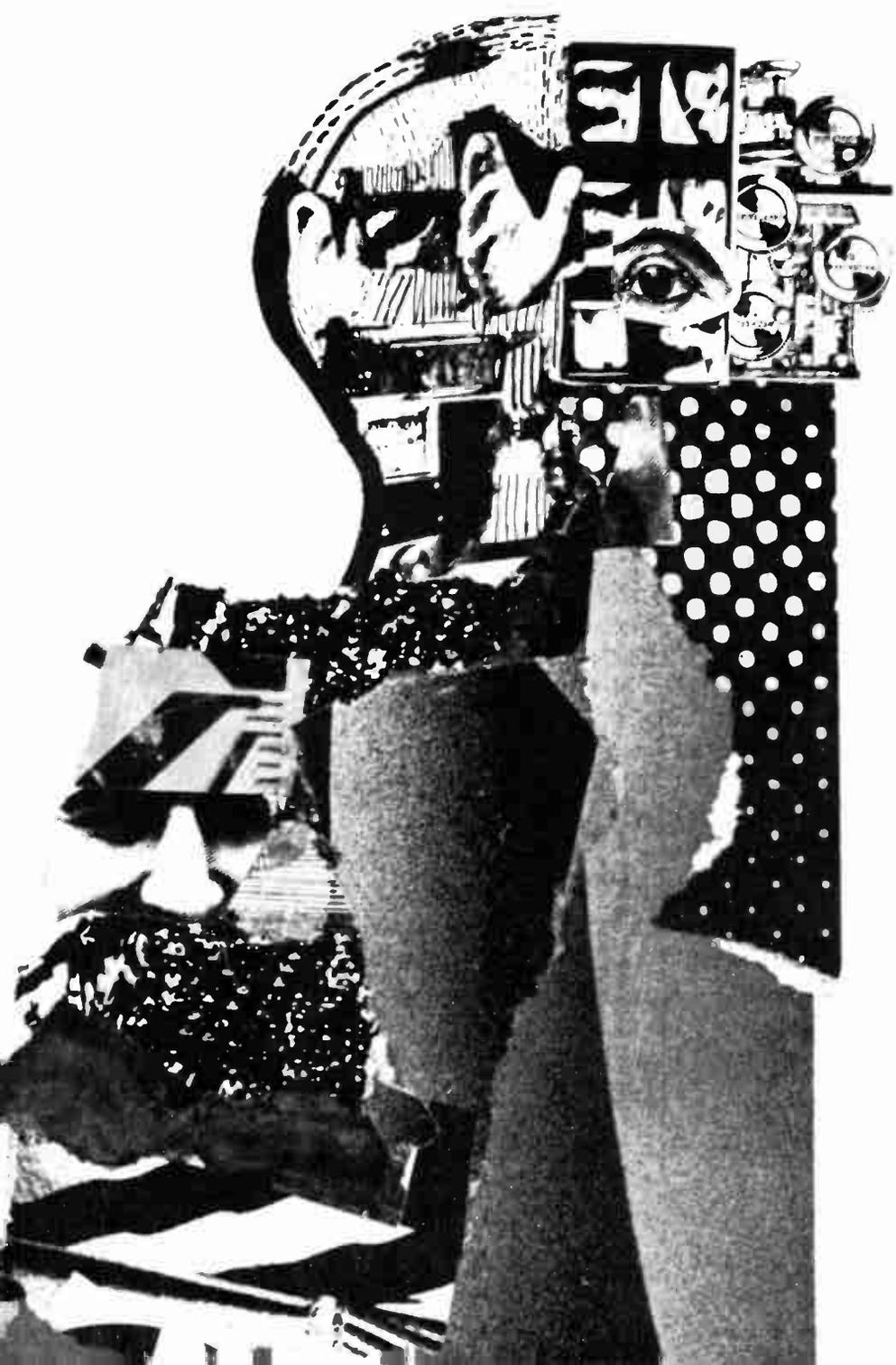
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Astronaut Neil A. Armstrong and the Lunar Module
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Cover design by Angela Foote

0-679-30237-9

MASS MEDIA





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DAVID McKAY COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK

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**AN INTRODUCTION
TO MODERN
COMMUNICATION**

MEDIA

*For Roselyn Hiebert.
For Karen, Donald and David Ungurait.
For Mary, Elizabeth, and Kathryn Bohn.*

The authors of this text wish to acknowledge the following persons who helped in its preparation: Lora Abcarian, Edward Artinian, James Grunig, Richard W. Lee, David Leroy, L. W. Lichty, Doug Marlette, L. John Martin, Michael Petrick, and Karen Ungurait.

**MASS MEDIA
AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN COMMUNICATION**

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Second Printing, April 1975

International Standard Book Number: 0-679-30237-9

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 72-96710

Manufactured in the United States of America

Text design by Angela Foote

Part openings designed by Jane Sterrett Studio

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Introduction

Mass Media and the Critical Consumer

When man first placed his foot on the surface of the moon, it was the most widely communicated act in his entire history. An estimated 528 million people around the world witnessed the event on live television. In nations where home television sets were not yet common, great crowds gathered in public squares to watch the event on communal TV. *Washington Post* writer James Clayton said of the Apollo 11 flight: "It is the most massive publicity effort in the history of the world."

In a democratic society such communication efforts are essential to action. Without publicity, the United States space program could not have moved men with the sense of urgency needed to complete the mission. It could not have convinced lawmakers and taxpayers to appropriate the vast billions of dollars necessary to fund the programs. It could not have recruited resources of brains and energy and talent vital to planning and fulfilling the project.

The Watergate affair focused mass attention on the role of news media in public matters. It was the press that publicly exposed wrongdoings in government, not the FBI, CIA, Secret Service, Justice Department, or other government agencies. Some people have accused the news media of being responsible for the troubles of Watergate.

News reporters did not break into the Democratic party headquarters; they merely reported the action, and later analyzed and interpreted it. But, by doing so they caused sweeping changes to occur in the Nixon administration.

In a democratic society the public must be informed and opinions shaped by facts and ideas before change can occur. Increasingly, in a mass society ways must be found to communicate a message to the public before action can be taken. A march on Washington gets the mass media to tell the nation about its poor and maligned. A protest communicates student feelings of unrest to the administration or the public. A riot breaks out in a ghetto to give emphasis to, and raise to the level of public discussion, the discontent of slum residents.

For the same purposes, the President asks for nationwide prime-time television to tell the public about the policy he wants to adopt on Southeast Asia. Congress engages in a lengthy filibuster to draw public attention to a civil rights bill. General Motors stages a "coming-out party" for its new cars before newspaper reporters and television cameramen.

One could argue quite convincingly that man acts only to the extent that he can communicate his action. It is plausible to suppose that man could never have gone to the moon until he had perfected a portable television camera and the electronic capability to transmit words and pictures 238,856 miles back to earth. Had there been no television, the moon voyage would not have been so widely known, and the pressure to succeed would have been far less without the ability to communicate that success to the world.

The Medium Is the Message

The act of mass communication has many parts, and these can be broken down into components for study. Traditionally, we have been most concerned with the message, the message sender, the audience, and the effects of the mass communication process. These are all valid areas of scholarship.

More recently, however, increased emphasis has been placed on the medium itself as an important element in the mass communication process. Indeed, the medium may be the key component in the process. Marshall McLuhan coined the phrase "The medium is the message."¹ What this means is that the carrier of communications—whether human voice or printed page, neon sign or electronic im-

1. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1964).

pulse—influences the message, the sender, the audience, and the effects of mass communication far more than was previously understood.

The medium shapes the message itself. A neon sign can sell a hot dog, but it cannot very well express an abstract political idea—unless the political idea is reshaped to fit the preferences of neon signs for simple and concrete ideas.

The medium shapes the message sender. The technical considerations inherent in the production of a TV series or the publication of a metropolitan newspaper are so complex that they require a team of communicators to accomplish mass communication. The individual sender has been replaced by the conglomerate media communicator.

The medium shapes the audience because it alters perceptual



"You see, Dad, Professor McLuhan says the environment that man creates becomes his medium for defining his role in it. The invention of type created linear, or sequential, thought, separating thought from action. Now, with TV and folk singing, thought and action are closer and social involvement is greater. We again live in a village. Get it?"

habits. The dominant medium of any society conditions the thought processes of that society and shapes its culture. McLuhan suggests that man's history can be divided into three great stages caused by the dominant communication medium of the time.

In the first stage, the pre-alphabet age of man, he lived in acoustic space. He knew only what he could hear and see in his immediate environment. His world was small and tribal, governed by the group's emotions of the moment, a world of mystery and communal participation.

The second stage was marked by the development of an alphabet, forcing man to begin to think in logical terms. The development of writing as the dominant mode of communication made men think in a linear, connected, and continuous fashion. Man could think for himself, be an individual separate from the tribe, develop a rational universe, an industrial society, and an assembly line.

The third stage of man, according to McLuhan, came with the development of electric media, starting with the telegraph in the nineteenth century. The electric media changed the linear way of thinking, making the aural and tactile senses important again in the perception of messages. High-speed information, sent far distances by means of electronic waves, changed man's sense of time and space. The world is once again smaller and man's community a tribe, where everyone is involved with everyone else.

In sum, the media affect the message, the message sender, and the audience. We can say without hesitation that if we do not know the medium, we cannot really know the message. Canadian anthropologist Dr. Edmund Carpenter has written:

English is a mass medium. All languages are mass media. The new mass media—film, radio, TV—are new languages, their grammars as yet unknown. Each codifies reality differently; each conceals a unique metaphysics. Linguists tell us it's possible to say anything in any language if you use enough words or images, but there's rarely time; the natural course is for a culture to exploit its media biases. . . .²

In an age of mass communication, perhaps nothing could be more vital than the study of mass media. This book introduces the student to the grammars of the mass media as we currently know them. We need to see how each medium codifies reality differently; we have to learn each medium's individual metaphysics; we must

2. Edmund Carpenter, "The New Languages," in *Explorations in Communication*, ed. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), p. 166.

understand the media biases of our culture. We also need to know what the media have in common as mass media rather than personal media. Such a study can help us understand ourselves and our environment. For mass media have undoubtedly shaped us. They are the message.

Scope of Mass Media

The media are all around us. Television has become the babysitter for our young and the constant companion for our old and lonely. Most of us catch TV over breakfast in the morning, watch the evening news before dinner, perhaps take in a movie or variety show several nights a week, a sporting event or a special on the weekend. In all, the average American family spends more than seven hours a day with television.

Radio occupies a different time, place, and function, but is nonetheless important. We would hardly think of getting in the car without turning on the radio, and we listen to news and music as we drive to and from work, go to the shopping center, or take a Sunday drive. The radio and the phonograph, because they do not require our complete attention, have become necessary background and filler. We are apt to turn on a radio or phonograph while we read and study, while we clean the house, while at a party or at work. Even at the White House, background music is piped in.

Contrary to some opinion, radio and television have not taken away much time from newspapers. Many metropolitan areas have both morning and evening dailies, thicker than ever with news and advertising, and more people than ever are reading them. The average American spends about one and a half hours a day reading newspapers. He depends upon them for background and interpretation of the news of the day, to learn who among his friends is alive or dead, to check on the progress of his stock at the market, to see where he should shop for groceries, to look for a house or apartment, to keep up with the statistics of his favorite team.

Magazines, too, are bigger than ever and come in all shapes and sizes. More than 10,000 magazines are published every year in the United States. Increasingly they are aimed at specialized audiences. The large general-interest magazines of the past, such as *Look* and *Life*, have died. But their places have been taken with news, travel, men's, women's, opinion, cultural, professional, and romance magazines. You name it, and there is probably a magazine that specializes in the subject crowding newsstands, drugstore counters, and racks in supermarkets.

Book production has also increased in this age of mass communication. Most college students spend hundreds of dollars on books, for a book is still one of the handiest ways to package, store, and retrieve information. With its table of contents and index, a book allows the reader to flip through its pages and find exactly what he wants, and he can spend as much time with it as he wants. With the development of the soft-cover book, which can be produced quickly and cheaply, books have found a new life as a mass medium as well as a tool of education.

The movie industry, too, is playing an ever-larger role in our society. In the 1970s Americans are spending over \$1.5 billion to see films. Hollywood no longer has a monopoly on motion-picture production. Movies are now made in every corner of the world, with independent production units turning out over half of American feature-length films. Most TV series are filmed. Film is increasingly used for education and information, too. The U.S. Department of Defense, to name only one example, has made more than 4,000 films a year for troop education and information.

And at every turn we are exposed to other forms of mass media—billboards, subway and bus cards, bumper stickers, pamphlets, leaflets, brochures, booklets, neon signs, and skywriting. Even the newsletter, an ancient form of journalism, has been revived in the twentieth century and seems to be everywhere. Each delivery of mail brings another mass communication, perhaps from our church group, alumni association, social club, political party, congressman, stock broker, or professional society.

The Critical Consumer

In our discussion so far, a basic question remains: if the media shape us, are we their victims or their masters? That is, are we managed, manipulated, massaged, and brainwashed by mass media, or do the media simply reflect us and our wishes, our purchases in the marketplace, our attention, our dial-twirling, and our page-turning?

The best answer is probably a combination of both. We still do not know enough about the process to make final judgments. Though we speak of communication science, we have far to go to arrive at answers to some basic questions. One thing seems clear, however: the more we know about a subject, the less we can be misled about it.



During the Korean war, when the problems of brainwashing in communist prison camps became a great concern of Americans, a team of psychologists at the University of Illinois undertook an experiment. Two groups were tested to see how their opinions on a subject could be changed. One group was given advance information about the subject, while a control group was not. Test results showed that the ideas of the group with the advance information were less likely to be changed about the subject than those of the control group. The experimenters concluded that the more information a person had about a subject, the less likely his mind could be brainwashed.

It seems certain that the mass media will play an ever-increasing role in our lives; therefore, the consumer of mass communication must have greater knowledge of the process. The educated man in modern society should be informed about mass media, whether he becomes a participant or remains an observer or consumer. This book, then, is written for the critical consumer as well as the future communicator.

The educated person must develop a critical attitude toward mass media. He must be able to make judgments beyond his likes and dislikes. He must know why something is of high quality and when it is not. He must develop a critical awareness about mass media. Universities have offered courses on art appreciation, music appreciation, and literary appreciation in which students are taught to be critical of these forms. We need courses in mass media appreciation that will allow the student—and all consumers of mass communication—to be critically aware of the problems and processes of mass media.

Today, an understanding of mass media seems as important for full community participation and active citizenship as a knowledge of civics and government. Knowing the processes of human communication seems as important as knowing about nutrition and diets for our bodies.

Uncritical audiences in our society are more likely to believe everything they see in print, hear on radio, watch on television or at the movies. The power of print has intimidated mankind for hundreds of years, and the power of live-action pictures on the television set can be even more intimidating. A person who has believed so completely in what he reads in the newspaper or observes on television is apt to become disillusioned and suspicious when he discovers that what he reads and sees is not always 100 percent true. He begins to listen to

voices of suspicion and becomes an easy victim of the prophets of doom. He settles into a deep-seated suspicion that he is being manipulated and manhandled by those distant puppeteers behind the scenes, by mass media newsmen and Madison Avenue advertisers.

Those who understand the process can achieve greater perspective. The critical consumer can put what is artificial in mass communication into better balance with the reality of life. The study of mass media is important, then, because it helps the educated man understand one of the crucial processes of modern life. Such understanding not only helps the participant in mass communication perform more effectively, but it can also enable the critical consumer to make more effective use of mass communication.

MASS COMMUNI- CATION PART **1** **PROCESSES, SYSTEMS, and EFFECTS**

We live in an age of mass communication. Never before has man spent so much time, energy, and talent on words, sounds, and pictures. In an era of exploding populations—increasing the possibility of conflict—communication between millions of people is essential to peace. In a time of technology, man cannot progress without the dissemination of news, facts, figures, ideas, and information.

The nineteenth century can be called the age of production. Man perfected the factory, the assembly line, automation, scientific farming, and a technology capable of mass production of food, clothing, and shelter. By the last third of the twentieth century man has seemingly solved many of his production problems. But has he solved his communication problems? Can man properly distribute what he can now so easily produce? Can he bring order, stability, and control to a mass society in a machine age? Can he achieve the diplomacy and understanding necessary for world peace?

These are questions involving human relations, and to an increasing extent these relationships depend upon mass communication and mass media. Yet, while our technology has given us high-speed printing presses, wide-screen motion pictures, instant electronic sound, and televised images in full living color, we are just beginning to study the *uses* and *effects* of mass media. We know we need the information and education that media can transmit. We know the effective use of media can help us to solve problems of distribution, control, and understanding in a mass society. But we are only starting to put this knowledge to work.

Man has only recently begun the serious study of mass communication. We have developed many sciences in modern times, and today we speak of social science, behavioral science, political science, and even library science. We can begin to speak, quite properly now, of a communication science. In an age of mass communication, this may well be the most important science of all.

Part 1 develops a scientific and systematic framework for the analysis of the processes, systems, and effects of the mass media in modern society. Chapter 1 describes the processes of mass communication and provides models to indicate visually how these processes take place. The development of national media systems is described in chapter 2. Chapter 3 provides a detailed evaluation of the interaction of economic factors and the mass media. Finally, the impact and effects of mass communication in our society are described in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 1 **Process of Mass Communication**

A family argument, a protest march, a lecture, a television commercial, a telephone call, and a rap session are all different kinds of communication. All these messages are part of the complex social system in which we live; they make the system possible. Without communication there would be no society.

A large vocabulary has grown up around our attempts to describe and define communication. "Credibility gap," "loss of identity," "global village," "other-directed man," "hot and cool media," and other catch phrases attempt to popularize communication concepts. These terms are so common to us that we sometimes accept and use them without understanding what they represent. Yet what is com-

munication? What are its distinct characteristics? How does it occur? And how does it break down?

Communication Defined

Many definitions of communication exist, but few are totally acceptable to all scholars. John Newman has remarked in his article, "A Rationale for a Definition of Communication," that no generally accepted definition exists, not because of a lack of knowledge about communication, but because of a lack of understanding of the nature of a definition. Newman further states that communication is so diverse and discursive that the attempt to create a generally accepted definition becomes involved and hinders rather than helps further thought on the subject. That is why this book does not try to define communication as a single act.

Some of the more functional definitions of communication describe it as "the transfer of meaning," "the transmission of social values," or "the sharing of experience." Communication is all these things, but it is more than the sum of them.

It is best to think of communication as a *process*. A process means a series of actions or operations, *always* in motion, directed toward a particular goal. Communication is not a static entity fixed in time and space. It is a dynamic process used to transfer meaning, transmit social values, and share experiences.

Kinds of Communication

All of us engage in a variety of communication processes. *Intrapersonal* communication involves one individual as he thinks or talks to himself. *Interpersonal* communication involves an individual with another individual. *Group* communication involves an individual with more than one person and in close physical proximity. Finally, *mass* communication involves a communicator (who may or may not be one individual) with large numbers of people.

One useful way to analyze communication is to develop a model of the process. We can better show the dynamic, ongoing, ever-changing aspect of the process if we diagram it, much as a football coach would diagram a football play. Such a model can help break down communication into its component parts, allowing us to separate the parts and study the role each part plays in the total process.

Interpersonal Communication Models

There are many different kinds of models for interpersonal communication. One is the technical system outlined by Warren Weaver in his article, "The Mathematics of Communication." He describes his model in this way: "When I talk to you my brain is the information source, yours the destination; my vocal system is the transmitter, and your ear . . . the receiver."

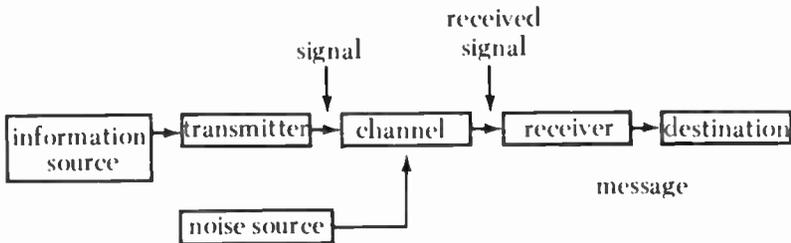


Figure 1-1.

The channel in figure 1-1 is the means by which the information is physically carried. Noise is any unwanted information. This model shows communication as a linear act.

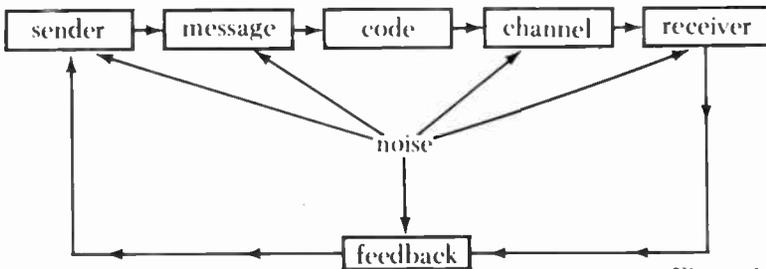


Figure 1-2.

Another model in figure 1-2 visualizes the interpersonal communication process as interaction. The model in figure 1-2 adds codes, which are written, visual, or verbal symbol systems, broadens noise to mean any interruption of the process, and includes feedback, or the response of the receiver. Interpersonal communication in figure 1-2 becomes a circular or response-oriented activity.

The components of interpersonal communication are generally: (1) a sender or encoder or communicator; (2) a personal, intimate

message; (3) a code in the form of a commonly accepted symbol system; (4) a channel, such as air waves, or paper; (5) a limited number of receivers; (6) feedback, or the response to a message (usually the sender and the receiver constantly change roles using feedback as a means of interacting); and (7) noise or any interruption that breaks down communication.

Mass Communication Models

Many different kinds of models are used to diagram mass communication also. One of the most widely used is Harold Lasswell's, "Who says what to whom through what channel with what effect?" This simple and graphic model is somewhat limited, however. Several essential elements necessary to an understanding of the mass communication process, such as feedback and noise, are omitted.

Another model, constructed by Melvin DeFleur, outlines a more complete process. In this model, pictured in figure 1-3, source and transmitter are seen as different phases of the mass communication act carried out by the originator of the message. The channel is a mass medium through which the information passes. The receiver functions as an information recipient and decoder, transforming the physical events of the information into a message. The destination functions to interpret messages into meaning. This is a function of the brain. Feedback is the response of the destination to the source.

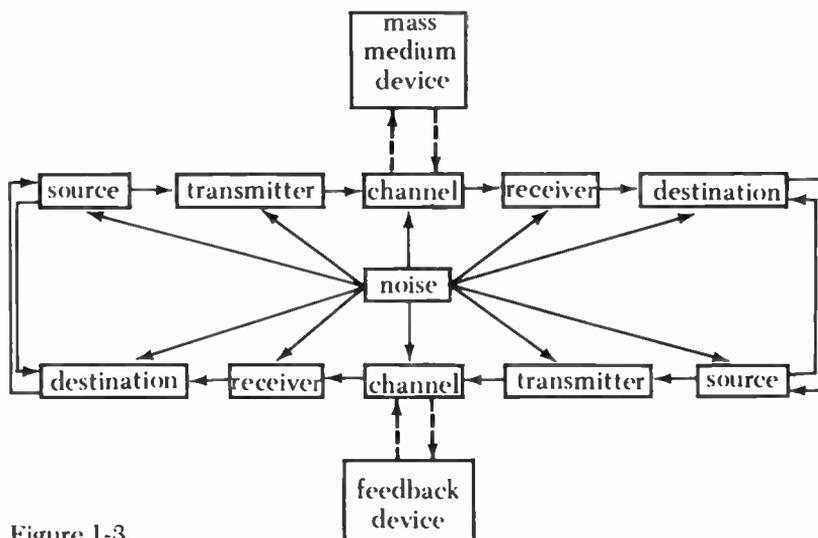


Figure 1-3.

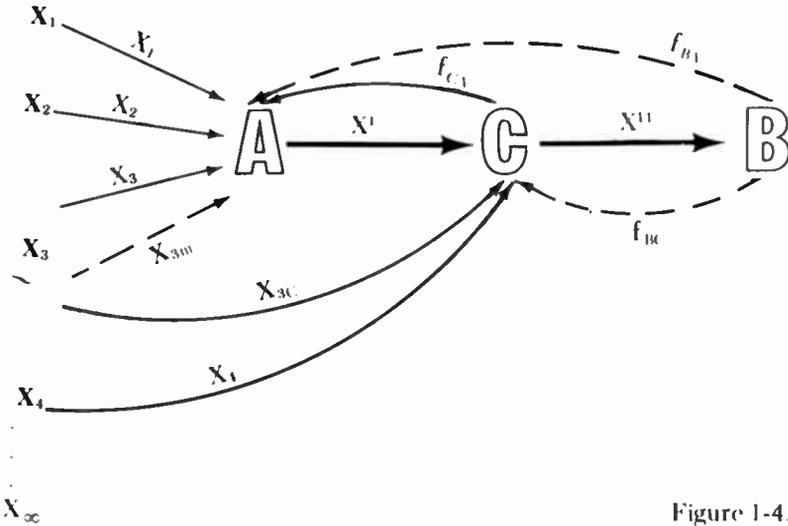


Figure 1-4.

The model reemphasizes the fact that noise may interfere at any point in the mass communication process and is not solely identified with the channel or medium.

The model of mass communication shown in figure 1-4, developed by Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean, emphasizes the role of gatekeepers in the mass communication process (see description on page 108). This model visualizes the ways in which individuals and organizations within the media system decide what messages are to be transmitted and the content that is to be modified or deleted.

The gatekeeper, C, serves as an agent of the audience, B, and selects messages and transmits them to receivers from the senders, A. The gatekeeper can amplify or interfere with messages sent by the communicator before the content reaches the audience because the gatekeeper is interposed between them with the power to modify message content.¹

The HUB Model of Mass Communication

All the models previously shown are partially satisfactory ways to analyze the communication process. For our purposes we use an alternative method of modeling mass communication to show the

1. Bruce H. Westley and Malcolm S. MacLean, Jr., "A Conceptual Model for Communications Research," *Journalism Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1957): 31-38.

process more completely as a circular, dynamic, ongoing progression. We have chosen to visualize the process as a set of concentric circles, describing communication as a series of actions and reactions.

Our model pictures communication as a process similar to the series of actions that take place when one drops a pebble into a pool. The pebble causes ripples which expand outward until they reach the shore and then bounce back toward the center. The content of communication (an idea or an event) is like a pebble dropped into the pool of human affairs. Many factors affect that message as it ripples out to its audience and bounces back. Those factors are the components of the total process.

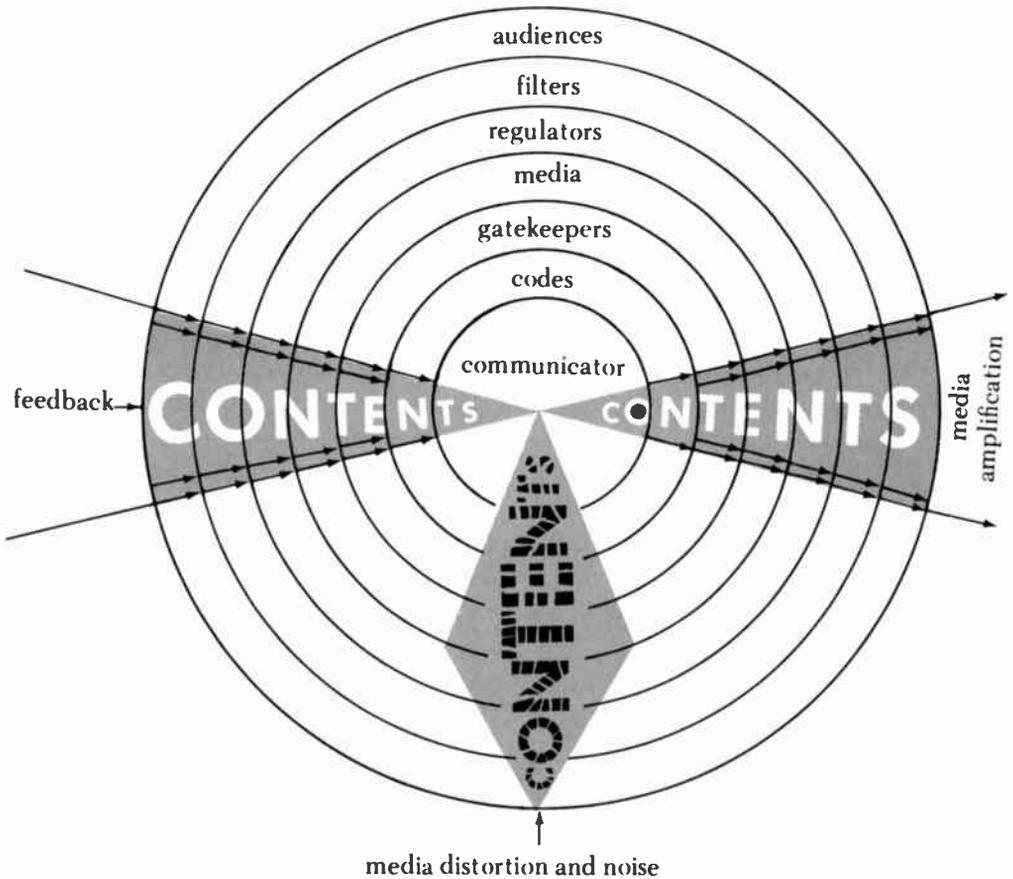


Figure 1-5.
The HUB Model of Mass Communication.

The HUB model is in the form of concentric circles because this more accurately depicts the way communication flows through the various elements in the process and resembles the physical process of sound conduction. In this model mass communication is simply a form of communication and not a mysterious process unknown and uncontrolled by man.

Communicator

In the mass communication process the sender is no longer a single entity, but a complex institution. The communicator of "The Tonight Show starring Johnny Carson" is not simply Johnny Carson himself, but rather a total organization involving the network, local station, director, and technical staff, as well as the talent appearing on the show.

The communicators of the *New York Times* or the *Cumberland Advocate* are not simply editors, but include reporters, copyeditors, photographers, and many others. Men have dominated and have become symbols for a television show (Ed Sullivan), a newspaper (William Randolph Hearst), or a magazine (Henry Luce), but they themselves are simply one part of the total communicator.

Content

All mass media serve a variety of functions or are used in a variety of ways by society. These uses and functions are in essence the content of the media. Mass media messages are generally characterized as less personal, less specialized, more rapid, and more transient than interpersonal communication. There are at least six important uses, or kinds of content, of mass media.

News and Information. The mass media are used to provide timely and important facts which have consequences for our daily lives.

Analysis and Interpretation. The media also provide us with an evaluation of events, placing them in perspective.

Education. The media are used to perform educational functions such as socialization, general education, and classroom instruction. The media can serve to reinforce, modify, and replace the cultural heritage of the parent society.

Persuasion and Public Relations. The media serve as instruments of propaganda and public persuasion. Government, business corporations, and individuals seek to establish or modify relationships through mass media.

Sales and Advertising. The media are used in the marketing and distribution processes of our economic system. Advertising informs the public about new products, convinces them of their value, and persuades them to buy.

Entertainment. Media help people relax during their leisure time. This escapist use of the media is an overlay function—which means that media entertain as they inform, analyze, persuade, educate, and sell.

Code

Mass media also modify and expand the codes (or languages and symbol systems) used in communication. For example, in the motion picture, new visual symbol systems often replace verbal language. Camera angles, freeze frames, and editing broaden rather than limit film's communicative capacities.

In television, slow motion, split screen, and instant replays have resulted in new ways of looking at athletic events. We no longer need to wonder, "How did he manage to make that catch?" or, "I wish I could see that one again!" We are given the opportunity to recapture the event.

Variations in typography and design of the printed page can affect the way we view the information on the page. These variations become part of the code of the communication. Thus new symbols may result in new ways of looking at events and can modify meaning.

Gatekeeper

Gatekeepers are individuals within the media, such as wire-service editors, TV network continuity personnel, or theater owners, who make decisions about what is communicated, and how. They are not originators of content, but function as creative evaluators more often than censors. In other words, gatekeepers can be positive forces creating as well as eliminating content.

Media

Mass communication requires a mass medium. This is not simply a mechanical device for sending messages—a printing press, paper, transmitter, camera, or projector. By medium we mean a total system or institution—newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television, motion pictures, and the phonograph—utilizing these mechanical devices for transmission. Three mass media characteristics—velocity, complex technology, and amplitude—alter and modify the process.

Mass media sometimes send messages with such *velocity* that the measure of their speed becomes meaningless. It would almost be more meaningful to speak of instantaneousness, both in transmission and content. A television signal can be sent around the world in less than a second. While not all mass media are that fast, notably motion pictures and the press, all mass media emphasize timely content. Thus speed directly affects the message.

A second characteristic of mass media is *complex technology*. The mass media use complicated hardware such as transmitters, printing presses, microphones, and motion-picture cameras. A technically complex medium affects the sender, the message, and the audience. Complex technology creates mass audiences. It separates communicators from audience. The conglomerate communicator rarely interacts with the audience since feedback is so difficult to achieve. Many communicators accustomed to live audiences find it difficult to act, speak, or sing before a microphone or camera because they depend upon feedback for effective performance.

The complex technology of media requires *amplitude*. The media need vast numbers of machines to produce, distribute, and exhibit their products. Great sums of money must be spent in providing a structure for the production, distribution, and exhibition of the product. One obvious effect of this size is the alteration of the communicator, from a single person into a complex institution.

Regulators

The regulators of mass media, such as courts, government commissions, consumers, professional organizations, and public pressure groups, are external in the sense that they function outside the actual

media systems. Their regulation consists of laws, rules, restrictions, and informal pressures which control both the content and structure of the media.

Filters

Filters are imposed by our general culture systems, or the particular society in which we live. They consist of physical and psychological perceptors, such as our general physical condition and individual biases. These frames of reference are in a sense the eyeglasses through which we view the world.

Audiences

The receivers of messages are modified by mass media. Today the size of the audience is greatly increased and the potential audience for television exceeds 66 million households. Daily newspapers reach 87 percent of all U.S. homes. *The Reader's Digest* circulates over 18 million copies every month.

However, the audience of mass media is isolated and extremely fluid—it cannot be defined according to the standard parameters of time and space. The audience is also heterogeneous—it cannot be classified according to type, although certain media have particular audiences.

Feedback, Noise, and Amplification

Feedback is the communicated response of the audience to a message. In an interpersonal-communication situation *feedback* is immediate. The sender and the receiver constantly change roles using feedback as a means of interaction. A speaker sees his audience and its feedback in a variety of forms: people sleeping, applauding, booing, or walking away. Feedback enables the communicator to alter his message.

In mass communication feedback is delayed and diffused. TV ratings are a form of feedback, but even with ratings a television-program producer has no way of knowing if he lost his audience halfway through his program. He must wait for the ratings, at least overnight for New York City ratings and most likely two weeks for a national report. Thus, lack of speed in mass communication feedback has distinct implications for mass communicators.

Feedback in mass communication is often expressed quantitatively: a rating of 15 (which means 15 percent of the more than 66 million U.S. television homes), or circulation figures of 10 million, or box-office receipts of \$5 million. Some letters are written to editors and performers, but these are generally few in number and carry less weight than audience numbers. A medium generally succeeds or fails on the basis of its quantitative feedback. Once in a while, as in the case of the television program "The Dick Cavett Show," letters—a form of qualitative feedback—will have an effect. This program was threatened with removal from the schedule because of the relatively small audiences estimated in the TV ratings. A letter-writing campaign forced ABC-TV to reevaluate the program and a decision was reached to continue the show on an irregular basis. Even here, however, the number of letters sent, rather than what was written, probably saved the program.

Mass communication has an increased possibility of *noise*. As DeFleur points out, noise in the mass communication process can occur at any point, not simply in the medium. Because of its public nature mass communication allows more interruption on a far broader level than interpersonal communication. Noise can occur in a variety of forms: static on radio or television, a poorly printed newspaper, an out-of-focus motion picture. Where the consuming process is in the home, interference from noise is greatly increased and intensified. Competing stimuli from other media, the family, and the outside environment can and do interfere with message reception.

Message *amplification* is also increased by the mass media. Television amplifies a speech by the Vice-President before a small group of people in Iowa. It is amplified physically because it is broadcast into millions of homes. It is also amplified psychologically because anything the media focus attention on becomes news.

These, then, are the component parts of mass communication when we view it as a process. The HUB model pictures communicator, code, gatekeeper, media, regulators, filters, and audiences as concentric circles through which the content (or the message) must pass. Feedback is the echo that bounces back to the communicator, while noise and amplification can both affect the message and the feedback as they travel through these steps in the process.

In the remainder of part 1, we will describe other aspects of the process: the way media systems develop, the economics of media systems, and the effects of media. In part 2, we will focus on the various component parts of the process—communicator, code, gate-

keeper, medium, regulators, filters, audience, feedback, amplification, and noise. In part 3, we narrow our focus to the media themselves—books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, motion pictures, recordings, and other media. And in part 4, we discuss the content of the media, or the uses to which mass media are put—news, analysis, persuasion, education, advertising, and entertainment.

CHAPTER 2 **Development of Media Systems**

A young boy scuffles down a dusty road in East Africa as his Japanese-made transistor radio blares out the latest sounds. A middle-aged man in a South American “banana republic” picks up a copy of one of the few newspapers that survive the strict censorship of the current junta. An erudite young man intones the words of a little-known English poet to a minuscule “high culture audience” of the BBC’s Third Programme. An old-line Russian bureaucrat of the Moscow Central Television station worries about the problems in the program-distribution pattern he is responsible for executing. All these people are involved in mass communication experiences, but there are significant differences between the way media evolve and function in the United States

and the way they do in other nations. In order to appreciate more fully the merits and faults of our own system, it is necessary to assess mass media in other countries.

Philosophies of Mass Communication

One method used to describe, analyze, and compare media systems was outlined in the mid-1950s by Frederick Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in their book, *Four Theories of the Press*. These four theories for characterizing the press are: (1) the authoritarian theory; (2) the Soviet-Communist theory; (3) the libertarian theory; and (4) the social responsibility theory. Every nation's press (all mass media institutions) could then be analyzed and assigned to a given category.

The authoritarian theory of the press emerged in Europe during the sixteenth century. This media philosophy is based on the political assumption that absolute power should rest in the hands of a monarch, military dictator, or an elite, a political idea as old as man himself. Direct criticism of the government by the press is forbidden under this concept because media are key instruments of the state and are used to voice its policies. A limited group controls all media, operating by permission of the state, which directly licenses, supervises, or censors media content. Ownership is normally in the hands of the government or those private citizens whose support of the regime is unquestioned. The fascist states, especially Nazi Germany, are modern examples of this media philosophy.

The Soviet-Communist theory of the press developed from application of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Maoist philosophy to mass communication in the twentieth century. The major thrust of the press operating under this theory is to implement long-range political, social, and economic policies of the government and support current party decisions. The media are a political arm of the state and are directed by high-ranking, orthodox party members. The press never criticizes a specific goal, although it may discuss means used to reach it. The media are owned by the state. Party control of the media presumably ensures that public interests will be served, and that the masses will not be exploited. Party dissidents, as well as those who do not belong to the party, are denied access to the media. The Soviet Union operates the prototype system after which most Communist states pattern their press institutions.

The libertarian theory of the press grew out of the writings of

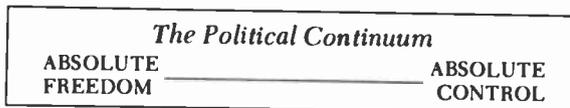
rational-humanitarian philosophers such as John Stuart Mill, John Milton, and John Locke in England. According to this theory, media serve as watchdogs on the government, and at the same time, search for truth. Under this system media functions become important to political action. Limited control is generally exercised by the state through the judicial system, which steps in only when it can be demonstrated that a given book, newspaper, film, or broadcast is harmful to the people (obscenity, defamation of character, sedition, and so on). In theory the media are available to anyone with the financial and technical resources to operate them and are privately owned. Sweden, England, and the United States are examples of this philosophy in action.

The social-responsibility theory of the press, which has begun to emerge in the United States since World War II, has as its main thrust the idea that freedom of the press carries with it a responsibility to the society that nurtures it. In essence, this philosophy is a refinement of the libertarian theory and seeks to provide access to the media for every sector of society, not only to those who can afford it. Theoretically, media are controlled by community action, but everyone, including unpopular minorities, has an equal opportunity to express his views when vital social issues are involved. The media are privately owned and operated for a profit, but the press must function for the general welfare. If a medium fails to operate in a socially responsible fashion, someone (media industry or government) must correct that course of action. Broadcast operations in the United States exemplify this theory in part.

The four theories of the press serve as a starting point for the analysis of media systems; however, some countries fail to fit neatly into any one of the four groupings. For example, the Czechoslovakian Communist state, under Alexander Dubček, seemed to be moving toward a social-responsibility media system. In terms of individual media themselves, print media in the English-speaking democracies tend to reflect the libertarian theory, whereas broadcast media in most of these same countries reflect the social-responsibility philosophy. Censorship of the press, be it under Hitler, Stalin, or Franco, is not significantly different whether it is called totalitarian or communist. In fact, considerable repressive control of the media is exercised in some democracies during periods of civil strife or under wartime conditions. In other words, there are too many deviant national media systems to rely exclusively on the "four theories" approach to media systems analysis.

The Political Continuum

Some individuals prefer to analyze media systems according to a political continuum in which the overriding influence on the development of media is the amount of political control exercised by the state. At one end of the political continuum there is absolute freedom for media, and at the other end there is absolute control.



Each nation is placed on the continuum at the point that describes the limits imposed by the state on its media. Thus the continuum is a comparative device that assesses the relative freedom of various countries' media systems.

This method of analysis sometimes works well when we compare nations with significantly different political systems. Nevertheless, if we compare many of the outspoken films of Czechoslovakia with some of the "new wave" films of France in the 1960s, we would consider France (a democracy) and Czechoslovakia (a communist dictatorship) to be equally free of government restriction. In other words, the amount and type of political control may not actually be reflected in the kinds of media content produced, because there are more than political considerations affecting a nation's media institutions.

The Media Systems Paradigm

The relationship between media and societies is reciprocal: a nation creates a media system, and this media system in turn modifies that society. Since every nation is different, each national media system varies and so does the interaction between a given country and its media. Because this relationship is not static, media and societies are constantly changing. Consequently, what may have been a correct observation a short time ago may no longer be accurate.

For our purposes, then, it seems advisable to analyze every national media system as a distinct entity. In order to perform this analysis it is necessary to develop a standard model or paradigm as the basis for comparison. The Media Systems Paradigm (figure 2-1) is designed to reflect the interplay between media and societies as well

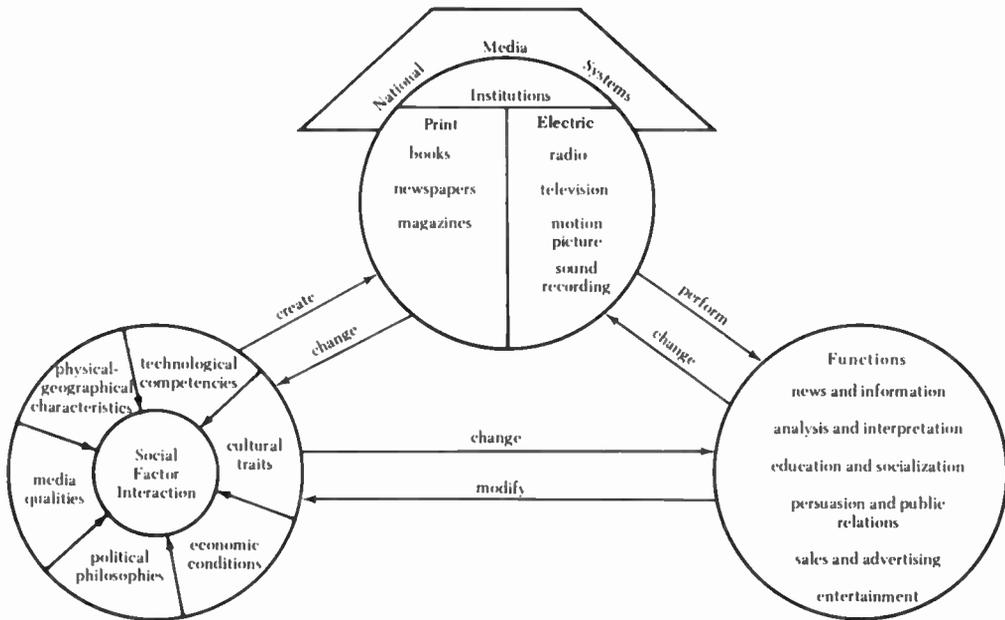


Figure 2-1.

The Media Systems Paradigm is an action-oriented model that visualizes the theory that in every country social factors interact in unique ways to create a national media system to perform a variety of functions which eventually participate in reshaping that society.

as to help describe similarities and dissimilarities in national media systems. The Media Systems Paradigm is based on the theory that in every country there are special *factors* or social forces that interact in unique ways: (a) to create a national *media system* that is used; (b) to perform a variety of *functions*; (c) which eventually *participate in reshaping* that society. This paradigm is action oriented (dynamic vs. static) to emphasize the changing nature and interaction of media and societies.

Six social *factors* or forces interact in the development of a media system: (1) physical and geographical characteristics; (2) technological competencies; (3) cultural traits; (4) economic conditions; (5) political philosophies; (6) media qualities. The interaction of these six factors, rather than their independent action, is crucial in media systems' evolution.

Within every nation's media system there is a variety of individual media institutions. Seven major media merit special consideration:

(1) three print media—the book, the newspaper, and the magazine; and (2) four electric media—radio, television, the motion picture, and sound recording.

These media institutions and others are used to perform six basic functions: (1) news and information; (2) analysis and interpretation; (3) education; (4) persuasion and public relations; (5) sales and advertising; (6) entertainment.

As these functions are performed, the media change the societies that created them. The extent and kinds of effect the media have on us are debatable, but it is commonly agreed that the media do participate in modifying our nation and every other industrial society of the world.

Factors That Influence the Development of Media Systems

Before examining each of the six social factors or forces that affect media development as separate entities, it is important to reemphasize that these social forces seldom operate independently. It is their interaction that stimulates significant differences in media systems. All six are influential to varying degrees in different situations. In fact, it is impractical to designate one factor as the only variable influencing any one aspect of a given media system.

Physical-Geographical Characteristics. A country's climate, geography, and other physical characteristics affect the development of its media system, just as they alter population patterns and economic development. For example, many nations have developed frequency modulation (FM) rather than amplitude modulation (AM) radio because the technical characteristics of the FM signal are better suited to mountainous regions. Film stock tends to deteriorate more rapidly in the tropics than in temperate zones. Nations located in tropical areas must take this into consideration when setting up film production, distribution, and exhibition facilities. In most regions of the United States winters are less hospitable than summers for outdoor activity. For this reason, audiences available for television viewing in warmer months are decidedly smaller than in colder months. Climate, audience size, and TV economics have interacted to require the use of reruns or low-cost replacements during the summer quarter of the television year.

Technological Competencies. In order for a mass communication system to evolve in a nation, four technological competencies

are needed. First, a society must have a basic scientific capability, and both pure and applied research are necessary to develop media. Early research in electricity was not aimed at creating television, just as initial experiments to prove that "for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction" were not designed to send men to the moon. But the results of that research were essential to its application. This ability to apply research findings to improve mass communication is a critical technological competence for media development.

Second, a nation needs raw materials to develop mass media or the economic resources to obtain them. In order to have books, magazines, and newspapers you must have papers, inks, and the machinery to print pages. Papers require suitable trees, rice, rags, or another source of fibrous material that can be turned into pulp. Inks require acids, tints, resins, oils, drying agents, and other chemical components. Machines to produce print media need lead for type, aluminum for offset plates, various steels for presses, rubber for belts and rollers, and lubrication oils to keep the presses rolling. Electric media make similar demands on a nation's natural resources.

Third, a country must have the industrial capability to mass-produce media products or the money to buy these finished goods. Mass communication systems cannot operate unless they have sophisticated industrial complexes to support them. A nation must have vast quantities of transistors, cameras, linotype machines, film stocks, presses, TV sets, inks, vacuum tubes, and other components if its media are to function optimally.

Fourth, personnel are needed who can make these complex systems function. A medium cannot function satisfactorily without a technical staff to operate the equipment, a production staff to create content, and a managerial staff to handle the day-to-day operations of the system. This process requires an ongoing program to recruit and train new personnel.

Cultural Traits. Every society has unique ways of doing things, of evaluating what is important, and of modifying behavior. There are social laws, taboos, norms, mores, values, and attitudes. All these cultural traits and social characteristics are important in the development of media systems.

In Czechoslovakia there are two national groups, the Czechs and the Slovaks, each having a distinct language. Films are made in each of the two national languages to reflect the differences in these two cultures. In Switzerland the government recognizes four national

languages. Broadcasts are provided in German, French, Italian, and Romansch.

Danish cultural values allow pornographic material to appear in some media. Films, books, and magazines that are banned as obscene in most countries are openly available in Denmark.

In the United States norms have traditionally relegated women to the role of homemaker. Media, like other businesses, have few women in key positions of responsibility. Today, however, some women are beginning to make more headway in obtaining responsible media jobs.

A variety of cultural or social factors deeply influences media development; these include urbanization, population, specialization, sexual taboos, religion, race relations, labor organizations, youth culture, and education. Every mass society is a mixture of stability and change—the resulting conflict involves and affects the development of media systems.

Economic Conditions. The physical devices, content, and personnel that make mass communication systems possible cost vast sums. A country's or an individual's attitude toward a given medium can in part be assessed by the economic commitment made to that medium. The nation's economic philosophy, structure, and conditions determine in great measure the ways and the extent to which media are funded. Capitalist countries are more likely to allow the media to be profit oriented, while communist nations are less likely to have advertising in their media.

The economic condition of a state also determines how the audience gains access to media. Are television sets purchased by individual viewers or does the state provide communal receivers for group use? If a family buys a receiver, its members tend to exercise somewhat more control over how, when, and where their viewing takes place than those in a communal audience. This makes communal viewing decidedly different from family or individual viewing situations.

In the United States campus newspapers that are distributed free of charge have wider circulation than those that students must purchase. Nevertheless, the student press that supports itself is less likely to bend to administrative pressure when sensitive issues arise.

One thing is certain: privately owned media cannot thrive in economically impoverished nations. A poor country faced with starving people can only support media that help alleviate immediate problems. In most modern states media survive because mass communi-

"GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS! I SUPPOSE YOU'RE ALL WONDERING WHY I'VE ASKED YOU HERE TODAY!!!"



cation is a very valuable asset to the complete economic process.

Political Philosophies. A country's political structure and attitudes influence the development of a media system. The amount and kinds of control over mass communication are determined by the government in power. Political forces establish the laws under which media institutions must operate. Media regulations may be repressive or permissive depending on the political atmosphere of a particular society.

In the People's Republic of China the media system is a political arm of the state used to implement party policy. The system is restricted to party officials in good standing—they alone have access to the media. All mass communication is directly supervised by government officials who are also party members.

During times of severe political stress, such as war, governments tend to exercise greater political control over media systems than in normal times. Both the secessionist Biafran and federal Nigerian governments exercised censorship over all media content, foreign as well as domestic, during their rebellions. In South Vietnam, newspapers that disagreed with political policies of the Thieu government were shut down in the name of national security. During Middle Eastern crises, the Arab and Israeli governments carefully examined the media content and influenced press operations. The degree and kind

of control vary in each country depending on that nation's political philosophy.

Media Qualities. Technical features, media-use patterns, and overall institutional characteristics affect the development of media systems. For example, development of commercial television radically changed radio and motion-picture institutions. The men who ran radio stations and motion-picture companies had to reevaluate and change their roles in the total U.S. media system. This form of media interaction is constantly reshaping the total media system of the United States and every other nation.

Some media are inherently more expensive to operate than others: television is a more costly medium than radio; high-quality magazines have a higher per-copy production cost than newspapers; it costs less to produce a phonograph record than a motion picture. The unique qualities of each of these media contribute to the per-unit cost, and this cost affects the way the medium is used and its place in the overall system.

To illustrate: Print media can be highly effective only in literate societies, while the electric media require only speaking knowledge of a given language. However, print media are more portable and do not require high-cost playback equipment. Every medium has a different speed at which it can produce and distribute its messages. Radio, television, and newspapers have the fastest turnaround times, and the speed of these three media is very important in disseminating news.

The Media System

By definition, a system is an arrangement of things, events, and people in an organized way. Media systems, then, are organized or prearranged methods of mass communication. For example, radio transmitters and receivers are mechanical devices around which the radio medium has been organized. A medium (radio) is more than a physical device (a radio receiver); it is an institution. When a group of these institutions (publishing and broadcasting) interact with a society, they create a media system.

The media system of the United States is divided into two classes: (1) print media, which include the book, newspaper, magazine, and other publishing industries; and (2) electric media, which include radio and television broadcasting, the recording industry, and the

motion-picture industry. Chapter 8 explores the complex nature of media institutions, and individual chapters (13–20) explore each of the above seven media in detail.

Uses of the Media

Every medium is used in a variety of ways by the society in which it evolves. These uses or functions of mass media are the content of mass communication. Because our society uses mass media to both reinforce and change itself, a key thrust of any evaluation of mass communication must be the following six uses or functions: news and information (chapter 21); analysis and interpretation (chapter 22); education (chapter 23); persuasion and public relations (chapter 24); sales and advertising (chapter 25); and entertainment (chapter 26).

Media Systems Analysis

The Media Systems Paradigm forms the basis for a brief analysis of national media systems in Guatemala, the Netherlands, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These three nations were selected because they provide distinct patterns of development. Each media system is unique and is intended to provide a general basis for comparison with the United States.

Guatemala

Factors That Influence Development. Guatemala has a small land mass containing relatively isolated pockets of population inadequately served by poor transportation facilities. Guatemala City is the one major urban area. The state of the technology is low and cannot be easily improved because of economic problems. The culture is sharply divided into three classes along racial lines, and the political situation is unstable. These factors combined with the inherent qualities of the media have produced Guatemala's unique media institutions.

The Media System. Guatemala has seven Spanish-language daily newspapers—six in Guatemala City—with a combined circulation of less than 200,000. They provide only a limited spectrum of political opinion but are not directly controlled by the government. Severe transportation problems and high illiteracy (50 percent of the total population—80 percent of all Indians) limit the effectiveness of

all print media. There are a few weeklies and monthlies, but no national news service or expensively produced magazines which require extensive capital and technological skills. Approximately 300 book titles are published in Spanish each year, but they have only limited sales and readership.

A lack of money, poor transportation facilities, and power shortages have hindered the growth of electric media, especially television. There are only four television stations, all in Guatemala City. Three are private commercial operations, and the fourth is run by the government. Small towns near the capital normally have sets for communal viewing. More than half the television shows come from the United States, and only limited programming is originated locally, including news, cultural shows, and public affairs programs. In reality, Guatemala has little control over the content of TV except to select those programs it imports. Radio, because it is a less expensive medium, is more highly developed. More than 50 radio stations use 131 transmitters, and most of the programming is locally produced. This system is supported in part by a tax on receivers. There is no film-production industry in Guatemala, and less than 150 movie theaters, with an average seating capacity of less than 75 persons. All 35-mm. features shown in the country are imported from the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and Mexico. The recording industry is in its infancy, so most recorded music is also imported.

Uses of the Media. Who is being served by media institutions in Guatemala? One thing is certain, the Indian population (40 percent of the total) is not, because of a high illiteracy rate and the fact that the Indians reside largely in remote rural areas. The media do, however, serve the wealthy, European, and Latino groups in the capital and the larger towns. News media provide the urban population with a limited supply of information but fail to meet the information needs of most citizens outside Guatemala City. In terms of the cultural uses of the media, the local culture is not being reinforced because so much of the media's content is imported. There seems to be little attempt in the print media—and only a beginning being made in the electric media—to correct the educational deficiencies of the poor, rural citizens. Some political control of the media is exercised by the Ministry of Communication and Public Works; but by law, radio and television may not be used for political purposes, although most media are used to persuade the populace to support the regime. Those elements within the Guatemalan society without money and power do not have access to the media. Adver-

tising is permitted but serves only a limited group of people because of the severe poverty that affects most citizens.

The state of the media system in Guatemala is beginning to improve. But political unrest, cultural conflict, and economic insecurity create less than satisfactory conditions for media development. Although the media institutions in Guatemala are attempting to meet the challenge, they are presently not meeting the needs of large segments of the population.

The Netherlands

Factors That Influence Development. The Kingdom of the Netherlands is a small, densely populated state with limited natural resources but a high level of technical competence. The capitalistic economy is dependent on trade, manufacturing, and agriculture. The structure of the urban society and the democratic political system is pluralistic, based on active attempts to accommodate many political groups and cultural factions. These factors interact with the inherent qualities of the media to create the Netherlands' own mass communication institutions.

The Media System. Because 98 percent of the population is literate, the Dutch are strongly print oriented. There are numerous urban areas, the transportation system is excellent, and the people have a high standard of living. Print media have flourished. Newspapers are divided into three classes: (1) 10 papers are allied with a particular religious or political group and nationally distributed; (2) more than 30 provincial newspapers operate in areas larger than a single community, but do not have significant national circulation; (3) local newspapers are found in 40 Dutch cities and towns. The press is capitalistic, sober in tone, nonsensational, family oriented, and politically committed. A staff of 700 runs the Dutch national news agency, which is cooperatively owned and controlled by a group of newspapers of various persuasions. Nearly every family subscribes to at least one paper, and only 5 percent of all newspaper purchases comes from street sales.

The magazine industry is well run and economically sound but does not have the same mass appeal found in the United States. Magazines, as well as newspapers, actively solicit advertising. There are four major types of magazines in Holland, each seeking out specialized audiences. These are: (1) radio-TV magazines published

by the various broadcast-program services, with a combined circulation of more than 2.5 million; (2) women's magazines, with a combined circulation of more than 3 million; (3) family magazines published by religious and cultural groups, serving more than 1 million homes; (4) opinion magazines, which are politically oriented and distribute 300,000 copies per issue.

The print-oriented Dutch publish more than 10.5 million copies of books each year, and the publishing business is one of the soundest industries in the economy.

The broadcast system of the Netherlands is unique and reflects the pluralism of the society. Most programs are produced by private organizations and reflect the specific political or religious viewpoints of that group. The broadcasting law of 1967 created an open system that allows all major social and political groups access to broadcast time if they have 15,000 subscribers (which must reach 100,000 at the end of two years). They must demonstrate the ability to meet community needs, must provide a wide range of program content, and must not operate for profit. These broadcasting associations must affiliate with the Dutch Broadcast Foundation (NOS), which includes the Nederlands Televisie Stichting (NTS) and Nederlands Radio Unie (NRU).

Broadcasting operates under the Ministry of Cultural Recreation and Social Work, but no person or group has power to censor. The programmers are required by law, however, to avoid broadcast material that is seditious, immoral, obscene, or might create public disorder. Currently there are two operational television services (Netherlands I and II) and three national radio services (Hilversum I, II, and III) and a system of regional FM stations that are shared by the Dutch Broadcast Foundation and the programming organizations. There are three sources of income: (1) a tax on radio and TV receivers that supports the entire system; (2) revenue from program guides, which is used by program producers; (3) advertising revenue, which goes directly to an independent foundation, Stichting Ether Reclame (STER), that produces and sells all commercials, and the revenue is used to improve programming and compensate print media for any losses in advertising.

In order to help preserve its national identity, Holland has a quota system that limits to 12 the number of weeks each of the 500 movie theaters may exhibit American films. Although the government is actively seeking to encourage the motion-picture industry by

subsidizing producers, fewer than 20 Dutch features are produced annually. There are, however, 25 film-production companies actively involved in the development of industrial films and documentaries.

Uses of the Media. The overriding concern of all Dutch media institutions is education, both in terms of cultural reinforcement and classroom use. Formal education is a major industry in Holland, with extensive print materials in use. In the mid-1960s the Netherlands began actively producing TV classroom materials in a wide range of subject areas, and the program has succeeded in supplying educational materials to religious as well as nondenominational schools. Radio has long provided a similar service. The media institutions actively function as cultural reinforcers in the home. Nearly 10 percent of all air time is devoted to religious programming. The media actively participate in political activities and are used to persuade citizens by a wide variety of political groups.

News and editorial standards in all Dutch media are high. Broadcast news is prepared by an independent organization and is responsible to no political or social group. Although print media are allied with special interests, they maintain high standards of fairness and accuracy. Analysis and interpretation provided by broadcast-program groups, newspapers, and magazines reflect the views and opinions of the various factions within this pluralistic society.

Newspapers have always been involved in the sales function, but advertising was banned from broadcasting until the late 1960s. After the Dutch government closed down pirate stations in the North Sea, which used advertising, businessmen forced acceptance of limited advertising on the national broadcast services.

The strength of the economy and the political and social pluralism of the society have created media that serve a wide range of factions within the total society. Each faction is able to avail itself of editorial, cultural, political, educational, and entertainment content from a wide range of viewpoints.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Factors That Influence Development. The Soviet Union covers one-seventh of the earth's land mass and has the third largest population in the world, of which more than 50 percent live in urban areas. Technologically, this country is a twentieth-century success

story. It has huge industrial capability, with a highly skilled work force, and sound scientific capacity.

Culturally, the USSR is as diverse as any nation in the world. There are more than 100 ethnic groups. The European Russians dominate the society, making up 55 percent of the total population.

The Soviet Union is a socialist state, and all production systems are collectivized for what is considered by the communist leadership to be the common good. The economy seems to be expanding its industrial capability and solving its agricultural problems. There is, of course, only one political party in Russia—the Communist party—which permits internal discussion but no public criticism of state policies. Although the political system has been considerably liberalized since the Stalinist era, the Soviet Union is still a totalitarian state run by an elite group of bureaucrats who have risen to power through the party system.

The Media System. There are no privately owned media in the USSR, and no private advertising. All newspapers are published by the Communist party or allied associations, such as trade unions, collective farms, and sports clubs. Because of the massive size and the diverse cultural subgroups of the Soviet Union, very distinct “layers” of newspapers have evolved which include: (1) a central all-union press, national in scope; (2) a regional system for each of the republics; (3) papers that serve special local functions. There are fewer than 40 national papers (combined circulation about 12 million); nearly 300 regional papers (combined circulation about 15 million); and more than 3,000 local papers (combined circulation about 15 million).

All newspapers are controlled by the central government to ensure correct interpretation of current policies. The Central Committee controls the press through the “propaganda and agitation department,” which has sections responsible for each level of the press. The national press speaks for the presidium, which informs the regional press, which passes the word along to local papers. *Pravda* (“Truth”), the voice of the party and the most important paper in the USSR, is printed in 28 cities, and has more than 60 percent of its circulation outside Moscow. *Izvestia* (“News”) serves a similar function for the government on foreign policy. Many ministries of the national government publish their own papers; of these, *Red Star* of the defense department is the most famous. Each republic has its regional versions of *Pravda* (such as *Pravda Ukraina*), printed in Rus-

sian, and *Izvestia (Radyanska Ukraina, for example)* in the local dialect—in this case Ukranian. In effect there are two dailies, one government and one party paper, in each republic. Regional ministries also publish weekly regional papers. The local press consists of small community papers that deal with local, practical problems. They are policy rather than politically oriented.

A variety of Russian magazines are published along the same lines as the newspapers. Estimates place the number of Soviet magazines as high as 4,000, and more than 30 are published specifically for foreign consumption. Book publishing in a variety of languages is a Soviet industry of major proportion. Both these media are subject to strict government censorship.

TASS is the national communist news agency and serves to disseminate news and state policy to all media. TASS also serves as Russia's foreign news agency, with bureaus throughout the world.

The structure of broadcast operations is almost identical to that of the print media. A central (national) radio service emanates from Moscow with a local, longwave service, and a shortwave transmission to other parts of the country. Some republics have regional microwave and wired systems. Those that do originate considerable amounts of programming. Few regional programs are exchanged. The local wired system provides tight control and effectively limits outside, international interference. The wired system of 40 million sets provides the same high-quality reception of most United States cable TV systems. Nearly 50 million wireless radios are now in use in the Soviet Union, with more than half equipped to received shortwave broadcasts from outside Russia. The Soviet Union is developing an FM system, and estimates indicate that more than 100 FM transmitters are in operation.

Russia has traditionally had a brilliant, artistic film industry. Directors such as Eisenstein, Vertov, and Pudovkin set the style in the 1920s. Today, the USSR has over 100,000 fixed cinema theaters and mobile units, with a yearly attendance in excess of 5 billion. Russia is one of the ten largest film producers in the world and its high artistic levels have influenced many film directors, especially in Eastern Europe. The film industry is supervised by a special state committee within the Ministry of Culture, and the government funds all films. More than 30 production centers in Russia produce more than 150 feature films each year, plus hundreds of documentaries and educational films. In fact, the motion picture is a major teaching resource

in the Russian school system, as are radio and television. In terms of international standards, the film industry is the USSR's major media achievement.

Uses of Media. The primary function of the media in the USSR is political persuasion. The media are structured specifically to advocate policies of the Communist party and the state. Individuals and groups in opposition to these policies are denied access to the media.

The news and editorial functions are performed by professional journalists committed to party goals. The primary thrust of the press is not to handle fast-breaking news events, but rather to provide interpretation of events in the perspective of party commitments. More than 25 percent of all radio shows are news oriented. Theoretically, the news in the Soviet Union is carefully planned and executed to serve the best interests of the state and the public.

The Soviets have a definite commitment to using the media for educational purposes, particularly socialization. The artistic and cultural levels of entertainment series are designed to preserve classical cultural traditions and communist political values. Over half of all broadcast music is classical. Print production units seek to assimilate minorities into the larger cultural mainstream. Significantly, however, large nationalities within the state have their ethnic-language papers and broadcasts. The media are designed to meet the changing needs of the people as perceived by the state.

Advertising in this socialist state is not highly developed, but all media do provide information about new products when they appear on the market. In addition, the media are also used to stimulate distribution of specific goods in oversupply. When shoes are overstocked at GUM stores in Moscow, a news story appears to tell the people about it.

Entertainment is seen as useful when it improves the audience's taste.

In the Soviet Union, then, the political, cultural, and economic policies of the state are irrevocably entwined with media institutions and the specific functions performed. The media are strictly controlled to advance state policies and improve the society. Every function of the media involves the party and its platforms.

As evidenced by the significant differences in the development of media in Guatemala, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, and the United States, it is apparent that each nation's media develop and are used in different ways. The physical and geographical conditions,

the technological competencies, the cultural traits, the economic conditions, the political philosophy, and the media's qualities interact to create unique media systems.

The media are then used by the society to perform tasks that are essential to that society including news and information, analysis and interpretation, education, persuasion and public relations, sales and advertising, as well as entertainment.

These roles that the media perform cannot help but modify that nation, and as the parent society changes the social forces and uses made of the media also change. This interaction of media systems and societies is critical to the development and well-being of the modern industrial state.

CHAPTER **3** **Economics of Mass Communication**

The time and money Americans spend on media products and services are staggering to consider. Every year advertisers spend a sum that is approximately 2 percent of the gross national product (GNP) in order to sell goods and services to the American consumer. In one year (1973) advertisers spent nearly \$8 billion on newspaper ads; \$1.5 billion on magazine space; \$1.6 billion on radio time; \$4.6 billion on television advertising and another \$10 billion on other types of advertising; for a total of approximately \$25 billion. American advertisers spend an amount annually that exceeds the GNP of many countries. Annual advertising expenditures increased more than 60 percent during the ten years from 1961 to 1970. In the 1970s, U.S. corporations will spend more than \$250 billion to advertise in the mass media.

More than 50 magazines published in the United States have paid circulations in excess of 1 million. More than 62 million newspapers are bought by Americans every day of the year. More than 66 million American families have purchased television sets. Nine of every ten automobiles are sold radio-equipped. Without question, the economic dimension of mass communication is overwhelming; Americans are the world's biggest spenders on media activities.

Economic Theory and Media

Media Goods and Services. In popular economic language, there are two kinds of goods: (1) free goods supplied by nature; (2) economic goods, to which human effort has added utility. Mass communication industries use free goods to produce economic goods. Trees, a free good, are used to produce newsprint, an economic good. Industrial diamonds are used to make phonograph needles. Within the economic goods category, there are two classes: (1) *producer goods and services*, which are used in the production of other goods and services; (2) *consumer goods and services*, which are used directly by the buyer without significant modification. Using the previous example and extending it—free goods (e.g., trees and diamonds) are used to make producer goods (e.g., newsprint and phonograph needles), which in turn are used to make consumer goods (e.g., newspapers and record players).

The distinction between media goods and services, at its simplest level, is that media goods are physical things (e.g., TV sets, transistor radios, copies of books and magazines) and media services are the content or activities that supplement or supply goods (e.g., the stories in magazines and books, the programs on radio and television).

Media Supply and Demand. The law of supply and demand is always at work in the media marketplace. Consumer demand is the desire to use and the ability to pay for goods and services. Producer supply refers to the quantity of goods available for purchase at a particular time for a set price. When the consumer demand for color television sets exceeds the producer supply, the price tends to increase. When the supply of color TV receivers exceeds the demand, the price tends to drop. Media men, like any other businessmen, seek to supply the demand at the most economically rewarding level for themselves (and sometimes even for the consumers). Newspapers,

magazines, and TV series that consistently misread the media marketplace are probably headed for economic disaster and oblivion.

Consumer Decisions and Media. The individual's decision to spend his money and time on the media is significant because that decision determines whether a medium will succeed or fail. The consumer has three levels of purchasing power in regard to media consumption:

1. The consumer can choose between media and nonmedia goods and services. A family has to decide whether to spend its \$500 on a new living-room sofa, a week's vacation, or a new media product.
2. The consumer can choose between various media. If the family decides to spend its money on media goods and services, its members must determine whether they want a color TV, \$500 worth of books, or a stereo system.
3. The consumer can choose between competing issues or programs in a given medium. Once the decision is made to buy the color television receiver, the family must then choose between competing brands.

Dual Consumers of Media

When any individual or corporation buys and consumes the goods and services of the newspaper, television, recording, magazine, radio, motion-picture, or book industries, they become media consumers. Media consumers use their time and money to purchase mass communication goods and services. These consumers are divided into two distinct categories: (1) audiences and (2) advertisers.

Audience as Consumer. The audience buys media products so that it can avail itself of media content. Its members use their financial resources to buy the electric hardware so that they can spend time listening to and viewing the content. Audiences buy issues of newspapers and magazines in order to read the content. Money buys media goods. Time is spent consuming media services.

Short-term and long-term consumption are the realities of the media marketplace, and the quicker a given item is consumed the sooner it must be replaced. This rapid turnover is one of the major factors that makes media businesses viable economic enterprises. Audiences' constant willingness to spend more money and time on media is one indicator of the value they place on them.



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Advertiser as Consumer. Traditionally, advertisers have been said to be buyers of time in the electric media and space in the print media. This labeling process is technically accurate but somewhat misleading as to what is actually being bought. The purchase of a 30-second spot on CBS or a page in *Time* is a meaningless act—and a poor business decision—unless there are audiences involved. In reality, advertisers buy the audience, which is a byproduct in the mass communication process. The estimated audience for commercial broadcasting stations and most newspapers and magazines is more valuable in the end than the original product—the pages and the minutes of content. Although a time-buyer talks about buying a 30-second spot on CBS or a page in *Time*, his major concern is the audiences who consume these pages and seconds. Advertisers buy people, because people consume the products advertised in the media.

Audiences and Advertising Cost

There are, then, dual consumers of media: audiences buy the content, and advertisers buy the audiences. However, the value of a local newspaper or a network television program depends not only on the size of the audience but also on the audience's characteristics. The most important readers and viewers to an advertiser are those individuals most likely to buy the product being advertised. These target audiences are critical to the media, because they have real economic value.

Advertisers try to be efficient—they seek the largest possible target audience at the lowest possible price. Advertisers tend to use newspapers and television shows, which provide the best cost efficiency. This cost efficiency or cost per-thousand (CPM) readers or

viewers is determined simply by dividing advertising cost by audience size. Cost efficiency is a means of assigning relative value to media audiences.

$$\frac{\text{Advertising cost}}{\text{Audience size (in audience units of 1,000)}} = \begin{array}{c} \text{Cost efficiency} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{CPM} \end{array}$$

The Effect of Audience Size on Advertising Costs. Under normal conditions, newspapers with larger circulations have higher advertising rates; and when a newspaper's audience increases, its rates go up. For example, the *Chicago Tribune* charges a one-time advertiser about \$5,400 to use a full-page ad to reach its approximately 770,000 daily readers. The *Chicago Daily News* charges considerably less, about \$3,600, to reach approximately 445,000 readers. On Sunday, the *Tribune* is able to charge about \$7,300 for the same-size ad because Sunday circulation exceeds 1,040,000.¹

When the cost efficiency of the two editions of the *Tribune* is compared, the CPM changes very little, because the increase in cost is offset by the larger audience.²

<i>Cost Efficiency</i>	
<i>Daily Tribune</i>	<i>Sunday Tribune</i>
$\frac{\$5,400 \text{ (cost)}}{770(000) \text{ circulation}} = \7.01	$\frac{\$7,300}{1,040(000)} = \7.02
(CPM circulation)	

In terms of advertiser use of the *Chicago Tribune*, the Sunday and daily editions of the paper are equally efficient, because the cost of the space is based on paid circulation estimates of the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

The Effect of Audience Characteristics on Advertising Costs. Advertisers need to know what kinds of people use a given newspaper, magazine, radio, or television station. A manufacturer of lipstick would be foolish to spend money on *Playboy*, *Esquire*, or *True*, because most readers are men, while the advertiser's target audience is women.

In television, for example, total audience size may be less im-

1. All the cost and circulation figures are rounded estimates of information provided by Standard Rate and Data Service, *Daily Newspaper Rates and Data*, 12 October 1971, pp. 208-17.

2. Normally, newspaper efficiency is computed using milline rate, but for the purposes of this example the page cost efficiency format is clearer.

portant than the characteristics or composition of a program's audience. If we compare two network programs this point may become clearer. For example, advertisers could buy one commercial minute during a variety show for \$52,000 or one commercial minute during a football game for \$50,000. The variety show reaches 24 million viewers, while the football game reaches only 14.5 million viewers. Comparing CPMs, the variety show (\$2.17) seems to be a better buy than the football game (\$3.47) because it has a larger total audience.

<i>CPM Total Audience</i>	
<i>Variety show</i>	<i>Football game</i>
$\frac{\$52,000}{24,000(000)} = \2.17 CPM total audience	$\frac{\$50,000}{14,500(000)} = \3.47 CPM total audience

However, if an advertiser's target audience is men aged 18-49, the situation changes markedly. The variety show has only 3.6 million male viewers (18-49), while the football game has 5.1 million male viewers (18-49). At this point

<i>CPM Men (18-49)</i>	
<i>Variety show</i>	<i>Football game</i>
$\frac{\$52,000}{3,600(000)} = \14.45 CPM men (18-49)	$\frac{\$50,000}{5,100(000)} = \9.80 CPM men (18-49)

the football game (\$9.80 CPM men 18-49) becomes a more efficient buy than the variety show (\$14.45 CPM men 18-49). Football is a better buy for this advertiser because it reaches the target audience at a lower unit cost.

Both audience size and characteristics make a TV show or newspaper economically valuable. A quality audience for an advertiser is one that meets his marketing criteria.

Models of Media Support

There are essentially four categories or types of financial support systems for American media: (1) media supported by audiences; (2) media supported by advertisers; (3) media supported by both advertisers and audiences; (4) media supported by public and private groups or other nonconsumers.

Media Supported by Audiences. Record companies, the film in-

dustry (with the exception of those films made expressly to be sold to television), and book publishers derive practically all their revenue from audiences, who bear the full brunt of the cost of producing these goods and services. The audience is not resold to advertisers. Commercials could be inserted between chapters of books or cuts on LP records or scenes in motion pictures (as indeed they are when shown on TV), but the traditions of our media system have established that the audience pays the entire cost.³

Media Supported by Advertisers. Radio and television stations produce programs that they provide “free of charge” to audiences. Stations and networks earn their money by selling these audiences to advertisers, who must recoup their ad costs when they sell their wares to the public.

Media Supported by Advertisers and Audiences. Most general-circulation newspapers and magazines derive revenue from both advertisers and audiences. Audiences buy media content through subscriptions or newsstand purchases—advertisers pay for audiences. Although the exact amount varies from publication to publication, usually audiences provide less than one-third of the total revenue earned by general-circulation newspapers and magazines.

Media Supported by Public and Private Groups. Some media are supported by groups such as state and federal agencies, foundations, nonprofit organizations, and private corporations. These media obtain little or no consumer support. Educational television (ETV) stations, student newspapers, corporate house organs, and some subsidized government publishing are supported in this manner. The public indirectly pays part of the bill through local, state, and federal taxes.

Media Expenses

The revenue derived from consumers and nonconsumers alike goes to pay media’s bills. Media industries incur initial costs when

3. It should be noted, however, that advertising is beginning to make inroads into these three media. Record companies are printing publicity for other albums on the paper sleeves that protect the records and on the backs of album jackets. Many drive-ins and indoor theaters are running ads between features for local merchants. The back covers of many paperbacks now serve as advertising space for the publishers’ other wares. Even inserts that can be ripped out and mailed in for encyclopedias or art lessons are frequently a part of many inexpensive paperbacks. At present the use of these media for advertising purposes is still insignificant in terms of their overall economic support pattern.

they begin; they incur operating expenses as they continue to pay for: (1) production costs involved in making media products; (2) distribution costs incurred in selling and delivering goods and services to the consumer.

Initial Costs. Some media businesses can start with relatively little capital investment, while others require enormous amounts. A phonograph record can be produced for as little as \$5,000. Small-town newspapers can be started with as little as \$25,000 capital outlay. Books can be inexpensively produced using aluminum plates or typed masters, offset printing, and plastic binders.

However, low initial costs are not the rule in media economics. A textbook such as this one can require a commitment up to \$100,000 on the part of the publisher in terms of total investment in editorial, manufacturing, and promotion costs, as well as the advance payment to the authors. One episode of most hour-long television series costs more than \$200,000 to make. Even bargain-basement films such as *Joe* or *Easy Rider* cost \$300,000 to \$400,000, while films such as *The Godfather* and *A Clockwork Orange* cost many millions. To start a newspaper in a major metropolitan area would require an investment of \$5 million to \$10 million. Moderately successful TV stations sell for millions of dollars.

Operating Expenses. Most media enterprises involve long-term commitments in the form of operating expenses: supplies, labor, overhead, interest, as well as modernization and expansion. Newspapers alone spend more than \$150 million annually to improve their operations.

All media must produce and distribute their products if they are to survive economically. Radio operations depend on music, news, and sports formats for content because of economic and audience considerations. Newspapers use newsprint rather than high-gloss paper to cut production costs. Magazine publishers depend on 750 wholesalers and more than 100,000 retail outlets to help sell their wares. The phonograph industry uses record clubs, distributors, retailers, and rack-jobbers to get their records into the hands of the public.

Network Television: A Case Study in Production and Distribution

The television advertiser incurs three costs when he uses the networks: (1) the cost of producing programs, and (2) the cost of distrib-

uting programs to local stations, and (3) the cost of making commercials.

Program-Production Costs. Programs can be aired live but most are videotaped or filmed. TV economics has been a primary reason for the death of live programming. High production costs forced the industry to use reruns, and that meant recording programs. Today, most prime-time TV series produce about 24 new shows each season, which means it is possible for each episode to be run twice each year. In theory, this practice cuts production costs for a season by 50 percent.

In prime time (8:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. EST) nearly all variety series are videotaped and dramatic series are filmed. Without the ability to be used as reruns and as syndicated series, few, if any, network prime-time shows would be economically successful.

Production costs fall into two basic categories: (1) above-the-line costs cover all items related to creative elements of production, including writing, directing, acting, and producing the show; (2) below-the-line costs relate to physical or technical elements of the program, including the production staff, scenery, costumes, location costs, equipment rental, editing, processing, and overhead.

For videotaped variety shows, above-the-line elements account for 50 percent to 65 percent of the total production cost because of high talent costs. Below-the-line items account for 50 percent to 65 percent of film-drama production charges because of high labor, scenery, location, and equipment costs.

The high cost of production, over \$200,000 per hour, must be distributed over a large actual audience to develop satisfactory cost efficiency.

Program-Distribution Costs. The cost of producing a TV series remains the same whether 1,000, or 100,000, or 10,000,000 people see it. Network interconnection of local stations spreads costs over an extremely larger audience base, thereby providing a lower unit cost (CPM).

Network-time charges are based on the available audience, that percentage of U.S. TV homes with their sets on—not the actual audience tuned to a specific program in a specific time slot. The available audience (and therefore network distribution costs) is affected by five variables: (1) the number of U.S. homes equipped with TV sets; (2) the coverage of the stations affiliated with the network; (3) the scope of the available interconnection system; (4) the season of

the year; (5) the day-part (time segment, e.g., daytime, prime time).

One hour of time on a TV network of 200 stations costs more than \$150,000. Of this amount, network operations use 10 percent to 20 percent; the affiliated stations in the lineup get 20 percent to 30 percent; American Telephone and Telegraph gets 3 percent to 6 percent for use of its distribution system of coaxial cables and microwave relays; a 15-percent commission is paid to the advertising agency of record; 20 percent to 40 percent is rebated to the advertiser through seasonal and day-part discounts; overhead eats up 5 percent to 10 percent; and if anything is left, it is profit.

Commercial Costs. A one-minute black-and-white TV commercial costs from \$5,000 to \$15,000 to produce. Color commercials now cost national advertisers as much as \$100,000 to produce. Because commercials are recorded, their cost can be prorated over a period of time on both the national networks and local stations.

The High Cost of Failure. Let us assume an advertiser sponsors an hour-long TV program. It could cost \$150,000 to make six color commercials, another \$150,000 for network distribution, over \$200,000 for program production—the total cost could run to \$500,000. No advertiser can afford a failure of this sort. Such an investment requires a huge audience of potential consumers week after week. The possibility that a TV program may fail to attract a large audience has led advertisers to the practice of using scatter plans (placing ads in a large number of programs). This enables advertisers to hedge their bets with a few winners and some losers. Most prime-time 30-second spots on the national TV networks now cost from \$40,000 to \$50,000. The high costs of production and distribution seem to be headed in an endless upward spiral, and it is becoming harder and harder to try something new in programming. The high cost of failure has made advertisers very cautious television consumers.

Demands of Media Users

Demands made upon the media are crucial to their survival. The extensive media system serving our society would not exist without consumer demands and the willingness to pay for mass communication goods and services. When audiences buy magazines or spend their time listening to the radio, they affect the success of these media, whether they want to or not. Some advertisers occasionally feel they have a right to influence some media because they are

paying bills. Economically sound media are less likely to acquiesce to consumer pressures. In a free society the media must respond to intelligent criticism but reject unreasonable demands.

Effects of Media Economics

High initial costs and operating expenses have had far-reaching effects on the American media system. Many people are becoming concerned that not all these changes are for the better. For example:

1. Entry into media ownership is becoming increasingly difficult because of the large sums required to start and operate a medium.

2. Those groups already involved in media operations are, in general, succeeding at a rapid rate. Successful companies seem to get bigger and bigger with ever-increasing power accruing to them.

3. Because of the enormous sums being risked in the media marketplace, the media in general have become more competitive in trying to capture the largest, most valuable audience available, rather than striving to meet the special needs of all segments of society.

4. Many media businessmen seem to be sensitive only to the demands of the marketplace. Some media investors refuse to take anything other than mild positions on sensitive issues. The very rich and the very poor in media seem to be somewhat timid in order to retain or improve their economic positions.

5. In some cities of the United States, monopolies control some media. In 97 percent of America's 1,500 cities, there is only one newspaper. It often seems economically unsound for newspapers to compete for local revenue. In all cities, however, there still are competing media.

6. Group ownership today dominates much of the media. More than 50 percent of all newspapers are owned by chains, which can exercise a great deal of control over media content. Group ownership is also a force in broadcasting.

7. Networks, syndicates, news services, and other corporate giants operate increasingly within media oligopolies. A limited number of powerful competitors exist in every media institution.

8. Financial wealth seems to accrue to limited media groups in major metropolitan areas. Broadcast profits for some stations in the large markets have been reported to return close to 100 percent on annual tangible investments. Similar profits come to successful record and film producers as well as publishers.

9. Interlocking ownership and the development of media conglomerates have increased. Newspaper and magazine publishers own

broadcast stations. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) runs the world's largest electronics company, both a radio and television network, television and radio stations (all in the top ten markets), a record company, and a publishing company (Random House). The Columbia Broadcasting System produces records, makes movies, and owns a publishing house (Holt, Rinehart and Winston) as well as its broadcast operations.

10. High costs and enormous profits can lead to a concentration of economic power and information control in the hands of a limited number of huge corporations. Some critics have said that the regional domination of the Northeast has led to the development of an elite corps of media businessmen who exercise undue influence over the content of the media. These critics have referred to "media barons" who can exercise undue influence on the political structure of the United States, limiting government controls that might cut profits.

One of the leaders of the attack on media conglomerates is Nicholas Johnson, a former member of the Federal Communications Commission, who writes:

In general, I would urge the minimal standard that no accumulation of media should be permitted without a specific and convincing showing of a continuing countervailing social benefit. For no one has a higher calling in an increasingly complex free society bent on self-government than he who informs and moves the people. Personal prejudice, ignorance, social pressure, and advertiser pressure are in large measure inevitable. But a nation that depends upon the rational dialogue of an informed electorate simply cannot take any unnecessary risk of polluting the stream of information and opinion that sustains it. At the very least, the burden of proving the social utility of doing otherwise should be upon him who seeks the power and profit which will result.⁴

These ten economic problems are the consequences of the high initial costs and operating expenses of the mass media. The rise of media giants and corporate conglomerates has been the natural economic consequence of a media system in which operation and control is private rather than governmental. The alternative seems to be government ownership and control of the media, and this, of course, has always been rejected by a free and democratic society.

4. Nicholas Johnson, *How to Talk Back to Your Television Set* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), p. 66.

In a free society two courses of action have been suggested: (1) easier access to the media should be available to all segments of the society; (2) the media must continue to serve in a responsible fashion all the functions required of them. Access and responsibility are the two key issues of the 1970s. Fear has been expressed in some quarters that economic pressure will negatively affect free and easier access as well as responsible action on the part of the media.

Signs on the horizon indicate that the picture may not be as dire as it may seem. Cheaper means of publication and production are becoming available. Photo-offset lithography, cold-type composition, and inexpensive paper are bringing newspaper publishing back within reach of the average man. In many towns and cities of the United States in the 1970s, new publications are springing up, mostly weeklies, that are being published on a low-budget basis through offset printing. The so-called underground press is included in this category.

Even the electric media are getting less expensive. Hand-held cameras and videotape equipment are now being manufactured at a price that many people can afford. This has brought about so-called people's TV, in which small, closed-circuit telecasting is produced by neighborhood and inner-city groups for their own information and education. These developments, too, will help to overcome the economic imbalance of mass media.

Finally, it should be noted that, in spite of these dire economic warnings, mass media in America are more varied in their ownership and ideological commitment than in any other country in the world. In one study undertaken in 1970 in the greater Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, more than 250 discrete and separately owned media were found to be available to the average citizen—counting daily and weekly newspapers, regularly published local newsletters and magazines, AM and FM radio, commercial television, and educational television.

In other words, the average citizen in the average American community has a vast array of media available to him. The value our society places on its media institutions can be determined in part by the amount of money spent on them. Obviously, the media are important to the United States or its citizens would not spend the sums they do. The economics of mass media create problems of some concern, however, and it is of increasing importance that both citizen and mass communicator alike respond to the problems with a growing sense of responsibility.

CHAPTER 4 **Effects of Mass Communication in Modern Society**

Does violence on television make monsters of children? Do newspaper stories of rape and robbery lead readers to commit crimes? Has the “*Playboy* philosophy” revolutionized our sexual mores? Have Hollywood movies lowered the general level of American culture? Do political reports, editorials, and advertisements in the mass media change our political views or influence our decisions in the voting booth?

These are all questions dealing with effects of mass media on our lives. This is, surely, the most important aspect of mass media—how they influence us. But it is also the most complex aspect of the study of mass media. Adequate answers to the questions posed above cannot be made without sophisticated research, taking into account many complicated factors.

Even a superficial analysis will indicate the important role the media play in presenting facts, shaping opinions, and providing us with pictures of a world that we would not otherwise see. Some men have felt that the effects of media are pervasive and all-important, not only in direct, immediate, and observable terms, but also throughout the history of man.

What we know about the effects the mass media have on our society is derived from three basic kinds of research: (1) historical research investigates past and current media events in order to make comparisons; (2) experimental research is done in the controlled environment of the laboratory on specific behavioral problems; (3) survey research assesses media effectiveness in the diffused environment of the "real" world. Because of differences in research methodology, design, and manipulation of results, there is some disagreement among researchers regarding the effectiveness of the media in our society. But as additional research is completed, considerable consensus is being reached.

Historical Perspectives

Harold A. Innis, a Canadian economic historian, was a pioneer scholar in examining the effects of the media over the long history of mankind. His concern with the impact of printed money on man's economy led him to study the effect of communication on man's political and economic institutions. He concluded that "Western civilization has been profoundly influenced by communication."¹

Both Innis and Marshall McLuhan have shown that men have adapted themselves and their institutions to the media available to them, whether clay and stylus, paper and printing press, microphone and loudspeaker, or celluloid and movie projector. Each medium marked a stage in man's institutional and societal development, in the Innis-McLuhan theory.

In no country have mass media been more prevalent than in America. And with what effect? Wesley C. Clark, dean of the Syracuse University School of Journalism, says that "mass communications and the mass media have played a major role in changing the face of America. They have given us instant nationwide fashions and

1. Harold A. Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), p. 3.

modes, and perhaps instant heroes, or nonheroes, both political and nonpolitical."²

Indeed, without mass media, America as we know it would certainly not exist. It was the printed word—broadsides and pamphlets—that first induced masses of Europeans to emigrate to the colonies of the New World. Without the colonial weekly newspapers, as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., shows in his *Prelude to Independence*, the war against the British Crown would probably not have been fought, and if fought would probably not have been successful. He quotes David Ramsey, "In establishing American independence, the pen and the press had a merit equal to that of the sword."

Another American historian, Allan Nevins, has shown that it was the newspapers of the newly independent nation, carrying essays known today in their collected form as *The Federalist* papers, which persuaded the new Americans to ratify the Constitution and adopt a democratic form of government.

From the founding of the country to the present day, the mass media have played an important role in nearly all the important events of the nation. Antislavery publications such as William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* and Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, did much to foment the Civil War, as did the newspaper editorials of Horace Greeley and James Gordon Bennett. William Randolph Hearst's sensational newspaper headlines helped to instigate the Spanish-American War. Crusading newspaper and magazine reporters and editors at the turn of the century—often called "muck-rakers"—brought much-needed political reform and social legislation to America.

In the twentieth century, electric media added their impact to the printed word, as the mass media became big business. George Gerbner, dean of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, stated in testimony before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, in October 1969:

In only two decades of massive national existence television has transformed the political life of the nation, has changed the daily habits of our people, has molded the style of the generation, made overnight global phenomena out of local happen-

2. Wesley C. Clark, "The Impact of Mass Communications in America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 378 (July 1968): 69-70.

ings, redirected the flow of information and values from traditional channels into centralized networks reaching into every home. In other words, it has profoundly affected what we call the process of socialization, the process by which members of our species become human.

One historian, David Potter, has theorized that the basic element in the development of an American national character has been economic abundance, and, he declares, advertising in the mass media is the institution of that abundance. Advertising “has vast power in the shaping of popular standards, and it is really one of the very limited group of institutions that exercise social control.”

An Overview of Media Effects

Although we might agree that the mass media have affected the course of man’s development, it is still difficult to establish absolute cause-and-effect relationships. Indeed, the effects of the mass media defy most generalizations. In summarizing our current knowledge about these effects, Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz have written in their *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*:

The effects of communication are many and diverse. They may be short-range or long-run. They may be manifest or latent. They may be strong or weak. They may derive from any number of aspects of the communication content. They may be considered as psychological or political or economic or sociological. They may operate upon opinions, values, information levels, skills, taste, or overt behavior.³

There are so many variables, in fact, that some researchers are pessimistic about achieving scientific verification for any kind of mass communication effect. Berelson, in 1948, expressed his own feeling of futility about answering questions of mass media effect by framing the following axiom: “Some kinds of *communication* of some kinds of *issues*, brought to the attention of some kinds of *people* under some kinds of *conditions*, have some kinds of effects.”⁴

3. Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, eds., *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication* (2nd. ed.; New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 379.

4. Bernard Berelson, “Communications and Public Opinion,” in *Mass Communications*, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949), p. 500.

Others are more optimistic, however, about the use of behavioral research to learn more about the effects of mass media. Joseph T. Klapper, for instance, favors the "phenomenistic" approach, in which mass media are viewed as only one of many factors to be considered in studying the effect of the environment on human behavior. Klapper also feels that some generalizations have already emerged about media effects from these types of studies.⁵

At the present time there is considerable documentation to support the notion that several factors affect the effectiveness of mass communication:

The medium or combination of media used affect mass communication effectiveness. The fewer skills required to use a given medium, the more likely it will be for large numbers of people to take advantage of it. If any medium demonstrates real value to the individual, however, he will acquire the skills necessary to use it. The effectiveness of a medium with its audience depends on its source credibility and its traditional association with a specific role. For example, books are the most effective medium in the educational process because textbooks have credibility with teachers and students, and that medium has traditionally been the backbone of the educational process in this country.

The presentation of the message affects mass communication effectiveness. The style of presentation of the message influences its effect on the audience. "Sesame Street's" effectiveness with children is the result in large measure of the way in which the information is presented. The amount of information previously provided by a medium in a given content area affects the future receptiveness of the media user to similar messages. The communicator associated with the message (dramatic writer, director, newsman, actor, editor, or singer) affects the way a message is accepted by the audience. Walter Cronkite, for example, has better *ethos* (a form of proof based on his personal characteristics such as physical appearance and voice) than a cub reporter with a weekly paper.

The exposure pattern affects mass communication effectiveness. The number of exposures an individual has to a given message affects his willingness to accept an idea. For example, the My Lai massacre was something less than believable when the story first broke, because our society had been taught that Americans did not kill unarmed women, children, and old men. For most Americans,

5. Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960).

repeated exposure to the idea was required before the report was believed. In addition to the number of exposures, the period of time over which this repetition occurs is also critical for maximum effectiveness. Thus, repetitive exposure over extended periods of time is the cornerstone of most advertising campaigns.

The audience experience affects mass communication effectiveness. The physical environment in which a medium is used modifies effectiveness. The home, with its multitude of interruptions, is a far less satisfactory environment for a film than a movie theater because the film environment needs to be carefully controlled to increase message impact. The interpersonal interactions during a given communication experience also affect the process. Talking or holding hands with one's date while trying to read a textbook is often less than a satisfactory educational experience. By contrast, we are accustomed to having conversations with the radio on. Past media experiences condition us to have certain expectations regarding how and where a specific medium is used.

In sum, scientific verification of the effects of mass media on individual behavior has been difficult to achieve because the variables seem to be nearly inexhaustible. But if the media can be seen as part of the total environment that affects man's acts and decisions, a theory for mass media effects might be developed. Melvin L. DeFleur synthesizes various theories to arrive at the most comprehensive statement to date:

The effects of a given mass communicated message sent over a given channel will depend upon a large number of psychological characteristics and social category similarities among the members of the audience; these effects will depend upon the kind of social groups within which these people are acting and the relationships that they have with specific types of persons within them; they will depend upon the social norms that prevail among such groups in reality as well as upon the "definitions of the situation" which the communicated messages are to suggest.⁶

Detailed Analysis of Specific Media Effect

Media effects are seldom—if ever—simple, direct, or totally dependent on media exposure because the direct, personal experiences

6. Melvin L. DeFleur, *Theories of Mass Communication* (2nd ed.; New York: David McKay, 1970), pp. 152-53.

of the individual are constantly modifying the effectiveness of the indirect, vicarious media experience.

The available evidence in all areas of communication indicates that we move from cognition to comprehension to attitude and value change before behavioral change occurs. In addition, we know that it is easier to create cognition than comprehension, that comprehension is a simpler task than attitude modification, and, finally, major behavioral changes are extremely difficult to produce.

To facilitate the evaluation of research as to the specific effects the mass media have on society, the available data have been collated and summarized in the following pattern:

1. There are three *general areas* of mass communication research of great scientific importance:
 - A. The effects of the mass communication media on *cognition and comprehension*.
 - B. The effects of the mass communication media on *attitude and value change*.
 - C. The effects of the mass communication media on *behavioral change*.⁷
2. There are three *specific problems* that are of intense public concern:
 - A. The effects of the mass media on children.
 - B. The effects of *violence* in the mass media on American society.
 - C. The effects of pornography in the mass media on American society.

Each of these six concerns has involved the efforts of a great many researchers, and this section is designed only as an introduction to each problem and a synthesis of available information.

Cognition and Comprehension

How effective are the mass media in making audiences aware of things not in their direct experience? At a more complex level, how effective are the media in making audiences understand the mass communication experience? Cognition is affected by the fact that the individual does not read all pages of the newspaper or listen to every

7. The basis of this section is a modification of Walter Weiss's collation of research in chapter 38 of the *Handbook of Social Psychology*. Weiss's summary is one of the best available to date in the field and a must for students interested in media effects. Walter Weiss, "The Effects of the Mass Media of Communication," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Gardner Lindzey and Eliot Aronson (2nd. ed.; Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968) 2:77-195.

minute of newscast with equal attention. Audience members expose themselves selectively to media content, but by constant, repetitive exposure the media can become highly effective on a wide variety of issues. But retention of information over a long period of time is least probable when the individual has no personal interest in that information.

Cognition (as with all media effects) is the result in great measure of the interaction of media content with the direct, personal experiences of the audience members. A person's ability to recall a media event is also dependent in large measure on repeated exposure to the stimulus and some reinforcement in his interpersonal relationships. If an individual had a brother in a given battle zone in Vietnam, the mention of that specific area would increase awareness on the part of the viewer to that news item because he had direct experience that encouraged awareness. He needed that information.

The achievement of comprehension requires more exposure and personal interest. Although Americans have one of the best overall information systems in the world, there is considerable misunderstanding because people misinterpret, fail to hear, or refuse to accept the facts. And there have been times when the media have misinformed their audiences. Evidence also suggests that audience members' predispositions on a given issue create subtle, unconscious misconceptions despite repeated exposure to messages that contradict these notions. In other words, comprehension on a given issue is distorted by personal beliefs. For example, this may account for some reactions—despite all the evidence to the contrary—that the assassination of President John F. Kennedy was the result of a complex plot involving a large group of conspirators rather than the alleged singular act of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Cognition and comprehension have a direct effect on the emotional reactions of audiences. Any emotional response to mass communication comes in large measure from the setting in which exposure occurs, the repetition of exposures, information prior to the exposure, and the basic cognitive schema (interpretive framework) of the individual. The reaction of a child to a "horror film" is made more intense because the theater is dark, because the child probably has had previous exposure to other "scary" films so he and his companions have preconditioned themselves to the evocation of a set of emotional reactions, and because the whole cognitive schema or the overall way in which the child perceives the film is dependent on that child's personality traits.

One of the best examples of the effectiveness of media in creating emotional public response occurred during Orson Welles's radio dramatization of H. G. Wells's *War of the Worlds* (Halloween week, 1938). The program, concerning a fictitious invasion of earth by Martians, caused panic among those people who could not put the program into a satisfactory cognitive schema, lacked previous information about the show, were preconditioned by the emotional tenor of the times, or could not find other persons who could counteract or clarify the event for them. In short, *other conditions* in an individual's personal experience are important in determining what his emotional response will be to a given media stimulus.

Another important aspect of media effects related to cognition and comprehension is *identification*, which refers to the audience members' involvement with an action or character in a given communication experience. This intellectual-emotional response enables the individual to experience vicariously events in which he otherwise could not participate. The depth of individual involvement depends on the satisfaction derived from previous exposures. The attractiveness of a given fictional character depends on the similarity the audience member has to that character or the aspirations and anticipated roles of the book reader, moviegoer, or radio listener. When the opportunity arises, the majority of males select male characters, and the majority of females select female characters for identification. Interestingly, characters that deviate too far from accepted norms—even if they are the antihero of the piece—are less identified with than are the "good guys." Identification affects a child's selection of comics, TV programs, and movies and has been proved to have an impact on the individual's willingness to accept different kinds of information. If the audience identifies with the communicator, cognition and comprehension improve.

Attitude and Value Change

Obviously, all the previously mentioned studies on cognition, comprehension, selective exposure, retention, emotional reaction, and identification are closely related to attitude change. Values depend upon individuals being aware and understanding the communication experience. For example, if selective exposure blots out positive information about the values of rock music, an adult's attitude will remain unchanged.

In media research on attitudes, there is general agreement that

the media do have an effect. However, the extent, speed, and longevity of these effects are in question.

Most research evidence supports the hypothesis that mass media can "*create new opinions more easily than they can change existing ones.*" Joseph Klapper points out that mass communication "is highly effective in creating attitudes on newly arisen or newly evoked issues." He underlines the caution that "the efficacy of mass communication in creating opinion . . . can be gauged only in reference to issues on which, at the time of exposure, people are known to have no opinion at all." Communications on such topics "have been found capable of 'inoculating' audience members, i.e., of rendering them more resistant to later communications or experiences suggesting a contrary view."

Wilbur Schramm points out that "the mass media can widen horizons. . . . They can let a man see and hear where he has never been and know people he has never met."⁸ Obviously, this is a more important side effect of mass media in developing societies; ostensibly in a sophisticated and civilized society, fewer issues can be raised with which modern man has not already come into contact and about which he has not already formed some opinions.

The war in Vietnam, however, might have been such an exception. For the first time in man's history, a war on the other side of the world was brought into the living room of the average American home, in live action and full color. Like all wars before it, the war in Vietnam was marked by corruption, violence, and atrocity on both sides in varying degrees. But never have so many people been exposed to the facts of war in such a direct, forceful, and firsthand manner. Traditionally, information about war always followed the official explanation, which inoculated the audience to the ugliness of the real facts.

Schramm says that mass media, in creating opinions, "can raise aspirations." Again, this is more apt to be true in developing societies, where the typical citizen has had an extremely limited view of the world. But we find illustrations of this among America's poor.

A strong case can be made for the idea that the media, particularly television, have had an important side effect on the black revolution in America since 1950. Television played a key part in bringing into many black homes a view of another world. In the 1950s

8. Wilbur Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 127.

and early 1960s many blacks, watching "I Love Lucy," "Leave It to Beaver," or "Peyton Place," had their aspirations raised. They, too, could live like that.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, more black faces appeared on network series. "I Spy," "Julia," "Mod Squad," "Sanford and Son," "Sesame Street," and "The Electric Company" provided a view of potential success for blacks integrated in white America. Nevertheless, the extent of the increase in aspiration levels as a result of television programming is difficult to measure.

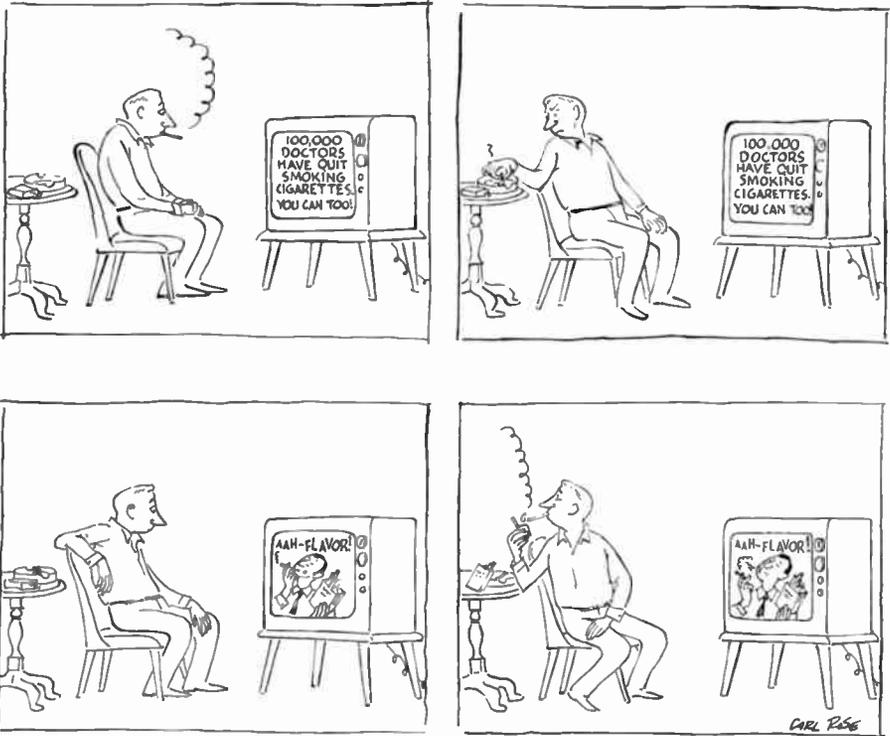
It should be emphasized, however, that while the mass media might create opinion easily in a situation where no opinions previously existed, there are always many mediating forces—unsympathetic predispositions, group norms, or opinion leaders—which hinder the creation of new opinions by the mass media.

If we already have opinions about issues, such as politics or religion, what effect do the mass media have in changing us? Not much, according to limited research findings. Most studies show that the mass media "*reinforce our old opinions more than they convert us to new ones.*" Klapper says that reinforcement of an opinion is the dominant effect; minor change, such as a shift in the intensity with which we hold an opinion, is the new most-common effect.

One reason for reinforcement is the self-protective human process of selective exposure, selective perception, and selective retention. We tend to expose ourselves only to those media that agree with our existing opinions, and we tend to avoid media that are unsympathetic to our predispositions. A socialist is not apt to read the *Wall Street Journal*, as a capitalist is not apt to be a regular reader of the *Los Angeles Free Press*. Psychologists have long shown that even when exposed to other media, we tend to perceive only those elements that fit our preconceptions. And finally, we tend to retain those facts and ideas that agree with our existing opinions.

Leon Festinger has studied this phenomenon and named it "cognitive dissonance."⁹ Basically, dissonance replaces the word inconsistency and consonance replaces consistency. Festinger's main hypothesis is that the psychologically uncomfortable existence of dissonance will motivate a person to try to reduce it and achieve consonance. In addition to trying to reduce dissonance, the person will actively avoid situations and information that would increase it.

9. Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957).



Drawing by Carl Rose; ©1969 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

For example, the person who continues to smoke, despite media information that smoking is harmful, tries to reduce the dissonance. He can rationalize that he enjoys smoking so much that it is worth the chances of ill health, or he can rationalize that if he stopped smoking he would put on weight, which could be equally bad for his health.

Mass media also aid reinforcement rather than change because in a free-enterprise society the media tend to avoid offending any significant portion of their vast audience and tend to espouse attitudes that are already virtually universal. A significant portion of mass media would not be likely to express a point of view that the majority in society were not already willing to accept. A nationally syndicated newspaper columnist or a political commentator on nationwide television would not likely express a radical political idea, for fear of alienating vast numbers of readers and viewers. Even the underground press, which might purposely use language and pictures

to offend the general public, nevertheless is reinforcing attitudes held by its regular readers.

Not only do the mass media reinforce what we already believe, they also "*enforce the normal attitudes and behavior patterns of society.*" Two sociologists, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, have pointed out the effects of mass communication on organized social action. "Publicity closes the gap between 'private attitudes' and 'public morality,'" they write.¹⁰ The mass media expose deviations to public view, and, as a rule, this exposure forces some degree of public action against what has been privately tolerated.

For example, some individuals may privately tolerate what they would call "polite ethnic discrimination," but they would be apt to reject this attitude if it were called to public attention by the mass media in a society that condemns discrimination. The media tend to present in an approving manner behavior and attitudes that are socially accepted, and to present in a disapproving manner those that are rejected. Through repetition the media reinforce existing social attitudes.

One result is social conformity, weakening of individualism, and decreasing tolerance of differences. Much research has verified the "bandwagon effect," that is, people will adopt opinions because they are the opinions of a large group, or seem to be. This social conformity is most commonly demonstrated in advertising, which frequently uses such phrases as "nine out of ten," "more people use," or "millions recommend." Studies also show that small, deviant minority groups have an unusual amount of resistance to the bandwagon effect, but most people, without the support of a strong minority group, simply go along with the majority.

Thus, in America the mass media have played a role in the melting pot. Except for small and strong minority groups—such as Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn or Amish Mennonites in Pennsylvania—most Americans have lost the special ethnic and cultural characteristics that their ancestors brought from the Old World.

The mass media tend to make individuals, groups, things, or ideas important simply by selecting them for attention or notice. This effect of mass communication was pointed out by Lazarsfeld and Merton:

The mass media bestow prestige and enhance the authority of

10. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Action," in *Mass Communication*, ed. Wilbur Schramm. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 499.

individuals and groups by legitimizing their status. Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or newsreels testifies that one has arrived, that one is important enough to have been singled out from the large anonymous masses, that one's behavior and opinions are significant enough to require public notice.¹¹

Charles Lindbergh received so much publicity for his trans-Atlantic solo flight in the *Spirit of St. Louis* that he became an instant and permanent international hero. But Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, small-time bank robbers and killers in the 1930s, also gained status and prestige through headlines in the newspapers. This status was revived in the 1960s by the motion picture *Bonnie and Clyde*, which dramatized their exploits.

Status conferral by the mass media has also produced the star system, not only in Hollywood but in New York and Washington as well, where individuals can enhance the prestige of a production, product, or political viewpoint by virtue of their publicity. A long list could be written of movie stars, political figures, society leaders, artistic lions, and even academic giants who attained positions of prestige and prominence based on their ability to get publicity as well as their other talent, genius, or worth.

Do mass media also have the effect of drugging their audiences? Some feel they do, including Lazarsfeld and Merton, who write that the increasing "outpourings of the media presumably enable the twentieth-century American to 'keep abreast of the world.' Yet, it is suggested, this vast supply of communications may elicit only a superficial concern with the problems of society, and this superficiality often cloaks mass apathy."¹²

News, which is by definition almost invariably about deviations and abnormalities in society, may, according to some sociologists and psychologists, actually create anxieties among readers, listeners, and viewers. This anxiety could result in "privitization," where the individual feels overwhelmed by the news and reacts by turning inward to his private life, over which he has more control.

Mass audiences may suffer from an information overload to the point where they are actually narcotized by communication. They react with apathy rather than action. So many voices are heard, so much static and interference are on the line, that they tend to block out everything, and no message comes through loudly and clearly

11. Ibid., p. 498.

12. Ibid., pp. 501-2.

enough for them to participate and be involved in the action. The media can turn us off as well as on.

Many, in fact, turn to the media to be turned off. The escapist function is an important one for the mass media, and has many socially useful results. We turn to soap operas and musicals in "living color" not just to get away from our problems but also to find emotional release, vicarious interaction, a common ground for social intercourse, the stimulation of our imagination, and mental and physical relaxation. All these, in turn, affect our attitudes and values.

Behavioral Change

Do media experiences change the things persons do and the ways in which they act? What are the physical reactions to media experiences, the things people do as a result of media exposure? A considerable amount of research in the area of behavioral change has sought to determine what the media's influences are on specific kinds of behavior—i.e., voting, play patterns, aggression, and a number of others.

In the area of the *allocation of discretionary or leisure time*, the media are a dominant force. The importance of the media can be estimated if you stop to realize that the media dominate leisure time activity in our society. As new media appear there is usually high public interest, if participation requires no skills—i.e., TV viewing, radio listening, and moviegoing. When television became available, it reduced the amount of leisure time spent on other media, but it also required the viewer to give up other practices as well. The average individual spends more than two hours per day viewing television, while his family spends more than six hours. When a family acquires a color set for the first time, the amount of viewing increases substantially until the novelty wears off. In effect, what happens is that media experiences are so attractive and rewarding that the individual consciously gives up or modifies other media and nonmedia activities in order to partake of them.

The media are often employed to *stimulate interests in the form of a specific activity* such as homemaking, sewing, cooking, or hobbies. The results of most studies indicate that special-interest programs develop passive rather than active behavior on the part of the viewer. Audiences watch Julia Child's "French Chef"; they enjoy her performance, but apparently few of the audience members ever try that specific recipe. However, they may go out and buy a cookbook, which they will use.

The media are constantly accused of *changing public taste* as re-

flected in other kinds of behaviors: reading novels; going to concerts or the ballet; or watching public affairs programs. Most popular argument states that TV and other media degrade public taste by pandering to the lowest cultural denominator rather than educating people to enjoy higher cultural materials. Research indicates, however, that cultural tastes are much more influenced by personal, family, educational, and social determinants than by the media. Those persons who claim the media should influence tastes for high culture normally already are predisposed to such activities as listening to classical music. What seems to be the case is that the media are *not* used to seek out cultural tastes above those the viewer already possesses. Interestingly, limited research into the effects of radio and television in emerging nations seems to indicate that a concentrated programming effort can create a positive interest in the cultural heritage of that nation.

In terms of *family life patterns*, numerous studies have investigated various aspects of home behavior. In general, the media studies—specifically of television—indicate that TV has not had a marked or sweeping effect on family life styles. At a very superficial level, members of a family spend slightly more time together viewing TV as a group until the second set is purchased.

In terms of passivity, the media do not make people more passive, except where the individual has a very strong predisposition to be so anyway. The specific fear that TV viewing negatively affects school work is false. In fact, television viewing may actually contribute to a faster start for most children. The bedtime of children has not been changed markedly by television.

The life style of the family unit is the primary determinant here. There seems to be little support for the contention that TV has a detrimental effect on eyesight. For most individuals, TV is just another style of play, influenced by age and intelligence, values and personality. Evidence exists that family members use TV as a time-killer between other activities. The primary role of media in the household is for “escapist” entertainment—because this is what the family desires. In general, the medium’s use is affected more by the family life style than the life style is affected by the medium.

Considerable research has been devoted to the effects of media on *voting behavior*. The media seem to be relatively ineffective in converting a voter from one party affiliation to another. Few voters seem to be influenced by specific political commercials for the man they dislike. The critical role of the media seems to be to reinforce

existing political attitudes and maintain party-member support. However, it can be argued that evaluating one commercial, one candidate, or even one campaign is less than satisfactory when one remembers the new political frameworks established in the media with regard to events occurring between election years.

The constant exposure of political figures and issues on television may be the key area of influence in changing political behavior of Americans. This is a critical distinction if we look at media in terms of structuring of political reality rather than delivering political messages. Undoubtedly, the vast exposure of negative feeling regarding the war in Vietnam decidedly influenced political decision making and voting behavior between 1964 and 1972. Without television coverage of that war—a political as well as informational activity—it is very likely that American attitudes would have remained less changed during that eight-year period. In other words, political behavior changes gradually as a result of a variety of media inputs and personal interactions over a lengthy period of time.

In terms of *behavior patterns*, personal influence interacting with media experiences seems to be the critical factor in the modification of the way people act. Some undue emphasis seems to have been given to the influence of opinion leaders, especially in politically oriented interpretations of research. There seems to be less support today for the idea that a few opinion leaders are persuaded by the media and then influence others within their social contact. This original two-step flow of communication is under review because it may draw too simple a relationship between mass communication and personal influence. In reality, what seems to happen is that the media and personal values interact to support or reject a given action.

Wilbur Schramm describes the interaction of mass media and personal influence as the “n-step flow of communication.”

Later and longer looks at the “two-step flow” lead us to think that it might be better called the “n-step flow” for the influentials have their own influentials to whom they go for advice and information. However that may be, the point is that interpersonal channels of information are functioning side by side with the mass media channels, and these interpersonal channels are exerting much of the influence in society.¹³

13. Wilbur Schramm, “The Nature of Communication Between Humans,” in *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), p. 51.

Rather than attempting to prove or disprove the relative impact of personal influence and mass communication, a more sophisticated approach seems to be the recognition that they complement one another in changing behavior patterns.

In terms of *adopting a specific behavior*, it takes considerable time for this to occur and depends on several factors, including the number of people involved in the decision, the economic and social risk necessary, the future ramifications of action, the extent of departure from current practices, and the compatibility of this behavior with personality, values, and motives of the individual. For example, consider the implications of the simple behavior involving hair styles in boys. The decision to have long or short hair might involve parents, peer groups, and school personnel. There may be economic risk (loss of a job) or social risk (forbidding of dates by a girl's parents). The future problems include public derision, family squabbles or possible social ostracism. If the boy is leaving for college, the long-hair style may not be too great a departure from behavior on the campus. Finally, his personal values in regard to grooming may affect his decision. So, despite the hair length of people in the media, other influences may be too strong for the behavior change to occur.

The same factors influence change in purchasing behavior, wearing clothes, using "miracle cleaning agents," joining protest marches, participating in common-law marriages, adopting children of minority parentage, and any other behavior acceptance, modification, or rejection. It is the interaction of media exposure and other personal experiences that become the critical force in behavioral change.

The Effects of Media on Children

In a famous study, Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker concluded:

For some children under some conditions, some television is harmful. For other children under the same conditions, or for the same children under other conditions, it may be beneficial. For most children, under most conditions, most television is probably neither particularly harmful nor particularly beneficial.¹⁴

14. Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, *Television in the Lives of Our Children* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1961).

In England, Hilde T. Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim, and Pamela Vance concluded that television had little negative effect on children, except for those who were emotionally disturbed or predisposed to a particular stimulus. In other words, the normal child will probably not commit a violent act as the result of watching violence on television.¹⁵

In very specific terms, television does not overwhelm the child's life style: consciously and unconsciously, children are selective about *what* they watch and the *amount of time* they spend. The important factors in the child's television behavior are his age, intelligence, social level, personality, and parental example. In terms of taste the child's TV behavior *reflects* his taste in other areas. Television viewing does not lower cultural levels, nor does viewing of adult programs by young children have the negative effect of developing antisocial behavior.

It has been concluded that television has little, if any, negative effect on the health of children. In terms of emotional effect, children love excitement and even enjoy low levels of fright. If the child is mature and intellectually prepared for movies and TV exposures, there is little, if any, detrimental, long-lasting, emotional reaction. In terms of causing behavior patterns, television creates little or no negative behavior in the normal child.

Violence and Mass Media

Considerable concern has been expressed over the violence and aggression depicted in the mass media and their effect on Americans. A "Task Force on Mass Media and Violence" produced a lengthy report for a National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence entitled *Violence and the Media* (1969). The report summarized what is known to date and called for more research. However, the report listed three areas where studies of violence in the media provided the committee with some general conclusions: learning effects, emotional effects, and impulsive aggression.

As to learning effects, the commission reported "... the belief in the effectiveness of aggression in attaining his [a child's] goal while avoiding punishment. The mass media typically present aggression as a highly effective form of behavior."

As to emotional effects, the commission reported the conclusion

15. Hilde Himmelwaite, A. N. Oppenheim, and Pamela Vance, *Television and the Child* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

that, "Frequent exposure produced an emotional habituation to media violence. There is suggestive evidence that this results in an increased likelihood of actually engaging in aggression."

The commission also concluded that, "Aggressive impulses may be held in check if the viewer has been made especially aware of the 'wrongness' of aggression or of the suffering that may result from violence."

Other researchers have reported little direct cause-and-effect relationship between mass media and individual behavior when it comes to sex, crime, and violence. Klapper points out that "heavy exposure to such fare is apparently not a sufficient or crucial cause of delinquency. In at least five major studies, heavy consumers were found no more likely to be delinquent than were light users or non-users."

In other words, there is considerable controversy within the scientific community regarding the results of behavioral research as to the effect media exposure has in triggering aggressive behavior that may lead to violence. Some social scientists argue that media exposure to violence serves as cathartic experiences—the fantasy of emotionally participating in media violence reduces the possibility of the individual becoming violent because the media provide a means of releasing aggressive tendencies. Other laboratory research, especially the work of Leonard Berkowitz, Albert Bandura, and their respective colleagues, suggests that under certain circumstances media violence can lead to imitative aggressive behavior with other stimuli interacting with media exposure.¹⁶ The critical factor and the matter least studied at the present time is the long-term, cumulative, extended effects of media violence.

The media, however, are just one factor in the total societal picture, where violence has always been a reality in the American way of life.

In 1972 a study on television and violence instigated by Senator John Pastore's Communications Subcommittee was released by the U.S. Department of Public Health. This study sought to gather all findings related to television violence and its effect on children.

16. Albert Bandura with a variety of colleagues conducted a series of studies between 1961 and 1965 in the areas of learning, imitative behavior, aggression, and their interrelationship with mass media (specifically film). His research is reported largely in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. Leonard Berkowitz and his research team concentrated their research on filmed violence and aggressive tendencies. This work was published in part in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* from 1963 to 1967.

Three generalizations emerged from this work. Namely, that there is "a preliminary and tentative indication of a causal relation between the viewing of violence on television and aggressive behavior; an indication that any such causal relation operates only on some children (who are predisposed to be aggressive); and an indication that it operates only in some environmental contexts."¹⁷ Media effects in this area then are dependent upon the mix of violent media content, the child, and his environment.

Obviously, there are other contributions to violence in the United States other than mass media. In a report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, a partial list was compiled.

Many unique aspects of our society and politics have contributed to the individual and collective violence that troubles contemporary America, among them the psychological residues of slavery, the coexistence of mass consumption with pockets and strata of sullen poverty, the conflict among competing ethics that leaves many men without clear guides to social action. Other sources of violence in our national life are inheritances of our own past: a celebration of violence in the good causes of our revolutionary progenitors, frontiersmen, and vigilantes; immigrant expectations of an earthly paradise only partly fulfilled; the unresolved tensions of rapid and unregulated urban and industrial growth.¹⁸

What the media may be doing in fact is heightening our awareness of the violence that has always been a part of the fabric of our way of life. The news media are constantly providing information regarding assassinations, campus protests, fire bombings, ghetto disturbances, civil disobedience against the war in Vietnam, muggings, and police brutality. Since the media are instrumental in creating this intense awareness, they have come to be associated with violence—as its cause—in the minds of a large segment of the public.

The noted sociologist Otto Larsen surveyed the various material available, and, in general, has presented the view that too little is known about violence to set up a system of censorship that seeks to

17. The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

18. Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, *Violence in America* (New York: Signet Books, 1969), p. xiii.

control or limit the content of the media.¹⁹ Indeed, the results of such a censoring process seem to be much more dangerous to the United States than the current violence portrayed in the media, Larsen concluded.

Pornography in the Mass Media

Pornography is any obscene material, and obscenity is based on three legal criteria: (1) the dominant theme, taken as a whole, must appeal to a prurient (morbid and unhealthy) interest in sex; (2) the material must be patently offensive and affront contemporary community standards; (3) the material must be without redeeming social value. If a book or movie is shown to possess all three characteristics, it is legally obscene and in some communities the distributor, exhibitor, and seller are liable for prosecution. In obscenity trials from 1965 to the present, it is rare that the federal courts have judged material to be obscene.

In 1967 Congress established through Public Law 90-100 the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, which on September 30, 1970, submitted its report contradicting many strongly held beliefs of politicians and citizens alike. The commission's majority report has gone the way of many other scientific-bureaucratic undertakings. The findings of the commission have been attacked, and the report's proposed legislation has been ignored.

The financial scope of pornography in the United States is estimated to be between \$500 million and \$2 billion a year. The major media involved are paperback books, magazines, and films; however, with the advent of the new cassette videotape units pornographic materials might be expected to become more readily available.

The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography was unable to reach unanimous agreement on the effects of obscene material. The findings of the majority are:

1. In the nonlegislative area, a sex-education program, using media involved are paperback books, magazines, and films; however, with the advent of the new cassette videotape units pornographic materials might become available more readily for use in the home.

2. In the legislative area, all local and state laws as well as federal statutes (Statutes 18 U.S.C. Sec. 1461, 1462, and 1465; 19 U.S.C. Sec.

19. Otto Larsen, *Violence in the Mass Media* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

1305; and 39 U.S.C. Sec. 3006) prohibiting the sale of pornographic materials to consenting adults should be repealed, because:

- A. There is no empirical evidence that obscene materials cause antisocial attitudes or deviant behavior, although the material is sexually arousing.
- B. Increasingly, large numbers of persons (most frequently middle-aged, middle-income, college-educated males) use pornography for entertainment and information, and these materials even appear to serve a positive function in healthy sexual relationships.
- C. Public opinion studies indicate that the majority of Americans do not support legal restriction of adult uses of pornography and legal attempts to control the distribution of obscene material have failed.
- D. Obscenity laws are an infringement on Americans' constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of speech.²⁰

Although the empirical evidence suggests that pornography is in no way harmful to children, the commission, on ethical grounds, felt that obscene material should not be made available without direct parental consent to persons under eighteen. The commission also argued that unsolicited mailings and public displays should be prohibited.

In other words, the majority of commissioners believed that there is *no empirical evidence* that pornography is harmful and that government at all levels should repeal obscenity laws for consenting adults. Three members of the commission objected to the findings on moral grounds (as did the Nixon Administration) and questioned both the scientific studies and legal interpretations of the majority report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.

Comparative Effectiveness of the Media

Which medium is most effective? Which has the greatest impact? These questions have been much discussed, and many studies have been devoted to finding adequate answers. Some word should be said about this here, although the findings are far from complete.

Different studies have reached different conclusions, based partly

20. *The Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).

NEWSPAPERS OR TELEVISION?

The fact is, *the newspaper vs. television battle winner depends on how the question is put to the public.* Below are some different questions with their differing answers.

<i>Question asked (and study from which taken)</i>	<i>News- papers</i>	<i>TV</i>
"I'd like to ask you where you usually get most of your news about what's going on in the world today . . ." (Roper, national, 1968)	49%	59%
"Which of these media do you use for news . . ." (Stauffer, Syracuse, 1968)	40%	37%
"From what sources did you become best acquainted with the candidates for city, town, and county offices?" (Roper, national, 1968)	40%	26%
"Which source would you believe if conflicting reports of the same news story were given by the different media?" (Stauffer, Syracuse, 1968)	25%	42%

The list of superficially conflicting results could be repeated indefinitely with other questions from other studies.

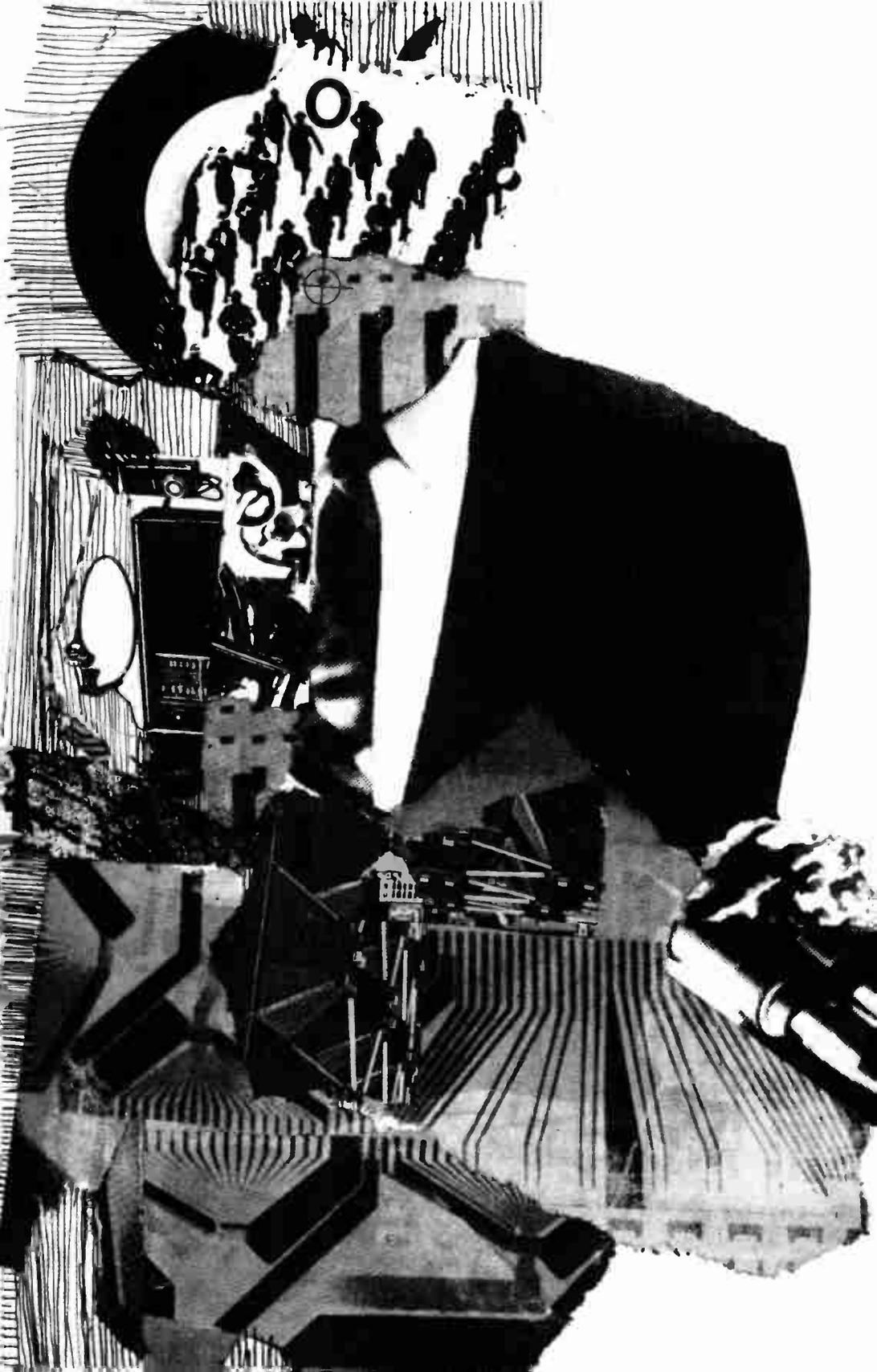
EDITOR & PUBLISHER for October 4, 1969

Figure 4-1.

Comparative analysis of newspaper and television effectiveness.

on the way in which the questions have been asked, as we see in figure 4-1. A point that should be made here is that different media have different effects, different advantages, and disadvantages in effective communication.

Print, for instance, allows the reader to control the occasion, the pace, and the direction of his exposure and permits him easy reexposure. Broadcast media provide a sense of participation, personal access, and "reality" which approximate face-to-face contact. The film media have been observed to command more complete attention for their audiences than do the other media. But these are considerations that will be developed at greater length in this book in the section on the media.



The ELEMENTS of MASS COMMUNI- CATION

PART 2

This section describes in detail the components of the HUB Model of Mass Communication (see chapter 1). In the past, significant elements of the mass communication process have often been neglected. This work gives attention to the essential elements of mass communication, including communicators, codes, gatekeepers, regulators, filters, audiences, and feedback, in order to provide the student with a systems approach to the study of mass media.

Two elements of the HUB Model of Mass Communication are so critical that separate units are devoted to them: (1) the media used to disseminate mass communications are treated in part 3; (2) the content, or messages, of the mass communication process are best understood in terms of the uses made of the mass media, and these are dealt with in part 4.

CHAPTER **5**

Communicators

The process of mass communication starts with a communicator. But the communicator in mass communication is quite different from the communicator in personal communication. When we exchange messages on a person-to-person basis, the sender and the receiver are real entities. In mass communication, the receiver may be flesh and blood, but the sender of the message is more myth than reality.

Obviously, this needs further explanation. Simply stated, the sender of the message in mass communication is rarely one individual. The person we may identify as the communicator is for the most part only the visible portion of a vast and complex network of people who make his appearance possible and therefore play an important role in shaping his message.

For example, the mass communicator of the long-lived “The Tonight Show starring Johnny Carson” is not simply Carson but an ensemble including program-production personnel, talent, station and network representatives, and many others. In reality, Carson is not an individual communicator but assumes the role of message organizer. On a large scale a television network does the same thing as it assembles a season of programs or one program from a wide variety of sources.

Mass Communicators in the HUB Model of Mass Communication

The mass communicator in American media is basically a complex organization; at its simplest level, it is a small group of independent workers. Individuals may at times seem to function as mass communicators. The films of Norman McLaren, for example, would seem to be made not by a corporate structure but a single individual. But even here, because of McLaren’s association with the Canadian Film Board, key characteristics of most mass communicators, such as complexity, specialization, and a high degree of organization, are still evident.

Many people assume that the performer on a TV program is the sender, but usually he is only a part of the total message, created, packaged, and sold by other senders—the writers, producers, and directors of a program. For example, in some parts of “The Tonight Show,” both Carson and Ed McMahon are the content as well as the communicators of what the audience sees and hears. They perform material created by someone else, under the direction of still another person. The performer is only one part of the conglomerate communicator. A similar generalization can be made about print media communicators as well. Ann Landers could not function as a newspaper columnist without a battery of secretaries, clerks, editors, accountants, publishers, and newsboys.

Influences on the Mass Communicator

Three factors influence the mass communicator significantly in the United States: costliness, competitiveness, and complexity. In terms of cost, it is clear that mass communicators must expend large amounts of money in order to communicate their messages. Total radio-TV time sales for 1973 alone were well over \$4 billion. The three

major TV networks spend more than \$1 billion annually on network programming. A half-hour pilot (a test program used to sell a series idea to a network or sponsor) usually costs anywhere from \$100,000 to \$300,000. The most tightly budgeted commercial motion-picture feature costs a minimum of \$300,000. Starting a small daily paper today would require at least \$250,000 and a major metropolitan daily would most likely need well over \$5 million. The mass communicator must spend a great deal of money, and this affects what he does and how he functions within the mass media.

Competition in mass communication is a major force. In interpersonal communication individuals compete for the attention of another person. A busy signal on the telephone suggests communicator competition. But this is minor compared to the intense hour-to-hour competition in the broadcast media as evidenced by the importance of ratings. Entire companies such as A. C. Nielsen and the American Research Bureau are devoted to research concerning the comparative standing of programs, magazines, advertisements, and the like. Successful broadcast communicators remain on the air while their weaker competitors lose their opportunity to speak out.

Complexity of the mass media affects the mass communicator. A large daily newspaper has many separate divisions to handle its work, including news reporting, editorial, advertising, circulation, promotion, research, personnel, production, and management groups. As the CBS corporate-structure chart on pages 80-81 shows, there are four separate divisions within the broadcast group alone.

These three factors form the base from which the most common mass communicator patterns emerge. Industrialization is perhaps the most obvious pattern. Simply a glance at the stock market section of the newspaper reveals the extent of industrialization of the mass media. Many mass communication organizations are part of a large industrial conglomerate. NBC and Random House are small parts of a corporate giant, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA). Almost all the major film studios have been swallowed up by larger corporations. Gulf-Western owns Paramount. Warner Bros. films are a product of Kinney Leisure Services, Inc. The CBS corporate structure reveals five major groups, 16 divisions, and almost 80 subsidiaries. This structure not only reveals the nature of industrialization, but most dramatically reveals the complexity and specialization of the mass communicator.

The mass communicator cannot be much of an individualist. He must be able to fit himself into the routine required by the complex

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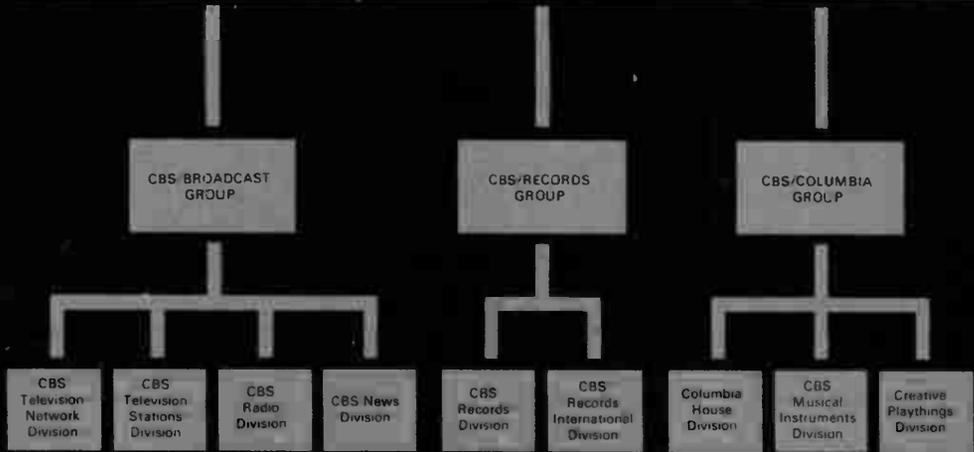


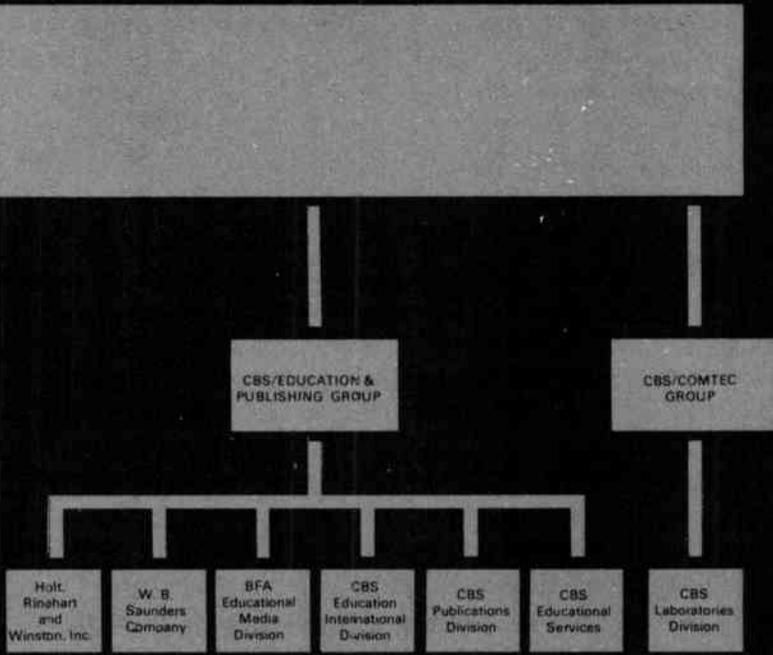
Figure 5-1.
The CBS corporate structure.

machinery. As David Manning White and Richard Averson have said:

The sight and sound media are primarily businesses, and to work in them communicators must respect their conditions. To respect such conditions often involves a struggle for survival in the institutional crossfire between commerce and art.¹

Specialization is an internal fragmentation and is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the motion-picture industry. Most feature films credit between 50 and 60 jobs or positions. As Paul Mayersberg points out in his book, *Hollywood: The Haunted House*, many of these jobs are subdivided even further by the unions. For example, under painters are included a foreman, a color mixer, a sign writer, and a marbelizer. An organizational chart of a typical daily newspaper reveals approximately 25 areas of specialization including three different subunits under advertising covering display, national, and classified advertising. The photography department may have as many as 20 photographers, each one specializing in different aspects of the job.

1. David Manning White and Richard Averson, eds., *Sight, Sound, and Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 163.



Representation is an external fragmentation of the mass communicator. The mass communicator has become so complex and must deal with so many different audiences that "he" often finds it impossible to contact and make arrangements with all individuals and organizations necessary to a smooth functioning of "his" organization. Mass communicator representatives include talent agents, managers, unions, program distributors, broadcast station representatives, and music licensing services.

Attributes of the Mass Communicator

However, this complexity does not diminish the contributions made by the many specialists who make up the conglomerate communicator. A corporate structure is not some sort of infernal machine that runs itself. It is run by individuals who are vital parts of the communication process at all levels.

Essential attributes of the mass communicator are the ability to think, to see things accurately, to organize his thoughts quickly and express himself articulately and effectively. He has to be curious about the world, and the people in it. He is called upon to make judgments,

sometimes of vast importance, and he should be able to distinguish the significant from the insignificant, the true from the false. The mass communicator needs to have a broad view of the world, but increasingly he must specialize in his own role in communication. Finally, he must know how to communicate. In mass communication this seemingly simple act becomes exceedingly complex, requiring many kinds of talents, abilities, and specialties. Above all, the sender must understand the medium and the code he uses.

In order to examine further the nature of the mass communicator, let us look at some of the mass media in greater detail.

Broadcasting

The radio and television industries have three groups of communicators: network, syndication, and local. Within each of these groups individual communicators perform a wide variety of tasks.

Networks are organizations that provide a diverse supply of television programming and a limited supply of radio news and special-information services. On network television the idea for a program or a program series can, and often does, originate with one individual. By the time most programs or series are broadcast, however, they have come in contact with and have been influenced by many other people, all the way from a stagehand to the chief executive of the network.

Today—with the exception of network news, sports, and some documentaries—90 percent of all television network prime-time entertainment comes from program production or package agencies working in conjunction with the network programmers. The function of the package agency is to develop a program and/or program series. It employs writers, producers, actors, and technical personnel. This team of creators does everything short of broadcasting the program. Some production companies independently produce a “pilot” program and attempt to sell a series to the network on the basis of the pilot. A more common practice, however, is to produce a feature-film pilot with financial and creative support provided by the network on which the series is intended to appear. Showcases for this material have been developed by the networks, including ABC’s “Movie of the Week” and NBC’s “World Premiere Movie.”

A wide variety of people are involved with producing a single program. When “The Beverly Hillbillies” was being produced, more

than 70 people were directly involved in the production of each half-hour episode. Although there were only six regular cast members, more than 40 people were required to be on the set: these included the director, film editor, art director, production supervisor, stand-ins for performers, and a large technical staff.

The writer creates the script, writing not only actors' lines but also providing descriptions of what the viewer will see. The producer takes the script and assembles a creative staff to produce the show. The director coordinates the artistic efforts of the creative performers and technicians, including actors, cameramen, soundmen, set designers, and musicians, among others. The actors add their dimension as they work with the total company. Thus, a large number of specialists work together as a corporate communicator in the form of a program production or a package agency.

Program syndicators are important broadcast communicators. They are perhaps the most passive senders in that they usually take off-network programs or feature motion pictures and sell them to individual stations in a package. They do not sell the programs as such but merely the right to show the programs. They do not engage in program creation but simply distribute programs. Some of the major program syndicators are the three networks and many of the major package agencies. But there are also companies, such as Association Films, Inc., that do nothing but distribute programs to stations. Several notable series are produced directly for syndication, however; they include "The New Merv Griffin Show," "The Galloping Gourmet," and "The Mike Douglas Show." In addition, "Romper Room" is a syndicated creative idea that is produced by local stations under guidelines established by the syndicator, who trains each of the local teacher-talents who appear in the series.

At the local level, radio stations depend on two outside creators for the bulk of their content: (1) the recording industry, including musicians who write, arrange, and perform popular music, and a recording engineer who mixes the tracks to produce the master tape; (2) the jingle-package companies that produce such items as station-break announcements, weather spots, and station identifications. The disc jockey is the bulwark of local radio programming; he is the thread that weaves together all the material supplied by other creative teams.

A local television station generally employs its own staff in producing local programs; however, such stations also rely on outside

senders, such as the phonograph industry, jingle-package agencies, syndicators, and the networks.

On the local level, news programs are the major effort of some radio stations and most television stations. Senders on this level include local broadcast reporters who not only seek out the news but present it to the audience, photographers, cameramen, film editors, directors who control the flow of the program, technicians, and, of course, the Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). These two wire services are key communicators for virtually every news program on television and radio, as well as newspapers.

Motion Pictures

The communicator in motion pictures assumes many of the same characteristics and performs many of the same functions as the broadcaster. In fact, the amount of television production done by motion-picture studios increases the similarity. Basically, motion-picture production is not quite as complex as broadcasting because of the absence of such elements as networks and thousands of individual stations. Although theaters serve as a local outlet for film production, they serve only as passive outlets rather than active producers. This passive role can be contrasted with the active involvement of stations in broadcast production.

Motion pictures have almost come full circle in terms of production. In the early twentieth century, production involved few men. Often one man, a Chaplin, a Sennett, or a Griffith, would conceive an idea, write the scenario, direct the film, and sometimes play the leading role. Only a cameraman and a few extras were needed. The growth of the studio in the 1920s changed this. Huge organizations were built up to produce an assembly-line product. Thousands of people became involved with the making of one motion picture.

The conglomerate communicator in motion pictures is perhaps the most specialized. The list below gives some of the major and minor workers on a film in Hollywood.

Each person in these roles has a different task. The producer is an organizer. He creates a structure in which other communicators can work effectively. The screenwriter produces a working film script. The film editor reviews the "raw" footage from the director and assembles the film into a meaningful form. The director has overall artistic control on the film site. He decides what goes on film.

Producer	Production accountant
Director	Continuity men and women
Screenwriter	(script clerks)
Director of photography	Dialogue coaches
Camera operator	Music composer
Focus puller	Conductor
Clapper boy	Musical arranger
Film loader	Orchestra
First, second, and third assistant directors	Sound editor
Second-unit director (under whom there will be a minicrew)	Dubbing editor
Production secretary	Sound engineer (who has a crew under him)
Production manager	Film editor
Personal assistants (to the director and producer)	Grips (foreman, first and second grips)
Assistant film editor	Drivers
Art director	Mechanics
Assistant art director	Stillsman
Special-effects man	Film publicist
Scene painters	Publicity secretary
Propmakers	Costume designer
Propmen	Costumers
Carpenters	Hairdressers
Plasterers	Make-up artists
Painters	Wardrobe men and women
Plumbers	Choreographers
Gardener	Special advisors
Electricians (gaffer, best boys, operators)	

Today, however, film is rapidly moving toward the less-complex structure of independent filmmaking. Such films as *Easy Rider* and *Billy Jack* were written, directed, and acted by small groups of people and formed what many called a “new wave” in American film. For years we have had the individualistic (*auteur*) film styles of Ingmar Bergman, François Truffaut, or Akira Kurosawa. The more recent experimental films of Andy Warhol, Jonas Mekas, and Kenneth Anger often involve little else except the creator and strips of film. Once again the director has assumed the key communicator role in motion pictures.

Major motion pictures, such as *The Poseidon Adventure* and *The Godfather*, with their huge casts, high costs, and complex organizations illustrate that American films are still the product of a variety of people working together. The real change in film has been in the deemphasis of the studio and the elimination of many elements of general studio overhead that often burden a film.

Print Media

As in other mass media, print communicators work within a large, organized, specialized, competitive, and highly expensive environment. Creative producers of print messages include a variety of types, including researchers and reporters who find basic facts, writers who assemble material into effective messages, and editors who create ideas, manage their production, and evaluate the results.

In the jargon of the newspaper profession, the legman is a researcher whose main task is to get the facts. He might station himself at police headquarters and simply telephone leads into the home office. The reporter is both researcher and writer. Within the magazine or book industry, the researcher is often a fact-checker who verifies the authenticity of the work of reporters and writers.

The writer plays the key creative role in the production of print media. He often is the man with the original idea, although sometimes in the magazine and book fields writers are word technicians who take the ideas of others and dress them in effective language. The reporter is the key writer within the newspaper organization. He gathers the facts and composes the story. Indeed, the reporter is often the essential communicator in deciding whether any given event warrants mass communication.

The editor—whether copyeditor, assignment editor, or managing editor—is more an evaluator, or gatekeeper, of communication than its originator. But he is part of the sending process to the extent that he supervises the entire package of communication through imaginative management and evaluation.

The masthead from *Time* indicates the variety of mass communicators who participate in each issue, showing that dozens of people are necessary to the process.

There are few do-it-yourself handymen anymore in the area of mass communication. There are, of course, numerous small media units, such as a weekly newspaper or a small-market radio station, in

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Figure 5-2.
Time masthead.

which one man performs a variety of tasks. The editor of a small weekly newspaper may also be a reporter, salesman, copywriter, and even linotype operator. Even here, the conglomerate communicator concept is expanded beyond this single individual through the wire services, syndicated columnists, advertisers, and local stringers. Thus, the mass communication sender as an individual is at best the rare exception. Most media organizations follow the pattern of hiring an expert. Some people do little but write headlines. Others specialize in creating station-identification jingles.

As can be seen by the *Time* and CBS charts, the mass communicator is complex. The foreign operations of CBS alone give an indication of this. About 60 of CBS's subsidiaries are foreign. As wholly owned or majority owned companies they carry out part of CBS's international business. The CBS International Division through 19 wholly owned subsidiaries and 25 licensees has distribution facilities in nearly 100 countries and markets each year over 30 million records outside the United States. CBS Enterprises, Inc., distributed syndicated television programs and program series in almost 100 foreign countries. In addition, CBS has minority interests in offshore television operations (in program production) in Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Trinidad-Tobago, and Antigua.

In his book, *The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and Media*, Ben Bagdikian writes about "printed and broadcast news as a corporate enterprise." He says that news is both an intellectual artifact and the product of a bureaucracy. Distinguished journalism, he writes, requires strong individual leadership, yet such journalism is often at odds with the demands of corporate efficiency. In the 1970s, he predicts, daily newspapers will find themselves increasingly in a new corporate and technological world. Broadcasting is even more a child of corporate enterprise. As Edward Jay Epstein writes in his excellent study, *News From Nowhere: Television and the News*, "Before network news can be properly analysed as a journalistic enterprise, it is necessary to understand the business enterprise that it is an active part of, and the logic that proceeds from it."

One must add, of course, that our costly, complex, and competitive corporate media enterprises have produced more information and entertainment than any simplistic, individual, altruistic effort could achieve. There is both good and bad in the system. But one cannot understand the communicator without seeing the individual as part of a much larger organism.

Because of these communicator characteristics the mass communication message is a corporate message—a message modified by consultation, debate, and compromise. This message is essentially a product of an industry. Whether it be a news report in a newspaper, a program on television, music on the radio, or a story in a motion picture, the nature of the message is affected by the nature of the communicator.

CHAPTER 6

Codes

One night in the 1960s a Boston newspaper reporter wrote a story about a strangling. It was a routine news item which his newspaper handled in the normal way. Similar stranglings occurred in succeeding months, and wire stories and newspaper headlines carried the facts. In a slightly different manner, radio reports on the strangler were broadcast on local news shows, and as the number of stranglings grew, the national networks put the story on the national news. As the story developed, television took it up with film and sound. Soon the criminal was being called "the Boston Strangler." Magazines began to publish feature stories about the crimes, and even women's magazines carried articles speculating about the nature of a man who could commit such crimes. After the alleged "Strangler" was

apprehended and hospitalized, a book was written dramatizing and explaining the episode. The book was purchased by a motion-picture studio, and within a few years after the event, theater marquee advertised *The Boston Strangler*, starring Tony Curtis.

Each one of the media carrying elements of this story structured the communication in a different form. We refer to these differences in form as *codes*. The key questions raised here are: (1) how are these codes different? and (2) what should we know about these differences to have a clear understanding of mass communication?

Differences Between Content and Codes

First of all, we must make a clear distinction between the content of mass communication and its code. Content refers to the meaning of a message, be it information about Vietnam, a humorous monologue by a comedian, or a *Peanuts* comic strip. The code is the symbol system that is used to carry the meaning—the spoken word, the written word, the photograph, the music, or the moving picture. In mass communication the code and the content interact so that the different codes of different media modify the audience's perception of the message, even when the content is the same. Some media codes adapt to a certain type of content better than others.

Mass media codes add a new set of symbols to traditional language structure. In other words, books, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, film, and recordings employ new languages. Each codifies reality differently; each makes its own statement in its own way. Edmund Carpenter has pointed out that, like the theater, film is a visual-verbal medium presented before a theater audience. Like the ballet, it relies heavily on movement and music. Like the novel, it usually presents a narrative depicting characters in a series of conflicts. Like painting and photography, it is two-dimensional, composed of light and shadow and sometimes color. But its ultimate definition lies in its own unique qualities.

Print-Media Codes

As Marshall McLuhan and others have pointed out, when writing was introduced it did not simply record oral language; it was an entirely new, distinct language. It utilized an alphabet as code; the bits and parts of the alphabet had no meaning in themselves. Only

when these components were strung out in a line in a specified order could meaning be created.

Printing is basically an extension of this code with even more uniform linear order. A book proceeds from subject to verb to object, from sentence to sentence, from paragraph to paragraph, from chapter to chapter. It is the ultimate in linear-structured reality.

Books. Because of its coded form, the book is an individual medium generally read silently and alone. A book is usually conceived of as a "serious" mass medium, with a definite author or authority. The content is generally placed in some sequential order, either narrative, descriptive, or chronological. Therefore, a book tends to be read in a standard progression rather than selectively as are most magazines and newspapers. A book can deal with complex ideas and plots involving many issues or people because its language and code are best able to handle this complexity effectively.

Newspapers. Here, rather than a single line-by-line development of the same idea, there is an explosion of headlines and stories all juxtaposed and all competing for attention. The following front page from the *Washington Post* gives some idea of the simultaneity of ideas competing for the reader's attention. The overall newspaper code does not require sequential use, but encourages selective reading by the audience. What we have is a balanced page makeup using multicolumn headlines, with stories developed vertically beneath them.

Other noticeable coding characteristics are evident in the newspaper. The inverted pyramid style of writing a story is one. With this coding style, the important information is given first. Less important items follow in the order of descending importance. The reader can stop anywhere and he will still have the essence of the story. The editor can cut the story easily at any point without destroying its meaning. The *New York Times* reporting of a news event illustrates this well. See pages 94–95.

Short paragraphs are also characteristic of newspapers. The format of the newspaper dictates this. Newspaper columns are narrow because a short line is easier to read. Short paragraphs are easier than long ones and aid the reader in assessing meaning. By breaking up a story, they permit him to skim and read selectively.

Another code characteristic is the use of banners and headlines in different type sizes. Headlines in different type size perform two functions. They indicate the importance of the articles and give the reader a quick summary of the contents.

The Weather
Forecast: Breeze...
-4 to 10. The chance of precipi-
tation is 10 per cent through the
day. High 10. Low 4.
Winds: North, 10 to 15 mph.
Winds: South, 10 to 15 mph.
Winds: East, 10 to 15 mph.
Winds: West, 10 to 15 mph.

The Washington Post

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N... 1
O... 1
P... 1
Q... 1
R... 1
S... 1
T... 1
U... 1
V... 1
W... 1
X... 1
Y... 1
Z... 1

Week Year No. 90
Published Daily Except on Sundays and Public Holidays
Price 22¢ a copy
Subscription Price \$4.00 a month in advance
Entered as Second-Class Matter, June 26, 1877
Post Office at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices
Postmaster: Send address changes to The Washington Post, Washington, D.C. 20044

TUESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1973

Johnson in Texas at 64 After Apparent Heart Attack

Supreme Court Allows Early-Stage Abortion

By John P. Markovits
The Supreme Court today allowed a woman to sue an abortionist late in gestation of a fetus. The court's ruling...
The court's decision...
The court's ruling...

Stricken at Ranch Four Years After Leaving Presidency



Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908-1973)

Kissinger Arrives Amid Signs of Hope Signal in Paris Caution in Hanoi

By Jonathan D. Siskind
Richard M. Kissinger...
The signal here...
The signal here...

Democrats In House Vote Reforms Pr. George's Loses School Plan Appeal

By Richard L. Loom
House Democrats...
The U.S. Fourth Circuit...
The U.S. Fourth Circuit...

Saigon Force Battered

North Vietnamese troops...
Saigon Force Battered...
North Vietnamese troops...

South Vietnam Warns Population Of Strict Controls After Truce

By Thomas W. Lippman
The South Vietnamese...
South Vietnam Warns...
The South Vietnamese...

Quarrels Cast Aside in LBJ Tribute

By David E. Broder
The quarrels...
Quarrels Cast Aside...
The quarrels...

Figure 6-1. Front page of The Washington Post.

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LYNDON JOHNSON, 36TH PRESIDENT, IS DEAD;

STRICKEN AT HOME

Apparent Heart Attack Comes as Country Mourns Truman

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., Jan. 22—Lyndon Baines Johnson, 36th President of the United States, died today of an apparent heart attack suffered at his ranch in Johnson City, Tex.

The 64-year-old Mr. Johnson, whose history of heart illness began in 1955, was pronounced dead on arrival at 4:33 P.M. central time at San Antonio International Airport, where he

An obituary article appears on Pages 26 through 29; an appraisal, Page 25.

had been flown in a family plane on the way to Brooke Army Medical Center here.

Funeral arrangements were still incomplete late tonight.

Death came to the nation's only surviving former President as the nation observed a period of mourning proclaimed less than a month ago for former President Harry S. Truman.

A Legacy of Progress

Although his vision of a Great Society dissolved in the morass of war in Vietnam, Mr. Johnson left to the nation a legacy of progress and innovation in civil rights, Social Security, education, housing and other programs attesting to his fundamental affection for his fellow Americans.

At Fort Sam Houston, where Brooke Army Medical Center is situated, flags were hoisted to full staff and then immediately lowered again in respect for the Texan who was thrust into the Presidency on Nov. 22, 1963,

when an assassin's bullet took the life of President Kennedy in Dallas.

Ironically, Mr. Johnson died in what appeared to be the waning days of the Vietnam war. The man who won election in 1964 to a full term as President with the greatest voting majority ever accorded a candidate was transformed by that war into the leader of a divided nation.

Amid rising personal unpopularity, in the face of the lingering war and racial strife at home, Mr. Johnson surprised the nation on March 31, 1968, with a television speech in which he announced, "I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party as your President."

Stage Set for Defeat

He thus renounced an opportunity to cap with a second full term a career in public life that began in 1937 with his election to Congress as an ardent New Dealer and led to the majority leadership of the Senate and to the Vice-Presidency and the Presidency. His renunciation set the stage for Democratic defeat at the polls in 1968.

Two days before Mr. Johnson's death, Richard M. Nixon, the Republican who was elected in 1968, took the oath of office for his second term as President. Mr. Nixon telephoned Mrs. Johnson today at the hospital here to express his sympathy.

At a news briefing last night in Austin at KTBC, the Johnson family's television and radio station, Tom Johnson, executive vice president of the station, gave the following account of the former President's death:

At 3:50 P.M., while in his bedroom for his regular afternoon nap, Mr. Johnson called the ranch switchboard and asked for Mike Howard, the head of his Secret Service detail, who was out in a car at the time.

WAS ARCHITECT OF 'GREAT SOCIETY' PROGRAM

Another Secret Service agent, Phil Morrow, took the call, and Mr. Johnson asked him to come immediately to the bedroom. He did not say why.

At 3:52 P.M., two more agents, Ed Nowland and Harry Harris, arrived in the bedroom with a portable oxygen kit and found the former President on the floor next to the bed apparently dead.

Mr. Nowland said Mr. Johnson's coloring was deep blue. He began mouth-to-mouth resuscitation and administered oxygen. Mr. Howard called Brooke Army Medical Center and asked for Col. George McGranahan, chief of the cardiology service.

At 3:54 P.M., Mr. Howard arrived in the bedroom and administered external heart massage. At 3:55, Dr. David J. Abbott of Johnson City Hospital was asked to come to the ranch at once.

At 4:05 P.M., Mrs. Johnson was called while riding in a car about a block from the L.B.J. Library in Austin, where she has an office. She flew by helicopter from the library to San Antonio.

Placed Aboard Plane

At 4:19 P.M., Mr. Johnson was placed aboard a family plane, a Beech King Air. Also aboard the twin-engined plane were Dr. Abbott; Mr. Nowland; Mr. Harris; Mr. Howard; Mrs. Dale Malechek, wife of the pilot, Barney Hulett.

The plane arrived at 4:33 in San Antonio, where the Dr. Abbott pronounced the former President dead. At 4:45 P.M., Mrs. Johnson arrived from Austin, about 70 miles away. The ranch is about 45 miles from San Antonio.

At about the same time, Colonel McGranahan arrived at

the airport and confirmed the death.

Mrs. Johnson, the former Claudia Alta Taylor, known as Lady Bird, returned to Austin in the company of Mr. Howard, arriving at 6:45 P.M. local time and going to her penthouse apartment at the family broadcasting station.

A short time later, she was joined by Brig. Gen. James Cross, Air Force, retired, a family friend and former pilot of the Presidential plane, Air Force One.

Meeting at Ranch

The Johnsons' two daughters, Mrs. Patrick J. Nugent and Mrs. Charles S. Robb, accompanied by their husbands and their children, later met their mother at the ranch. Also present was J. C. Kellam, the general manager of the family business interests.

While they discussed funeral plans, the body of the former President was taken from Brooke Army Medical Center to Austin by the Weed-Corley Funeral Home of Austin.

Mr. Johnson had always made it clear that he wanted to be buried on the family ranch in Johnson City, in a small, walled burial plot about 400 yards from the ranch house, where his father, mother and other relatives had been laid to rest. At the press briefing tonight, Tom Johnson said Mrs. Johnson had told him that the former President's health had not altered recently, although she mentioned that he had been quieter than usual.

According to Tom Johnson, Mrs. Johnson described her husband as being in good spirits the last couple of mornings while she fixed breakfast for him because their house attendant, Koo Voo Wong, had been away.

Mr. Wong returned this morning, and Tom Johnson said the

former President poked with him and welcomed him back.

The aide also said that last month, when Mr. Johnson attended President Truman's funeral, family members privately discussed funeral arrangements.

One of Mr. Johnson's last formal appearances took place last Tuesday in Austin, where he attended the inauguration of Gov. Dolph Briscoe and Lieut. Gov. William P. Hobby. On the ceremonial platform outside the capitol, Mr. Johnson, looking thin, seemed to be enjoying an opportunity to be enjoying an opportunity to see old friends and shake hands with well-wishers who flocked around him.

Later that day, he took Walter Heller, the former chairman of his Council of Economic Advisers, to Southwest Texas State University, Mrs. Johnson's alma mater, in San Marcos, for a talk to a group of students.

During the question-and-answer session, Mr. Johnson said to the audience, "Come on, now, make your questions quicker, and Walter, you make your answers shorter."

In a discussion of food and meat prices, Mr. Heller predicted a rise of 6 to 7 per cent in meat prices.

"I can tell you what's happening with cattle," Mr. Johnson said. "I paid my dealer \$92 a ton for feed in August. Later the bill went to \$110 a ton and now its costing me \$156 a ton for food."

Last Saturday, joining Mrs. Johnson in her beautification work, the former President went to Ranch Road 1, which runs across the Pedernales River from the L.B.J. Ranch, and planted a redbud tree, a Texas tree that blooms with red flowers. The tree was the first of 100 to be planted along the road.

All these characteristics—inverted pyramid, story structure, narrow columns, short sentences and paragraphs, and headlines in different type size—contribute to greater speed in reading the newspaper. We do not generally sit down with a newspaper for hours, but read selectively for short periods of time, such as on the subway or before dinner. Few people read a newspaper from cover to cover. Some people read only one or two sections, such as sports or the comics, the front page, or the women's section. Thus, newspaper-code characteristics are a natural outgrowth of the uses made of the medium.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE CITY EDITION

Weekday: Forty cents, sold below; Sunday: Sixty cents, sold below; Foreign: Forty cents, sold below; Yearly: Five dollars, sold below; Single: Five cents.

VOL. CXXII • No. 42,004

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1973

15 CENTS

VIETNAM ACCORDS REACHED; CEASE-FIRE BEGINS SATURDAY; P.O.W.'S TO BE FREE IN 60 DAYS



The agreement provides for a cease-fire to begin Saturday, Jan. 27, 1973. The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam agreed to the terms of the agreement.

MITCHELL LINKED TO \$190,000 FUND

Wholesale Wholesaler and State Approved Payments to Lady

Walter Burnside

Washington, Jan. 23—A report today that Walter Burnside was paid a \$190,000 fund in the Vietnam trade during his year's campaign with approval of Senator Alexander Graham Hayes.

Arvey Held Captive

The United States District Court today ordered that Arvey be held captive in South Vietnam.

Thousands at Johnson Bier

ALBANY, N.Y., Wednesday—A bi-racial, bi-sex, 200,000-strong crowd gathered today for a funeral for the late President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Trinity's Bells Ring Out News of Accord

As soon as President Nixon said his Vietnam peace agreement had been reached, Trinity Church, which is an inter-denominational Protestant church, rang its bells.



Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson near coffin at the funeral in Albany, N.Y., with his daughter, Mrs. Charles B. Johnson and Mr. Robert F. Johnson.

THIBU IS CAUTIOUS Says the Agreement Doesn't Guarantee Lasting Peace

By SYLVAN FOX New York Times Staff Writer LAOS, South Vietnam, Jan. 23—Thieu Thuan, premier of the Republic of Vietnam, today said he was not sure the agreement reached in Paris would bring a lasting peace.

Have War or Lose?

"I do not see any other way to solve the problem," Thieu said. "If we do not have peace, we must have war."

By ROY BECK

As soon as President Nixon said his Vietnam peace agreement had been reached, Trinity Church, which is an inter-denominational Protestant church, rang its bells.

Transcript of the Speech by President on Vietnam

Following is a transcript of President Nixon's televised address to the nation last night on the Vietnam cease-fire, as reported by The New York Times.

Good evening. I am pleased to report to you that we have today reached an agreement to end the war and bring peace to North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The agreement is being issued at this moment in Washington and Hanoi.

Essential Conditions 'Nine Days War'

This concludes the formal session of the talks. Throughout the years of negotiation, we have insisted on peace with honor.

By JAMES H. HALLSTROM

Washington, Jan. 23—The House of Representatives today voted to support the Vietnam cease-fire agreement.

War Leaves Deep Mark on U.S.

By JAMES H. HALLSTROM Washington, Jan. 23—The Vietnam war has left a deep mark on the United States, according to a study by the Rand Corporation.

TROOPS TO LEAVE

On TV, Nixon Aspires 'Peace With Honor' Is Aim of Pact



CONGRESS UNITED IN VOICING RELIEF

House Votes to Express 'Peace With Honor' by Critics of War

By JAMES H. HALLSTROM

Washington, Jan. 23—The House of Representatives today voted to support the Vietnam cease-fire agreement.

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Figure 6-3.

Types of newspaper headlines. The headline on the top obviously suggests a story than do the others on the page.

Magazines. The magazine follows a variety of formats that are quite dissimilar to the newspaper. Instead of many stories that hit the reader simultaneously, the articles are published in some sequential plan that depends upon the publication's philosophy. The table of contents from *Time* demonstrates one type of magazine organization. The organization of *Time* is dependent on the creative use of juxtaposition, of one story vs. another, advertisements vs. stories, photographs vs. print, and color vs. black and white.

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Cover Story_____24	Cinema_____74	Music & Dance_____91
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Figure 6-4.

Table of contents in Time magazine.

A magazine's use of typography, paper (texture and weight) and page design all add to its code. The slick appearance of *Playboy* is designed to reinforce the content. The code of the *Atlantic Monthly* is staid, in keeping with *Atlantic Monthly* messages; the symbol system used in *Confidential* is exploitative and harsh. Every magazine develops a coding system that augments or enhances its message.

Electric-Media Codes

Radio. Radio departs from the various linear structures of the book, newspaper, and magazine. The ear rather than the eye is the key factor of awareness and interpretation. Radio returns to an older oral tradition.

The structure of radio has changed since its birth in 1920. Formerly, most programs were scheduled in 15-, 30-, or 60-minute formats. They had a dramatic structure that was quite linear. With the advent of television, however, radio was forced to abandon its

general entertainment function and develop what has been characterized as a "nervous information system." Today, radio literally bombards the listener with data on a constant and continuous level. For example, in a ten-minute time block on a typical top 40 station, the listener may hear four minutes of music, four minutes of commercials, 60 seconds of fast chatter, and 60 seconds of time, weather, and traffic reports. With this change, the code of radio has developed into a syntax of words, music, sound effects, and electronically created noise. This coding process affects the content and our perceptions of it. For example, on rock-music radio stations the coding speed contributes to the medium functioning as background "noise" while the slower and less complicated pace of most FM classical-music stations enables the medium to function as a primary activity.

Motion Pictures and Television. Television and film have incorporated the most distinct code change of any mass medium. Here we are dealing not only with sound but with sight as well. But the eye does not see television and film in the same way that it sees the newspaper. As it looks at the printed page, the eye is an active scanner of information, engaging in a highly selective process. With film and television the eye is bombarded by moving, visual images and because of this the film and television process includes more of a total sense involvement. In fact, McLuhan goes so far as to label television a "tactile" medium.

Most prime-time television is on film and videotape; the only live programming is usually sports and news actualities. When discussing a visual communication code—the film code—both the motion picture and television are included. The separate process of live television will be considered later.

The film code includes the languages of speech, music, movement, color, and lighting as well as camera composition and editing techniques. The visual components of film language can be broken down into two categories: (1) intrashot elements are those that take place within a shot, such as camera movement and composition, lighting, and setting; (2) intershot elements include the method by which the separate shots are joined together by means of various transitional devices.

INTRASHOT ELEMENTS. Perhaps the most important factor in this category is composition. The camera photographs every object from a particular viewpoint, and it is a critical part of the film code because it shapes the audience's view of the object, both intellectually and emotionally.

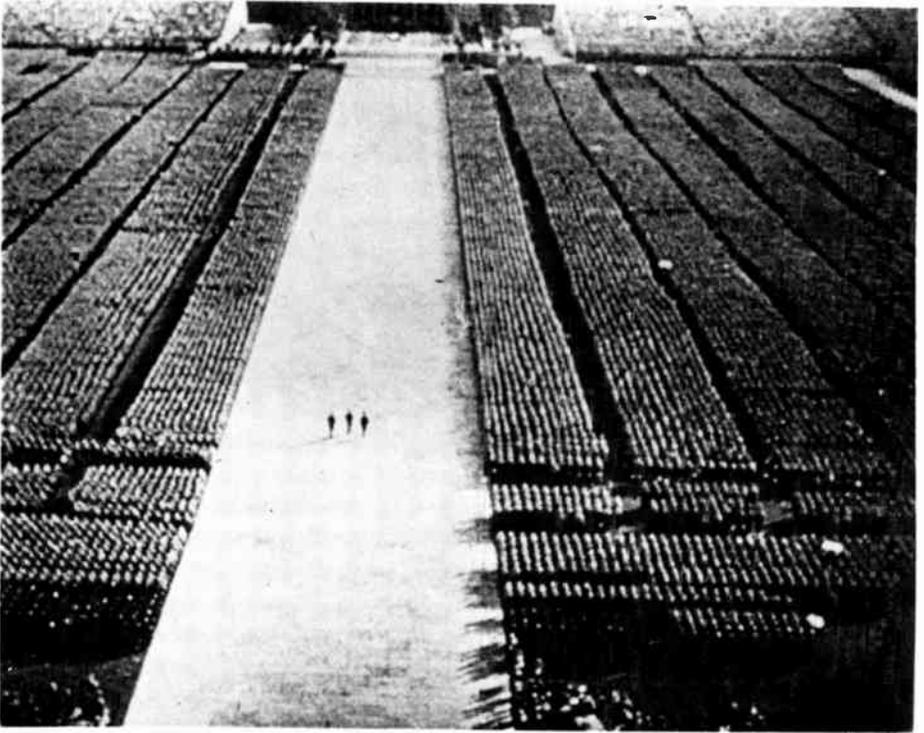


Figure 6-5.
Nuremburg rally sequence from *Triumph of the Will*.

The still from the German propaganda film *Triumph of the Will* (figure 6-5), shows Hitler and two top aides walking through massed columns of soldiers at the 1934 Nuremberg rally. The angle and distance of the shot indicates the immenseness of the rally and yet serves to isolate and emphasize Hitler's importance, because it adds a grandeur to the setting.

Camera distance from the object and lens length are also important. The close-up can be especially powerful. The close-up of Dustin Hoffman's face in Mike Nichols' film *The Graduate* aids the viewer in gaining emotional and intellectual insight into the nature of Hoffman's world. By limiting the camera's viewpoint, the communicator provides the reality that he feels is critical to the understanding of the message being presented. The film code allows the filmmaker to intensify the audience's experience by visually isolating critical visual and aural dimensions of the content.



From the motion picture *The Graduate*, A Mike Nichols-Laurence Turman Production, A Joseph E. Levine Presentation. Copyright © 1967, by Acco Embassy Pictures Corp.

Figure 6-6.
Still from The Graduate.

A slightly different use of camera perspective is found in a shot in *The Graduate* that shows Dustin Hoffman running to a church trying to stop a wedding. He is frustrated and desperate, and the camera emphasizes that he is getting nowhere despite his furious, exhaustive running. The director could have represented this by letting Hoffman express the feeling verbally, but Mike Nichols, the director, chose to do it “filmically.” In this instance, using a special lens, the camera focuses close-up on Hoffman running. As he runs toward the camera, he seems to be getting nowhere because he does not change size during the shot.

In Alan Resnais' gripping study of a Nazi concentration camp, *Night and Fog*, the camera slowly pulls back from a mound of woman's hair, which at first seemed to be small but literally grows in size before the viewer's eyes. We feel growing horror as this small mound becomes a mountain.

The camera can also perform various tricks. The film can be run backward, or in fast or slow motion. These devices are used sparingly because they tend to draw attention to themselves and may change the meaning of the film. Extensive use of slow and stop motion, however, occurs in sports programming, adding to spectator insight as to how a particular play was made. This results in new ways of looking at a game. We can verify a referee's decision and focus on often-unnoticed aspects. Other techniques used in this respect include split screens, superimpositions, inserts, and so forth.

The motion-picture's symbol system also allows for certain special effects such as superimpositions, split screens, etc. It was perhaps Expo '67 that first demonstrated the aesthetic possibilities of the multiple screen image. It has been used sparingly in commercial motion pictures; in *The Thomas Crown Affair* (1970), however, the multiple screen technique was used very well in the opening credit sequences. The still from the film illustrates this technique.



Figure 6-7.

Still from The Thomas Crown Affair.

© 1968 Mirisch-Simkoe-Solar Productions.
Released thru United Artists, A Transamerica Corporation.



Lighting and settings are elements of film language that convey a great deal of meaning. The shot taken from Ingmar Bergman's film *The Seventh Seal* illustrates how lighting is used to convey mood and heighten the relationship between Death and the Knight as they play chess.



Figure 6-8.
Still from The Seventh Seal.

Color is also a part of the code, enhancing the message. Most products come in bright packages designed to attract the consumer. There are times, however, when absence of color amid color can add to the message. Black-and-white public service announcements for the Peace Corps are designed to present an image that is thoughtful, quiet, and sober. The film *The Last Picture Show* reveals how a subject can be as powerful filmed in black and white as in color. In fact, the director of this film, Peter Bogdanovich, shot some test scenes in color and decided that color detracted from the meaning he was trying to convey.

INTERSHOT ELEMENTS. The basis of this element is editing or the connection of shot to shot, scene to scene, and sequence to sequence. Here the effect and meaning of the message arise out of the manner in which these elements are combined. Editing links episodes in time and place, and it can present a scene by selecting certain features from the film rather than allowing the spectator to pick out of it what he wants.

Editing separate shots in specific ways can create a sense of rhythm. Joining ten longer shots, for example, creates a slower pace. The scene in *The Graduate* in which Benjamin looks at the nude Mrs. Robinson gives a sense of what fast editing can do. The audience sees Mrs. Robinson as Benjamin sees her, or at least in the way that his mind sees her—in quick, almost imperceptible flashes of her anatomy. Benjamin is almost afraid to look and yet cannot help but look, and the editing pattern communicates this. The editing of the scene has a definite psychological impact.

Live Television. Live television, unlike film or edited videotape, is a continuous process. The story is told with a multicamera setup, used by a director who first designs his shots and then edits by selecting among them. In live TV there is no chance to go back over a scene again or shoot out of context. Film and videotape are more flexible codes and do not require the elaborate studio setup or time schedule that live television does. Thus, new flexibility in coding film and tape is changing the industry.

Television and motion pictures differ today primarily in exhibition characteristics. Seeing an event live on television is simply not the same as seeing it on film. As Edmund Carpenter has stated:

Books and movies only pretend uncertainty, but live TV retains this vital aspect of life. Seen on television, the fire in the 1952 Democratic Convention threatened briefly to become a conflagration. Seen on newsreel, it was history, without potentiality.¹

The same could be said of the street demonstrations and police actions at the 1968 convention in Chicago.

Television uses a small screen; film uses a large one. The huge screen of film is better suited for spectacles such as *Gone With the Wind* or *2001: A Space Odyssey*. In contrast, television has room for two, perhaps even three faces comfortably.

1. Edmund Carpenter, "The New Languages," in *Explorations in Communication*, ed. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), p. 166.

Code Preferences

Different media have different codes, and often these differences mean that a message may not be suitable for a particular medium. Each medium tends to select or even create its own message.

For example, Marshall McLuhan makes a strong case for the fact that baseball was created by the nineteenth-century newspaper, or at least that it was popularized by that medium. Baseball is the perfect game for print; it is absolutely linear, with only one main action occurring at any given time, so the story of the game can be told chronologically. Football, however, might be considered the national pastime created by twentieth-century television. In football, the action is not linear; in fact, the action is literally an explosion, with men scattering in all directions, each carrying out a different assignment simultaneously. Such multidimensional action is more suitable for the code of television, which involves the viewer and absorbs him in many levels of action and experience at once.

We should go beyond content when assessing the impact of a medium's code. We can understand what McLuhan means when he says the medium is the message when we see how code changes not only the message but man and his society. For example, the introduction of the alphabet and printing press changed an oral tradition. As Tom Wolfe, in his interpretation of McLuhan, has put it:

The printing press brought about a radical change. People began getting their information primarily by seeing it—the printed word. The visual sense became dominant. Print translates one sense—hearing, the spoken word—into another sense—sight, the printed word. Print also converts sounds into abstract symbols, the letters. Print is orderly progression of abstract, visual symbols. Print led to the habit of categorizing—putting everything in order, into categories, “jobs,” “prices,” “departments,” “bureaus,” “special ties.” Print led, ultimately, to the creation of the modern economy, to bureaucracy, to the modern army, to nationalism itself.²

2. Tom Wolfe, “The New Life Out There,” in New York *Herald Tribune*, 21 November 1965; idem, *McLuhan: Hot and Cool*, ed. Gerald E. Stearn (New York: New American Library, 1969), p. 36.

As McLuhan himself says:

All that ends now in the electronic age, whose media substitute all-at-onceness for one-thing-at-a-timeness. The movement of information at approximately the speed of light has become by far the largest industry of the world. The consumption of this information has become correspondingly the largest consumer function in the world. The globe has become on one hand a community of learning, at the same time, with regard to the tightness of its interrelationships, the globe has become a tiny village. Patterns of human association based on slower media have become overnight not only irrelevant and obsolete, but a threat to continued existence and sanity.³

The message of media derives from three factors: environment, media code, and media uses. Media reflect their environment, but that reflection is conditioned by the codes the media employ and the uses to which they are put. In essence, a medium's environment, code, and uses are its content. The six primary uses of media are discussed at length in part 4. While these are referred to as uses, they are also media content. Content is essentially an extension of a medium's use at a particular point in time and should be treated in a broader perspective.

Thus, what do media say? They say what their particular uses permit them to say. A study of programming is inherent throughout this book, as we review the history of media, as we analyze media codes and languages, and as we review media's uses.

3. Marshall McLuhan, Harley Parker, and Robert Shafer, "The Gutenberg Galaxy: A Voyage Between Two Worlds"; idem, *Report on Project on Understanding New Media* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960), Appendix; idem, *McLuhan: Hot and Cool*, p. 151.

CHAPTER 7

Gatekeepers

Nearly everyone has played the communication game in which an individual whispers a statement which is passed from person to person. By the time the message gets back to the originator, the content is usually distorted and sometimes totally different from the original. Each person in this communication chain has acted as a resistor or booster, emphasizing certain aspects of the message while de-emphasizing others. In interpersonal communication each of us receives, makes judgments about, and modifies messages before we pass them along. Each of us acts as a checkpoint in the communication process—we refuse to transmit some messages, overemphasize others, and play down still more. All of us, in effect, serve as gatekeepers—as checkpoints in the daily business of communication. In

the mass communication process the manning of the gates has been formalized into a very important role.

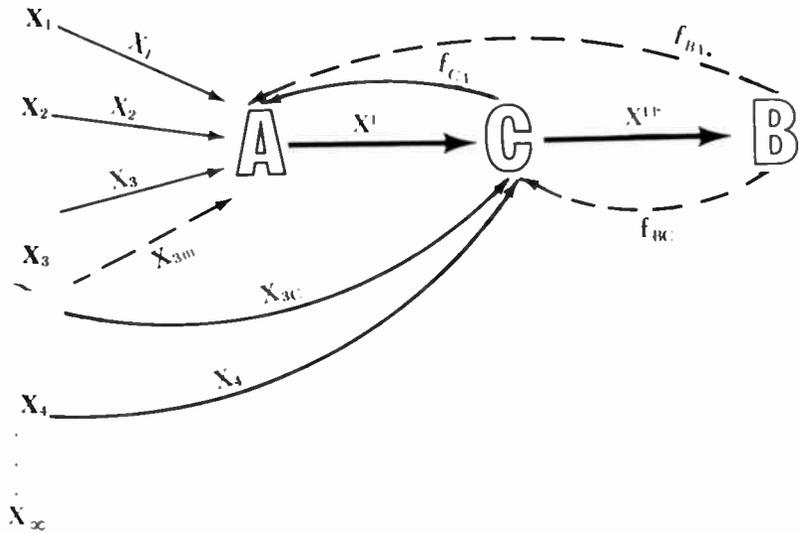
The Concept of the Gatekeeper in Mass Communication

It should be noted that the word *gatekeeper* is essentially a sociological term used in mass communication research and may not even be recognized by many media professionals. The term was originally coined by Kurt Lewin in 1947 in *Human Relations* to describe the process by which a news item, traveling through channels, gains clearance at certain checkpoints along the way. Lewin calls these checkpoints *gates*. The individuals or organizations who give clearance he labels *gatekeepers*.

The gatekeeper in the news operation exercises his judgment as to which items are the most significant. He emphasizes those that are important and deletes those that have little news value. In the mass communication process gatekeepers take many forms. They are magazine publishers, newspaper editors, radio station managers, television news directors, motion-picture or theater owners, record-store managers, book publishers, or movie producers. The gatekeeper's function is to evaluate media content in order to determine its relevance and value to audiences. What is most important is the fact that gatekeepers have the power to cut off or alter the flow of certain kinds of information.

The Westley-MacLean model introduced in chapter 1 visualizes the concept of the gatekeeper in the mass communication process.¹ The *Xs* refer to events or sources of information (a fire or a copy of a speech released prior to its actual presentation). The mass communicator *A* in this example is a reporter who describes the fire and speech in the form of news stories. The gatekeeper *C* is the editor who deletes, deemphasizes, or intensifies the reports of the fire and speech based on data which may or may not have been available to the reporter. The audience *B* then reads the news reports of the fire and speech in the newspaper. The reader may respond to either the editor f_{BC} or reporter f_{BA} regarding the accuracy or importance of the news story. The editor may also provide feedback to the reporter f_{CA} . It is important to remember that the gatekeeper is a part of the media institution, and most of his work has a very positive effect on the quality of messages transmitted to the public.

1. Bruce Westley and Malcolm S. MacLean, Jr., "A Conceptual Model for Communications Research," *Journalism Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1957): 31-38.



X = source of information
 A = sender
 C = gatekeeper
 B = audience
 f = feedback

Figure 7-1.

The Westley and MacLean model.

Roles of Gatekeepers

All mass media have a large number of gatekeepers. They perform a variety of functions and play several roles. They can simply stop a message by refusing to “open the gate.” The continuity or standards department of a television network can do this, as was aptly illustrated when CBS cut a segment of “The Smothers Brothers” program on the grounds that it was objectionable. Gatekeepers can alter the message by deleting limited portions of it, as they sometimes do on late-night talk programs when certain words and even phrases are “bleeped.” The original version of Eric von Stroheim’s film *Greed* ran six hours—the MGM studio, via Irving Thalberg, forced the film to be reedited down to less than half that length.

Sometimes one medium serves a gatekeeping function that af-



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fects another medium. For example, the *Detroit Free Press* and several other newspapers refuse to accept advertising of X-rated films. The critic for a magazine can refuse to review a new book on the market. A radio station may refuse to play a recently released record because it deals with a controversial subject. All these gatekeeping decisions affect the ability of an audience to avail itself of specific media experiences.

The gatekeeper is not simply a passive-negative force merely opening or closing the gate on a message or a portion of it, however. He can also be a creative force adding to the message.

The news editor adds to the messages, combining information from other sources as well as his reporter, or he adds a story at the beginning of a newscast. The magazine-layout editor can increase the impact of a story by adding a significant number of pictures. The artist-and-repertoire man in a record company can send the master tape back for additional background music to improve the total sound. The movie producer can send the work print back to the editor to have scenes added.

The gatekeeper also modifies the emphasis of the message. Murray Schumach notes this function in the film *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. The heroine, Holly Golightly, was an amusing girl with few moral inhibitions. Part of her humor was based on her indifference to promiscuity. But, when Audrey Hepburn was cast in the role, it was considered improper to let the public see her depicted this way. As the director, Blake Edwards, said: "In the movie we don't exactly say what Holly's morals are. In a sense she can be considered an escort service for men. . . . Risqué dialogue was deleted and she no longer discusses her affairs with men. Holly is now a patroness of the arts."² In newspapers, message emphasis is changed by headline size

2. Murray Schumach, *The Face on the Cutting Room Floor* (New York: William Morrow, 1964), pp. 142-43.

and story placement. Some radio station managers have "soul" programs for black listeners, but many such programs are slotted late at night when smaller audiences are available.

The gatekeeper, then, serves three basic functions in the mass communication process: (1) he has the power to delete a message; (2) he can increase the amount and importance of a certain kind of information; (3) he can decrease the amount and importance of a specific kind of information.

A variety of people perform the gatekeeping function. Nevertheless, certain people or positions function more often and with greater influence as gatekeepers than others. Let us then review individual media and their major gatekeepers.

The Gatekeeper and News. The major gatekeeper in the news media is the editor. In the face of today's tremendous news output, every news medium must be selective. Studies indicate that a typical large-city daily newspaper can carry as little as one-tenth of the news that comes into the newsroom on any given day. The same is true for an editor of a news magazine because much more material is available to him than his space limitation permits him to use. Editors determine which stories should reach the public. They also decide what emphasis to give the stories. Placement of a story on the front page of a newspaper or as the lead article in a magazine can have a significant influence on the number of persons who read it. The use of a larger size of type for a headline can give the story more importance than it would otherwise have and thus attract more readers.

Although the editor is the most easily identifiable gatekeeper in a news operation, other persons assist in the gatekeeping function. To emphasize the complexity of this aspect of mass communication, let us examine the steps a story on Vietnam goes through before it appears in a local newspaper. The news source—say, a helicopter pilot and his gun crew—serve as the first gatekeeper. They are the witnesses to and participants in an attempt to resupply an ARVN base. They view the operation selectively; they see some events, miss others, forget some, and misinterpret others. Significantly, the fact that they are involved in the action still affects their perception.

The reporter gathering information is the next step in the gatekeeping process. He may choose to believe the helicopter crew who viewed the attack as a failure, while the information officer reviewed the action as a success. The reporter has to decide which facts to pass along, how to write or photograph them, what perspectives he should offer from his previous experiences in covering the war.

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By the time the report gets to a foreign news service, someone has decided which of the hundreds of items available will be given prominence and which will not be carried. Once this material gets to the United States the wire services' editors must decide what copy is worth passing along to regional and state bureaus, where a similar decision is made.

Finally, the story is pulled from the wire by a local newspaper's wire editor or the TV station's news director. Literally hundreds of stories are competing for space in the newspaper, and if that Vietnam action is deemed important, and if there is space for it or no local news which might take precedence, it will be used. That story can be kept out of the news by any gatekeeper along the line.

Many gatekeepers also operate in radio and television news and the same process applies. While newspapers have a space problem, broadcasters are limited by time. The editor of the "NBC Nightly News" faces a selection and emphasis problem that is even more severe than that faced by the editor of the *New York Times*. Wire services and staff reporters provide much more news than can possibly be used. Most television network programs are 30 minutes long, including commercials and credits. Program length becomes a critical factor in news selection by broadcast gatekeepers.

The Gatekeeper and Entertainment. Broadcast-entertainment gatekeepers include writers, directors, producers, actors, editors, designers, musicians, and many other persons associated with production. "The Beverly Hillbillies," for example, as noted earlier, had

more than 70 people involved in the production of a single episode. Not all served as gatekeepers, but any one of them had the gate-keeping potential to evaluate and alter the flow of communication. Perhaps the key person was the program director. As James Lynch has pointed out in his analysis of the making of one of "The Girl from U.N.C.L.E." episodes:

Actually, the complicated scene in the laboratory complex was changed and enlarged upon by the director. It is apparently standard practice in television film production to make script alterations. According to the directors' Bill of Rights excerpted from a recently negotiated Directors Guild of America contract with the Film Producers Association, the director's functions include "making such script changes as necessary, within his jurisdiction, for the proper audio-visual presentation of the production." Director Shear explained it another way: "A script is a framework only and was probably written for someone else. I must make changes to accommodate my actors. And, as you move along in a production, things 'pop up' that the writer did not see when he was writing the script."³

The Lynch article also points to other gatekeepers, such as Max Hodge, the associate producer and script editor for the series, who changed or adopted scenes in episodes to fit existing sets on the MGM lot and the executive producer, Norman Felton, who complained that no Negroes were included among the college student extras used in one particular scene. Even the art director got into the act when he took a setting whose decor was described as "early Dante" and carried it a step further to create a "wild beat, smoke-filled den of iniquity."

Once television film is shot, the editor—a key gatekeeper—comes into play. This man can completely alter the message of the director. A fascinating glimpse of this process and its influence is found in the short film *Interpretations and Values*. The film shows how three editors cut a sequence from the television series "Gun-smoke." It reveals how each man saw the raw footage a little differently and stamped the film with his own interpretation.

Much the same process is involved in the making of a motion picture as in a filmed television series. Some differences occur because of the expanded scope and budget of a feature film. Whereas

3. James E. Lynch, "Case History of a Television Film Production," *NAEB Journal* 26 (March-April 1967): 80-81.

an episode of a television series usually takes less than a week to shoot, a motion picture may involve months, even years of work. An analysis of the production of *David Copperfield* contained in George Curry's book *Copperfield '70* provides an excellent evaluation of the gatekeeping process in film production.

One of the key gatekeepers in this film was Frederick Brogger, a partner in a small independent English film company, Omnibus. Not content simply to follow the structure of the original Charles Dickens story line, Brogger proposed a new approach. He discussed his approach with his partners, particularly the actor, who contributed ideas and thus also performed a gatekeeping role. Other major gatekeepers were the scriptwriter, who made many suggestions and actually gave many ideas their final form, and the director of the film, Delbert Mann, who approved the many revisions and also made important changes during the shooting, such as changing the intent of the script.

An important gatekeeper during postproduction was the chief editor, Peter Borta, who was responsible, among other duties, for assembling the rough cut, "largely according to his own artistic sense, using his options as he saw fit."

Other gatekeepers included actors who suggested dialogue changes; the set designer, the set dresser; the costumer; and the composer, among many others. It is interesting to note that the communicator also serves a part in the total gatekeeping function.

Impact of the Gatekeeper

From the previous discussion it becomes clear that the identity of the gatekeeper blurs with that of the communicator. When is the copyeditor or film editor a communicator rather than a gatekeeper? The distinction lies in terms of *what* the individual is doing. If he is creating, he is serving as a communicator. When he is evaluating another's creation, he is a gatekeeper. Obviously, he may perform both functions at the same time: as the film editor evaluates the director's visual output, he adds a creative dimension. The copyeditor's evaluation of a reporter's story also involves the creative editing of the total newspaper.

The regulator and gatekeeper roles are also similar in one respect—both can stop messages from reaching audiences. The significant difference is that the *gatekeeper is a part of the media institution*, but the *regulator is an external agent* of the public or

government (see chapter 9). Gatekeepers are further distinguished from regulators in that the gatekeeper can, as previously noted, add to as well as delete from mass communication messages.

The gatekeeper can have a potent effect on the mass communication process—especially if a society's media are controlled by an elite minority intent on restricting the public's right to know. In a free society, however, where newspapers are in competition with other newspapers as well as magazine and broadcast journalists, this potential misuse of the gatekeeping role is less likely to occur. Obviously, the reactionary Right and radical Left sometimes feel that the media's gatekeepers in the United States devote too little time and space to these groups' views of what is news.

In practice, the gatekeeper's power is diffuse because in mass communication the message is usually meant for such a large audience that one single cut from a script or a news story can never produce a fundamental change in the nature of the communication event and in the society itself. However, live television coverage of news events has demonstrated that gatekeepers can have a significant impact on mass communication. This fact was dramatically brought to light by television coverage of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The interpretation and the subsequent impact of the convention were created by the selective coverage given the demonstrations outside the convention headquarters. Videotape editing demonstrated the impact gatekeepers can have by presenting a selected view of events.

The concern expressed over the Chicago coverage has also been raised over television handling of riots in some large cities. Television cannot and does not simply "tell it like it is." It may record, but it does so under the influence of many communicators and gatekeepers who filter, amplify, or interfere with the message. The amplifying role used on TV for news coverage has been severely criticized. Critics claim that by emphasizing the looting and destruction, television gatekeepers may actually encourage observers to participate.

The same basic gatekeeping effects occur with an entertainment program, except that perhaps the public does not feel the concern over the deletion of a particular song or spoken vulgarity as it does when it suspects that what is being offered as news is untrue or that part of the truth is being withheld. After an initial furor the gatekeeping incident involving the Smothers brothers was seemingly for-

gotten. However, questions are still being raised about news coverage of events in Vietnam that happened years ago.

Thus the basic effect of gatekeeping is that the message is altered in some way. It is only when this alteration seriously distorts the public's view that the gatekeeping function becomes unsatisfactory. The media can and do distort reality. This distortion can occur in one of two ways: (1) systematic distortion or (2) random distortion. Systematic distortion can occur through deliberate bias; random distortion can occur through carelessness or ignorance. A study of wire-news editors revealed a degree of systematic distortion at work when it was found that some editors, because of their particular bias and predisposition, would not carry certain stories. However, this can usually be corrected because it is so highly visible to many people within and outside the particular mass media institution. Random distortion, usually caused by carelessness or ignorance, is often more dangerous and harmful, and the role of the gatekeeper may not even be easily discernible.

Some gatekeepers are more important than others. Robert K. Merton has described several types of "influentials"—that is, certain types of individuals in any society who receive an unusually large number of messages. He further breaks down this category into "cosmopolitans" and "locals."⁴ The cosmopolitan receives his information from outside the community while the local functions within the local society. These kinds of influentials exist as gatekeepers on a movie set, in a newspaper office, or a television studio. What is important about their presence in mass communication is that they are so numerous, are fragmented into highly specialized positions, and may have an effect disproportional to their relative position and power.

Gatekeepers are a normal part of any communication process. Ordinarily, they create no great concern. With mass communication chains organized in the way that they are, however, the position of the gatekeeper assumes importance, especially because of the possibility that a few gatekeepers can influence society.

4. Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and Communications Behavior in a Local Community," in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 387-420.

CHAPTER 8

The Media

An essential element of communication is the medium that carries the message. When we communicate person to person, the channel is sound waves in the air, a letter delivered through the mail, or telephone wires and receivers. But in mass communication, a vast and complex fabric of people and specialized machinery makes up the mass medium.

The accompanying *HUB Structural Chart of Mass Media* (figure 8-1) indicates in brief form the extent and complexity of mass communication as a part of American society. Seven principal mass media institutions—newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television, motion

pictures, and recordings—are composed of basic media units that are the producers of communication products—publications, pictures, programs, and records. The basic media units are themselves dependent on a system of media service units that produce, distribute, exhibit, sell, manufacture, and represent communications, communication facilities, and communicators. In addition, a large network of management and professional associations represents the managers and communicators in their relations with one another and with other institutions in society.

Media Institutions

Let us examine and describe briefly the seven primary mass media institutions.

The Book. Books come in a fairly standardized format, with some variation in page size, a flat spine binding, either hard or soft cover, averaging about 250 pages in length. About 1,500 publishing firms produce about 40,000 different book titles in America each year. But of these, only about 300 produce the majority of titles and copies, and they are concentrated in New York City.

The Newspaper. Newspapers are usually printed on fairly large sheets of paper, either blanket size (about 22 inches by 15 inches) or tabloid size (about 15 inches by 12 inches). About 1,800 daily newspapers and about 10,000 weekly newspapers exist in the United States, although many are “chain” owned by larger corporations. In America, only a small handful of newspapers, such as the *Christian Science Monitor*, have national circulations; most are geographically confined to distinct metropolitan areas or communities.

The Magazine. Magazines come in all sizes and shapes. They are usually printed on heavier and higher quality papers than newspapers and are bound by staple with soft covers. About 10,000 different basic magazine publication units exist in the United States, with many under “chain” ownership. Magazines have a broader range than newspapers, both in subject matter and in geographical distribution, and can reach specialized audiences.

The Motion Picture. This label usually refers to feature-length dramatic films, most often from 90 to 180 minutes in duration, shown to public audiences in local theaters. Production has shifted

Figure 8-1.
HUB Structural Chart of Mass Media.

<i>Media Institutions</i>	<i>Media Products</i>	<i>Basic Media Units</i>
Newspaper	Print Media Daily newspapers Weekly newspapers Sunday supplements	<i>New York Times</i> <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> <i>Baltimore Afro-American</i> <i>Bakersfield Californian</i> <i>National Observer</i>
Magazine	Weekly magazines Monthly magazines Quarterly magazines Comic books	<i>Newsweek</i> <i>Sports Illustrated</i> <i>Playboy</i> <i>Horizon</i> <i>Journalism Quarterly</i>
Book	Hardcover books Paperback books	Acropolis Books David McKay Company Dodd, Mead, and Company Franklin Watts, Inc. John Wiley & Sons
Motion Picture	Film Media Feature-length motion pictures Cartoons Documentaries Industrial films Commercials and pro- grams	Columbia Pictures Walt Disney Productions Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Paramount Pictures Hearst Metrotone Telenews
Radio	Broadcast Media Radio programming	WGN, Chicago KYW, Cleveland WNEW, New York WXHR-FM, Boston WBIG-FM, Philadelphia
Television	Television program- ming	KTTV, Los Angeles WOR-TV, New York WMAL-TV, Washington, D.C. KGO-TV, San Francisco KRLD-TV, Dallas
Sound Recording	Record Media Disc recordings Tape recordings Cassette recordings Cartridge recordings	Capitol Records, Inc. Columbia Record Company Decca Recordings RCA Victor Records
Various	Other Media Personal, graphic, audiovisual, mixed-, multi, and computer media	Kiplinger Washington Letter Academic Media Services, Inc. etc.

<i>Media Service Units</i>	<i>Media Associations</i>
<p>Production</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Press associations AP, UPI, Reuters, etc. Syndicates King Features, United Features, etc. Networks ABC, NBC, CBS, Mutual, etc. Advertising agencies J. Walter Thompson, Interpublic, etc. Public relations agencies Hill & Knowlton, Ruder & Finn, etc. Independent production companies Associated Producers, Guggenheim Productions, Inc., etc. 	<p>Media-Unit Owners</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> American Newspaper Publishers Association Magazine Publishers Association American Book Publishers Council National Association of Broadcasters Motion Picture Association of America
<p>Distribution and Exhibition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Motion-picture distributors Association Films, United World Films Publication distributors American News Company, etc. Motion-picture exhibitors Individual theaters and theater chains Publication retailers Newsstands, department stores, etc. Record distributors 	<p>Media Professionals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> American Society of Newspaper Editors National Conference of Editorial Writers Society of Magazine Writers National Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences National Academy of Radio-Television Arts & Sciences Radio Television News Directors Association National Press Photographers Association Sigma Delta Chi
<p>Manufacturing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Printing-press, electronic, and photographic equipment manufacturers Paper, ink, film, chemical, and record manufacturers Printing, binding, film-processing, and record-pressing companies Radio- and television-set manufacturers 	<p>Service-Unit Owners and Professionals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Associated Press Managing Editors American Association of Advertising Agencies Advertising Federation of America Public Relations Society of America American Institute of Graphic Arts Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers Audit Bureau of Circulations
<p>Representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Talent agencies United Talent, Inc., Curtis-Brown, etc. Artists' representatives American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), Broadcast Music Inc. (BMI), etc. Labor unions American Newspaper Guild, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, American Guild of Variety Artists, etc. Station and publication representatives 	

away from the large Hollywood-studio corporation to small, independent producers who use the old units such as Warner Bros. and MGM primarily for promotion and distribution services. Motion-picture studios are today heavily engaged in producing film for another medium—television—which uses motion-picture film for news and documentaries, education, and persuasion, as well as feature-length dramas.

Radio. Like TV, this medium requires special equipment both for transmission and reception. Transmission equipment is expensive and complex, but radio receivers using solid-state transistors produced in Japan are relatively inexpensive. Ownership and operation of the nearly 4,400 amplitude-modulation (AM) and 3,100 frequency-modulation (FM) stations in the United States are regulated by the federal government. Radio is oriented toward local rather than regional or national operations although there are four national networks (ABC, CBS, MBS, NBC), but they provide mostly news programming. More than 98 percent of all homes in the United States have radio receivers, normally receiving at least six to eight stations in the average listening area.

Television. This medium is composed of two basic types of transmission systems: very high frequency (VHF—channels 2 to 13) and ultra-high frequency (UHF—channels 14 to 83). VHF stations normally reach more people because their signals cover a larger area using less power than UHF stations. This is reflected in the greater number of VHF stations (more than 500 commercial and 90 non-commercial) compared to UHF stations (more than 190 commercial and 130 noncommercial). As with radio, TV stations are licensed by the federal government. The three national television networks (ABC, NBC, and CBS) dominate the medium because they supply 70 to 90 hours of programming per week out of their affiliated stations' total program schedule of 100 to 110 hours.

Sound Recording. Like broadcast media, records and tapes require special playback equipment. Approximately 80 percent of all U.S. homes have phonograph or tape recorders which use records and tapes produced by over 1,500 record companies. Five companies—led by Columbia—dominate record production in the United States. Record companies are also the largest suppliers of programming for radio.

Other Media. Although none of the following media is yet as completely institutionalized as the seven described above, their day

may soon be at hand. Newsletters and direct-mail companies are growing, and new graphic and audiovisual media are coming into widespread use, particularly for education and persuasion. Experiments with mixed- and multimedia are producing new forms, usually combining still and motion pictures with recordings and publications. Newest and most important of all are new computer-based media, which can publish, broadcast, store, retrieve, and manipulate communication in a variety of new ways.

Communication Products

The end results of the labors of mass communicators are products not completely dissimilar from products of other producers in society. The products have a substance, a monetary value, a social and intellectual value, and a limited lifetime. Print-media goods and services include issues of publications, either periodic, such as daily or weekly newspapers and monthly or quarterly magazines, or one-time issues of publications, such as books.

Film-media products are motion pictures.¹ Broadcast media produce programming for radio or television, often using the products of other institutions—films and sound recordings in particular. These programs, too, have a substance—even if not recorded on sound or videotape. But since the substance is magnetic fields in the air, broadcast services are fleeting unless recorded. The recording industry produces disc and tape recordings that are similar to books in their distribution.

Basic Media Units

The mass communication industry resembles the operational organization of other corporate enterprises in our country. The media produce, distribute, and exhibit through national corporations as well as local retailers. The basic media unit may be national or local, but whatever its primary function, the *basic media unit is that part of mass media held responsible for content*, even though the unit may

1. Although the production of still photographs has not resulted in a separate medium, independent still photographers provide photographic service to other media.

not have produced or distributed the content. In fact, some basic media units actually create a relatively small portion of the content for which they are held accountable.

The local newspaper is held responsible for the news and entertainment it prints. Most papers also seek to create a specific editorial policy on issues affecting their communities. They seek to create a distinct identity through layout, content, style, and coverage. The same is true of magazines. The responsible party is the particular staff which carries out the production of a publication that appears periodically under one title.

The book publisher—David McKay Co., Inc., Harper & Row, Hastings House—is the basic media unit in the book industry. The publisher not only serves as producer and distributor, but in a few metropolitan markets one or two also operate retail book stores.



“What else has he written?”

Courtesy Schochet. ©1970 *Writer's Digest*.

The motion picture's traditional pattern of the studio serving as the basic media unit is beginning to change as the movie industry moves through a transitional period. For example, in the case of the new 16-mm., sexually explicit films operating in many metropolitan areas, the exhibitor may be the producer, and no formal distribution chains may exist. However, because of the costs involved in production and the complex system of distribution, most feature films still rely on studio organizations (20th Century-Fox, Paramount, MGM, and so on) as the basic media unit.

Radio and television stations licensed by the Federal Communications Commission are directly responsible for all content broadcast, despite the fact that they create only a small part of it. In radio, the phonograph record, wire services, network news operations, advertisers, and packaging agencies produce the content of radio. The station organizes and supplements it but is still the responsible party and required by law to serve "the public interest, convenience, and necessity" of the community. The networks, syndication companies, and advertisers dominate the content of the television program; but the station assumes responsibility for the programs telecast.

Sound recording companies producing records are the basic media units and the responsible party in this medium.

Media Service Units

In many ways, media service units are more important to mass communication than the basic units that carry their own imprint and reach the consumer directly. Although these service units often are not identified by name—and only indirectly touch the lives of the consumer—nevertheless they often produce the bulk of the communication, exercise control over its production, or provide the necessary technical equipment and talent.

Press Associations. These organizations are the primary news gatherers and processors for mass media. The largest American associations are (1) the Associated Press (AP), a cooperative that sends teletype news and features to more than 8,500 newspaper, magazine, TV, and radio basic media units that are members of the association; and (2) United Press International (UPI), a private association that has more than 6,600 basic-media-unit subscribers. These press associations, or wire services as they are also called, do not produce material directly

for the public but only for media units. They have widespread bureaus and experienced reporters, writers, and editors to process the news. The mass media are largely dependent upon them for nonlocal news and information.

Syndicates. These service units provide feature and interpretative material, particularly for the print media. More than 200 syndicates exist which own the rights to the production of individual writers and commentators. These syndicates package, promote, and sell columns, analyses, comic-strip cartoons, and other features to individual newspapers, magazines, or other media units.

Networks. In radio and television the networks play a complicated and involved role. The chief networks in the United States are the American Broadcasting Company, the National Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the Mutual Broadcasting Corporation (radio only). They have become wealthy and powerful units of mass communication, buying and producing programs which they distribute to their affiliated radio and television stations. But they do not broadcast or distribute directly to the public—except on a few stations licensed to them by the FCC, called “O and Os” (owned and operated). FCC regulations limit network ownership to seven stations, of which five may be in the VHF channel. These five VHF stations serve as a critical element in the total corporate enterprise of ABC, CBS, and NBC. Without these stations, many observers feel, the networks would not be economically viable operations.

Networks function by working out an affiliation agreement with local stations willing to carry their programs. Fundamentally, the station gives the network the right to sell certain hours of the station’s time at established rates to national advertisers. In return the network agrees to provide programs, and from 20 percent to 40 percent of the money normally charged by the local station owner when he sells the time himself. Network affiliation is dominant in television, while only 25 percent of all radio stations are network affiliated. Most radio stations receive a free program service—primarily news—but little or no income from the networks.

Advertising Agencies. These service organizations work for their clients’ marketing operations. They produce advertisements and place them in the media. Leading agencies represent a variety of clients but normally they do not represent competing products. For example, the Leo Burnett Company, Inc., services accounts for nearly

40 companies, including United Air Lines, Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company, Procter and Gamble, Maytag, Kellogg's, and Pillsbury, none of which competes with the other. More than 5,500 advertising agencies operate in the United States, and a majority of the largest agencies that handle national accounts are located in New York City—often on or near that famous advertising row, Madison Avenue.

Public Relations. Firms that specialize in handling public relations are also concentrated in New York City. But while ad agencies serve their clients' marketing needs by purchasing time or space in the mass media, public relations firms concern themselves with their clients' total communication problems. They counsel their clients on the communication results of their actions; provide advice on the course of action needed to win public acceptance; and seek to publicize their clients to their publics (and publics to the clients) through communication, most often mass communication. While public relations firms may produce advertising, they engage primarily in publicity (free space and time in the mass media) and promotion (other communication efforts over a period of time) to persuade the public in their clients' behalf. Some attempts to determine the extent of public relations work have shown that a large percentage of mass media content originates with public relations firms.

Independent Production Companies. These media service units perform a service for broadcast, film, and record media similar to that which syndicates perform for print media. Independent companies exist because of the great degree of production complexity in broadcasting. While the idea for a program often originates with an individual, the programs are developed by program-package agencies. Today, with the exception of network news, sports, and some documentaries, 90 percent of all television network prime-time entertainment is produced by these package agencies.

The package agency develops the program, employs writers, producers, and actors—doing everything short of broadcasting. The packaging concept also extends to commercials for network and national spot advertising. Production companies generally subcontract all the production details to the ad agencies that create the specific advertisements. Program consultants, especially in radio, perform a significant function in selecting format and content for individual stations. In addition, some companies supply specific audio and video effects, including canned laughter, applause, and elaborate artwork (for station ID slides, program credits) for television programs.

Distribution and Exhibition. Unlike radio and television, where the networks serve as the distributor and the station as exhibitor, the other media—especially motion pictures, publications, and records—require complicated marketing, distributing, or exhibiting operations and facilities. Newspapers sometimes contract with a local dealer to distribute the papers through a system of newsstands, delivery boys, and the mail. Magazines make widest use of the mail system for distribution, but they often hire commercial firms to sell subscriptions. Book publishers in recent years have engaged in direct-mail selling and distributing, but they are still closely tied to bookstores and book dealers for distribution—often with complicated arrangements and large discounts. The middleman as distributor has increasingly entered the book and magazine field; jobbers sell books to bookstores, and distribution companies sell books and magazines to newsstands, drug stores, supermarkets, and department stores. A similar apparatus exists for phonograph records.

Distribution and exhibition are even more complicated in the motion-picture medium. Because of court rulings on antimonopoly procedures, no film company can engage in more than two of the following activities: production, distribution, and exhibition—unless it can be demonstrated that the third activity will *not* restrain trade. With the dwindling supply of feature films, some distributor-exhibitors have begun limited film production. But this activity has not been judged to be in restraint of trade.

Today there are about 14,000 regular movie theaters and about 4,500 drive-in theaters. These exhibitors are sometimes chain-owned by large exhibition companies, and they in turn rent the films from distribution companies, many of which are affiliated with large production studios based in Hollywood.

Manufacturing. The equipment and materials necessary for mass communication provide the basis of a large industry of its own. One large newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*, has more than \$65 million invested in printing-press equipment alone. The *New York Times* uses up more than 100 acres of trees to provide pulp for the paper necessary for one Sunday issue. Ink, chemicals, plastics, precision optical equipment, and complex electronic gear are all necessary for the operation of mass media.

Separate companies exist to provide printing and binding services for many magazine and book publishers; separate film-processing companies develop and print film for motion pictures and televi-

sion; and separate record-pressing companies manufacture discs and tapes for the phonograph industry. Finally, separate companies produce radio and television sets for the individual home consumer, and these firms have become giant corporations in the American business world. Such companies as RCA, General Electric, and Westinghouse earn a far larger share of the market by producing radio and television hardware than the software media industries they serve.

Representation. Mass communicators are men with special talents, skills, and abilities. Increasingly, like artists, they need special help in promoting their interests and protecting the value of their work. A variety of "talent" agencies have grown to be a part of mass media. Writers' agents help find publishers for authors' works, oversee the legal protection of their rights and properties in contracts, and help promote their fame. In return these agents receive a share (usually 10 percent) of the author's profits. For actors and performers—particularly in the fields of radio, television, motion pictures, and phonograph recordings—talent agents play a crucial role: often all dealings are with the agent rather than the performer, with the agent receiving 10 to 15 percent of his client's earnings.

Special note should be made of the work of representation in the field of music, which provides a bulk of the programming in the electric media. Two giants—the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), and Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI)—dominate the field. They exercise considerable control over published, recorded, and broadcast music, protecting the rights of their artists and charging a fee to every media unit that uses their clients' work through recordings or sheet music. This process is simplified by having the media unit pay a percentage of some of its income for the right to play the music licensed by ASCAP and BMI.

Labor unions have also become part of mass media. The American Newspaper Guild, founded in the 1930s, represents newspaper editorial personnel in salary negotiations and seeks to help improve working conditions. Largely through its efforts, the salaries of reporters, photographers, copyeditors, and other professional staffers have risen to professional levels. For example, in 1974 the Guild had a minimum guaranteed salary at the *Washington Post* of \$448 per week for all editorial staffers with at least four years' experience. The *New York Times* editorial staff had a \$360 minimum for all staffers with two years' experience. Of course, many newsmen earn more than the minimum salary. The American Federation of Television and Radio

Artists, the American Guild of Variety Artists, the Screen Actors Guild, among others, perform similar services for mass communicators in the electric media.

Media Associations

Professional and management associations represent a final aspect of mass media, and one of growing importance. Increased recognition of the role of professional standards and responsibilities for mass communication in a free society has placed more emphasis on such associations. In some countries striving for a free and responsible press—especially in Western and Northern Europe—such press associations or societies of journalists have been given considerable power to approve or license journalists, admitting only those properly prepared and talented for the profession and barring those who willfully violate the standards of the profession. Such societies act for journalism as the medical association, bar association, and accounting association act for doctors, lawyers, and accountants.

In America, however, these associations cannot have, and perhaps never will have, such power over individual journalists, simply because the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and press for all individuals would make any attempt to approve or reject journalists illegal.

Nevertheless, many associations have come into being, and these groups influence the profession and speak for their members in a variety of ways. The owners of the media units are well organized. Newspapermen, magazine and book publishers, broadcasters, and film producers all have active associations that serve their needs, collect information, lobby for sympathetic laws, and promote their interests. In addition to national organizations, these bodies often have state, county, or city groups as well—such as the Maryland-Delaware-D.C. Press Association, or the Montgomery County Press Association.

In broadcasting, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) functions as a lobby for broadcast stations with Congress, as a public relations firm with the public, and as a supervisor of both the NAB Radio and Television Codes. The National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) serves similar functions of public broadcasters as well as teachers and scholars in broadcast education.

In the film industry the Motion Picture Producers Association

serves a very important public relations effort, and its production-code division has created film ratings (G, PG, R, or X) for all films submitted by its members.

The Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) serves as a public relations arm as well as arbiter of production standards and controls.

Media workers, too, have professional associations that promote their interests and advance their standards. The largest of these is Sigma Delta Chi, the national society of journalists, which has both campus chapters (at colleges where journalism and mass communication are taught) and professional chapters (for those working in the media). Other associations represent almost every individual type of communication profession; from editors and editorial writers to photographers, public relations men, advertisers, and cartoonists.

The mass media, as institutions in our society, are composed of an intricate fabric of people, products, institutions, production units, service units, and associations, all of which are necessary to mass communication. No doubt, as institutions, they are among the most complex in society, and this makes their study so intriguing, their operation so demanding, their role so vital, and their impact so difficult to determine.

CHAPTER 9

Regulators

In mass communication, regulation of the media is a complicated operation involving a number of groups. The role of the regulator is similar to that of the gatekeeper, but the regulator operates outside the basic media and media service units that create the messages. We might think of regulators as resistors in an electric circuit or valves in a fluid system, which control the quantity as well as direction of the current. They have the power to stop and delete from, but seldom start or add to, messages. Regulators are more than censors, although in many national systems government censorship is the major type of regulation and precludes others from attempting to control media activities and content.

In the United States there are five regulators at work in the mass communication process:

1. *The government* is the key regulator, even in a system where the Constitution guarantees freedom of communication.

2. *The source* of the message can, of course, affect the flow, deciding what to release and what to withhold.

3. *The advertiser* regulates; he who pays the bills can call the shots.

4. *The profession* acts as a self-regulator of individual members as well as basic media units and media service units.

5. *The consumer* of communication himself is a regulator, exercising control through his purchase in the marketplace, through public pressure groups, and through his rights in the courts.

Government as Regulator

In American society, devoted to freedom of the press and speech, government is the only agency capable of protecting those guarantees of freedom. Most American government regulations, but by no means all, are concerned with maintaining an environment of freedom of communication and with protecting the individual's rights in the communication process.

Constitutional Guarantees. First of all, mass media are unique as business enterprises in our society because they alone operate with special sanctions and freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. The First Amendment to the Constitution, which Congress adopted in 1791, states:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

This expression of freedom of the press was a small climax in the long struggle for individual rights and freedom under Anglo-Saxon law. The way had been paved by previous landmarks such as the Magna Carta of 1215, the Petition of Rights in 1628, the English Bill of Rights in 1689, and the American Declaration of Independence in 1776. In the New World of the American colonies, where communi-

cation and independence were both important, freedom of speech and press were always key factors.

The First Amendment to the Constitution is imprecise, however, and does not define limits of freedom. Court and legislative decisions since that time have continued to establish the meaning of that amendment, usually in the light of current trends and social conditions. The Constitution as it is interpreted by the courts and lawmakers controls the regulators and determines which of their actions are permissible and constitutional under the American system.

Censorship. Censorship, meaning prior restraint or suppression of communication, has been held to be unconstitutional in all of its many forms, save one. Government agencies, both local and national, have from time to time attempted to censor communications, sometimes even for the best motives. A Minnesota state legislature passed a "gag law" in the 1920s aimed at restricting newspapers that were "public nuisances," specifically scandal sheets which made scurrilous attacks on the police and Jews. But the U.S. Supreme Court found this, as it has most other attempts at censorship, illegal, in its interpretation of the First Amendment.

The famous "Pentagon Papers" incident in 1971 provides a case in point. A multivolumed study made by the Department of Defense entitled *History of U.S. Decision-making Process on Viet Nam Policy* was classified as top secret but was leaked out to the press. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* both decided to publish stories based on the material in the 47 volumes. The Justice Department got a temporary court injunction to prevent further publication of the material. Because of the significance of the case, it immediately went to the Supreme Court. The Court, in a 6 to 3 landmark decision, ruled in favor of the newspapers and freedom of the press.

The Court's ruling hinged on the question of the constitutionality of prior restraint. Although the decision clarified the First Amendment, it did not really broaden the protection of freedom. The newspapers hoped that the Court would rule that the First Amendment provided an absolute freedom. In the Pentagon Papers case, however, the Court held that the government had not provided sufficient evidence justifying prior restraint of the publications. This left the door open for future cases to decide how much justification the government must provide in order to censor a publication. But the six concurring opinions of the Supreme Court justices all provided ample support for the general theory of freedom from prior restraint by the government.

The one exception is in the area of motion pictures. In 1915 the Supreme Court in the case *Mutual Film Corporation v. Industrial Commission of Ohio* upheld the right of individual states to censor films, on the grounds that they were "a business pure and simple." They were a "spectacle or show and not such vehicles of thought as to bring them within the press of the country." In 1952, however, a Supreme Court decision changed this somewhat and laid the groundwork for the increasing freedom for motion pictures. In the case of *Burstyn v. Wilson* involving the film *The Miracle*, the Supreme Court stated: "We conclude that expression by means of motion pictures is included within the free speech and free press guaranty of the First and Fourteenth Amendments. To the extent that language in the opinion in the Ohio case is out of harmony with the views here set forth, we no longer adhere to it." Decisions since then have continually brought movie censorship into question, but at least four states in 1970 still had censorship boards that could review films and restrict their public showing, either in part or in whole. Those states were New York, Maryland, Virginia, and Kansas; and two dozen communities—including Chicago, Detroit, Memphis, and Atlanta—still require movies to be submitted for examination prior to public showing. A 1970 decision of the High Court upheld the Maryland board's legal right to determine which films were obscene.

Other forms of censorship, which exist in some other countries and which have been tried in this country, have from time to time been declared unconstitutional. The print media, for example, are constitutionally protected from discriminatory or punitive taxes and from licensing that would amount to censorship.

Restrictions on Importation, Distribution, and Sale. It is legal to regulate some aspects of mass communication without causing prior restraint or suppression. The government has generally held that the morals of the community should be protected against certain types of communication that could be objectionable to the average man. These kinds of restrictions pertain primarily to obscene publications, gambling and lottery information, and, in some cases, treasonous propaganda.

The Customs Bureau of the U.S. Treasury Department has the right to impound obscene material or gambling and lottery information. But a recent Supreme Court decision declared unconstitutional the role of Customs in restricting the importing of propaganda materials.

The Post Office Department exercises the right to restrict the distribution of obscene publications or lottery advertisements through the public mails and can stop the mailing of such material and issue an order to refrain from further mailings.

Local courts and legislatures have the right to forbid the sale of obscene material. The Supreme Court has upheld the right of communities to protect themselves from the sale of materials they feel are harmful. A person who violates a local ordinance against the sale of such material would be subject to arrest and punishment as called for in the ordinance.

It is important to note that in all cases of such restrictions by the Customs Bureau, the Post Office, and local authorities, none has the right to censor or prevent publication. It should also be noted that social mores are changing rapidly, and certainly in the 1970s many forms of obscenity might not be considered as socially harmful as in previous decades and generations.

Criminal Libel. Government has assumed the right to protect society and the public welfare from libel. Criminal libel is interpreted as false and malicious attack on society that would cause a breach of the peace or disrupt by force the established public order. In wartime, sedition laws are more explicit about communication which might damage the state. Criminal libel might also apply to libelous statements made against groups or against dead persons who cannot defend themselves in a civil action; thus the state becomes the prosecutor and the libel a crime. Cases of criminal libel, however, have become extremely rare.

Libel of Government and Public Officials. Governments in totalitarian countries can suppress the critical press with criminal prosecution for seditious libel, but this is not possible in America. The trial of John Peter Zenger in New York in 1735 first established the unqualified right of the press to criticize the government, even if the facts are false and the criticism malicious. Various attempts have been made by government to protect itself from such criticism, for example the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798–1800. But the courts have steadily upheld the impunity of the press as goad and critic of government.

One of the most far-reaching Court decisions was *The New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* ruling by the Supreme Court in 1964. This ruling gives the press almost as much right to libel public officials as it has the right to criticize government itself. The case came

about as the result of an advertisement appearing in the *Times* in 1960; the ad, it was claimed, libeled one L. B. Sullivan, commissioner of public affairs for Montgomery, Alabama, among others. The Court ruling extended the privilege of publishing defamatory falsehoods about public officials, if they were made in good faith, if they concerned the official's public rather than his private life, and if they did not recklessly disregard the truth.

Contempt. Government also exercises the right to protect the administration of justice against the interference of mass media. If a newsman, for instance, in the course of his professional work, disobeys a court order, disturbs a courtroom, attempts to influence court decisions or participants, or (in some states) refuses to testify as to his sources of news, he can be cited for contempt of court. Court officials have used this power to subpoena newsmen's notes, tapes, photographs, and film in an effort to use this material in court cases. However, 19 states have laws protecting the newsman's right not to reveal his sources of information.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 decision in 1972, ruled that newsmen have no special right to protect their sources of information if they are subpoenaed to testify in court proceedings. A medical doctor does not have to reveal the nature of his relationship with his patient, nor the lawyer with his client, nor the minister with his parishioner, nor the teacher with his student. But the Court held that such a privilege does not apply to the relationship between a newsman and his news source. The ruling was made on the basis of three different cases. Paul Pappas of WTEV-TV (New Bedford, Massachusetts) had refused to tell a grand jury what he had seen in a Black Panthers headquarters. Earl Caldwell, a *New York Times* reporter, also had refused to testify about a Black Panther case. And Paul M. Branzburg, reporter for the *Louisville* (Kentucky) *Courier-Journal*, had refused to tell a state grand jury the names of individuals he had written about in a drug story.

An increasing number of newsmen have gone to jail since that ruling for contempt of court after failing to divulge information in court proceedings. For example, Peter Bridge, a former reporter for the *Newark* (New Jersey) *News*, was sentenced to an indefinite jail term for refusing to answer grand jury questions beyond his story about an alleged bribe attempt. The closeness of the Supreme Court's decision, however, left the door open to new "newsman's privilege" legislation that might provide greater protection in the

future from such encroachment on press freedom by the judicial branch of government.

Protection of Property. The government also regulates communication by protecting the property rights of communicators. The present copyright law, which has a long history, became a federal statute in 1909. It protects the property rights of authors, composers, artists, and photographers, and establishes a system of punishments and a method of redress for violations of those rights. Thus it is a form of restriction of the media as well as a protection for the owner. It is important to note that facts and ideas cannot be copyrighted, only the order and selection of words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and the arrangement of paragraphs.

The government also protects property rights through the application of antitrust laws to the mass media. For example, newspaper mergers that eliminated actual or potential competition in a newspaper-market area were formerly considered a violation of the antitrust laws, but a new "Failing Newspaper Act" gives newspapers special antitrust privileges. Also, newspapers have been ordered by court injunction not to restrain trade by discriminating in their acceptance of advertisers.



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Courtesy Publishers-Hall Syndicate.

Regulation of Broadcasting. Unlike other mass media, only radio and television stations are licensed and regulated by the government. It should be noted, however, that the government cannot censor or suppress any broadcast, once the broadcaster has a govern-

ment license. Two reasons can be given for the government regulation of broadcasting. One is that major broadcasters in the 1920s requested government help to maintain order in the scramble for limited frequencies and channels. The other is the idea that broadcasters are using public property—the airwaves—and government has an obligation to administer property that is not private. In 1927 the Federal Radio Commission was established, and in 1934 it became the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) charged with regulating radio, television, telephone, and telegraph.

The FCC Act of 1934 is the basis of the commission's regulatory power. Like the courts, the commission interprets rather than makes the law. A broadcast station must be licensed by the FCC, and the license must be renewed every three years. At the time of renewal, the station including its programming is reviewed, and if the commission rules that the station has not acted in the public interest, the license may be rescinded. The FCC also has the power to issue cease-and-desist orders, short-term license renewal, revoke licenses, and levy fines up to \$10,000 for specific violations of the rules and regulations. These regulatory powers do not give the FCC the right to censor. Penalties are rarely assessed for single violations; it is the station's overall performance that is evaluated.

Few cases exist where licenses have been revoked, since the burden of proof falls upon the FCC, and the definition of "public interest" is vague. Nevertheless, the government does have more power to regulate a broadcaster than to regulate a publisher.

The FCC also controls the extent of broadcast ownership, in order to prevent monopolies. No one can own more than one AM, one FM, and one TV station in any one listening area. And no one can own more than a total of seven of each of these stations in the entire country. In television no more than five of these outlets may be very high frequency (VHF—channels 2 to 13) stations. A new FCC move is under way to limit ownership to only one broadcast outlet in some markets.

The FCC also regulates some broadcasting program content, especially in the area of politics and public affairs. Section 315 of the FCC code requires the broadcaster to furnish equal time and equal opportunity to all political candidates for a given office. The so-called Fairness Doctrine of the FCC also charges broadcasters with the duty of seeking out and broadcasting contrasting viewpoints on controversial issues of public importance.

The constitutionality of the Fairness Doctrine has been upheld

by the Supreme Court in the famous *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC* case of 1969. The Court in effect ruled that the public's right to hear all points of view was more important than the broadcaster's right to express only one point of view.

Regulation of Advertising. The Federal Trade Commission Act passed in 1914 was meant to regulate unfair competition in business, but checking dishonest advertising has become an important aspect of its work. The FTC is chiefly concerned with advertising that has a tendency to deceive. Other government commissions have more specific tasks in the regulation of advertising. The Food and Drug Administration controls labeling and branding in the important area of food and drugs. The FCC controls broadcast advertising; for example, it denies broadcasters the right to advertise cigarettes. The Post Office Department controls fraudulent advertising sent through the mails. And the Securities and Exchange Commission can regulate advertising about stock and bonds.

In all these cases, however, there is still no censorship or suppression on the part of the government. It can ask for voluntary compliance, and, if not agreed to by the advertiser, can issue a cease-and-desist order. Violation of such an order can bring about a \$5,000 fine, six months in jail, or both; succeeding violations can bring a \$10,000 fine, a year of imprisonment, or both. The FTC can also publicize deceitful advertising and thus warn the public.

In sum, the government can and does regulate and restrict mass media in certain areas, and in these areas the court has interpreted this regulation as not in violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution. These regulations are aimed at protecting society from damage by mass media as well as protecting the rights of the media from damages by competing media, individuals, or the state itself.

The Content Source as Regulator

The content source is also a regulator in the communication process. He provides a form of regulation at the very source of communication, and as the process of communication has grown massive and complicated, the forms of regulation that are used by the content source can be analyzed into fairly distinct patterns.

Strategic Releasing. The content source regulates communication by strategically timing and packaging the message himself in a letter, a publication, or (if he has enough money) his own radio, tel-

evision, or motion-picture production. Or he might release his communication to the established mass media through a news release, a press conference, or an exclusive interview.

Strategic Withholding. The content source can also regulate the flow of communication by strategically withholding the message and blocking the media from getting it. The government can do this by classifying documents, or claiming executive privilege. The Federal Public Records Law of 1967 set forth the legal rationale for what can be withheld by the federal government and what cannot, and it established the judicial procedures to make the government prove in court why something should be withheld if challenged. Many states have statutes that set forth the categories of public records to which the media can have access, and what may be legally withheld.

Strategic Staging. The content source can also regulate the flow of communication by deliberately and strategically staging a situation or an event in such a way that a certain kind of message gets into the media. Again, using government as an example, a senator might wish to express his point of view about Vietnam, so he holds a hearing and calls a group of witnesses from whom he can elicit the type of fact and opinion that will get news headlines. The President, not wanting to see this point of view expressed in the media, announces a trip to Asia to take place at the same time as the Senate hearing, taking many reporters with him, attracting daily coverage in the newspapers and news shows, and overshadowing the hearing called by the senator. These are staged situations used to regulate the flow of news and opinion.

Advertiser as Regulator

Advertisers obviously play a role in the regulation of mass media, but this can be a subtle and unspecific type of control. David Potter, a historian who has made a study of advertising as a force in molding the American character, says that:

. . . in the mass media we have little evidence of censorship in the sense of deliberate, planned suppression imposed by moral edict (by advertisers) but much evidence of censorship in the sense of operative suppression of a great range of subjects. . . . The dynamics of the market . . . would seem to indicate that freedom of expression has less to fear from the control which large advertisers

exercise than from the control which these advertisers permit the mass market to exercise.¹

Individual instances can be cited in which advertisers used their economic power to “regulate” the media. For example, advertisers in a Wisconsin town withdrew their advertising from the local newspaper when it used its shop to print an underground newspaper. But the newspaper stood its ground and ultimately won the battle. The news offices of most mass media are separate from the advertising offices and will not accept the dictates of the advertising offices.

Theoretically, the more independent the medium can be from advertising, the less power of regulation the advertiser will have. Radio and television, receiving 100 percent of their revenue from advertising, run the risk of greater pressures from sponsors. Newspapers and magazines, for the most part, receiving a third to a half of their revenue directly from subscribers, have less direct obligation to sponsors. Books, the phonograph-record industry, motion pictures—which receive 100 percent of their revenue directly from their audiences—can afford to ignore Madison Avenue.

Profession as Regulator

The gatekeeper, who as we have seen plays a key role in the flow of mass communication, himself voluntarily accepts codes of conduct which act as regulators of his actions. This is less important in the United States than in most other countries, however, because the First Amendment prevents such codes from being absolutely binding on the communicator. In Sweden, for example, a journalist could be thrown out of the profession for violating a journalistic standard, but in the United States—since the Constitution guarantees anyone the right to practice journalism—such codes can only be used as voluntary guidelines.

Among the important professional codes are the “Code of Ethics” or “Canons of Journalism” of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, “The Television Code” and “The Radio Code” of the National Association of Broadcasters, and the “Code of Professional Standards” of the Public Relations Society of America. See the representative codes on pages 141–44.

1. David M. Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 184.

Code of Ethics or Canons of Journalism
(*American Society of Newspaper Editors*)

The primary function of newspapers is to communicate to the human race what its members do, feel and think. Journalism, therefore, demands of its practitioners the widest range of intelligence, or knowledge, and of experience, as well as natural and trained powers of observation and reasoning. To its opportunities as a chronicle are indissolubly linked its obligations as teacher and interpreter.

To the end of finding some means of codifying sound practice and just aspirations of American journalism, these canons are set forth:

I.

RESPONSIBILITY—The right of a newspaper to attract and hold readers is restricted by nothing but considerations of public welfare. The use a newspaper makes of the share of public attention it gains serves to determine its sense of responsibility, which it shares with every member of its staff. A journalist who uses his power for any selfish or otherwise unworthy purpose is faithless to a high trust.

II.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—Freedom of the press is to be guarded as a vital right of mankind. It is the unquestionable right to discuss whatever is not explicitly forbidden by law, including the wisdom of any restrictive statute.

III.

INDEPENDENCE—Freedom from all obligations except that of fidelity to the public interest is vital.

1. Promotion of any private interest contrary to the general welfare, for whatever reason, is not compatible with honest journalism. So-called news communications from private sources should not be published without public notice of their source or else substantiation of their claims to value as news, both in form and substance.

2. Partisanship, in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth, does violence to the best spirit of American journalism; in the news columns it is subversive of a fundamental principle of the profession.

IV.

SINCERITY, TRUTHFULNESS, ACCURACY—Good faith with the reader is the foundation of all journalism worthy of the name.

1. By every consideration of good faith a newspaper is constrained to be truthful. It is not to be excused for lack of thoroughness or accuracy within its control, or failure to obtain command of these essential qualities.

2. Headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles which they surmount.

V.

IMPARTIALITY—Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind.

1. This rule does not apply to so-called special articles unmistakably devoted to advocacy or characterized by a signature authorizing the writer's own conclusions and interpretation.

VI.

FAIR PLAY—A newspaper should not publish unofficial charges affecting reputation or moral character without opportunity given to the accused to be heard; right practice demands the giving of such opportunity in all cases of serious accusation outside judicial proceedings.

1. A newspaper should not invade private rights or feeling without sure warrant of public right as distinguished from public curiosity.

2. It is the privilege, as it is the duty, of a newspaper to make prompt and complete correction of its own serious mistakes of fact or opinion, whatever their origin.

DECENCY—A newspaper cannot escape conviction of insincerity if while professing high moral purpose it supplies incentives to base conduct, such as are to be found in details of crime and vice, publication of which is not demonstrably for the general good. Lacking authority to enforce its canons the journalism here represented can but express the hope that deliberate pandering to vicious instincts will encounter effective public disapproval or yield to the influence of a preponderant professional condemnation.

CODE OF BROADCAST NEWS ETHICS

RADIO TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION

The members of the Radio Television News Directors Association agree that their prime responsibility as newsmen—and that of the broadcasting industry as the collective sponsor of news broadcasting—is to provide to the public they serve a news service as accurate, full and prompt as human integrity and devotion can devise, To that end, they declare their acceptance of the standards of practice here set forth, and their solemn intent to honor them to the limits of their ability.

Article One

The primary purpose of broadcast newsmen—to inform the public of events of importance and appropriate interest in a manner that is accurate and comprehensive—shall override all other purposes.

Article Two

Broadcast news presentations shall be designed not only to offer timely and accurate information, but also to present it in the light of relevant circumstances that give it meaning and perspective.

This standard means that news reports, when clarity demands it, will be laid against pertinent factual background; that factors such as race, creed, nationality or prior status will be reported only when they are relevant; that comment or subjective content will be properly identified; and that errors in fact will be promptly acknowledged and corrected.

Article Three

Broadcast newsmen shall seek to select material for newscast solely on their evaluation of its merits as news.

This standard means that news will be selected on the criteria of significance, community and regional, relevance, appropriate human interest, service to defined audiences. It excludes sensationalism or misleading emphasis in any form; subservience to external or “interested” efforts to influence news selection and presentation, whether from within the broadcasting industry or from without. It requires that such terms as “bulletin” and “flash” be used only when the character of the news justifies them; that bombastic or misleading descriptions of newsroom facilities and personnel be rejected, along with undue use of sound and visual effects; and that promotional or publicity material be sharply scrutinized before use and identified by source or otherwise when broadcast.

Article Four

Broadcast newsmen shall at all times display humane respect for the dignity, privacy and the well-being of persons with whom the news deals.

Article Five

Broadcast newsmen shall govern their personal lives and such nonprofessional associations as may impinge on their professional activities in a manner that will protect them from conflict of interest, real or apparent.

Article Six

Broadcast newsmen shall seek actively to present all news the knowledge of which will serve the public interest, no matter what selfish, uninformed or corrupt efforts attempt to color it, withhold it or prevent its presentation. They shall make constant effort to open doors closed to the reporting of public proceedings with tools appropriate to broadcasting (including cameras and recorders), consistent with the public interest. They acknowledge the newsman's ethic of protection of confidential information and sources, and urge unswerving observation of it except in instances in which it would clearly and unmistakably defy the public interest.

Article Seven

Broadcast newsmen recognize the responsibility borne by broadcasting for informed analysis, comment and editorial opinion on public events and issues. They accept the obligation of broadcasters, for the presentation of such matters by individuals whose competence, experience and judgment qualify them for it.

Article Eight

In court, broadcast newsmen shall conduct themselves with dignity, whether the court is in or out of session. They shall keep broadcast equipment as unobtrusive and silent as possible. Where court facilities are inadequate, pool broadcasts should be arranged.

Article Nine

In reporting matters that are or may be litigated, the newsman shall avoid practices which would tend to interfere with the right of an individual to a fair trial.

Article Ten

Broadcast newsmen shall actively censure and seek to prevent violations of these standards, and shall actively encourage their observance by all newsmen, whether of the Radio Television News Directors Association or not.

Consumer as Regulator

In a system of free mass communication, the consumer is perhaps the most important regulator of the media. In two areas he can resort to court procedures to help protect himself from the media as well as help keep the media within acceptable boundaries. These areas are civil libel and right of privacy.

Civil Libel. Libel is the defamation of a man's character through printed or broadcast means. Slander is defamation through spoken words. Defamation is communication that exposes a person to hatred, ridicule, or contempt, lowers him in the esteem of his fellows, causes him to be shunned, or injures him in his business or calling. The concept of defamation as a punishable act has a long history; the ancient Egyptians cut out the tongues of men who were found guilty of lying maliciously about their neighbors.

If a man feels that he has been damaged by communication, he can bring a civil suit against those responsible and seek payment for damages. The legal action is not much different from a lawsuit in which a man seeks to be paid for the actual damage to his car's fender in an auto accident. In a libel suit tradition holds that a man's reputation is a priceless commodity, unlike an auto fender, and little just compensation can be paid for actual damages. Thus the plaintiff can ask for punitive damages, an amount of compensation so great that it will punish the libeler. Some punitive damages for libel have run into the millions of dollars, especially when the libel was shown to have been published with malicious intent.

The publisher or broadcaster of a libelous statement can defend his publication or broadcast under certain conditions that might absolve him completely or mitigate the damages. Truth is now widely accepted as an absolute defense for the publication of libel, and if the libeler can prove the truth of his statement, he can be absolved. Certain statements are privileged, that is, the publisher has a right to repeat them without fear of libel suits; such privileged statements are records of legislative, judicial, and other official public proceedings. Also, statements made as a matter of fair comment or criticism about public matters are defensible, even if libelous.

The Right of Privacy. Individuals have the right to be private, even from mass media. Unlike libel, however, this is a relatively new concept of communication regulation. A citizen has the right to recover damages from the media for intruding on his solitude, publish-

ing private matters violating ordinary decencies, having his name publicly used in a false manner, or having his name or likeness used for commercial purposes. He can bring a civil action in court to seek compensation for damages done to him from such invasion of his privacy.

There are areas, however, where the individual might lose his right of privacy. For example, if a person is involved in a newsworthy act, or if he himself is newsworthy by virtue of his public actions, he loses his right to privacy in those matters. Or if he gives his consent to have his privacy invaded—for example, by signing a waiver when he enters a studio to become a member of a television audience—he cannot recover any damages through loss of privacy.

Control Through Consumption. No doubt the greatest area of consumer regulation is in the marketplace itself. Those publications that sell stay in business, and those that cannot obtain or maintain an audience do not. Broadcast programs that do not attract large audiences go off the air. Because the media are in business to make a profit, they are usually sensitive to their customers and pay careful attention to the moods and habits of their readers, listeners, and viewers. Of course, what the audience wants may not always be the best or most constructive content for the social good. Violence and sex seem to be more popular than news analysis and interpretation of public issues. Thus, control by the marketplace has to be balanced against other regulations to achieve social well-being.

Control Through Pressure Groups. Although mass media are sensitive to individual responses, nevertheless, as media grow, the individual voice gets weaker. Increasingly, men have joined together in groups and associations to make their voices heard and their opinions felt. These groups have been able to pressure mass media, thus serving as regulators of mass communication. Nearly every religious, ethnic, occupational, and political group has an association that can speak for the members of the group, such as exerting pressure on television to stop portraying Italians as criminals, on newspapers to publish stories about gun laws, on radio to present antismoking commercials, on magazines to stop obscenity. One of the most widely publicized is a group of women from Boston, Action for Children's Television (ACT) which has petitioned the FCC for a rule barring advertisements on children's shows. The efforts were a major force behind the appointment by all three networks of executives to supervise

children's programming. Such pressure is also frequently brought to the media through regulatory agencies of the government.

Thus we have an array of regulators and regulations which apply to the mass communication process in a free society. For the most part, these regulations are meant to strengthen the freedom of mass communication, while protecting both the communicator and the audience as well as those who happen to become part of the message itself.

CHAPTER 10

Filters

In any description of the elements of mass communication, we must consider the problem of culture, for mass communication, unlike most interpersonal communication, is usually sent out without regard to cultural barriers to understanding. Most mass media send out their messages to a wide variety of audiences, who often receive those messages regardless of differences in their age, sex, race, religion, social status, occupational group, income level, or nationality. Obviously, members of these audiences do not bring the same experience to decoding the message. The meaning is apt to vary with individual response.

In spite of mass communication on all sides today, we speak in-

creasingly of a communication gap. The rich do not seem to communicate with the middle classes, and the middle classes seemingly cannot speak or listen to the poor. Whites and blacks seem unable to overcome communication barriers. Ghetto residents of the inner city, suburbanites, and country squires seem to have little ground for communion. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews still seem to have difficulty finding many common areas for discourse. Even within families, gaps develop as fathers and mothers fail to speak the language of their children; nor can they often speak the language of their own parents.

Anthropologists have taught us much about these communication gaps. In studying the cultures of mankind, they have found that men are creatures of their environments, their attitudes and opinions shaped by forces of which they may be only dimly aware and over which they may have little control.

Our Senses as Filters

No two people see the world alike. The way in which we see the world depends upon what sociologists call our "frame of reference." We perceive the world only through our own senses—our own eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and fingers.

We might more appropriately call this phenomenon of perception a filtering system, like a filter used on a camera lens, a fine screen to remove particles in water purification, or that bit of substance at the end of a cigarette designed to remove tars and nicotine from tobacco smoke. Using the analogy of filters in photography, we might say that these filters are color lenses that absorb certain rays of light to color the picture; they might be lenses ground with distortions and blind spots, or they might be lenses that polarize light and only let in rays slanted in a certain direction.

Our senses, which serve as communication filters, are affected by three sets of conditions: (1) cultural, (2) psychological, (3) physical.

How Filters Are Affected

Culture. These filters—our senses—are colored, distorted, or polarized by our culture. Edward T. Hall, a cultural anthropologist, has written effectively about the role of culture in man's communication efforts, especially in his book, *The Silent Language*, in which he shows how culture affects the way man sends and receives messages.



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First appeared in Saturday Review, April 11,
1970. Used with permission.

"Now that we've learned to talk, try to speak the same language."

We are not fully aware, he says, of "the broad extent to which culture controls our lives. Culture is not an exotic notion studied by a select group of anthropologists in the South Seas. It is a mold in which we are all cast, and it controls our daily lives in many unsuspected ways."¹

Culture is communication itself, says Hall, and communication is culture. He points out ten separate kinds of human activity that are "primary message systems." These are interaction, association, subsistence, bisexuality, territoriality, temporality, learning, play, defense, and exploitation (or use of materials). These systems vary from individual to individual and from culture to culture, and they constitute a vocabulary and a language of their own, a silent language of which most of us are not aware. Hall says:

We must learn to understand the "out-of-awareness" aspects of communication. We must never assume that we are fully aware

1. Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Doubleday, 1959), pp. 31-41.

of what we communicate to someone else. There exist in the world today tremendous distortions in meaning as men try to communicate with one another. The job of achieving understanding and insight into mental processes of others is much more difficult and the situation more serious than most of us care to admit.²

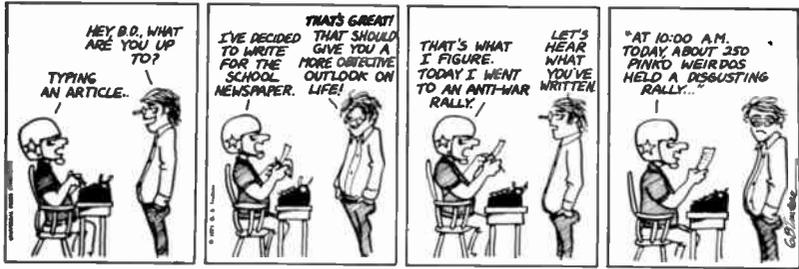
Take Hall's category of temporality, for example. To the average American of European origin, time exists as a continuum, with a past, a present, and a future. He is able to compartmentalize time, to see distinctions in time, to do one thing at a time. The American-European culture is basically linear, and that is perhaps one cultural reason for this perceptual phenomenon. But to the Navajo Indian, time has no limits. The American Indian culture, without written language, was not linear. For the Navajo, time has no beginning, middle, or end. Time starts when the Navajo is ready, not at a given point. The future has little reality because it does not exist in the Navajo's time, nor does the past.

Territoriality is also a cultural message system. The average American of European origin has a strong sense of space. He knows where things belong and to whom they belong. He establishes his rights to territory. When a student takes a seat in a classroom, it becomes his seat, and he might well return to the same seat throughout a semester as if he had established a right to it. But to the Hopi Indian, space does not belong to anyone, and he is apt to settle down wherever it suits him, regardless of whose territory he is invading.

Obviously the Hopi and the Navajo have different message systems regarding time and space from those exhibited by Americans of European origin. And this could not help but color their message intake and output on any subject where temporality and territoriality are involved. We could make an almost endless list of cultural traits and subcultural habits of mind that influence our patterns of communication and our ability to make the act of communication a mutual sharing of a common understanding.

Psychological Sets. We structure our perception of the world in terms that are meaningful to us, according to our frames of reference or our filters. In chapter 6 selective exposure, selective perception, and selective retention were discussed. Wilbur Schramm defines three problems in this regard that the communicator must expect as he tries to communicate his meaning. First, the receiver will inter-

2. Ibid., p. 38.



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pret the message in terms of his experience and the ways he has learned to respond to it. For example, a jungle tribesman who has never seen an airplane will tend to interpret the first one he sees as a bird. Second, the receiver will interpret the message in such a way as to resist any change in strong personality structures. For instance, a person strongly committed to the Democratic party will tend to ignore the campaign propaganda of the Republicans. And third, the receiver will tend to group characteristics from his experience so as to make whole patterns. To illustrate, notice how we need just a few strokes of a cartoonist's brush, creating a steel helmet, to enable us to summon up an image of a conservative hardhat.

Physical Conditions. Our sensory perceptions are altered by both internal and external physical conditions and help heighten, diminish, accept, or reject mass messages.

Internal physical conditions refer to the well-being or health of the individual audience member. When physically ill, a person filters messages differently from the way he does when he is in good health. A migraine headache, a bleeding ulcer, or an abscessed tooth can radically alter message filtering. The pain of a smashed thumb affects the sense of touch so intensely that sight and sound are impaired—not even *Playboy's* playmate of the month can cut through this filter. In some cases physical discomfort may heighten the communication experience. For example, Pepto-Bismol commercials are filtered differently when we have upset stomachs from the way they are when we are feeling well. A beer commercial is filtered one way by a man who is hot and thirsty, but another way by a man suffering from a "morning after." In the extreme the absence or impairment of one sense significantly heightens the effectiveness of another. Blind individuals tend to develop acute hearing—blindness filters motion-picture messages negatively but may increase positive filtering of phonograph music.

External physical conditions refer to the environment or surroundings in which we receive messages. If the room in which you are reading this book is too hot, too cold, too dark, or too noisy, this environment will affect your senses and the way you filter the content of this page. The whole concept of the motion-picture theater is the development of the most satisfactory environment imaginable for viewing films. The seats are comfortable. The building is air-conditioned in the summer and heated in the winter. The theater is darkened, and the screen has excellent visual definition as well as a superior sound system. Every sense is catered to in order to improve the way movies are filtered. Compare this situation to the way you watch a movie on TV. The room is lighted. People wander in and out. The phone rings. Commercials interrupt. The senses are bombarded by a competing array of stimuli. No wonder seeing a movie in a theater is a different experience from seeing that same movie at home. We filter these two experiences in entirely different physical environments. Every medium is affected in significantly different ways by the way people feel and the physical surroundings in which they use a given medium.

Stereotypes and Public Opinion

The process we are describing here was discussed at length by Walter Lippmann in a pioneering work, *Public Opinion*, first published in 1922. He called the process "stereotyping," a term he borrowed from the printing industry. It refers to the plates, molded from type, that are used to reproduce printed copies, each one exactly the same as the original. Lippmann used the term to characterize the human tendency to reduce our perceptions into convenient categories, cataloguing people, ideas, and actions according to our frames of reference for the purpose of easy recognition.

"The pictures inside people's heads," Lippmann wrote, "do not automatically correspond with the world outside." Yet those pictures in our heads are our public opinions, and when those pictures "are acted upon by groups of people, or by individuals acting in the name of groups, they are Public Opinion with capital letters."³ This "Public Opinion" is the "National Will" that is supposed to govern democratic societies; and mass media are supposed to inform the

3. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Free Press, reissued 1965), p. 191.

public about the truth of the world outside. But media men themselves cannot keep from shaping the news in terms of the pictures in their own heads and the stereotypes of their audiences.

We can see one example of stereotyping in our attitudes toward the people of other nations. Two social psychologists, William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril, studied the image that one national group has of another and found a definite tendency to ascribe certain characteristics to certain people. For example, Americans think of Russians as cruel, hardworking, domineering, backward, conceited, and brave; Americans think of themselves as peace-loving, generous, intelligent, progressive, hardworking, and brave; the British think of Americans as intelligent, hardworking, brave, peace-loving, conceited, and self-controlled. Buchanan and Cantril found that countries that were on friendly terms tended to use less derogatory adjectives in describing each other's characteristics, and that people invariably described their own nation in flattering terms.

Media Formulas and Styles Produce Stereotyped Views

Mass media directly affect the way we view the world, strengthening our stereotypes. Robert C. O'Hara, in his book, *Media for the Millions*,⁴ points out why the media deal in stereotypes. First of all, he says, the mass communicator must reduce most of his messages to their simplest elements. He must do this because of problems of time and space as well as the requirements of his audience. There simply is not enough time on the air or enough space on the page to tell everything in detail. Readers and listeners themselves do not have time to deal with material in depth and require simplified versions of most complex matters.

Second, O'Hara says, the media must frame their messages in terms that are meaningful to the audience as members of American society. Generally, those things we approve of are favorably presented by media, and those we disapprove of are presented unfavorably. For example, interracial sexual relations have in the past been considered taboo in American society, and the American mass media presented these situations in an unfavorable light. When Ralph Ginzburg published a series of color photographs showing a nude black man with a white woman in the early 1960s in his magazine

4. Robert C. O'Hara, *Media for the Millions* (New York: Random House, 1961).

Eros, he arrogantly defied this taboo and became the subject of immense criticism and scorn, ultimately ending in a conviction and jail sentence for distributing obscene material through the mails. He had given favorable presentation to something the public viewed unfavorably. But public views shift, and by the early 1970s interracial sexual relations were no longer considered as taboo as they had been previously. In 1972 *Playboy* magazine published full-color photographs of a black former football player in bed with a white movie starlet. Very little public criticism was raised, if any. Thus the view of life that the mass audience gets from mass media reflects audience values and codes of behavior, fits their frames of reference, or matches their filters.

Mass media achieve simplification and audience identification by resorting to easily structured molds and readily recognizable formulas, themes, and attitudes. The news story is a highly structured message with a lead and a body usually composed in an inverted pyramid style, almost always containing the answers to certain questions such as who, when, where, why, what, and how. Not only does this enable the reporter, editor, copyreader, and even printer to deal with the material quickly and easily, but it also aids the reader in quickly and easily filtering from the news story that part of the message meaningful to him. The same is true of the editorial, the feature story, the column, and other parts of the printed newspaper or magazine.

As we show in chapter 6 the printed media are highly structured, highly stylized even in makeup and layout. They always contain the same number of columns, with the same flag at the top of the first page, same type style, and similar handling of the news on the page from day to day. The editorial page appears in approximately the same place in each issue, the comic strips in the same section, and classified ads and stock-market quotations in the same location. Magazines and books, too, share this structured makeup. Imagine a book that did not start with a title page. Most nonfiction books have a contents page at the beginning, and end with a bibliography or an index, or both.

Electric media are also structured, stylized, and standardized. Programs are segmented throughout the programming day and timed to the split second. News programs tend to be five-, 15-, or 30-minute segments, whether the news warrants it or not. Dramas are put into segments of 30, 60, or 90 minutes. To be sure, electric media have made great attempts to create a nonlinear structure, but even these at-

tempts often end in standardization. "Laugh-In," for example, attempted to get away from a story line in dealing with comedy material, but the show still was cast in a 60-minute format, with segments broken up with commercials at well-timed intervals.

O'Hara points out that, particularly in fictional material in the mass media, the situation involves simple formulas and themes that are manifestations of our culture. The drama is composed of good guys and bad guys, and figuratively speaking the good guys always wear white hats and the bad guys black ones for quick and easy recognition.

O'Hara presents some of the basic formulas frequently encountered in fictional and factual presentations, such as *Love conquers all*; *Work hard and you will succeed*; *Virtue is rewarded, and evil punished*; and *Any problem can be solved by faith in oneself, someone else, or God*.

O'Hara also identifies certain basic themes that run as corollaries to media formulas. For example, *The simple things in life are best*; *We need to return to the good old days*; *Modern America is too materialistic*; *Anything connected with Nature is good*; *Adolescents are not responsible for their actions*; *Adults are almost always in the wrong when in conflict with youth*.⁵

These formulas and themes vary with the times and the patterns of culture. But they reinforce the culture and enhance the stereotyped view through our filters. We might say that the mass media, because of limitations of time, space, and audience, deal largely in caricature rather than in portraiture, deliberately selecting features for quick recognition and easy identification in a few strokes, rather than presenting a full picture, rich in detail and complexity, which might be closer to reality.

Public Relations and Filters

The problem of the proper perception of meaning is so great in a mass society that in the twentieth century a profession has grown up devoted to providing counsel on communication between groups with varied interests and cultures. This is the profession of public relations, which seeks to develop and utilize expertise in relating one public to another through communication. It is a profession devoted

5. Ibid., pp. 140-58.



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Courtesy Publishers-Hall Syndicate.

"The latest popularity poll shows that most people voted for your image . . . it didn't occur to them that you came with it!"

to the task of making sure that the right image of the sender penetrates the filters of the receiver.

To do this, the public relations man structures the message in a particular manner. As early as 1922, Walter Lippmann noted that in modern life:

. . . many of the direct channels to news have been closed and the information for the public is first filtered through publicity agents. . . . The development of the publicity man is a clear sign that the facts of modern life do not spontaneously take a shape in which they can be known. They must be given a shape by somebody, and since in the daily routine reporters cannot give a shape to facts, and since there is little disinterested organization of intelligence, the need for some formulation is being met by the interested parties.⁶

Public relations is the professionalization of the activity of getting others to see the world as one's sponsor sees it. Essential to ef-

6. Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, p. 217.

fective public relations is not only a clear understanding of one's own frame of reference, biases, and filters, but also those of his audience. This two-way communication effort requires careful listening as well as distinct speaking.

Media as Polarizers

As the world grows more complex, the problems of cross-cultural communications, in one sense at least, grow greater rather than smaller. As men become more specialized in the functions they perform, their filters become more specialized. They acquire a specialized vocabulary and language for their tasks. Engineers do not speak the language of doctors. In fact, eye doctors do not speak the language of foot doctors. And different kinds of eye doctors do not communicate with other kinds of eye doctors.

Specialized media have developed to accommodate the growing specialization of men. Various forms of engineers and doctors, to name only two professional groups, have new and growing specialized media to serve their communication needs. Almost every day, a new publication is born in America to serve a distinct audience, whether it is a group of prosthetics specialists or an association of terrazzo and mosaic experts.

This phenomenon of communication in modern society is changing the old lines of geographical and cultural boundaries. Sociologist Edward Sapir has pointed out how the new capabilities of communication have helped to

remap the world both sociologically and psychologically. Even now it is possible to say that the scattered "scientific world" is a social unity which has no clear cut geographical location. Further, the world of urban understanding in America contrasts rather sharply with the rural world. The weakening of the geographical factor in social organization must in the long run profoundly modify our attitude toward the meaning of personal relations and of social classes and even nationalities.⁷

In the 1960s and 1970s, the emergence of new "black media" to serve the black minority in American society is an example of just such a remapping of the world through communications as media

7. Edward Sapir, "Communication," in *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*, ed. Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz (New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 166.

adapted to the specialized filters of this group. Another example is the development of the so-called underground press, which serves a particular segment of society, a particular age group and, within that group, a specialized subculture. The underground press uses a specialized language that is understood best only by those within the subculture.

Thus to some extent the specialized media of modern times help to polarize groups in society along new lines, perhaps of age, skin color, or professional specialization. They adapt themselves to those specialized filters.

Communication and Acculturation

The opposite side of this coin is the role of mass media in bringing people together as well as keeping them apart. Mass communication can have the effect of providing common filters for people of diverse backgrounds and interests, allowing them to learn from each other and grow together.

Robert E. Park writes:

Communication creates, or makes possible at least, that consensus and understanding among the individual components of a social group which eventually gives it and them the character not merely of society but of that cultural unit. It spins a web of custom and mutual expectation which binds together social entities as diverse as the family group, a labor organization, or the haggling participants in a village market. Communication maintains the concert necessary to enable them to function, each in its several ways.⁸

Mass media, Park says, are important to the process of acculturation, where one culture modifies another.

If the marketplace is the center from which news is disseminated and cultural influences are diffused, it is, likewise, the center in which old ideas go into the crucible and new ideas emerge. . . . Under such conditions the historical process is quickened, and acculturation, the mutual interpenetration of minds and cultures, goes forward at a rapid pace.⁹

8. Robert E. Park, "Reflections on Communication and Culture," *ibid.*, p. 167.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Perhaps in no society yet known to man has this process gone forward so quickly as in America. Here, the great melting pot has taken people with different filters from diverse backgrounds and environments of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and made of them one new culture where the vast majority of them, regardless of what their grandparents did or where they came from, now speak the same language, live in the same kind of split-level house or high-rise apartment, study in the same kind of school, drive the same kind of car, and eat the same kind of hamburgers and apple pie at the same kind of drive-in restaurant.

For this, mass media are largely responsible. They have increasingly modified our filters, changed our frame of reference, given us a way of looking at and perceiving the world around us.

CHAPTER 11

Audiences

The total media system of the United States serves the American people by providing them with more accurate and better mass communications than any other nation in the world. However, individual mass media do not serve the total American public. They serve specific groups within the public, which we call audiences.

The *public* refers to a total universe, whereas *audience* refers to the people who actually use the products produced by a basic media unit. For the mass communicator, the public is an abstraction, but the audience is a reality because audience members actually consume what the media produce. An individual has only to exist to be a part of the public, but a person must take action to become a part of an audience.

Even radio and television stations that use the public's airwaves, theoretically belonging to all Americans, serve only those people who listen to or view their programs. Although stations are licensed to serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity, in reality they serve only the audiences' interests, conveniences, and necessities. No medium reaches all the people, but the total media system attempts to accomplish this feat.

Implosion and the Audience

Marshall McLuhan describes the audience situation in terms of the concept of implosion. In this description, the audience is central to mass communication and is under constant bombardment from the media. Instead of talking about an information explosion, we need to refer to an information *implosion*.

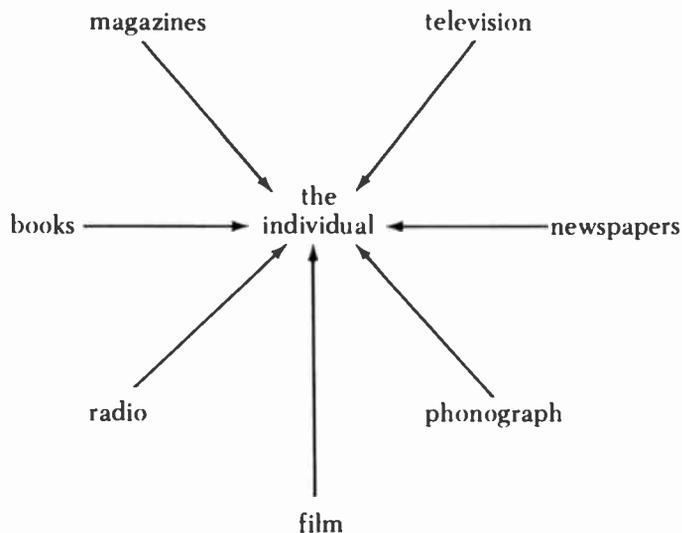


Figure 11-1.
An implosion model of mass communication.

The media distribution of information implodes inwardly on the individual. The media are so pervasive, they are almost impossible for audiences to escape. In addition, each individual is a member of a great number of audiences and receives thousands of mass messages daily. The American Association of Advertising Agencies estimates that an average of 1,500 advertising messages reaches an individual each day;

the average person pays attention to only 75 of these, however. We have developed psychological barriers that filter out most mass communications and filter in those messages that might be helpful to a particular need.

There are physical, psychological, and cultural limits to our ability to perceive and understand. As the mass media provide more and more information and entertainment and implosion increases, an audience's filtering systems become more complex and difficult to penetrate.

Theories of Mass Communication Audiences

In Melvin DeFleur's book *Theories of Mass Communication*, he analyzes four theories in terms of the effects the media have on audiences.¹

The Individual-Differences Theory. This theory describes audiences in terms of behaviorism, where learning takes place on a stimulus-response basis. Here there is no uniform mass audience—the mass media affect each individual audience member differently in terms of his personal psychological makeup derived from past experiences.

The Social-Categories Theory. This theory takes the position that there are social aggregates in American society based on the common characteristics of sex, age, education, income, occupation, and so forth. Since these social aggregates have had commonly shared experiences, audience members have similar social norms, values, and attitudes. Here there are broad audience groups (i.e., working mothers, males aged 18–49, southern white females with two children, and the like) who will react similarly to specific message inputs.

Individual-Differences Theory and the Social-Categories Theory. In combination, these theories produce the "who says what to whom with what effect" approach to mass communication. DeFleur evaluates this approach in the following manner:

While these two theories of mass communication remain useful and contemporary, there have been further additions to the set of variables intervening between media stimuli and audience response. This additional elaboration of the S-R formula repre-

1. Melvin DeFleur, *Theories of Mass Communication* (2nd ed.; New York: David McKay, 1970), pp. 118–39.

sents a somewhat belated recognition of the role of patterns of interaction *between* audience members.²

The Social-Relationship Theory. This theory, based on the research of Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, Elihu Katz, and others, suggests that informal relationships significantly affect audiences. The impact of a given mass communication is altered tremendously by persons who have strong social relationships with the audience member. As a result, the individual is affected as much by other audience members' attitudes as he is by the mass communication itself.

The Cultural-Norms Theory. This theory holds that mass media content changes the audience—the media in effect create different audience members out of those persons who use the media. The audience member can gain new opinions, have old values reinforced, or have present attitudes modified. But as a result of being in an audience, the individual is changed by the experience.

Audiences and Theories. If we combine aspects of all four theories we come up with the following description of a possible audience theory: No *one* mass audience of our media system exists, but rather a variety of audiences exist for each medium. All of us are members of a large number of audiences, and each audience member reacts individually. This reaction is similar, however, to that of other audience members who have shared common experiences and are influenced by the same social relationships. As a result of being a member of an audience, an individual is changed by the total media experience.

Characteristics of Audiences

In the interpersonal-communication process, the receiver is normally one individual. In mass communication receivers are audiences, listeners, readers, and viewers. Mass communication audiences exhibit five characteristics:

1. The audience tends to be composed of *individuals* who are apt to have commonly shared experiences and are affected by similar interpersonal, social relationships. These individuals choose the media products they use by actual conscious selection or habitual choice.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 124.



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"I'm transmitting, but how do I know He's receiving?"

2. The audience tends to be *large*. Charles Wright says: "A tentative definition would consider as 'large' any audience exposed during a short period of time and of such a size that the communicator could not interact with its members on a face-to-face basis."³
3. The audience tends to be *heterogeneous*, rather than homogeneous. Individuals within a given audience represent a wide variety of social categories. Some basic media units increasingly seek specialized audiences, but even these groups tend to be more heterogeneous than homogeneous.
4. The audience tends to be *relatively anonymous*. The communicator normally does not know the specific individual with whom he is communicating, although he may be aware of general audience characteristics.
5. The audience tends to be *physically separated* from the communicator. The distance is physical in terms of both space and time.

The word *mass*, when modifying audience, creates problems because it has the negative connotation as the great unwashed, anti-intellectual, and unthinking masses. The implication is that audience members are automatons readily available for media manipulation. Some people regard audience behavior as automatic, routine, and in-

3. Charles Wright, *Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective* (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 13.

discriminate. However, few Americans spend their time and money automatically, routinely, and indiscriminately on the mass media.

Audiences of Media

Print Media. Every time we commit ourselves to newspapers, books, and magazines, we become part of the audience of that specific book or a given issue of a magazine or newspaper. When businessmen talk about print readership, they normally refer to circulation, i.e., those people who buy the product. Media people, in point of fact, don't know exactly *what* is read or *who* actually reads it. So when we talk about readership, we are referring to those people *who actually buy and hopefully read* the media product in question. Financial commitment generally precedes actual consumption, however, so we can assume that the buyers have a high probability of becoming readers. The buyer and his immediate family are *primary readership*. If someone outside the household uses the issue in question, we call this *pass-along readership*. Pass-along readership is an important aspect of the magazine audience because every reader is a potential customer for the products advertised.

The readers of books, newspapers, and magazines meet the audience criteria established earlier:

1. Each basic media unit has a variety of audiences, not just one audience.
2. The audiences for books, newspapers, and magazines are very large. Many sell millions of copies.
3. Although specialized books and magazines seek specific audiences, they are available and used by a wide variety of individuals. Newspaper audiences are heterogeneous.
4. The audiences are relatively anonymous. Publishers try to identify the characteristics of prospective audiences but seldom personally know the users.
5. The reader is physically removed from the writer. The audiences read after something is written (time). The audiences do not read over the author's shoulder (space).

Reading is individual, private, and personal. Words are written to be read by one person at a time. Reading is the act of one person, which makes print audiences a collection of individuals.

Recorded and Broadcast Media. Broadcast and record audiences are collections of groups and individuals. These electric audiences

may listen as individuals (as is usually the case in radio and phonograph-record listenership), in small family groups (as is usually the case with TV), and in small-to-large nonfamily gatherings (party or discotheque use of the phonograph or the jukebox).

Record listenership is assessed by record sales. Radio and TV audiences are determined by audience-rating services, which attempt to determine not only the size but the characteristics of the individuals using these media. Unlike what happens with the print media, audiences frequently use radio, television, and recordings, as a group, although individual members maintain their personal identity.

The Motion-Picture Medium. Movies are seldom viewed by a solitary individual and almost always by large audiences, although drive-in motion pictures provide something akin to a solitary experience. Even though the individual may become deeply involved in a given film, he remains an individual. There are a variety of movie audiences which are massive, heterogeneous, relatively anonymous, and physically removed from the communicator.

Audiences in Media Environments

Each medium creates or modifies the environment in which it is used. Likewise, physical conditions in which media are used affect audience response.

Reading Environments. The print media are highly mobile; they can be used almost anywhere if the user is literate and there is light to read by. Interestingly, some print-use environments establish a variety of physical constraints on the user. The library, presumably a place where intense concentration is required, usually demands quiet. Reading a textbook or studying for a test normally needs low-level sound. Freedom of movement is not restricted, however. It is amazing how irritating noise can be in a library, but how unobtrusive it becomes on the subway ride to work. The rider-reader conditions himself to the use of magazines, newspapers, and books in this noisy environment.

All of us learn to use media in a variety of environments. When these environmental conditions are altered, the audience member may become upset. Today's older generation learned to study quietly, and parents cannot fathom their children's use of rock music for background purposes while doing homework. The amount of retention required affects the reading situation. Reading for pleasure and reading

for school are quite different acts and require very different levels of concentration, because each requires us to acquire different amounts and kinds of information.

The reading of a magazine, newspaper, or book can take place in a variety of environments. Studying, however, tends to require environments that have less distraction. Nevertheless, the tremendous mobility of most printed matter allows the reader to function anywhere he can establish a satisfactory physical and psychological environment for himself.

Listening and Viewing Environments. Radio has great mobility if the audience member owns a portable radio or has a radio in his automobile. In addition to having the physical device, the radio user must also have an electrical source, be it dry-cell batteries, the car battery, or the standard alternating current. The automobile environment requires primary concentration on driving. For this reason, the radio gets less attention than the road. Despite this, the audience member is captive unless the driver turns the radio off or leaves the car. The portable radio has no single physical setting for its use, but portable use is inhibited where radio volume would disrupt others. The development of the earplug has solved this problem, however.

Television tends to be located in a specific place, often modified for that experience, generally the living room or family room. If there are two or more sets in a household, the second tends to go into a bedroom. There are portable TV sets, but the television receiver tends to be less portable than radio or print. The TV room tends to be the focus of family activity, and normal distractions and interruptions are accepted as part of viewing. Americans use television as a social activity, and interaction during viewing is not only permissible, it is encouraged.

The record environment depends greatly on whether the phonograph in use is the portable that belongs to the youngsters or the family stereo. The portable usually gets around more, and because it has little sound quality it needs to be played louder. The stereo, however, is often housed in a visible area—immovable and supreme. The portable and 45-rpm. record are adapted to new environments by means of an increased volume. The album and the stereo modify the environment in which they are kept. Perhaps the best phonograph environment might be provided by headsets, which eliminate other aural stimuli.

The motion-picture environment is the least portable and most institutionalized of all media institutions. Watching a movie at

home, on TV, or in the classroom is completely unlike the experience we have in the movie theater. The movie house is created to increase the involvement of the audience with the film experience. The screen is huge; the place is dark; the seats are designed for comfort; the interruptions are minimal; the sound is usually good. Without question, the motion picture operates in the best of all possible controlled media environments.

The Effects of Audiences on Media Content

The audience-consumer influences the content of media in a variety of ways. The audience-consumer can change the content by personally communicating with the men who produce it. The buyer of a southern newspaper can write a letter to ask the editor to get the hockey scores printed in that paper. The consumer can telephone the local television station to complain about the accuracy of the weather reports. The audience member can go to see the general manager of the local radio station to ask that the station cease to play records that offend him. Obviously, the basic media unit can reject these requests outright. But when the communicator feels that the complainer may speak for a sizable portion of the audience, he may decide to make the change.

The audience-consumer can join with others to form pressure groups that, as a body, attempt to change the media content, as did the Legion of Decency (a Roman Catholic organization that rated the moral tone of motion pictures and had a very powerful influence on the decision-making process of the Motion Picture Code Office and Hollywood film makers) in the 1930s, '40s, and '50s. The audience-consumer can refuse to spend his time or money on the basic media unit. The buyer can refuse to subscribe to the local newspaper. The consumer can refuse to watch a television series. The audience member can refuse to listen to the local radio station. If audience size decreases appreciably, the media content will change.

This method is the most effective because it is the hardest on the media economically. The newspaper, TV station, and radio depend on audiences to attract advertisers. The size of a basic media unit's audience affects its revenue, and this may be the most accurate index of the value our society places on that particular newspaper or station. For example, when a movie becomes a smash hit, similar films are produced until the public fails to support them financially. Thousands of records are produced annually, and the public selects

those that it finds valuable from the ones “plugged” on their favorite radio stations.

Theoretically at least, the media have a responsibility to meet the needs of American audiences. When a basic media unit succeeds in satisfying the wants of one or more audiences, it will be financially rewarded. The audience affects the content of books, films, and records by financially rewarding and punishing the people who produce them. The Beatles were a cultural success because the consumers deemed it so. Harold Robbins is an economic success because audiences buy his books. *Easy Rider* succeeded because the movie audiences bought the tickets, indicating they found it an enjoyable film. The audience affects the content of media most when it accepts or rejects it financially.

CHAPTER 12

Feedback

Up to this point seven elements in the mass communication process have been described. Three other aspects of the process remain to be described: feedback, amplification, and interference.

Communication, by its very definition, is a two-way process, a cooperative and collaborative venture. It is a joint effort, a mutual experience, an exchange between two parties—a sender and a receiver. The communication experience is not complete until an audience is able to respond to the message of the communicator. That response is called feedback.

Characteristics of Feedback

In person-to-person conversation, the receiver responds naturally, directly, and immediately to the message and sender. We might flutter our eyelids or raise an eyebrow, ask for explanation or repetition, or even argue a point. In this way the message is shaped and reshaped by the participants until the meaning becomes clear. The sender and receiver interact and constantly exchange roles.

Many responses to mass communication resemble those in person-to-person communication. The audience member may respond by frowning, yawning, coughing, swearing, throwing down the magazine, kicking the TV set, or talking back. None of these responses is observable to the mass communicator, however, and they are ineffective kinds of action unless they lead to letter-writing, phone calls, cancellations of subscriptions, turning off the TV set, or some other critical action.

Because of the distance in time and space between communicator and audience in the mass communication process, special mechanisms to determine feedback have been developed. These procedures are often as complicated as the original message transmission.

Thus, unlike interpersonal communication, feedback in mass communication tends to be representative, indirect, delayed, cumulative, and institutionalized.

Representative Feedback. Because the audience of mass media is so large, it is impossible to measure feedback from each member. Instead, a representative sample of the audience is selected for measurement, and the response of this sample is projected scientifically to the whole. A letter to the editor or a change of channels may be noted by the mass communicator, but these responses would have little significance unless they could be shown to be statistically representative of the feelings of a large portion of that medium's total audience. In measuring the response of the mass media audiences specific responses of every individual are replaced by representative sampling of the audiences.

Indirect Feedback. Rarely does a performer on television or a reporter for a newspaper receive any direct response from members of his audience. Rather, the feedback comes to him through a third party, a rating organization or polling company. Even when a per-

former or reporter receives a telephone call from a listener or a letter from a reader, the response seldom offers much opportunity for direct interaction or substantially changes specific media content—unless that response is felt to be representative of a large part of the total audience. Because mass communication feedback is filtered through a third party such as a rating organization, there is less variety in form and type of feedback. As is shown later, one form—quantitative feedback—dominates.

Delayed Feedback. The response is also delayed in time from the moment of transmission. There are some overnight television ratings, but most ratings are not published until about two weeks after the original TV-program transmission. Letters to the editor must go through the mail. Surveys and polls take time to conduct and study. The reaction of the communicator to feedback is also delayed by the way that medium operates. For example, once a motion picture is “in the can” it can be modified in only minor ways after audience reaction to preview screenings. Even in the more flexible daily newspaper, immediate modifications and corrections are played down and put in the back pages because they are not timely and newsworthy. Before the first episode of a new network television series appears in the fall, 13 episodes of that series have usually been completed. Thus, because of the financial investment and contractual commitments involved, poor ratings (negative feedback) almost never spell immediate termination of a new TV program, but rather at the end of the first or fall quarter (the 13-week period from September to December).



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Cumulative Feedback. In mass communication, the immediate and individual response is not as important as the collective or cumulative responses over a substantial period of time. Since the re-

sponse is delayed, there is seldom any chance for immediate reaction, but the communicator accumulates data over a period of time from a variety of sources. He stores this data, and it influences his future decisions—especially concerning what the public wants in the way of media content. For example, the success or failure of one rock group affects a record company's willingness to promote a similar group. The success of The Beatles' records and films led to the development of "The Monkees," a TV series. In television, spin-offs of "The Beverly Hillbillies," including "Petticoat Junction" and "Green Acres," were the direct result of cumulative feedback on the original Paul Henning series. A more recent example is "Maude," the sister-in-law of Archie Bunker from "All in the Family."

Quantitative Feedback. For the most part, response is sought and measured in quantitative terms. Critics of the mass media provide some qualitative judgments via book, phonograph, movie, and television reviews. But the mass communicator is more interested in knowing how many people responded rather than how a critic responded, unless he can show how the critic's views affected the numbers of people who used that media content. The review of a book, a record, or a movie can seriously affect purchases or attendance, but in television the review of a particular program has little impact because it usually takes place after the telecast. Little or no critical evaluation of newspapers, magazines, or radio is consistently available to audiences. In addition, critical evaluations of pop culture may not be the best indication of the merit of media content, because traditional criteria are difficult to apply to new media content.

Institutionalized Feedback. Finally, mass communication feedback is institutionalized. That is, it requires large and complex organizations to accomplish meaningful feedback to mass communication. Research organizations such as the A. C. Nielsen Company, the American Research Bureau, and Pulse, Inc., provide quantitative feedback data for broadcasting in the form of ratings. Companies such as Simmons and Politz survey print-media audiences. Market research and public opinion survey groups such as Gallup, Harris, and Roper go directly to the public to find out what messages have come through and what changes have resulted in levels of information, attitudes, and actions.

Most media institutions not only purchase the raw data but also seek an analysis of the meaning of the information by the research institution. In fact, little feedback is developed or interpreted by the majority of mass communicators.

Techniques of Obtaining Feedback

Feedback is essential for communicators using the mass media—newsmakers, interpreters, educators, persuaders, promoters, and entertainers. Whether the originator of the message is an advertiser, a public relations official, a politician, an entertainer, or a myriad of others, all need to ask essentially the same questions: How many were exposed to the message? Who were these people? How did they perceive the message? What effect did the message have on them?

Feedback for mass media is obtained through research, using scientific methods developed by sociologists, psychologists, and survey researchers. Correct sampling procedures—those that help achieve a statistically significant finding from a small representative sample of the total audience—are a critical aspect of such research. A Gallup poll, for example, uses 1,500 interviews, from a random sample, to project percentages for the entire population of the United States. The national rating reports on network-TV programming prepared by the A. C. Nielsen Company uses a sample of 1,200 homes, all carefully selected to represent U.S. population patterns.

Research organizations commonly use four techniques of information retrieval in conducting survey research:

1. The *personal interview* is frequently used in media research because it can provide lengthy, detailed responses that involve personal interaction of the respondent and the interviewer. The drawbacks of this method are that it is time-consuming, relatively expensive, and depends on recall rather than the immediate responses of audience members.

2. The *telephone coincidental* is a method that provides immediate feedback as to what the individual is doing at the time of the phone call. It is also fast and relatively inexpensive. Extremely lengthy and detailed answers are difficult to obtain, however, and because of the prevalent use of the telephone as a sales tool, many people called in such surveys are suspicious and refuse to cooperate. This also automatically limits the sample to those people with phones, to those who have not moved recently, and to those at home or not using the phone when called.

3. The *diary* method, whereby the respondent keeps a log of his own or family use of media, has the advantage of providing a continuous record over a substantial period of time (usually one week).

Failure to maintain the diary or forgetting to return the diary to the research company are problems.

4. The *mechanical device* such as that used by the A. C. Nielsen Company, called the audimeter, records the minute-by-minute use of the television set. However, the audimeter only supplies information as to whether the set is on and the station to which it is tuned. No data are provided as to who or how many viewers are involved.

The ways in which these research methods have been used tend to fall into general patterns. The diary and the mechanical device are used almost exclusively in providing feedback for the broadcast media. The personal interview and telephone coincidental serve as essential methods in public opinion surveys. The telephone-coincidental survey is also used as a fast method of obtaining broadcast-audience information, and the personal interview is used almost exclusively for print feedback.

The quality of the quantitative feedback varies with the question being asked. In terms of *how many people exposed*, media-research data are excellent within the limits of statistical error. As to *who the audience is*, the feedback is also superior within these statistical limits. In terms of *how messages are perceived* and *the effects of this perception*, reliable feedback is almost nonexistent. These latter two findings are critical to the future development of the mass media.

Forms of Feedback

The Motion-Picture and Sound-Recording Media. For both commercial films and records, the most critical form of feedback is how audiences spend their money. Record sales and box-office receipts are key determinants in the kinds of feature-length movies and singles or albums that will be produced in the future. For both films and records, critics do have some impact, but the communicator usually focuses on ticket and record sales rather than reviews. The figures from *Variety* (figure 12-1) represent a major form of feedback for movie producers; it tells them the number of people willing to pay a particular price for a specific film.

Similar kinds of data are provided for the recording industry by *Cashbox* and *Billboard*. Although this feedback cannot alter the content of a film or a recording, it does affect the booking and distribution of films and records. This information is critical in determining whether similar kinds of content will be produced in the future. Economic feedback is also critical in the careers of the talent employed in

Estimates for This Week

Astor (Reade) (1,094; \$1-\$2.50)—“They Call Me Trinity” (Averb) and “C. C. & Company” (Averb). See showcase. Last week, house’s hardcore experiment, “Personals” (Distribpix) drew \$7,415 in second week.

Baronet (Reade) (430; \$2.50-\$3)—“The French Connection” (20th). See showcase. “The Garden of the Finzi-Continis” (C5) moves here today (Wed.).

Beekman (Rugoff) (538; \$2.50-\$3)—“What’s Up Doc?” (WB) (3d moveover wk). Second moveover round heading for \$18,500, after previous \$19,957.

Carnegie Hall Cinema (Cinecom) (330; \$2-\$3)—“Silent Running” (U). See showcase.

Cine (Loews) (599; \$3.50-\$4)—“The Godfather” (Par) (10th wk). Ninth smash round nears \$35,800, after previous \$41,935. The five Manhattan theatres which opened blockbuster join showcase today (Wed.).

Cinema I (Rugoff) (700; \$2.50-\$3)—“A Clockwork Orange” (WB) (22d wk). Ticking along with \$17,329 in 21st frame. Last round, \$18,887.

Figure 12-1.

*Box-office-receipt information published by Variety,
an entertainment-industry trade magazine.*

the film and recording media. Unless the records of a performer sell, he cannot remain in the recording business, no matter how accomplished a musician he may be.

One other form of feedback is important to both media: professional recognition of excellence in the form of awards. The Oscars and Grammys are important forms of feedback to the artists involved, because they can and often do serve as recognition of a specific film or recording, or they can be used as a reward for exceptional careers. Interestingly, this form of feedback also serves as an important influence on audiences. For example, the Academy Award for Best Actress in 1972 went to Jane Fonda for her performance in *Klute*. This professional pronouncement of excellence led to a substantial increase in attendance for that film. The Academy Award for Best Picture of the Year usually means several million dollars in additional revenue for the film, the most welcomed form of feedback in the commercial film industry.

Broadcasting. For both radio and television the critics' feedback has little impact, and the Emmys are often used by actors and other talent to criticize TV business decisions. For example, in 1971 the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences gave several awards to "The Senator" segment of "The Bold Ones," which NBC had canceled for the 1972 season. The recognition inherent in the award and the acceptance speeches of the recipients were negative feedback on NBC's decision to cancel that show. But they had no effect on keeping it on the air, nor did those actions have any lasting effect on the National Broadcasting Company's programming policies.

Feedback in the form of volume of TV-set sales as well as subscriptions to community-antenna television systems (cable TV, or CATV) has little direct effect on programming practices of stations or networks. Radio-set sales serve a similarly ineffective feedback role.

In both radio and TV, audience research provides the most important form of feedback. This type of information has come to be known as *the ratings*. Considerable confusion surrounds what a rating is, how it is used, and the impact this form of feedback has on the decision-making process in broadcast programming.

The *national television ratings*, obtained by the *audiometer* of the A. C. Nielsen Company, are a percentage of the estimated number of U.S. TV households. A program rating of 20 means that 20 percent of all the TV-equipped homes in the nation are watching that program. In 1973 there were approximately 66 million TV homes. Thus, for a rating of 20 it means that over 13 million homes are tuned to that program (a fairly typical rating for "Sanford and Son" see figure 12-2).

A program's rating	×	U.S. TV homes	=	The number of homes tuned to that program
20%	×	66,000,000	=	13,200,000

Figure 12-2.

The method used to compute the number of homes represented by a rating.

It should be reemphasized that these ratings represent households, not individuals and are based only on those homes with television sets.

The Nielsen Television Index Reports also carry ratings (percentages) for various audience groups based on age, sex, family size, location, income, and so forth. For example, if we consider women aged 18–49 (a primary target audience of a large number of advertisers), a rating is a percentage of that universe—women aged 18–49 who reside in a TV household. Figure 12-3 provides feedback in the form of ratings—percentages for the syndicated program “To Tell the Truth” according to a specific kind of audience. The program was viewed, for example, in Providence by 32 percent of all TV households in the station’s market area. The 43 percent share figure indicates the percentage of households that were watching television at that time were tuned to “To Tell the Truth.” The information is further broken down by estimating figures (in thousands) for people aged 18–49 and 18–34, and for two groups of housewives. This type of information is obtained by using diaries, because it deals with *viewers* rather than *sets*.

The most specialized ratings are based on product usage, a practice initiated in the mid-1960s by the Brand Rating Index (BRI). Here, viewers are reported as percentages (ratings) of users of a product class. For example, a BRI rating of 20 indicates that 20 percent of the viewers are heavy users of a product class (e.g., gasoline, prepared cereal, beer, and so on). The basis of this system is that the advertiser on TV is more interested in feedback that indicates results in terms of product use than audience characteristics and demographics. This feedback is obtained through personal interviews as a means of getting product information, and diaries to get viewer information.

Radio- and television-rating feedback for local network programs are also prepared by Singlinger, Pulse, Trendex, and the American Research Bureau (ARB). Each of these organizations uses a different method of obtaining feedback. Singlinger uses the telephone-coincidental method for network-radio research. Pulse, Inc., uses the personal interview. Trendex uses the telephone coincidental. ARB uses the diary and is the major competitor of Nielsen in providing local TV feedback.

Local TV ratings for more than 200 markets are reported in November and March. The largest markets are surveyed as frequently as once a month, but the smaller markets are covered only in the two annual “sweeps.” All this information on network television is designed to make network TV feedback *fast, detailed, and cumulative*.

The main criticism leveled at ratings is the emphasis placed upon them by networks, stations, and advertisers. Low ratings bump pro-

Figure 12-3.
Selected market ratings analysis of "To Tell the Truth,"
Variety, 22 May 1972.

Market	Station	ADI		METRO		Homes				Housewives		
		RATING	SHARE	RATING	SHARE		TOTAL	18-49	18-34	TOTAL	UNDER 50	
Providence	(WED)†	WJAR	32	43	38	51	215	218	61	34	183	51
Chattanooga	(THURS)†	WDEF	25	36	29	48	60	51		11°	47	20
Spokane	(MON)	KXLY	24	39			64	52	20	14	46	17
Memphis (6:30 CST)	(WED)†	WREC	29	41	29	42	159	161	68	37	137	55
Albany	(FRI)†	WTEN	23°	36°	27	42	97°	93	43	25	79	37
Columbus, O.	(FRI)†	WTVN			20°	39°	98	87	39		77	
Phoenix (6:30 CST)	(MON)†	KOOL	23	43	24	45	93	85	24		80	
Indianapolis	(WED)†	WISH	22	33	25	38	162	155			138	
St. Louis (6:30 CST)	(THURS)†	KTVI	20	33	18	31	184	163	58		145	49
Fresno	(THURS)†	KMJ	22	37	25	42	54	50	24		46	21
Roanoke	(MON)†	WSLS	28	39	35	49	91	90	44	21	77	36

grams off the air, because a program with a 10 rating costs its sponsor twice as much for each home reached as does a program with a 20 rating. The fault does not lie with the feedback but in the way broadcasters and advertisers use it.

In conclusion, it must be observed that as long as we have a commercial system of broadcasting in the United States ratings will play an important role in the medium. Broadcasters and advertisers must know what they are getting for their money in TV as in any other advertising medium.

Print Media. Feedback for books comes from critics, award committees, and sales. All three provide a good indication of a book's success.

For newspapers and magazines, feedback as to the number of copies sold comes from the Audit Bureau of Circulation. This information indicates *only* the newspaper's and magazine's paid circulation. Additional feedback on both media is provided by readership studies conducted by companies such as Politz and Simmons, but these studies are not conducted with the regularity of broadcast ratings. In terms of advertisers, considerably more feedback on a repetitive basis would be helpful.

The effect of telephone calls and letters from audiences has seldom had significant impact on the print media. This form of feedback is often considered "crank mail," unless the media are barraged by a huge quantity over a period of time. The media are so complex that the audience feels powerless to change them. In spite of the competition in the media marketplace, subscription cancellation or even advertiser boycott are often relatively ineffective feedback.

In order to obtain changes in current media practices, audiences often direct their negative feedback at someone other than, or in addition to, the communicator. Many dissatisfied audience members of radio and TV stations respond to the Federal Communications Commission rather than the specific station. The FCC—under public pressure—then will provide to the station indirect feedback that might be more effective than that of the audience. A change in the station's broadcast policies could come about as a result of feedback to the FCC. WLBT-TV in Jackson, Mississippi, lost its license because of indirect feedback on that station's policy in regard to racial issues. The FCC's action serves as feedback for other stations, indicating that certain actions are frowned upon. The action by the Motion Picture Producers Association in establishing a production code and self-regulating agency was a result in part of public feedback to



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Congress, which was retransmitted to the film industry. In addition, public reaction to increased violence and nudity in film has been communicated to other media, the local newspapers, and national magazines, which in turn transmit it to the film industry.

Public feedback over references to drugs in rock-music lyrics led the FCC to send a notice in 1971 to radio stations, reminding them that they were responsible for putting this material on the air. The stations, in turn, pressured the recording industry for changes in the music or printed lyrics of all new releases so they could be evaluated in light of the FCC policy statement.

There is some indication that the public feels its direct, negative feedback goes unheeded when sent directly to the media. Letters alone usually cannot keep a TV series on the air, change the content of movies or the lyrics of rock music. This is, in part, correct—a few letters are ineffective, but a massive barrage of letters, telephone calls, or a boycott by regular users of a medium can have effect. Feedback in mass communication must consist of extensive long-term pressure in order to be successful in accomplishing major change.

Interference

All along the route of a message from communicator to audience and back, there are many possibilities for distraction, and this element of the communication process should not be minimized. This breakdown in mass communication is called interference, static, or noise. In person-to-person communication, these distractions occur in various ways: one person may look away, a pretty girl may walk by, another person may interrupt.

In mass communication, the possibilities of interference are greatly multiplied. Noise and static can result from weak signals,

clutter or competing messages, distractions in the environment, and audiences burdened by information overload.

Weak signals, such as poor sound levels in radio, distorted pictures on television, poor quality of paper and printing in newspapers, magazines, and books, can all result in a message from which the receiver can be easily distracted. The substance of the communication, too, can be insignificant and easily disregarded.

Clutter, such as the variety of sounds and images in broadcasting, the jumble of stories splashed on the newspaper page, or the profusion of books and magazines lined up on the newsstand rack, can cause so much competition for the mind of the audience that we turn off and receive no messages, or receive so many different and conflicting messages that none makes an impression.

Information overload also can interfere with the message. The audience of mass media receives so much that the burden of the information distracts from the meaning of the message. In an age of mass communication, when the channels are so glutted with messages, when we can hardly turn around without getting bombarded with numerous facts and opinions, it is almost surprising that any messages come through at all.

Amplification

Messages usually do get through the maze of mass communication because of amplification. Somewhere along the line the message gets amplified so that it stands out from the other facts and ideas clamoring for our attention. Amplification might be the result of front-page banner headlines, frequent reproduction of the same message in many media over a period of time, or the approval of a third party. The very fact that one message gets into the media, while others do not, serves to emphasize that message and deemphasize others.

Strong signals can amplify the message. Bold, black type in a front-page headline can make one item stand out more loudly than another. Powerful radio transmission, color television, technicolor-stereophonic-wide screen movies, slick paper, and artful typography all can add to the effectiveness of a message. A meaningful message itself can amplify communication.

Repetition of the message over a period of time can also amplify it. A person whose name is mentioned in the headlines day after

day becomes a household word, acquires status and prestige, and people listen to him more carefully than they would if they had never heard of him. Products, ideas, and events, too, can be amplified if they are repeated in the mass media.

Endorsement may be one of the most important elements of all in achieving amplification of a message. If we can get the pretty girl who distracted our conversation to talk about our idea on television, we can use the distraction of sex to endorse or amplify. A baseball hero, movie star, or popular politician can amplify a message by verifying it for the sender, or approving it. The media themselves, of course, amplify any given fact, idea, or opinion through the selection process.

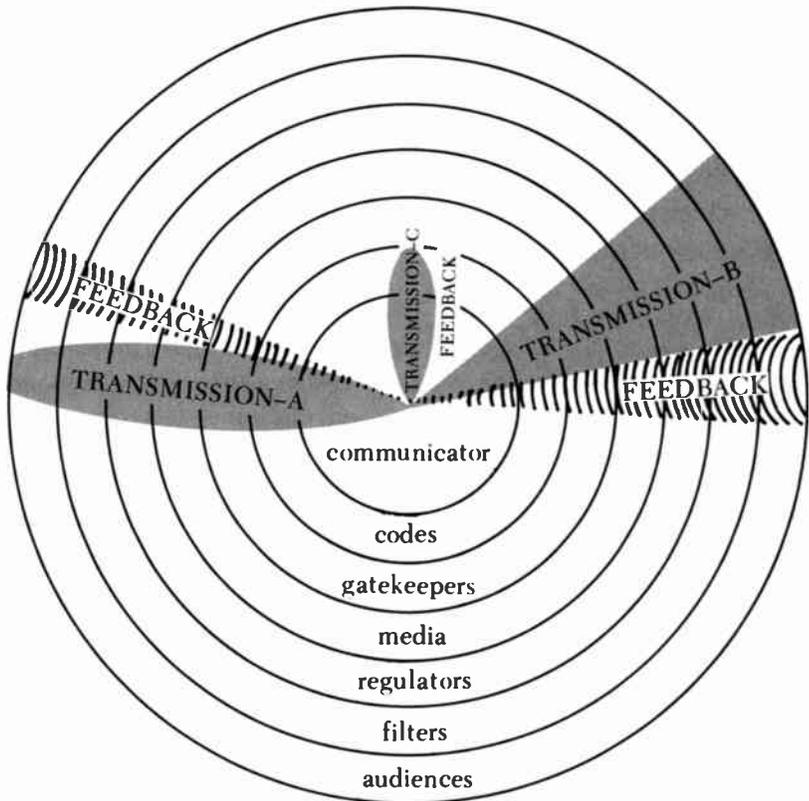


Figure 12-4.

HUB Model of Mass Communication

The Completed Process

Finally, let us put all the elements of mass communication together again in the HUB model (figure 12-4), and picture once again how the process might look if we could diagram it like a football play. In this figure, three different types of messages are pictured.

Message *A* might be the transmission of a newspaper story. As it goes from the original source to the communicator, who encodes it into the proper language, the message becomes amplified. It has no trouble passing through the gatekeepers, and the medium, too, amplifies the message. There is some interference with the message at the filter stage, however, since the story is about an event that does not quite fit our cultural concepts. Nevertheless, it reaches most of its intended audience, and there is some feedback to the communicator commenting in both negative and positive terms.

Message *B* might be the transmission of news about a violent campus protest. The message has no trouble passing through all the elements of the mass communication process, and is enlarged upon, amplified, and repeated all along the way. The message is coming through loud and clear, we might say. The feedback, too, is strong. Action is taken as a result of the message, in almost direct proportion to the strength of the message.

Message *C* might be the release of a press statement by a political candidate. The message was amplified by a communicator, but somehow he did not put it into the proper code, or he did not have sufficient news or communication value in his statement, and it did not pass the barrier of the gatekeeper and get into the mass media. Nevertheless, there was some feedback since the communicator of the message at least got the message that his message was not perceived as important by the gatekeepers.

Using such a model, we could draw a diagram of every communication act, for all messages that get communicated by mass media are affected by all the elements we have described in this unit. This, of course, is only a rudimentary picture of the process, however, and we should not be fooled into thinking that such a complex process as mass communication is, in all its ramifications, as simple as we have tried to show it.



The MEDIA of PART 3 MASS COMMUNI- CATION

Chapter 2 explained the HUB Media Systems Paradigm. The most important portions of that model were the media that make up the system. This section explores seven mass media in detail: books, newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, radio, television, and sound recordings. In addition, chapter 20 covers other media that have impact on the total system.

Each medium is analyzed in a similar fashion: (1) historical perspectives are provided to show how each medium developed; (2) current scope of each medium is evaluated to give some idea of its size and impact; (3) structure and organization are described to show how each medium operates; (4) characteristics and roles of each medium are delineated to describe its place in our society.

This section seeks to explain each medium as a distinct entity as well as a part of a mass media system in the United States.

CHAPTER **13** **Books**

Clarence Day, the famous author and playwright, once wrote:

The world of books is the most remarkable creation of man. Nothing else that he builds ever lasts. Monuments fall, civilizations grow old and die out. After an era of darkness new races build others; but in the world of books there are volumes that live on, still as young and fresh as the day they were written; still telling men's hearts of the hearts of men centuries dead.

That is still true about books, for the book, oldest of the mass media, remains one of the most important. For a time, there might

have been some feeling that, with the advent of the popular press and the electric media, books would pass from the scene. But books play a greater role in our society than ever before. The book is still the most convenient and most permanent way to package information for efficient storage, rapid retrieval, and individual consumption. With the new media to compare with it today, we can recognize the special qualities of the book as a valuable communication vehicle.

Historical Perspectives

Books have had a long history. As far back as 2400 B.C., clay tablets about the size of shredded-wheat biscuits were used as we use books today. In Babylonia these clay tablets were inscribed with cuneiform characters recording legal decisions or revenue accounts; the clay was baked and the tablets placed in jars, arranged on shelves, and the jars labeled with still other tablets attached by straw. In 700 B.C., an entire library of literary works written on such tablets existed in Nineveh in Asia Minor.

Technical Advances. The development of paper was the first great technical advance in book production. The earliest form of paper was papyrus, made from the pith of a reed found chiefly in Egypt and was believed to have been used as a writing material in Egypt as early as 4000 B.C. In the second century B.C., finding papyrus difficult to procure because of conflict with the Egyptians, the king of Pergamon sought improvements in the preparation of animal skins for writing purposes, leading to the development of parchment. Parchment became the chief medium for writing until the tenth century A.D., which saw the introduction of a new writing material made from the pulp of linen rags.

Developments in bookbinding were also important. The earliest form of paper books, called *volumen*, were rolls of long pieces of papyrus or parchment, wound around a stick. Such scrolls were difficult to handle and impossible to index or shelve for ready reference. They were more useful for inspiration than information. In the fourth century A.D. a new form of binding was developed by the Romans, called *codex*, in which scrolls of paper were cut into sheets tied together on the left side, between boards of wood, forming the kind of book we still use today. Codex binding opened a new world for books; the reader could leaf through the book and find the passage he wanted; he could begin to compare passages of books; he

could set up a table of contents and an index and put material into some order. The Romans used this form of book to organize or to codify their laws. With this development, the book started to become an important medium of information.

The Development of Printing. The most important single innovation for book publishing was the invention of the printing press and movable type. Until the middle of the fifteenth century A.D., most books were hand copied. The Chinese were the first to develop printing, sometime during the ninth century A.D., and the oldest known printed book is *The Diamond Sutra*, printed in China in 868 and made up of seven sheets pasted together to form a 16-foot scroll. But the Chinese did not carry their invention much further, and printing did not develop in the Western world until the fifteenth century, when Johannes Gutenberg, in Mainz, Germany, put together a wine press and movable type to make a usable printing system.

Book distribution improved with printing but mass distribution came slowly. Two of the first books to be printed with movable type were a book of masses, *The Constance Missal*—believed to have been printed by Gutenberg in 1450—and a Latin Bible—completed about August 1456. The art of printing spread rapidly in Europe, with more than 30,000 different books produced in printing's first 50 years. Most of these books were religious or Latin classics, written in Latin or Greek. As more people came into contact with books and learned to read, printers slowly began to produce common or vulgar versions of these classics in native languages, and they began to publish more popular subjects, such as works on history, astronomy, and supernatural phenomena.

Developments in typography followed the spread of printing. The first printed books looked much like the hand-copied volumes of the Middle Ages. The style of type was *text*, or Old English, resembling the handwriting of the monks who had copied manuscripts in florid letters. This type design was useful for religious or inspirational purposes, but because it was not easy to read, it was not as useful for information. The spread of the printed word caused new type styles to be designed, and families of type styles began to grow. As more people began to read books, type style itself began to be vulgarized or simplified. Gothic type, made up of black, bold, square letters, was easier to read than ornate text type. This new type expressed a feeling of simplicity and directness. Roman type was a combination of text and Gothic, with some ornateness and some sim-

plicity in the design of the letters, much like the type we use most today.

Each development in the production of books—whether in paper, binding, printing, typography, or broader distribution through vulgar translations—brought the book closer to the common man, and each development paved the way further for the ultimate mass production and dissemination of the book as a mass medium.

Books in Early America. Books were, of course, important to the discovery of the New World and the development of America. They allowed explorers and discoverers to pass along their discoveries, and accelerated accumulation and communication of this knowledge.

Nineteen years after the Pilgrims first set foot at Plymouth Rock, Stephen Daye became the first printer in North America, establishing himself at Cambridge; and a year later, 1640, he published his first book, *The Whole Book of Psalms*. The first American Bible was published in 1663; it was soon translated into the language of the Massachusetts Indians for missionary work.

More popular works gradually made their appearance. Most famous of these was *Poor Richard's Almanac*, published by Benjamin Franklin every year from 1733 to 1758. Franklin wrote the almanac under a pseudonym, Richard Saunders, and, between meteorological reports, filled the books with wise and witty sayings. In 1731 Franklin started the first subscription library in America, the Library Company of Philadelphia. One of the first American geniuses, a scientist as well as an eminent statesman, Franklin was also one of America's pioneer mass communicators, making important innovations not only in book publishing but in magazine and newspaper publishing as well.

Until the nineteenth century, however, books were relatively scarce, and the elite and affluent were the most likely possessors or readers of books. A man's library was often a mark of his place in society. The aristocrats of Virginia, for example, prided themselves on their leather-bound volumes of classics. One of the best collections belonged to one of the greatest geniuses among them, Thomas Jefferson, and his personal library was purchased by Congress in 1815 to start the Library of Congress.

Development into a Mass Medium. For the first 350 years of printing, the production of books changed very little. The type was set by hand, the paper was handmade, and the wooden press was hand operated. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, such

slow production did not matter since only about 10 percent of the population was able to read. But by the end of the nineteenth century 90 percent of America's population had become literate. As literacy increased, the demand for books soon exceeded the supply, and during the nineteenth century mass production techniques came to the book business.

The first technological innovation was the invention of a machine in France in 1798 that could make paper in a continuous roll rather than in single sheets. Innovations in the press were also made during the same time: First an iron press was developed to replace wood in England about 1800. Then in Germany in 1811 steam power was added to replace hand production, and the press was changed from a flat bed to a cylinder which could make impressions. It was not until 1846 that an American invented a rotary press where the type also was put on a cylinder. And in 1865, another American put paper rolls together with a rotary press for the first high-speed printing. Type continued to be hand set until 1884 when Ottmar Mergenthaler in Baltimore invented the linotype to set type by machine.

These developments in technology were accompanied by rapid change in the editorial side of book publishing. To fill the rising demand for books that could be produced more quickly and cheaply, book publishing became a more organized business, and a few major publishers began to emerge. They sought writers to produce books quickly for the new market.

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of the popular book, a cheaply produced and often sensational treatment of some popular theme, either fictional or nonfictional. The development of fast printing methods and cheap paper in the 1840s opened the way for the dime novel. Thus the world of books, which had formerly been devoted primarily to works of philosophy, religion, literature, and science, also became inhabited, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, by popular heroes of adventure, romance, the Wild West, and Horatio Alger success stories.

While the emerging book publishing industry continued to devote its primary editorial attention to producing books that would add significantly to man's storehouse of knowledge, it was the less important type of book that often sold the most copies. Indeed, the concept of "best seller" became important to book publishing in the

latter half of the nineteenth century. Books came to be judged by the book industry not so much on their "intrinsic" merit as their popularity—how many copies were sold? How much money did they make? The "best seller" concept was to become basic to all mass media.

Current Developments in Book Publishing. Until the end of World War II, book publishing in America remained essentially the same kind of industry it was in the late nineteenth century. Most firms were still relatively small, family-owned publishing houses, usually specializing in one type of book, such as adult trade books, specialized professional books, e.g., books for medicine, law, or science; or textbooks for elementary or secondary schools or colleges.

In 1945 the volume of sales of the entire book publishing industry was comparatively modest. At wholesale prices, the industry grossed \$293 million in 1945, of which \$60 million was earned in textbooks and \$85 million in encyclopedias. By 1947 the gross sales had increased to \$464 million, but this was still far behind the magazine industry, which, in 1947, had total receipts of \$1.086 billion, and the newspaper industry which grossed \$1.917 billion in 1947.

In the next half-dozen years, changes began to take place that resulted in massive improvement and a sustained growing period for book sales. From 1952 up to 1970, the book industry had increased at a rate of more than 10 percent each year. By 1972, gross sales of books had reached \$3.177 billion. Textbooks accounted for the largest share of the market, \$900 million, while encyclopedias accounted for \$606 million worth of sales. Professional books accounted for \$350 million, and adult trade books accounted for \$298 million (see table 13-1 for earlier figures).

The growth in book publishing over the past 25 years is due in large part to four specific developments within the book industry and American society: (1) development of book clubs; (2) emergence of paperback books; (3) changes in organization of publishing firms; (4) the boom in American education.

One of the reasons for the growth of book publishing has been the development of the book club, which provides a new mechanism for the distribution of books. Unlike magazines and newspapers, books cannot depend upon subscription sales, which will guarantee that the consumer will purchase and receive continuing installments of the publication over a regular period. The purchase of a book is not habitual; rather, it is usually a one-time action to fill a specific need. Books

Table 13-1.

*Dollar Volume of Book Sales, 1963, 1967, 1969, 1970, and 1971
Receipts of Publishers (In thousands of dollars; add three zeroes)*

<i>Categories of Books</i>	<i>1963^a</i>	<i>1967^a</i>	<i>1969</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1971</i>
Adult trade					
hardbound	\$ 108,515	\$ 156,000	\$ 199,000	\$ 214,000	\$ 233,000
paperbound	17,029	32,000	41,000	47,000	48,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<u>125,544</u>	<u>188,000</u>	<u>240,000</u>	<u>261,000</u>	<u>281,000</u>
Juvenile books					
under \$1 retail	31,257	35,000	36,000	38,000	29,000
\$1 and over retail	72,678	130,000	104,000	110,000	121,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<u>103,935</u>	<u>165,000</u>	<u>140,000</u>	<u>148,000</u>	<u>150,000</u>
Bibles, testaments, hymns, etc.	34,622	51,000	47,000	56,000	56,000
other religious	46,498	57,000	61,000	57,000	61,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<u>81,120</u>	<u>108,000</u>	<u>108,000</u>	<u>113,000</u>	<u>117,000</u>
Professional books					
law	57,384	74,000	91,000	90,000	90,000
medicine	24,148	38,000	50,000	57,000	59,000
business books	14,800	20,000	23,000	25,000	35,000
technical, scientific, and vocational	69,218	105,000	122,000	125,000	144,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<u>165,550</u>	<u>237,000</u>	<u>286,000</u>	<u>297,000</u>	<u>328,000</u>
Book clubs	143,418	180,000	220,000	248,000	294,000
Wholesaled (mass-market) paperbound	87,380	130,000	173,000	199,000	229,000
University press	18,274	31,000	37,000	39,000	39,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<u>725,221</u>	<u>1,039,000</u>	<u>1,204,000</u>	<u>1,305,000</u>	<u>1,439,000</u>
Elementary and secondary textbooks	304,700	421,110	454,680	483,990	498,000
College textbooks	160,200	286,670	346,370	360,450	379,000
Standardized tests	12,660	21,570	21,690	23,100	25,000
<i>Subtotal</i>	<u>477,560</u>	<u>729,350</u>	<u>822,740</u>	<u>867,540</u>	<u>902,000</u>
Subscription reference books	380,900	500,750	605,450	612,800	607,000
Other books	102,056	110,000	131,000	139,000	135,000
<i>Total</i>	<u>\$1,685,737</u>	<u>\$2,379,100</u>	<u>\$2,763,190</u>	<u>\$2,924,340</u>	<u>\$3,082,000</u>

^a The 1963 and 1967 figures are from the U.S. Census of Manufacturers, except for the following categories for which data collected for the industry association are more complete for one year or both; elementary and secondary textbooks, college textbooks, subscription reference books, standardized tests, adult trade books, business books, university press books, book club books, and other books. The figures for 1969, 1970, and 1971 are based entirely on industry surveys for elementary and secondary textbooks, college textbooks, standardized tests, and subscription reference books. For the remaining categories in 1969, 1970, and 1971 the data are projections based on industry survey information from the base census year of 1967.

Source: *The Bowker Annual Library & Book Trade Information, 1973* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1973).

generally have been sold in bookstores or through direct mail, and the sale is often accidental. Book clubs began to develop in the 1920s, providing a kind of automatic subscription for books and regular ordering each month through the mail, in a habit-forming pattern. The book club thus became a new distribution technique that has revitalized book publishing. In 1972 more than \$350 million was grossed by the industry through book-club sales.

A second element in the growth of book publishing has been the emergence of the paperback book. Europeans were the first to publish cheaply bound books on a large scale, giving readers access to a much broader range of books than they could otherwise afford; if a reader wanted to keep any one book permanently, he could have it bound in leather for his personal library. The growth of paperback publishing spurted during World War II, when millions of men in the service needed inexpensive reading material that could easily be carried in their pockets. Today, paperback books are a staple item at almost every newsstand, drugstore, corner grocery, supermarket, bus depot, train station, and airport. Paperbacks are no longer limited to the 75-cent variety; special texts or reference works may cost as much as \$10.

The growth of the industry has been marked by important changes in the organization of publishing firms. What used to be largely family businesses and privately held firms are now large public corporations with wide distribution and public listing on the stock market. Often these corporations have diversified their publishing activities into broad ranges of books, including trade, juvenile, elementary, secondary, college-textbook, scientific, and technical-book publication. In addition, these corporations have been steadily merging into giant conglomerates, which often include other media as well.

By far the most important development in the growth of book publishing has been the boom in American education. In 1970 textbooks accounted for more than one-third of the total gross sales of books; in 1945 they had accounted for only one-fifth. If we added together all books falling generally within the educational category, including encyclopedias and professional books, they would account for more than half of the publishing industry's sales. Among the mass media, the book has a particular usefulness for conveying information, rather than providing entertainment. As a tool of education, it is still far superior to other media, and this fact has been an essen-

tial element in the growth of publishing in the United States.

The Scope of Book Publishing

Even with the growth of book publishing in the past 25 years, it is still a comparatively small and concentrated field; Bowker estimates that almost 40,000 different titles were published in 1973 from Library of Congress MARC II data. About two-thirds of these were new; one-third were revisions and reprints. The total retail volume of books produced in the United States was almost \$3 billion in 1972; an additional \$250 million worth of books were exported, heavily oriented toward textbooks and technical works.

Book publishers are concentrated primarily in New York City, with some important publishing also taking place in Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. San Francisco and Washington, D.C., also have growing book companies, and of course small publishers are scattered across the country, often in university towns, but these provide an insignificant percentage of the industry. By 1973 there were about 1,500 book publishers in the United States, but of these it is estimated that about 300 produced more than 80 percent of the total volume, and most of those 300 are headquartered in New York City.

The book market is still limited as a mass medium. While books are now more broadly distributed through the mail and corner drug-stores than 50 years ago, there are fewer retail stores devoted exclusively to the sale of books. The average American still does not spend much leisure time reading books for pleasure. It is estimated that the average American adult purchases and reads only 4 to 12 books per year. The amount of time spent each day by the average American on book reading as compared with television viewing is infinitesimal. Book prices have also increased dramatically over the past decade. In 1973 the cost of the average hardback book was more than \$12, an increase of nearly 45 percent in six years.

The Structure and Organization of Book Publishing

The book publisher is essentially a middleman between author and reader. In most small firms, the publisher contracts for all the services necessary for the production and distribution of his publica-

tions—including the work of artists, designers, copyeditors, paper dealers, printers, binders, salesmen, and distributors. Even some of the largest book publishers use outside services for some production aspects, and only a handful of major publishers have their own printing facilities.

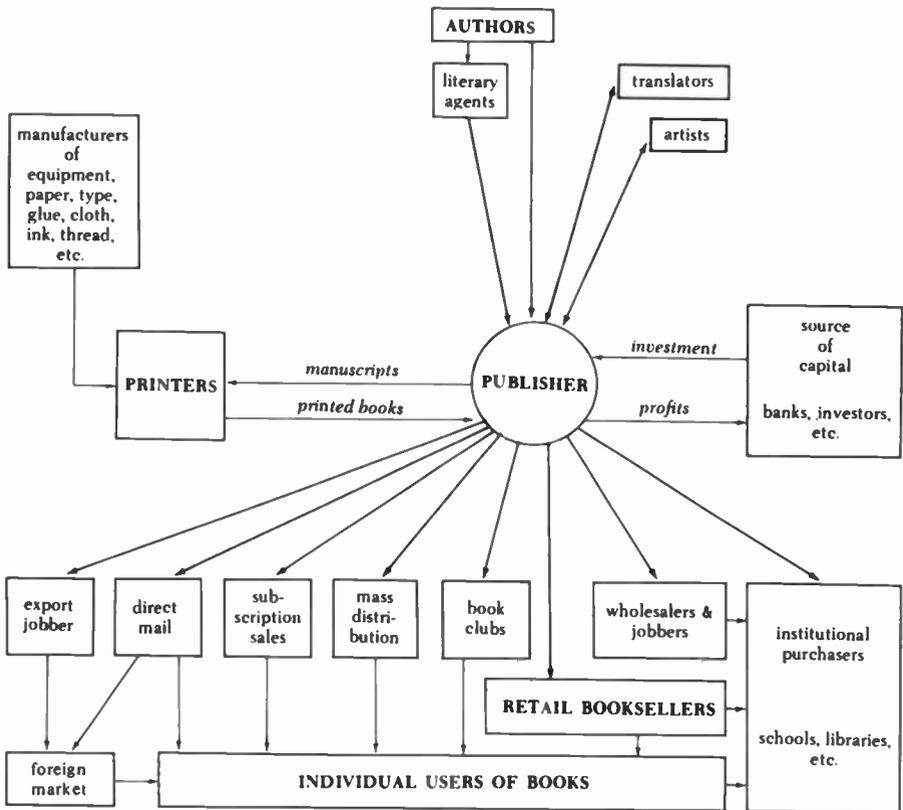


Figure 13-1.

The book publishing industry. This diagram depicts the structure of the book industry and visualizes the interaction of a variety of institutions with publishers. From Datus Smith, A Guide to Book Publishing (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1966), p. 16.

As figure 13-1 shows, the publisher operates at the center of a large number of services and specialists between the author and the reader. Within the publisher's offices, generally speaking, writes H. Z. Walck, president of his own firm in New York, "no more than forty to forty-five percent of the publisher's staff work is in the editorial, manufacturing, advertising, and selling departments. The shipping clerks, invoice clerks, accountants, yes, the top executive officer, frequently find their particular operations not much different from those in a plumbing business or that of selling cornflakes."

A typical publishing office, employing about 50 persons, would have the following organization and components (figure 13-2). It has a head editor, an officer manager, a sales manager, and a manufacturing man. It has one assistant editor, one advertising manager, two salesmen, (plus "commission salesmen" who also sell other lines), one publicity director, one production assistant, one manuscript reader, one proofreader, and four secretaries. The remaining staff personnel are clerical workers, such as stenographers and typists, file clerks, bookkeepers, billing clerks, shipping clerks, switchboard operators, key punch and duplicating machine operators. The larger the firm, the more specialized each individual's function must become.

Editors themselves have increasingly specialized tasks. Managerial editors are responsible for planning and managing publishing programs. These editors are decision makers, deciding what books to publish, what authors should write the books, and how the product should be packaged and promoted. Production editors are technicians rather than planners, performing the technical steps necessary to convert a manuscript into a finished book. This includes such tasks as supervision of copyediting, rewriting if needed, and supervision of such tasks as preparation of front matter, registering copyright, proofreading, and indexing.

The other tasks in book publishing are also specialized, whether in selling, promoting, distributing, or producing. Artists, designers, advertising copywriters, and promotion specialists are of increasing importance and concern. There are many different and challenging jobs in book publishing, and, as one publisher says: "The qualifications necessary for many of these positions are not unique to publishing; they are the same as required by most other business enterprises for similar jobs. Book publishing is a business, and as such it offers opportunity to almost anyone who has a business skill or professional talent."

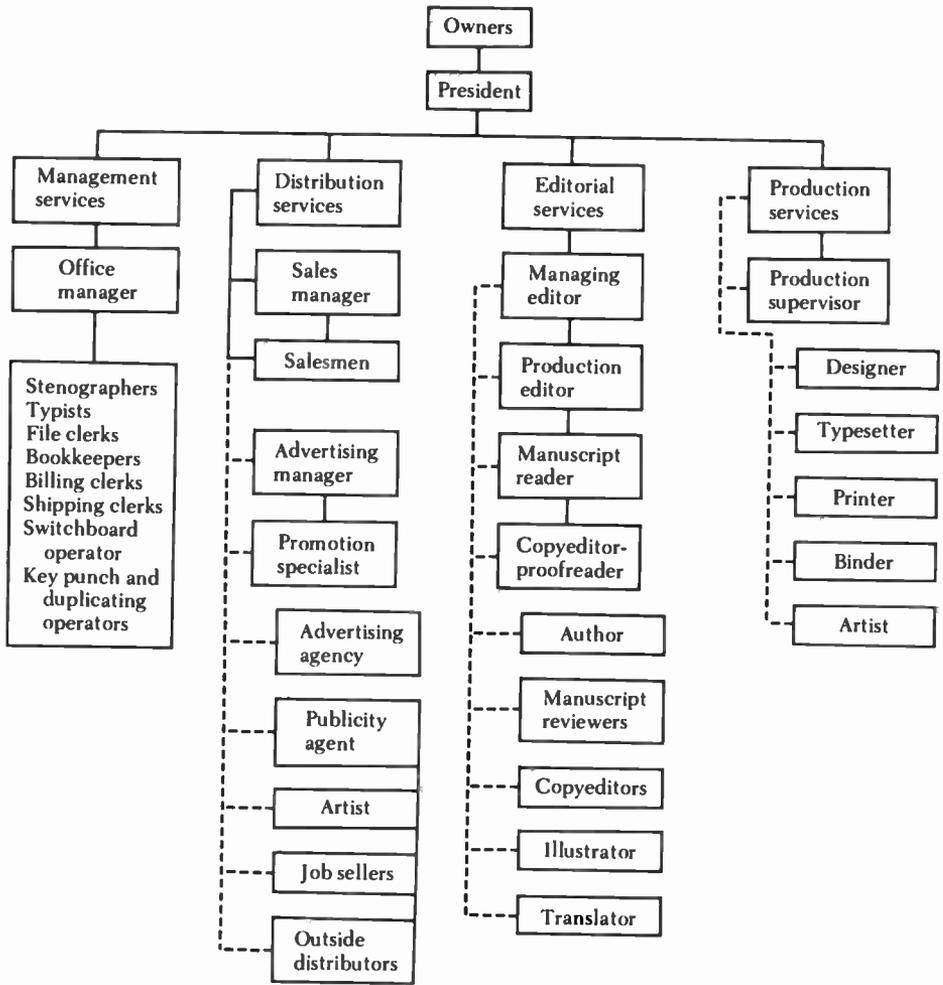


Figure 13-2.

*Organization of a typical small publishing house.**

* Broken lines represent relationships and services that are usually carried on outside the house on a free-lance basis.

Types of Book Publishing

Today we speak of book publishing in terms of three broad types: general, professional, and educational.

General Books. These are also often called “trade” books because most of them are sold to the public by the trade, meaning bookstores. General trade books include reference works, children’s books, “how-to-do-it” books, fiction, poetry, humor, biography, and

religion. Children's books, or "juveniles" or "junior books," represent a rapidly growing segment of the trade field.

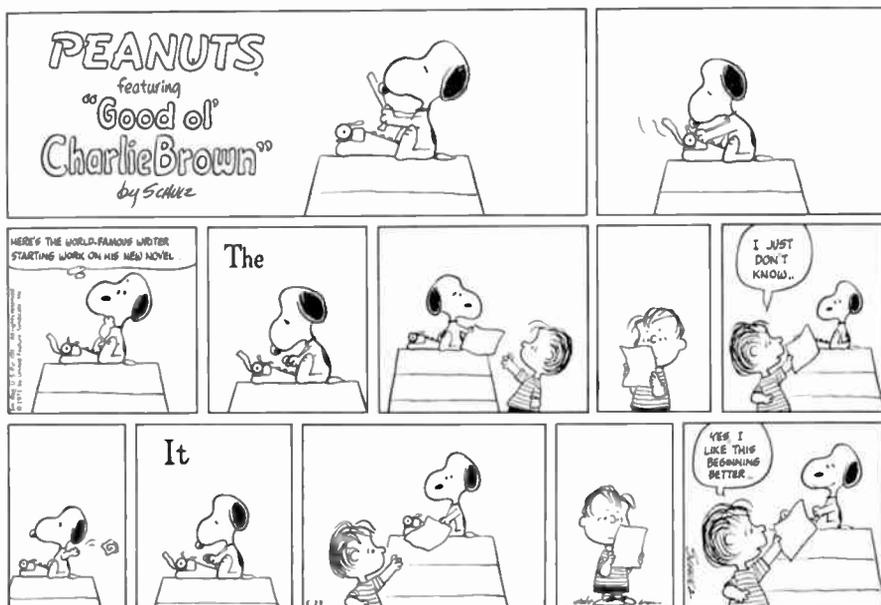
Where do trade books come from and how are they distributed? Often ideas or completed manuscripts come from free-lance writers, except in the reference book field. There seems to be no dearth of people with ideas for books, and the typical large publisher may receive annually up to 25,000 unsolicited manuscripts or book outlines and ideas. Only a small fraction of these ever get published. Trade books are generally sold through bookstores and to libraries for general public consumption. Reference works and encyclopedias are more often sold by subscription, through the mail, or by house-to-house salesmen.

Professional Books. These have become increasingly important because of our constantly changing and rapidly developing society. The professional man, no matter what his occupation, must continue to keep up with the changes in his field or run the risk of obsolescence. Hundreds of books are published each year for lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, businessmen, teachers, and executives. These might be how-to-do-it books, specialized monographs with a highly limited audience, handbooks, manuals, special reference works, and learned dissertations.

These books are most often written by leading experts and specialists in the various professions, and are often produced at the suggestion of the book publisher. The professional book editor makes it his responsibility to keep up with a particular field, to know where there are needs for certain kinds of information or interpretation in that field, and to know who can produce the needed product. Such books are usually sold through direct mail or in special technical or campus bookstores, and almost always at prices higher than those of trade books.

Educational Books. These comprise the largest area of publishing. There are over 50 million students in primary and secondary schools, about 8 million in colleges, universities, and technical institutes, and more than 25 million adults enrolled in evening courses, on-the-job training, or home-study programs. This represents a giant audience for educational textbooks, workbooks, supplementary-reading books, reference works, and laboratory materials.

Most of these books are written by teachers, college professors, or specialists. As with professional books, they are often written at the suggestion of a particular editor or publisher who sees the need



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for a particular text, but educational-book ideas often come from educators who have developed new materials or new ways of looking at old subjects. The essential element of distribution for educational books is the adoption. Textbooks are not selected by the individual student but usually adopted by the teacher for an entire class. In some cases, a book can be adopted for an entire school, an entire school system, or even a statewide school system.

Characteristics and Roles of Book Publishing

Books are marked by several distinguishing characteristics. They are, first of all, the only medium to which we attach some *permanence*. We throw away magazines and newspapers; the sound of radio and sight of television passes immediately; phonograph records are a bit more permanent but they wear out, break, become dated, and are hard to store. Movie film is difficult for the private individual to store. But anyone can put together bookshelves and keep his books for a lifetime. The permanent storage of books has been institutionalized through libraries. All this gives books a reuse rate that is far higher than that for most other media. The book can be retrieved, referred to, and reused better than other forms of communication.

The book, more than most other media, is an *individual medium*. A person can sit down with a book by himself, at his own leisure, whenever he wants. He can proceed to read at his own speed. He can stop and start at will. He can leaf through the book and find a special passage. Because the reading of a book is individual and there is no need for speed, time is of little concern; the author of a book can develop his subject much more completely and deeply than can the originator of any other mass communications medium.

Because it has traditionally been a *slow medium*, usually taking months before a completed manuscript could be produced in book form, the book has not been an important medium of news. But today, with high-speed presses and mass marketing methods, books can be produced and distributed almost as quickly as newspapers and magazines. The *New York Times* produced a book about the first rocket flight around the moon and sold copies on the newsstands within a few days after the event. Another paperback book about a sensational trial was sold on drugstore counters within 24 hours after the jury returned its verdict.

The book carries with it an aura of more dignity and respect than most other media, perhaps because it is the oldest of them or because it has been so closely identified with education, intellectual activity, and the recorded wisdom of mankind. People who would not think twice about wrapping their garbage with the week in review section of the *New York Times* might keep on their bookshelves a superficial romance bound in book form. We tend to have a reverence for the book that transcends all other media.

The book can be an important medium of journalism, and it is being rediscovered by journalists. This discovery has been aided by such writers as Truman Capote, who used the techniques of journalism to produce *In Cold Blood*, a factual work of literary merit. At the same time, journalists such as Theodore H. White (*The Making of the President 1960*, as well as *1964*, *1968* and *1972*) have been using literary techniques to produce journalistic books with color, description, dialogue, and dramatic pacing, to bring factual events to life.

The book, as a matter of fact, is one medium of mass communication that increasingly will be able to combine creative writing and news reporting to give greater meaning and impact to the swift-paced and complicated occurrences in today's changing world.

CHAPTER 14

Newspapers

Although the book is the oldest medium in use today, the newspaper is the oldest *mass* medium, for it was the first form of communication to reach a mass audience. The newspaper's early identification with the masses, with the man on the street, made it the medium of democracy, so newspapers have played a unique role in the development and continuation of a democratic form of government in America. Thomas Jefferson summed up the political philosophy of the role of newspapers in a free society when he said:

The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to

me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

As a medium of the masses, the newspaper has often been suppressed by those in power and authority, and the history of the newspaper is a story of a continuing struggle to be free to publish news, facts, information, and opinion.

Historical Perspectives

The regular publication of news goes back more than 2,000 years to at least 59 B.C. when the Romans posted public news sheets called *Acta Diurna*. The word *diurna*, meaning daily, has been an important part of news ever since. The words “journal” and “journalism” have their roots in the same word, “day,” and the daily, current, or timely aspect of news has always been an essential factor in newspapers.

But for much of the past 2,000 years, the communication of news has been carefully guarded. Through most of the empire days of Rome and the centuries of dark ages, the distribution of news came under the strict control of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Even after the development of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, it took another 150 years before the political climate could change sufficiently to allow the first beginnings of the modern newspaper.

Early Development of the Newspaper. During that century and a half (and long thereafter), printers had to fight monarchs for the right to publish. William Caxton, the first English printer, set up his press in 1476 and worked in relative freedom for 50 years, largely because he did not print any news. When Henry VIII came to the throne of England, he feared the power of the press, and by 1534 he had set up strong measures to control printing. For more than a hundred years after that, the British maintained repressive restrictions on printers; some were hanged and many were imprisoned for defying the authority of the Crown.

As Edwin Emery points out in his history of journalism, *The Press and America*, “It is significant that the newspaper first flourished in areas where authority was weak, as in Germany, at that time divided into a patchwork of small principalities.” The first prototype

newspaper, a rudimentary version, to be sure, was published about 1609, probably in Bremen, Germany. In that same year a primitive newspaper appeared in Strasbourg, and in 1610 another in Cologne. By 1620, infant newspapers were being printed in Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, Amsterdam, and Antwerp.

The first English prototype newspaper was printed in London in 1621. From that year to 1665, various "corantos" and "diurnals" ("current" and "daily" forms of publication) made their appearance. These often were tracts and broadsides in format, rather than newspapers. Their production accompanied a growing political and philosophical climate of freedom from governmental control, climaxed by the ringing declarations of poet John Milton. In 1664, in his essay *Areopagitica*, he expressed the basic rationale of a free press in a democratic society, when he wrote:

... though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her [truth] and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?

In 1665 the first true English-language newspaper, in form and style, was published in Oxford, then the seat of the English government. It was called the *Oxford Gazette*, and when the government moved to London some months later, it moved, too, and became the *London Gazette*. Thirty-seven years later, in 1702, the first daily newspaper, the *Daily Courant*, was published in London. In those 37 years, English printers of newspapers had won many rights, including the freedom to publish without a license.

Newspapers in Early America. In the British colonies, where people did not have full British citizenship, printers did not yet enjoy the same rights and freedoms. Thus, the first newspaper in the American colonies, *Publik Occurances, Both Forreign and Domes-tick*, published on September 10, 1690, was banned after its only issue because its printer, Benjamin Harris, did not have an appropriate license from the Crown.

Fourteen years later, the *Boston News-Letter* was started, published with the authority of the Massachusetts governor. Nevertheless, in its lifetime from 1704 to 1776—when it ended publication during the American Revolution—it was rebuked by the government on occasion, and publication was suspended several times.

Most early colonial newspapers, like their European counterparts, existed primarily for the purpose of spreading information about business and commerce. Produced by printers, not journalists, they contained some local gossip and stories, but many of them were concerned chiefly with advertising, and often they had the word “advertiser” in their title. They told about ship comings and goings, market information, import and export news, and trade tips. But the colonial printers who published these newspapers could not help but inject stories about political conditions that affected their businesses, and they expressed their opinions on such political matters. As they increasingly smarted under their second-class British-citizenship status, they expressed their bitterness over the policies of the Crown with increasing frequency in their editorials.

In 1721 James Franklin, a colonial printer, began publication of the *New England Courant*. When he made a sarcastic comment in his paper about the British governor, he was thrown into jail and his 13-year-old brother, Benjamin, took over. This started Ben Franklin on a lifetime of writing, printing, and publishing. Later Ben went to Philadelphia to start his own print shop and newspaper, and before he was 40 he had become the first “press lord” in America, having founded a chain of print shops and newspapers in which he held part ownership.

Another colonial printer who ran afoul of the Crown was John Peter Zenger, printer of the *New York Weekly Journal*, who was thrown into jail for libeling the governor. But a jury of colonists ultimately freed Zenger when a shrewd Philadelphia lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, made a convincing argument of the point that Zenger’s facts had been true, and that men should be free to print the truth, even if libelous.

The case eventually led to the legal interpretation that newspapers could print anything, even attacks on the follies and abuses of government, if they could prove their criticism was based on true facts. This gave journalists an unprecedented kind of power in the modern world.

The Zenger case emboldened the colonial newspapers to take up the attack against the colonists’ status as second-class citizens. Increasingly, political activists among them used the pages of the colonial newspapers to arouse public opinion against the abuses of British authority, leading finally to the Declaration of Independence and the Revolutionary War.

Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., in his book *Prelude to In-*

dependence: The Newspaper War on Britain 1764–1776 clearly establishes the fact that colonial newspapers were powerful weapons in the battle for freedom from the Crown. Some of the Founding Fathers were newspaper writers and press agents who used their communication abilities to stir the fight for independence through the pages of the colonial press. Among them were men such as Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, John Dickinson, Benjamin Franklin, and Richard Henry Lee.

After the Revolution, the colonial newspapers again served to encourage social action, helping to persuade the liberated citizens to ratify the Constitution and adopt a democratic form of government. Another historian, Allan Nevins, has shown in a booklet, *The Constitution Makers and the Public, 1785–1790*, that James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay sent essays to the colonial newspapers urging support for the new constitution. Today we know those “press handouts” as *The Federalist Papers*. It was, says Nevins, “the greatest work ever done in America in the field of public relations.” Little wonder, then, that newspapers were so important to the new nation of America.

The Penny Press—The First Mass Medium. While the first “daily” newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post and Daily Advertiser*, was started in 1783, it was not until half a century later that newspapers began to reach a truly mass audience. Until the 1830s, newspapers were relatively high-priced and aimed at a relatively elite audience of political influentials. They were politically biased, often functioning as organs for a particular party or political viewpoint.

Technical advances in printing early in the nineteenth century made communication for the masses more feasible. Most important was the development of the cylinder press, which speeded the printing process enough to allow for mass production. One New York printer, Benjamin Day, used the new, fast press to start a new trend in journalism. In 1833 he began the *New York Sun* and sold it for one penny rather than the usual six cents. By hiring newsboys to hawk the newspapers on the streets, he succeeded in making up in volume what he lost in individual sales. The *New York Sun* became the publishing success of journalism and started the era of the “penny press,” the first mass circulation medium.

In order to sell penny papers on a mass basis, the newspapers had to contain material of interest to many people. This economic factor led to the development of the profession of news-gathering. The man most responsible was James Gordon Bennett, a printer, like

Day, who started the *New York Herald* in 1835, two years after Day had started the *Sun*. Day and Bennett both realized that to sell papers on the streets of New York, they had to have good stories and interesting headlines.

Bennett started the practice of hiring men to go out and find the stories, and the modern news reporter was born. He sent men to the police stations to get stories about crime, to the city hall for stories about politics. He sent men in boats out into the New York harbor to meet ships coming in from Europe so that his paper could be the first with foreign news. And when the telegraph became a possibility in the 1840s, he was the first to station a Washington correspondent in the nation's capital to send back to New York City telegraphed stories about Congress and government.

The penny press proved to be a great business success. Only 15 months after Bennett's *Herald* was born, it had a circulation of more than 40,000, and the numbers of readers grew steadily. Other newspapers were started, such as Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, and Henry Raymond's *New York Times*. With circulation ultimately reaching the hundreds of thousands, these papers and their editors became powerful forces in society in the mid-nineteenth century, playing an influential role in the Civil War, the industrial revolution, western expansion, and American urbanization. Similar newspapers soon were started in cities across the country.

Yellow Journalism and Muckrakers. Mass circulation newspapers became big business by the end of the nineteenth century. The papers were highly competitive, and for the most part independent, no longer tied to any one political party or group. Circulation was built largely through sensational news coverage or spicy features, with bold headlines and extra editions for latest news.

"Newspaper barons" emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century, men who had built newspaper empires through aggressive promotion. Joseph Pulitzer developed a strong *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and then bought the *New York World* in 1883. The *World* had a circulation of 20,000 when Pulitzer took it over, and less than a decade later, by 1892, he had raised its readership to 374,000. Pulitzer stressed sound news coverage combined with crusades and stunts to win his readers; in 1889 he sent a young female reporter with the pseudonym of Nellie Bly around the world to beat the record of the fictitious Phineas Fogg, hero of Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*. Nellie completed the trip in 72 days, and circulation of the *World* soared as readers kept up daily with her trip.

In that same year, Pulitzer's *World* produced the first regular comic section in a Sunday paper, soon printed in color. The most popular cartoon was a strip called *The Yellow Kid*, a feature which gave the name of yellow journalism to the whole era of sensational newspaper practices.

Another press lord, William Randolph Hearst, entered journalism as the student business manager of the *Harvard Lampoon* and then received the *San Francisco Examiner* as a gift from his wealthy father. In 1895 he purchased the *New York Journal* and copied many of Pulitzer's techniques to compete with the *New York World*. Knowing that headlines would sell papers, Hearst not only reported news—he sometimes made news to get banner stories. Some historians have accused Hearst and the *Journal* of fomenting the Spanish-American War in 1898 to get more subscribers.

Yellow journalism, according to newspaper historian Frank Luther Mott, was based on sensationalized coverage of crime news, scandal and gossip, divorces and sex, disasters, and sports. Its distinguishing features were scare headlines, sensational pictures and photographs, stunts and faked stories, comic strips, Sunday-supplement features, and crusades for the downtrodden and the lower classes. Similar elements often have been part of other new mass media.

The crusading element was most important. The yellow press, with hundreds of thousands of regular readers, exercised great influence on public opinion. By exposing graft and corruption in society, newspapers found they not only could sell more papers but they could also perform a social service. A new breed of reporter began to develop who was interested in investigating the sins of society and the hidden perversions of power. These men, to use Teddy Roosevelt's expression, raked the muck of society.

The so-called muckrakers did much social good. For example, reporter and writer Lincoln Steffens exposed graft and corruption in city governments and helped bring about municipal reform. Ida Tarbell's exposé of the Standard Oil Company helped to strengthen antimonopoly laws. Samuel Hopkins Adams's investigation of the patent-medicine business led to federal food and drug regulations. These writers worked in the magazine and book fields as well as newspapers, but they typified a new breed of newspaper journalist.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the daily newspaper had become a power for good and evil in society. It was the first and most influential mass medium.

The Modern Newspaper. In the twentieth century the American newspaper has grown into more maturity and responsibility. During the first 30 years of the new century, some of the old newspaper giants of the nineteenth century declined and fell, including the *World* and *Sun*. In *The Compact History of the American Newspaper*, John Tebbel says this marked "the transition from propaganda and personal journalism to the conservative newspapermaking of a new generation of businessmen soon to rise." In the twentieth century, corporate caution replaced the old individual newspaper flamboyance.

One of the reasons for the change was economic. James Gordon Bennett had started the *New York World* in 1835 for an investment of \$500. By 1900 it would have taken \$1 million to start a New York newspaper, and by mid-century at least \$6 million. The amount of investment required for a large metropolitan newspaper plant today is usually in the millions of dollars. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, estimates that it has more than \$65 million invested in printing equipment alone. Enterprises with that sort of money at stake cannot afford to be reckless.

One consequence of rising costs and big-business operations has been the death of many newspapers and the merger of many others. In New York City, most of the giants of the nineteenth century merged, becoming the *New York World, Telegram, and Sun*; the *New York Herald Tribune*; and the *New York Journal-American*. And all of these ultimately merged in the 1960s into the *New York World-Journal Tribune*, and then died. The same happened, though perhaps less dramatically, in other American cities.

Sensational journalism did not die completely in the twentieth century. An important manifestation of it was the so-called jazz journalism of the 1920s, marked by the rise of tabloid newspapers, smaller in size than regular "blanket" newspapers. These papers usually made extensive use of photographs and concentrated coverage on one or two major headline stories. Such a paper was the *New York Daily News*; started in 1919, it grew swiftly in the 1920s, with sex and sensation as its stock in trade, and became the largest-circulation newspaper in the country, a position it still holds in the 1970s.

In the twentieth century, daily newspapers have had to withstand rising competition from many sides. The new mass media—radio, television, and movies—have grown to challenge the number-one place of the newspaper as mass communicator in society. The



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automobile revolution, the suburban exodus, the death of the inner city, and growing leisure time for sports, recreation, and entertainment, have also changed the place of the newspaper in the daily life of the twentieth-century man.

To offset rising costs and growing competition, another phenomenon of the twentieth century has been the increase in newspaper chains, a form of newspaper organization that goes back to Ben Franklin, in which different newspapers are owned by a single corporation and gain the advantage of management efficiency. Among the larger and more important newspaper chains in the United States are those of Hearst, Scripps-Howard, Copley, Gannett, Newhouse, Thomas, and Knight newspapers.

By the 1970s a number of great newspapers have emerged in America as economically sound, politically independent, and socially responsible organs, despite competition and high costs. The *New York Times* has maintained a position for nearly a century as the newspaper of record. (It is maintained in libraries as the official record of the day's events). Two other great newspapers claiming a national audience are the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, both of which have won wide respect for their coverage of important news and their penetrating analysis of events. The *Washington Post* has risen rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s to challenge the premier position of the *New York Times*, as has the *Los Angeles Times* on the West Coast, under the dynamic leadership of Otis Chandler. Other great newspapers of the twentieth century are the *Baltimore Sun*, *Kansas City Star*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Milwaukee Journal*, *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, to name a few.

The Scope of Newspapers

The number of daily newspapers reached its high point in the United States immediately before World War I, in 1914, with 2,250 individual papers, and its low point immediately after World War II,

with 1,749 papers. The number of newspapers stabilized since 1945, with some slight growth, but at the beginning of 1972 the number of dailies in America stood at 1,762 (see table 14-1).

Table 14-1.
*U.S. Daily Newspapers and Their Circulation
and Advertising Volume, 1920-72*

	<i>Total U.S. Daily (M&E) Newspapers</i>	<i>Total U.S. Sunday Newspapers</i>	<i>Total U.S. Newspaper Circ. (thousands)</i>	<i>Total U.S. Sunday Circ. (thousands)</i>
1920	2,042	522	27,790	17,083
1925	2,088	548	33,739	23,354
1930	1,942	521	39,589	24,413
1935	1,950	518	38,155	28,147
1940	1,878	525	41,131	32,371
1945	1,749	485	48,384	39,860
1950	1,772	549	53,829	46,582
1955	1,760	541	56,147	46,447
1960	1,763	563	58,881	47,608
1965	1,751	562	60,357	48,600
1970	1,749	590	62,231	49,664
1972	1,762	605	62,510	50,000

Source: *Editor & Publisher, International Yearbook, 1973.*

More important has been the growth in circulation. Fewer newspapers in the 1970s are nevertheless reaching far more readers than they did in 1914. Dailies now circulate more than 62 million copies of each issue, or one copy for each 3.2 persons in the country. By 1970 at least 78 percent of the adult population were newspaper readers, with higher percentages for college graduates and upper-income households (see table 14-2).

Newspapers are bigger and fatter than ever. The average daily newspaper now has 56 pages per issue, and many large metropolitan dailies now regularly run more than 100 pages every day. Of the 56 pages averaged by most papers, more than 21 are devoted to editorial content, and about 35 pages to advertising. Sunday editions have become awesome, weighing five to ten pounds, with hundreds of pages and sometimes more than a million words of copy.

In addition to these increases, a greater number of American cities than ever before now have newspapers. In 1972 more than 1,500 cities had at least one daily, while in 1945 only 1,396 cities could make this claim. However, fewer cities have competing newspapers; in fact, only 45 cities as of 1968 had more than one newspaper. Newspaper mono-

Table 14-2.
*Daily Newspaper Readership (Adults) by Sex, Age,
 Education, and Income as a Percentage of U.S.
 Population**

	<i>Year</i>		<i>Age</i>					<i>Education</i>			<i>Income</i>						
	1967	1970	18-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65	Grades 1-8	Grades 9-12	College	25+	24,999-15,000	14,999-10,000	9,999-8,000	7,999-5,000	4,999-
<i>Total Adults</i>	76%	78	72	73	77	82	79	72	64	83	87	86	88	86	82	75	64
<i>Males</i>	76%	78	73	73	76	83	78	72	63	82	88	88	88	85	83	74	60
<i>Females</i>	76%	78	71	74	78	82	80	72	64	83	85	83	88	86	81	76	67

NOTE: This table on daily newspaper readership is drawn from a 1970 study by W. R. Simmons which was made available to the Bureau of Advertising.

polies in one-newspaper towns have become a major point of discussion for American journalists.

Newspapers today are competing with other local media, however. Dr. Raymond Nixon, professor of journalism at the University of Minnesota, in a study of "Trends on U.S. Newspaper Ownership," reports that there are 1,298 daily newspaper cities with a total of 4,879 competing "media voices," that is, cities with separate ownership of two or more newspapers or radio and television stations or any combination of these media.

Professor Nixon shows that the extent of intermedia competition today is actually far greater than the 1,298 figure indicates. Most of the 202 "single-voice" cities are suburban municipalities so close to a large central city that the absence of any local competition is meaningless. Many of these cities also have a weekly newspaper in competition with the single local daily or daily-broadcast combination.

Weekly newspapers have declined during the twentieth century. In 1892 about 11,000 weeklies existed in the United States, and by 1914 the total had grown to 12,500. Between 1914 and 1974 the number has declined to 9,529. Table 14-3 shows the breakdown of numbers of both daily and weekly newspapers in the United States in 1970, 1972, and 1974.

Table 14-3.
*Number of Newspapers Published in the United States,
1970, 1972, and 1974*

	1970	1972	1974
Daily	1,838	1,933	1,947
Evenings	1,456	1,538	1,540
Mornings	364	377	382
All-day	18	18	25
Foreign	51*	64	60
Sunday	589*	582	634
Weekend-edition	—	10*	8
Triweekly	53	52	74
Semiweekly	423	421	548
Weekly	8,903	9,463	9,529
Biweekly	56	81	75
Semimonthly	39	49	34
Monthly	64	122	117
Bimonthly	4	14	13
Miscellaneous	3	184	22
<i>Total</i>	<u>11,383</u>	<u>12,319</u>	<u>12,359</u>

* Not counted in total of dailies published.

Source: *Ayer Directory of Publications, 1974*.

The Structure and Organization of Newspapers

Like all mass media, the newspaper is a highly structured, carefully organized, and exceedingly complex mechanism. Literally millions of words come into the large metropolitan daily each day, from many sources. These words must be sorted, selected, checked, evaluated, edited, rewritten, laid out, set in type, made up into pages, printed, and distributed to readers, all in less than 24 hours. In order to accomplish this task with a maximum of reader interest and a minimum of error, the newspaper mechanism must work like a well-oiled machine, with each part running in its place and operating in smooth relationship to the next.

The operation of a newspaper is usually divided into three parts—editorial, business, and production. Although the most important of these, for our purposes, is the editorial side, the newspaper could not function without the other two. The business manager is in charge of both classified and display advertising. Without these the newspaper as we know it could not exist. He is also in charge of selling or promoting the newspaper. He is responsible for getting it properly distributed, through a circulation department, which is usually made up of independent distributors and a network of newsboys. And the business manager has general charge of the bookkeeping and accounting for the entire organization.

The production manager is also essential to the operation. He is in charge of the printing plant, which usually includes composition or typesetting; engraving or photographic platemaking; stereotyping or casting of the type into curved plates to fit on the cylinders of the press; and finally the press itself, usually a gigantic machine with more than a million moving parts.

Most mass communicators, however, work on the editorial side of the newspaper. The typical daily newspaper with a circulation of 100,000 has about 75 full-time editorial staff members. The main function of the editorial department is to gather information, judge its importance, evaluate its meaning, process it into forms that will attract and hold the attention of readers, and put it through the cycle of production until it reaches the printed page.

As figure 14-1 indicates, this process requires a complex organization for the typical newspaper. It also requires organized action

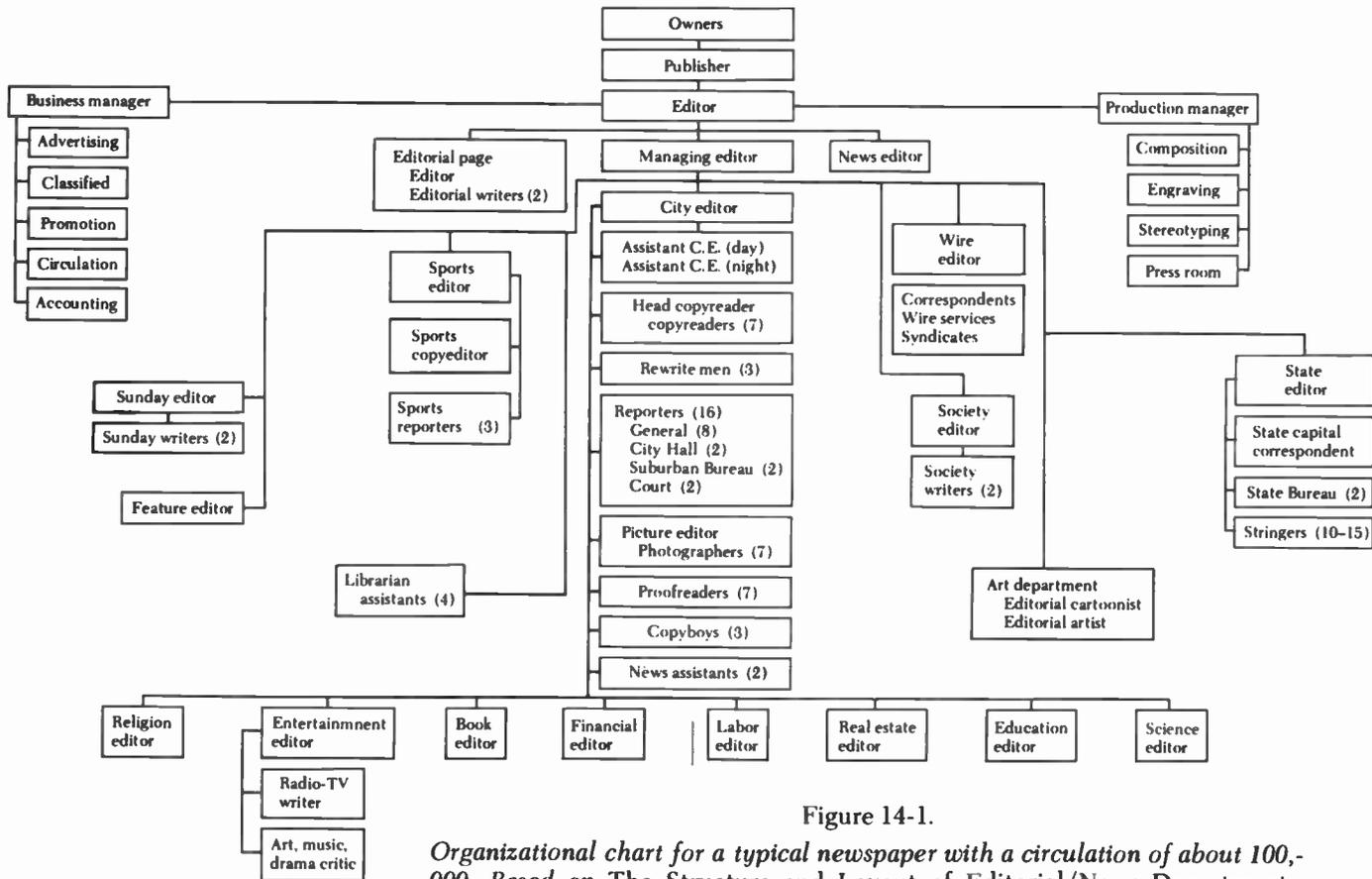


Figure 14-1.

Organizational chart for a typical newspaper with a circulation of about 100,000. Based on The Structure and Layout of Editorial/News Departments, ANPA Bulletin 1008, 26 January 1970.

rather than individual caprice. The important decisions are often made in committee. The editors meet at the start of each news day to draw up a list of assignments from their knowledge of events that have taken place or will soon occur. As the reporters complete their assignments, they and the editors together in further conferences during the day develop the way in which the news and opinions will be played in the newspaper. This kind of constant team effort is an essential aspect of newspaper work.

The organizational chart shows that a newspaperman's career can advance within the organization in two directions, horizontally or vertically. Vertically, a person can go up the editorial ladder, starting as a news assistant or copyboy and working up to reporter, copyeditor, city editor, managing editor, and editor. "While many of today's top editors," says the American Newspaper Publishers Association, "started as copyboys, large papers now have intern programs which recruit students and graduates of journalism schools."

A newspaper career can also be successful in a horizontal path as well. A reporter, for example, may succeed, not by becoming a city editor, but by specializing in one field and becoming a special editor, in business, for example, or entertainment, science, or politics. Such a specialist can ultimately command considerable respect and be in demand as a lecturer, magazine and book writer, and consultant in his field of specialization. A reporter assigned to cover a union strike, for example, became interested in the labor field. He asked for more assignments to that type of story, and soon was named the newspaper's labor editor. He then was asked to write major magazine articles about labor strikes. Several book publishers asked him to write books about unions. Ultimately, the government appointed him to a high position on a key labor-negotiating commission.

As the world becomes more complex, newspapers will increasingly need such specialists in addition to generalists. The news department of future newspapers, according to ANPA, might well be organized along lines that would permit greater specialization. An urban affairs unit might have reporters specializing in coverage of urban renewal, sewers, water, building and real estate, zoning, and city planning. A governmental affairs unit might have special reporters for city hall, politics, civil courts, criminal courts, county courthouse, and the highway department. The economic affairs unit might have a farm reporter, a labor and industry reporter, a financial reporter, and a news clerk to handle stock-market quotations and tables. The social affairs

unit might have reporters assigned to special coverage of civil rights and poverty, health and welfare, children, education, and religion.

Characteristics and Roles of the Newspaper

With the development of new media in the twentieth century, the role of the newspaper in society has changed. The newspaper is no longer the fastest medium, and its responsibility for carrying bulletins and headlines of the day has been taken over by radio and television. The "extra" edition that typified newspaper publishing through World War II for any major news break has almost all but vanished. Radio and television can do a better job of skimming the surface of events around the world and providing hourly "extra" editions of the news.

But the newspaper has the advantage of being a better display case or bulletin board of news. At a glance the reader can survey the layout of the newspaper and quickly know what is happening. He has better control over the elements of the news on which he can spend his time. The reader can be more selective, choosing the item of information that is important to him, and pursuing it as far as his time will allow. Thus the newspaper can offer a greater variety of information, and it can go into greater depth with the information.

Daily and weekly newspapers play an essential role in the community, therefore, providing the small details of day-to-day and week-to-week information that sew together the fabric of society. They announce births, marriages, and deaths; tell what is for sale; explain laws and customs; help form opinions that touch local citizens; and provide some escape from the heavier issues of the day with the picture of a pretty girl or a sentimental story about someone's old dog.

Not only can the newspaper cover the less significant elements of local stories, it can also go into far greater depth on national and international events. While radio and television can provide the surface bulletins, and while movies and phonograph records can provide greater entertainment, the newspaper can, on a daily or weekly basis, explain in detail and provide penetrating analysis of issues and events of great concern.

Local community reporting along with in-depth reporting and specialized coverage are the key roles of newspapers in the last third of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER **15**

Magazines

While books have a particular appeal as a medium to fill individual needs, and newspapers have a role as informers and interpreters on a local and regional basis, magazines are increasingly providing communication for special-interest groups. As competition has forced specialization among media, and with the rise of television as the national medium for general communication, magazines have increasingly found their strength in their ability to reach readers who are related not by geography but by interest—whether professional, occupational, avocational, or even sexual.

“The rise of special-interest magazines and the related decline of general interest magazines has been the most significant development in publishing since the end of World War II,” according to Arnold Gin-

grich, publisher of *Esquire*. "Television has hastened the growth [of special magazines] by making people aware of all that there is to be aware of. The age of the Renaissance man is over. There is just too much to know for a man to be satisfied with claiming a little knowledge in many areas," he said. "The time is passing when a magazine can succeed by only scraping lightly on every possible surface."¹

This does not mean that all general-interest magazines, such as *Reader's Digest*, are doomed. There is still room for the successful popular magazine with wide general appeal. The word "magazine" itself means a general storehouse; it comes from the French word *magasin*, meaning store or shop. Indeed, the earliest magazines, appearing in France, were really catalogues of booksellers' storehouses. These were issued periodically, and after a while essays, reviews, and articles were added. The names of early magazines, often called "museums" and "repositories," reflected their nature as collections of varied items of general interest.

Historical Perspectives

Magazines have often been started by young men with new ideas and little money. And that seems to have been true of the medium from the very beginning. The first English publication of magazine type was really a cross between a newspaper and a magazine; called the *Review*, it was published in London starting in 1704. It had four small pages in each issue and was printed as often as three times a week for nine years. Daniel Defoe, who went on to become one of the great men of British letters, was the author, editor, and publisher. A nonconformist and dissenter—perhaps not unlike the hippies of our time—he was in debt and in prison when he started the *Review*, sentenced for having libeled the Church of England. Defoe wrote and published news, articles on domestic affairs and national policy, and essays on literature, manners, and morals.

In the fifth year of the *Review's* publication, 1790, an imitator was started, testimony to the fact that Defoe's idea had been a good one. The *Tatler* was produced by Richard Steele, who was later joined by Joseph Addison; together they also published the *Spectator*. They printed political, international, and theatrical news, coffee-house gossip, and moralistic essays. They also carried extensive advertising, a feature that was to become a necessary aspect of almost

1. *Advertising Age*, 20 October 1969, p. 64.

all magazine publishing. The *Tatler* and the *Spectator* provided some of the first magazine contributions to English literature, as well; the informal essay and the short story.

More than 500 issues of the *Spectator* were published between 1711 and 1750, and numerous imitators sprang up, including six periodicals founded by Steele himself, and at least one, the *Grub Street Journal* (1730–1738), ostensibly inaugurated by Alexander Pope. In 1731 the first publication was started that carried the name magazine; this was the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, founded by Edward Cave. He produced varied reading fare, but perhaps his most important contribution was his publication of reports of debates in Parliament. Eventually Cave hired the famous Dr. Samuel Johnson to write these reports, and Johnson ultimately used this experience to found his own magazine, the *Rambler* (1750–1752). By 1750, the *Gentlemen's Magazine* had the amazing circulation of 15,000 copies, and a number of imitators were being published in London. Half a century after the first magazine appeared, more than 150 periodicals were being printed in England.

Magazines in Early America. About 35 years after the first English magazine was published, the new medium appeared in the American colonies, and again Benjamin Franklin was one of the pioneers. In 1740 he announced his plans to publish the *General Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for All the British Plantations in America*. A competitive printer in Philadelphia, Andrew Bradford, seizing upon Franklin's idea, rushed his own magazine into print and beat Franklin by three days. Thus American magazine journalism was born in a state of competitiveness that has marked it ever since.

Bradford's *American Magazine, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies* lasted for only three issues, and Franklin's lived for only six. But they inspired more than a dozen other magazine efforts in colonial America. No American magazine before 1800 lasted more than 14 months, and advertising support was scarce. Average circulation was about 500 copies, although each issue passed into many hands and each page was widely read. Magazines covered a large range of general topics—including religion, philosophy, natural science, political affairs, and literature. These magazines were a unifying force in the new nation, and they numbered among their authors and editors many of the great names of early America, including Franklin, Noah Webster, Philip Freneau, and Thomas Paine as editors; and George Washington, Alexander

Hamilton, John Jay, Benjamin Rush, John Hancock, and Richard Henry Lee as authors. Paul Revere was the foremost magazine illustrator of the day.

After the turn of the century, 1800, magazines blossomed into a national force, and some were started that would last a century and a half. They influenced education, spreading the new nation's ideas and culture, building literacy, and shaping public opinion. In the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s magazines played the same role that radio would later play in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. "This is the age of magazines," wrote a poet in the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in 1824. Edgar Allan Poe, magazine editor and writer, wrote in the 1830s: "The whole tendency of the age is Magazineward. The magazine in the end will be the most influential of all departments of letters. . . ."

Most famous among these magazines was the *Saturday Evening Post*, started in 1821 (although it claimed lineage back to 1728 and Ben Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*). It lasted until the late 1960s, when it became a victim of the trend away from general audience magazines. Another was the *North American Review*, founded in 1815. It lasted until 1938, numbering among its contributors the literary figures of the nation for more than a century.

As literacy spread in the nineteenth century, magazines became a literary force, building a national literature of American fiction, poetry, and essays. *Harper's Monthly* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, both founded in the 1850s, were among several dozen widely influential literary magazines. These publications provided the launching pad for most American literary giants of the nineteenth century, including William Cullen Bryant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Washington Irving, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Richard Henry Dana, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Greenleaf Whittier, James Fenimore Cooper, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edgar Allan Poe, and many others.

The Magazine as a National Medium. With the coming of the Civil War magazines played an increasingly journalistic role, informing the nation and influencing public opinion. Magazines were widely used by antislavery groups to spread information about slavery and antislavery activities and to mold public opinion on the issue. Most famous among them was William Garrison's *Liberator*, started in 1831 and ended in 1865, when its goal of liberation had been attained.

Magazines became reporters and interpreters of the social and the political scene, increasingly dealing in public affairs. *Harper's Weekly*, founded in 1857 (sister publication to *Harper's Monthly*), got its great chance to further magazine journalism in the Civil War. It sent a staff of writers and artists to the battlefronts for firsthand coverage of the war. Included on its staff was photographer Matthew Brady, whose war pictures are still regarded among the best in photo-journalism. During Reconstruction, magazines were in the forefront in the fight against political corruption, led by such publications as the *Nation*, whose militant editor, E. L. Godkin, made his magazine a leading communicator of current affairs and a fighter for democratic principles.

After the Civil War, magazines began to reach a national audience, particularly for special-interest groups. Magazines for farmers had already emerged as a separate publishing field. Among them was the *Tribune and Farmer*, published by Cyrus H. K. Curtis—who would go on to establish one of the largest magazine empires in history. Magazines for women also came into their own, particularly with the founding of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, published by Curtis and edited by Edward Bok, one of the great innovative editors of magazine history. Other women's magazines that grew to nationwide circulation by the end of the century were *Good Housekeeping*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *McCalls*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Vogue*, and *Vanity Fair*.

By the end of the nineteenth century, magazines were a mass medium. Improvements in printing, especially the automatic typesetting machine of Ottmar Mergenthaler, perfected in 1884, sped production. Prices were lowered and the "dime magazine" became a counterpart to the penny press. The number of magazines increased by nearly 500 percent in a 20-year period, going from 700 in 1865 to 3,300 in 1885. By 1900 there were at least 50 well-known national magazines, many of them with circulations of more than 100,000. One had a circulation over a million; it was Curtis's *Ladies' Home Journal*. By 1908, another Curtis publication, the *Saturday Evening Post*—which he had taken over as a failing magazine—had also reached a circulation of 1 million copies per issue.

With a nationwide audience, magazines became a vital political and social force. Nowhere can this be seen better than in the socially conscious magazine writing of the muckrakers. Magazines actually were ahead of newspapers in using their pages to expose crime and

corruption, fraud and manipulation. Chief among such publications was *McClure's Magazine*, founded by S. S. McClure in 1894. He used his pages to expose oil monopolies, railroad injustices, political shenanigans, and life-insurance trickery (among others). He was so successful, both in winning audiences and in reforming society, that other magazines followed McClure's muckraking—including *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey's Magazine*, *Colliers*, and *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, which became the *American Magazine*.

Between 1894 and 1904, the American magazine came of age as a mass medium and proved itself to be a powerful institution in society.

The Magazine in the Twentieth Century. Magazines have continued to change and enlarge their scope in the twentieth century. Innovation in the magazine field seems to have come particularly from individual genius, often the vision of the young with new ideas and fresh talent.

In the twentieth century the digest has become a major publishing phenomenon, having as its basic purpose the fundamental proposition of all mass media—saving people time by giving them the cream off the top, making it appetizing, palatable, and easily digestible. None has achieved this better than the *Reader's Digest*, which before the middle of the twentieth century was the largest circulation magazine in existence; but by the mid-70s, its position was challenged by *TV Guide*. The *Reader's Digest* was the product of a young man, DeWitt Wallace, and his wife, Lila, both children of poor Presbyterian ministers. In 1922, while still in their 20s, the Wallaces borrowed the necessary funds to give their idea a try. In 1973 their magazine was being sent out each month to more than 18 million subscribers in the United States alone, and other editions were sent out all over the world by the millions.

More important even than the digest phenomenon has been the emergence in the twentieth century of the news magazine as a national force. Another far-from-wealthy son of a Presbyterian missionary, Henry Luce, founder of *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated*, must be given much of the credit for making the weekly news magazine into a viable journalistic medium. Luce was a young man just out of Yale in 1923 when he and Briton Hadden founded *Time*. Like the *Reader's Digest*, it has not changed much since its early editions. And its imitators, including *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*, follow its format and are almost as successful.

Luce was also a pioneer in modern photojournalism, founding *Life* magazine to report news through pictures. *Life* was not the first picture magazine, but it was the first to use photography as a regular journalistic tool to inform, entertain, persuade, and sell. *Life* earned its imitators, too, including such magazines as *Look*, and had an influence on the pictorial aspects of dozens of other modern magazines. Neither magazine is now in print. *Life* became another casualty of the rising costs in the magazine business in December 1972.

The city magazine, once the only form of magazine, has come back into its own in the twentieth century. The most successful and most influential of these has been the *New Yorker*, founded in 1925 by former newspaperman Harold Ross. He built it into a magazine that has lived up to his own original prospectus, which described it as a sophisticated "reflection in word and picture of metropolitan life. It will be human," Ross wrote at the beginning. "Its general tenor will be one of gaiety, wit, and satire. . . . The *New Yorker* will be the magazine which is not edited for the little old lady in Dubuque. . . ." It has not reached the circulation heights of some of those magazines that are edited for those little old ladies, but it has influenced scores of other metropolitan magazines, particularly in the 1960s. The city magazine may well be a medium of unusual growth in the seventies as well.

The twentieth century has seen the rise of magazines devoted to higher culture, too. Some of these magazines, in their articles on art, science, history, philosophy, and current affairs, go back to the kinds of museums typical of some of the earliest magazines. Chief among these have been *American Heritage* and *Horizon*. Produced without advertising, in a book binding with hard covers, and with lengthy articles and lavish illustrations, these magazines have aimed at a level higher than the common denominator and have been successful far beyond their publishers' original dreams.

Other trends in the twentieth century should not be overlooked. True-confession and movie-fan magazines have grown to reach an enormous audience. More important are the specialized publications, covering subjects from *Farm Journal* and *Presbyterian Life* to *Hairdo & Beauty*. The "little magazine" of poetry and criticism is another twentieth-century phenomenon, as is the esoteric or scientific journal such as *Biotechnology & Bioengineering* or *Journal of Applied Polymer Science*. The association magazine, the trade journal, and the house organ are all growing types of magazine journalism in the twentieth century.

Table 15-1.
Top-50 Magazine Circulation Figures

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Magazine</i>	<i>Circulation</i>
1	TV Guide	18,774,838
2	Reader's Digest	18,591,067
3	Woman's Day	8,234,693
4	Family Circle	8,187,718
5	National Geographic	8,185,620
6	Better Homes & Gardens	7,979,137
7	McCall's	7,508,893
8	Ladies' Home Journal	7,026,838
9	Playboy	6,669,911
10	Good Housekeeping	5,747,368
11	Redbook	4,850,829
12	Time	4,505,949
13	American Home	3,448,564
14	Penthouse	3,132,561
15	National Enquirer	2,901,547
16	Newsweek	2,878,831
17	American Legion Magazine	2,632,684
18	Boys' Life	2,303,894
19	Sports Illustrated	2,267,626
20	Parents' Magazine	2,013,778
21	U. S. News & World Report	1,953,449
22	Farm Journal	1,886,157
23	The Workbasket	1,879,609
24	Outdoor Life	1,850,154
25	Field & Stream	1,824,969
26	Cosmopolitan	1,804,304
27	Popular Science	1,770,380
28	True Story	1,760,841
29	Popular Mechanics	1,726,585
30	Glamour	1,700,416
31	Mechanix Illustrated	1,646,525
32	V.F.W. Magazine	1,581,549
33	Elks Magazine	1,543,228
34	Oui	1,508,021
35	Seventeen	1,447,806
36	Sports Afield	1,432,807
37	Scouting	1,423,726
38	Junior Scholastic	1,351,422
39	Grit	1,326,344
40	Sport	1,326,084
41	Esquire	1,260,250
42	Ebony	1,256,909
43	Sunset	1,157,604
44	Today's Education	1,133,055
45	True	1,128,388
46	Argosy	1,086,186
47	House & Garden	1,077,999
48	Progressive Farmer	1,037,746
49	Southern Living	1,027,687
50	Family Health	1,001,837

The most successful magazine story since World War II is that of men's magazines, which began to come into their own in much the same way that women's magazines did in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The women's group is still far out in front in circulation, but some of the men's magazines are catching up, especially *Playboy*. This magazine was started by a young man named Hugh Hefner, when he was only a few years out of the University of Illinois, with some experience at *Esquire*. *Playboy* has ushered in a new era of hedonism in American popular culture, with stress on sophisticated food, drink, and frank sexual pleasure. Started in 1953, *Playboy* had a circulation of over 6 million by the 1970s and was still growing, having long since outstripped Hefner's forebears at *Esquire*. *Playboy* also had profound influence on other men's magazines, many of which left hunting, fishing, and sports cars behind to follow Hefner's nude Playmates. To what extent the "Playboy philosophy" has influenced America's manners and morals or to what extent it simply reflects them, remains for historians to determine.

Table 15-1 provides a comparative basis of analysis of circulation figures for the top 50 magazines in the United States today.

Special Problems, 1950-70. In the 1950s and 1960s television captured and threatened to capture advertising dollars from the general-consumer magazine, causing some to predict that the mass magazine would be killed. Magazines fought back by playing what they called "the numbers game," building their circulation figures so they could compete with television for national advertising. Some magazines turned from their traditional newsstand sales to concentrate on subscription selling. They hired high-powered subscription sales organizations to sell subscribers at any cost. These organizations often used young people for door-to-door, high-pressure selling campaigns, offering long-term bargain prices or package deals with many publications for the price of one. The sales organization owned the subscription, collected the money from the subscriber, and sold the subscription to the magazine publisher.

In effect, such magazines were buying subscribers in order to produce large numbers of readers to attract advertisers. They earned no money from the subscriber; indeed, they had to pay to get the subscriber. And they had to lower their price far below value to keep the subscriber. In 1968 the average magazine cost the buyer 54 cents, but it cost the publisher perhaps four or five times that

amount to produce the 54-cent copy. The publisher hoped to make up for the difference in large advertising sales.

Such economics ultimately put some of the large mass-consumer magazines out of business. *Colliers*, the *Woman's Home Companion*, and the *Saturday Evening Post* were major magazines that failed in the 1950s and 1960s. They did not go under from lack of readers, however. When the *Saturday Evening Post* died, it had more than 4 million regular subscribers. But the magazine did not have enough advertising to afford its audience.

In spite of these failures, the magazine field is not by any means dying. In the ten-year period from 1962 to 1971 the number of magazines that went out of business was 160. But in the same period, 753 magazines were born. They developed new ideas and used new approaches to succeed (see table 15-2).

Table 15-2.
*Ten-Year Growth Statistics of Magazine Growth Via
Introduction of New Periodicals*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Magazines Sold, Merged, or Discontinued Number</i>	<i>New Magazines Introduced Number</i>
1962	10	41
1963	17	50
1964	6	41
1965	17	73
1966	18	70
1967	9	115
1968	22	101
1969	17	100
1970	24	86
1971	20	76
<i>Ten-year total (1962-71)</i>	160	753

Source: Magazine Publishers Association records.

Increasingly, magazines are using computers and new demographic techniques to make their advertising and editorial content more selective rather than massive. For less money, the advertiser is

able to reach more selectively the appropriate market for his product, either on a regional or reader-interest basis. For example, a magazine's production and circulation can be coordinated so that circulation can be broken out into "25 magamarkets, 50 magastates, and a group of Top Spot Zip-coders." Advertising can even be placed by selected geographical regions to reach any one or any number of predetermined markets.

This kind of distribution will increase in the future, not only on a regional but on a reader-interest basis as well. *Time* magazine now has the technology available to custom-make its production, to the extent of giving the reader at least one article an issue that meets one of his preselected interests. Thus, the same issue of *Time* might bring to a sports fan an issue with an article on pro football, while his next-door neighbor, a science buff, will get an article on electronic engineering. Such magazines can have mass and selectivity, both, with wide appeal to advertisers as well as consumers.

Magazines are also making improvements in the product itself, with experimentation in hard and plastic covers, looseleaf and book bindings, more opaque, smoother, and lighter paper, full-color printing, faster presses, shorter closing times, three-dimensional visual effects, and "scratch-'n'-sniff" for olfactory appeal. These extensions of magazine production will aid in the economic battle for survival in the jungle of mass media.

The Scope of Magazines

Over 10,000 magazines are published each year in the United States. Monthlies make up the largest group of magazines, with almost 4,500 individual publications. The weeklies make up the next-largest group, comprising close to 2,100; the third-largest are the quarterlies numbering more than 1,200. There are even some daily magazines, 187 at most recent count, and more than 700 that are issued periodically but without any specific time schedule. See table 15-3 for a more detailed breakdown.

Usually, binding rather than timing is the important difference in distinguishing between newspapers and magazines. Both must be published regularly and periodically. But a magazine, in the accepted definition of Frank Luther Mott, is "a bound pamphlet," while newspapers are unbound. A magazine is "issued more or less regularly . . . containing a variety of reading matter," according to Mott.

Table 15-3.
*Number of Magazines Published in the United States,
 1970, 1972, and 1974*

<i>Type</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1972</i>	<i>1974</i>
Daily	182	180	187
Triweekly	18	73	29
Semiweekly	89	105	99
Weekly	1,856	1,675	2,105
Biweekly	273	208	224
Semimonthly	316	312	334
Monthly	4,314	4,426	4,463
Bimonthly	957	955	1,031
Quarterly	1,108	1,201	1,262
Miscellaneous	460	715	767
Total	9,573	9,850	10,501

Source: *Ayer Directory of Publications, 1974.*

For every adult in the United States, about 1.7 general and farm magazines are published. The figures would be far higher if all specialized magazines were counted as well, but there are so many and such varied types that total figures are not yet available. More than 240 million copies of these general and farm magazines are printed and distributed, and that figure is rising substantially each year.

The average magazine is seen by about 3.6 adult readers, and each reader uses the magazine for about 3.3 days. Each reader spends about one hour and twenty-three minutes with each copy of each magazine. In other words, each magazine copy commands adult attention for about five hours. See table 15-4.

Magazine publication is not as widespread as that of newspapers but far more geographically dispersed than book publication. More than a quarter of all magazines are published in New York, but Chicago, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Boston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco are also publishing centers. Now every state in the union publishes magazines of some type, including Alaska and Nevada, which turn out the least number, with only six each.

The Structure and Organization of Magazines

Because magazines come in all sizes and shapes, aimed at all different kinds of readers, no one organizational or operational pattern could fit them all. Each magazine develops its own way of organizing and operating to get its special job done. Some magazines

—those that deal heavily in news and timely subjects—are organized in much the same manner as newspapers. Others that deal in less time-bound material are set up much like book publishing firms.

Unlike most newspapers, most magazines do not own their own printing plant. Because they do not have to worry about daily printing schedules, they do not need an expensive investment in printing equipment but can accomplish the same purpose by contracting with established printers. Some magazines, even famous ones, such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, operate out of a few small offices, with a few editorial hands, a couple of typewriters, some furniture, and a supply of typing paper. Everything else, including production and distribution, can be handled by outside help.

The editorial staff of a magazine usually includes as chief executive an editor who has overall responsibility for establishing policies and making final decisions. A managing editor or executive editor has the responsibility for carrying out the editor's policies and for running the day-to-day operation. Staff editors head various departments within the magazine, or handle various functions, such as picture editing, copyediting, or layout and production. Often staff writers on magazines are called editors.

Many magazines have contributing editors, who work either full time or part time, either in the office or out in the field; they often are specialists or experts in certain categories and help the magazine discover material, find appropriate writers, approve the authenticity of the writer's copy, or do some writing themselves.

Another distinguishing feature of many magazines is the editorial board, a fixture that has not been used by newspapers or book publishers to the same extent. The editorial board is often composed of leaders in the field to which the magazine is directed, and they serve to give the magazine both direction and authority.

In the past magazines have depended largely on free-lance contributions for their editorial content. The editor could sit back in his office and wait for the mailman and then publish the best of what his contributors sent in. There are literally hundreds of thousands of people who would like to be free-lance writers for magazines, and many of them try. *Harper's*, for example, receives more than 20,000 unsolicited manuscripts each year, even though the magazine does not publish unsolicited material. While many free-lancers can supplement their incomes from part-time magazine writing, only a handful of professionals can make a substantial full-time salary from writing.

Increasingly, magazines are using staff-developed and staff-writ-

Table 15-4.

Total Adult Reading of the Average Magazine Issue

Number of Adult Readers	3.6
Number of Reading Days per Reader	3.3
Reading Time per Reader	83 Minutes
Total Adult Reading Days (3.6 Adults × 3.3 Reading Days Each)	11.9
Total Adult Reading Time (3.6 Adults × 83 Minutes Each)	299 Minutes (4 Hours & 59 Minutes)

Source: W. R. Simmons 1971 Report

ten material. Schedules are too demanding and story development too complicated to allow the editors to wait and see what comes in "over the transom." The editor and his staff determine the audience they are reaching, the type of material the audience needs and wants, and the subjects available for development into appropriate magazine articles and stories. Then they produce the material to make sure it fits their needs and their time schedules.

Even the *Reader's Digest*, ostensibly a selection of the most interesting articles from other magazines, in reality cannot depend upon other magazines to produce all the materials they need to fulfill the demands of their readers. The *Digest* editors often produce their material themselves, sometimes placing it in other magazines and then "borrowing" it for the *Reader's Digest*, or sometimes writing an article for a famous person and then "buying" it from him for *Digest* publication.

Types of Magazines

Generally, magazines are divided into two types, consumer (or general interest) and specialized (including children's, professional, and trade publications).

Consumer magazines are generally broken down further into at least 13 categories, including women's (e.g., *Redbook*), men's (*Esquire*), sophisticated (*New Yorker*), quality (*Atlantic Monthly*), romance (*Modern Screen*), news (*U.S. News & World Report*), sports (*Sports Illustrated*), travel (*Holiday*), exploration (*National Geographic*), humor (*Mad*), shelter (*Better Homes & Gardens*), class (*American Heritage*), and city (the *Washingtonian*).

Specialized magazines can also be broken down into different kinds of publications as follows: juvenile (e.g., *Boys' Life*), comic

Table 15-5.
Circulation of General and Farm Magazines, 1940-68
(Second Six Months Average)

Year	No. of Magazines or Groups	Combined Circulation Per Issue			U.S. Adult Population (Add 000)	Circulation Per 100 Adults
		Single Copy	Subscription	Total		
1940	224	39,005,215	55,812,023	94,817,238	99,012	95.8
1941	213	44,575,854	56,358,930	100,934,784	100,182	100.8
1942	203	48,347,222	57,357,772	105,704,994	100,796	104.9
1943	209	54,933,809	56,410,217	111,344,026	100,530	110.8
1944	217	60,846,910	55,119,816	115,966,726	98,788	117.4
1945	219	65,707,419	55,533,066	121,240,485	97,903	123.8
1946	239	64,628,075	66,269,532	130,897,607	104,966	124.7
1947	243	61,926,080	73,640,980	135,567,060	106,783	127.0
1948	239	62,076,922	78,921,640	140,998,562	108,085	130.5
1949	246	60,495,940	83,216,632	143,712,572	109,288	131.5
1950	250	61,998,611	85,270,929	147,259,540	110,471	133.3
1951	247	64,157,748	87,345,788	151,503,536	111,111	136.4
1952	252	68,716,845	90,651,696	159,368,541	111,889	142.4
1953	258	68,109,367	94,925,139	163,034,506	112,870	144.4
1954	259	67,456,118	97,510,768	164,966,886	114,112	144.6
1955*	272	71,073,877	108,891,354	179,965,231	115,505	155.8
1956	282	73,874,770	111,856,119	185,730,889	116,743	159.1
1957	278	68,305,833	113,104,515	181,410,348	118,208	153.5
1958	270	63,384,915	119,939,875	183,324,790	119,854	153.0
1959	274	62,609,711	122,979,455	185,589,166	121,438	152.8
1960	273	62,295,487	128,136,349	190,431,836	123,890	153.7
1961	273	60,696,623	134,966,829	195,663,452	125,303	156.2
1962	278	61,977,422	138,680,320	200,657,742	127,692	157.1
1963	274	62,578,172	140,645,067	203,223,239	129,797	156.6
1964	282	64,953,619	142,917,837	207,871,456	132,005	157.5
1965	275	66,538,850	148,947,898	215,486,748	133,909	160.9
1966	276	68,554,898	157,106,899	225,661,797	135,798	166.2
1967	279	71,275,957	160,848,702	232,124,659	137,877	168.4
1968	287	71,183,468	165,917,867	237,101,335	140,191	169.1

Note: Excludes comics. *Includes Reader's Digest for the first time as an ABC publication with a circulation of 10,316,531.

Sources: Magazine Advertising Bureau. Circulation: ABC records covering the second six months of each year.

Population: Bureau of Census, population age 15 years and older, midyear estimates of resident population.

(*Superman*), little literary (*Prairie Schooner*), literary (*Paris Review*), scholarly (*Journalism Quarterly*), educational (*College & University Journal*), business (*Nation's Business*), religious (*Christianity Today*), industrial or company (*Western Electric World*), farm (*Farm Journal*), transportation (*Railway Age*), science (*Scientific American*), and discussion (*New Republic*).

The specialized magazines, aiming their editorial fare at specialized reading audiences, have been growing at a rapid rate. In a 20-year period from 1949 to 1969, consumer-magazine advertising lineage increased by 25.3 percent, according to the Publishers Information Bureau. But in that same time, certain categories of specialized magazines have jumped many times that percentage; entertainment guides grew 256 percent, sports publications grew 247 percent, and business magazines expanded by 76 percent. According to *Advertising Age*, "publishers themselves believe that the future of specialized magazines is the rosiest of any industry group."

The business-publication field, one of the fastest-growing specialties in magazine journalism, has expanded from 1,974 magazines in 1955 to 2,336 just 13 years later in 1968. Some magazine-publishing houses have developed large groups of such magazines, serving varied trade and business groups from automobile dealers to zoo keepers. Many such magazines are distributed to a prime list of readers, some free of charge. The publisher makes his profit by selling advertising to merchants who want to reach these specific groups.

Table 15-6.
Index of Magazine Ad Reading

YEAR	NOTED	SEEN-ASSOC.	READ MOST
1948	100	100	100
1949	101	101	113
1950	104	104	131
1951	103	102	137
1952	102	103	137
1953	100	102	128
1954	97	97	113
1955	96	95	102
1956	93	94	91
1957	92	92	93
1958	94	95	107
1959	94	95	109
1960	93	92	102
1961	100	99	111
1962	105	105	124
1963	113	114	120
1964	113	114	120
1965	116	114	119
1966	119	115	107
1967	123	116	102

Source: Starch Ad Norms for full page ads (b&w and color). Base year of 1948 = 100.

Characteristics and Roles of Magazines

Of all the media, magazines have the largest number of individual and diverse production units. They require the least investment of organized business and the smallest budget to operate. "Find me a list of names and I'll create a magazine for it," said one bold magazine entrepreneur. He was not far off base. Magazines have been published for almost every group in our society.

In addition to this sort of selectivity, magazines have greater flexibility than all media other than books. The magazine publisher can create his package in almost any size, shape, or dimension, and he can achieve change and variation with great ease.

In timing, the magazine has the advantage of a greater intensification than newspapers, radio, or television can usually manage. With a longer lead time and less-pressing deadlines, magazine editors can afford to take a longer look at issues, to penetrate more deeply into problems in order to do a better job of interpretation and analysis. On the other hand, magazines have an advantage over books in that they are usually timely enough to deal with the flow of events. And they have the power to sustain a topic over a period of time in a series of issues, achieving a cumulative impact, while books must settle for a single impression. One of the primary roles of magazines as mass communicators is the role of custom-tailoring mass communications. Magazines, unlike other media, are ideally suited to small groups, whether they be organized by culture, race, religion, geography, or subject. Even the mass general-consumer magazines, as we have seen, are finding ways to specialize in tailoring their product for a specific region or interest group.

While magazines do not have the permanence of books, they are not as transient as newspapers and not nearly as fleeting as broadcast messages. While the newspaper's lifetime is usually one day, weekly magazines often last two or three weeks, monthlies for several months, and quarterlies are often bound and kept permanently.

The Comics

One popular form of mass communication that deserves special consideration is the comic, which is either a cartoon, comic strip, or comic book. Although the comic strip and cartoon often appear in

newspapers, we treat this form of communication as part of the magazine medium. The comic as a form has most of the characteristics of the magazine even in its form as a supplement to newspapers.

To qualify as a comic the item must meet certain specific criteria. A comic must develop a narrative within the panel, strip of panels, or pages. A comic must use continuing characters from one panel strip or page to the next panel strip or page. A comic must include dialogue and/or descriptions as part of the panel, rather than serve as a pictorial adjunct of another feature in the newspaper, magazine, or book. Most comics are printed by high-speed, low-definition presses on newsprint, which affects the degree of subtle detail possible.

Five classes of comics serve mass communication functions: (1) the single-picture (panel) newspaper features such as *Grin and Bear It*, *The Family Circus*, or the cartoons in the *New Yorker*, *Playboy*, and other magazines; (2) the black-and-white multipanel, daily newspaper comic strip, such as *Dick Tracy*, *B.C.*, or *Mary Worth*; (3) the multicolor, weekly, Sunday supplement, which is a collection of strips either continuing the daily newspaper feature's story line or a separate story—nearly all strips are both daily and Sunday features,



but many papers will carry more comic strips on Sunday than during the week; (4) multipage, color narratives in magazine form, which are issued monthly, bimonthly, or quarterly, and are called comic books (*Action Comics*, *Superman*, *Batman*, *Captain America*, and so on); (5) the antiestablishment, social-political-economic commentary comics, or underground comic books, which are usually published irregularly in black and white (*Zap*, *Despair*, and the like).

Historical Background. From 1890 to 1914, three American artists—Richard Felton Outcault, James Swinnerton, and Frederick Opper—and two newspaper press lords—Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst—battled to create newspaper comics. Outcault's *Down Hogan's Alley* appeared in Pulitzer's *New York World* in the early 1890s and featured a nightshirted ragamuffin involved in unsavory lower-class goings-on. In 1896 the newspaper experimented with the use of yellow ink on the ragamuffin's nightshirt. The color test became a regular feature—*Down Hogan's Alley* became *The Yellow Kid*. Hearst hired Outcault away from Pulitzer and both Pulitzer's *World* and Hearst's *Journal* ran *Yellow Kid* comics. Eventually the "yellow" carried over to the phraseology used to identify the Pulitzer-Hearst style of newspaper reporting; thus the designation "yellow journalism" was born. Hearst printed the first comics section in 1896. The daily strip format emerged in the mid-1900s as the comics became a strong circulation builder.

During the period from 1914 and 1929, syndicates such as King Features emerged, supplying a large selection of syndicated strips by a stable of creators. Nearly every newspaper in the country carried a comics section, and "funny papers" were a major part of the industry.

At this time, intellectual content began to appear within the comic form, most noticeably in the *Krazy Kat* strip of George Herriman. This comic's surrealistic style and content revolutionized the relatively realistic strip story lines. During this period most of the strips emphasized a humorous view of family life and its problems. By 1925, the *New Yorker* had begun its now-famous one-line panels of cartoons. Today such cartoons appear in most general-reader magazines.

The most creative development to emerge in the depression and war years (1930–45) was the adventure strip, beginning with Harold Foster's work based on Edgar Rice Burroughs' *Tarzan*. The movies had developed a visual sensitivity in the public, and Foster incorpo-

rated film “perspectives” into the strip. In 1936 Burne Hogarth took over *Tarzan* and developed the comic strip into an exciting art form.

In the 1930s, three major creators began careers: Milton Caniff’s *Terry and the Pirates* and later *Steve Canyon* participated in and sometimes predicted political and military events; Al Capp’s *Lil’ Abner* became a sharp satirical comment on American society—nothing was sacred—and his attacks are still savage; the Walt Disney organization contributed two great characters to American pop culture—*Mickey Mouse*, the gentle helpful, playful, and somewhat inept caricature of Americans, and *Donald Duck*, a satirical picture of the rascally, distempered, and ornery man, constantly attacking his fate.

The comic book emerged during the depression. First came strip reprints in a format called *Funnies on Parade*. *Detective Comics* (1937) was the first to structure its content upon one theme. Then in 1938 the most popular superhero of all time, *Superman*, appeared in *Action Comics*. By 1940 there were more than 40 comic-book titles; in 1941, 168 titles. At U.S. Army bases during World War II, comic books outsold all other magazines ten to one.

Like many other Americans comic characters went to war, thus contributing mightily to the propaganda effort. Some of the strips’ heroes even entered the war before the United States did so, joining the RAF or the Flying Tigers. In this way the comics may have helped psychologically to prepare the American public to support the war effort and glorify the American fighting man. Special “war” strips appeared, including *Male Call*, *G.I. Joe*, *The Sad Sack*, and *Johnny Hazard*. Possibly the most important comic characters of the war years were Bill Mauldin’s dogfaces, Willie and Joe. These single-panel cartoons depicted the seriocomic life of the average GI. In 1945 Mauldin won the Pulitzer Prize for his work.

From 1946 to the present, three major events characterize the development of the comics. First, the attacks on comic books because of the excesses of some led to the development of the Association of Comic Magazine Publishers (ACMP) in 1947, with a membership that included the 35 leading companies in the field. A code was drafted to safeguard children from comic books that presented nudity, torture, sadism, and frightening monsters. The code also banned racial, ethnic, and religious slurs, negative marital story lines, ridicule of law officers, profanity, and detailed descriptions of criminal acts. The public outcry continued, however, aided by professional reformers who sought outright censorship at the local level via store

boycotts. The major thrust of the anticomics campaign was to link comics to increased incidences of juvenile delinquency. Under this pressure, the ACMP regrouped as the Comics Magazine Association of America (CMAA) and developed a 41-point code. Today, 90 percent of the industry submits materials for code approval, which allows them to display the code seal on their products.

The second characteristic evident in the postwar era was the emergence of the gentle comic strips of anxiety which contain strong social comment. *Pogo* (1949) by Walt Kelly revolutionized both the style and political scope of the strips, becoming so important as to incur the wrath of Senator Joseph McCarthy. *Miss Peach* (1957), *B.C.* (1958), and *The Wizard of Id* (1964) provided gentle fantasies, but the most spectacular comic of all time is *Peanuts* (1950) by Charles Schulz. Schulz's creations seem to speak to the anxieties of our times through the eternal loser, Charlie Brown. The commercialism of religious holidays in the Great Pumpkin, the vagaries of life in Linus and his blanket, Lucy and her front-lawn psychiatry booth, Peppermint Patty's tomboy hangups, and Snoopy's constant battle with the Red Baron are part of millions of Americans' daily experiences. Charlie Brown and his friends may be the best literary explanation of American life styles in the 1960s. Early in the 1970s emerged *Doonesbury* by Garry Trudeau; with its vivid portrayal of generational conflict, it gained much popularity.



Copyright, 1972, G. B. Trudeau. Distributed by Universal Press Syndicate.

The final development was the growth of the *underground* comic, which surfaced as a voice of radical movements. Its morbidity, vulgarity, crude physical makeup, antiestablishment themes, and sexual deviance attack the most hallowed traditions of the time. Underground comics sought an audience quite different from that of the straight comic books. The "sick" humor attacked what the author-publishers felt to be a sick society.

The Scope of Comics. One of the most-read parts of the daily newspaper is the comics section; six of every ten readers read the comics every day. Over 100 million persons read the Sunday comics section. A major strip may appear in more than 1,000 papers across the world. Nearly every paper has a comics section supplied by the syndicates. The business is dominated by 25 syndicates led by King Features, which handles about 65 of the available 300 strips. *Puck*, a Sunday comics section, has a multine newspaper circulation of 14.5 million.

More than 100 comic-book publishing companies (dominated by the 25 largest) publish 300 titles and sell over 250 million copies annually. Pass-along readership of these comics is estimated to be three readers to every buyer. Normally a company prints about 200,000 copies of an issue, but *Classics Illustrated*, which are skeletal versions of important literary works, remain on the stand indefinitely, and most titles have sold 1 million copies or more. The heavy users of comic books are youths aged 7-14, and they tend to be good readers rather than poor ones.

The comic form is used for religious, educational, and political messages as well as such promotional campaigns as antismoking, antidrinking, and antinarcotics causes.

Despite continuing complaints about them, the comics are a dynamic part of pop culture. They are easy to read, socially relevant, entertaining, and present wish fulfillment and escape for the reader. The comics have influenced broadcast programming, films, plays, art forms, and advertising.

CHAPTER 16

Motion Pictures

In many ways the current state of motion pictures is indicative of the full circle they have come since their beginning almost a century ago. What started out as a highly personal medium and then became a product of a massive industry is now again becoming a medium of individual expression. Some say that this is a sign of a new golden age; others see it simply as a reflection of a structureless, anything-goes society. Whatever it is, the resurgence of “new” movies has infused a once near-dormant industry with new life and vitality.

This new film industry involves new films, new directors, new actors and actresses, and new audiences. If, indeed, Hollywood, as one writer has put it, has become a “haunted house,” it is a house full of very lively ghosts.

Historical Perspectives

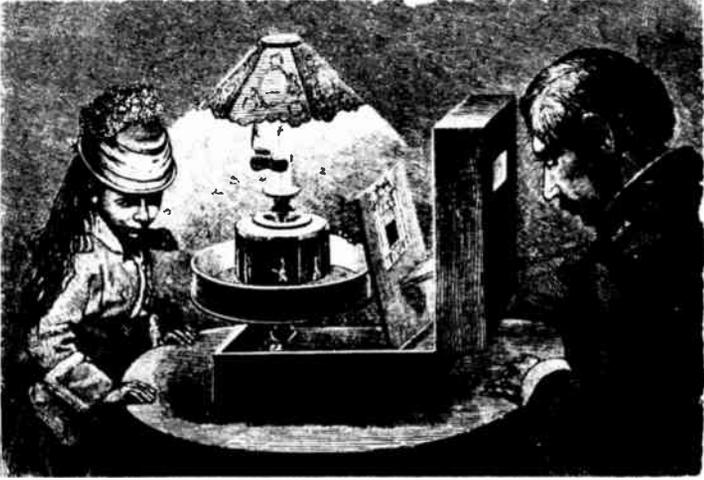
The motion picture is the child of science. Many traces of antiquity, such as cave drawings and shadow plays, are evidence of man's universal quest to reproduce what he sees in nature. Early in man's history this quest was taken up by the scientist as well as the artist.

The Prehistory of the Motion Picture. In order for the motion-picture medium to appear, it was necessary for four scientific events to occur: (1) discovery of the persistence of vision; (2) development of projection techniques; (3) development of photography; (4) integration of motion, projection, and photographic concepts in order to develop motion-picture film, cameras, and projectors. The solution of these problems and the invention of these devices took almost 70 years.

It all began with Peter Mark Roget's theory of the persistence of vision in 1824. Roget demonstrated that through a peculiarity of the retina of the eye an image is retained for a fraction of a second after it actually disappears. Motion pictures are dependent upon this physiological phenomenon since they are nothing more than a series of motionless images (still frames) presented before the eye in rapid succession. Persistence of vision allows these still images to blend, thus creating the illusion of motion.

The "laws of stroboscopic effects" published by Joseph Plateau in 1836 demonstrated that 16 drawings of a given movement shown successively in one second were perceived as one fluid motion. Very quickly, a variety of devices incorporating this discovery of Roget's were invented. They carried such fanciful names as the stroboscope and the phenakistiscope; but the important fact was that drawn pictures had begun to move, or at least they created the illusion of motion.

The next component required was the development of a system of projection. The condensing lens that enlarged and projected was predicted in the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci. In 1646 Father Athanasius Kircher supposedly demonstrated lens projection in his magic lantern, a fact disputed by several historians. In 1853 Baron Franz von Uchatius projected moving images visible to large numbers of persons; however, this was accomplished by a series of individual projectors each containing a phase drawing. The motion-picture projector as we know it today grew out of developments by Thomas Edison, Thomas Armat, and the Lumière brothers in the 1890s.



Despite these advances, the pictures used to simulate motion were still being drawn. The next step toward cinematography was the development of photography. An entire chapter could be written on photography; here we are concerned about it only because it provided those working on motion pictures with images of real life. Two men, Nicéphore Niépce and Louis J. M. Daguerre, were responsible for the development of copper-plate photography, and in 1839 it was presented to the public for the first time.

Soon, photographs were being used in the available projection devices instead of drawings. In 1870 Henry Heyl projected photographs onto a screen before 1,600 people in Philadelphia.

In order for these developments in motion, projection, and photography to be integrated, special cameras, film, and projectors were needed.

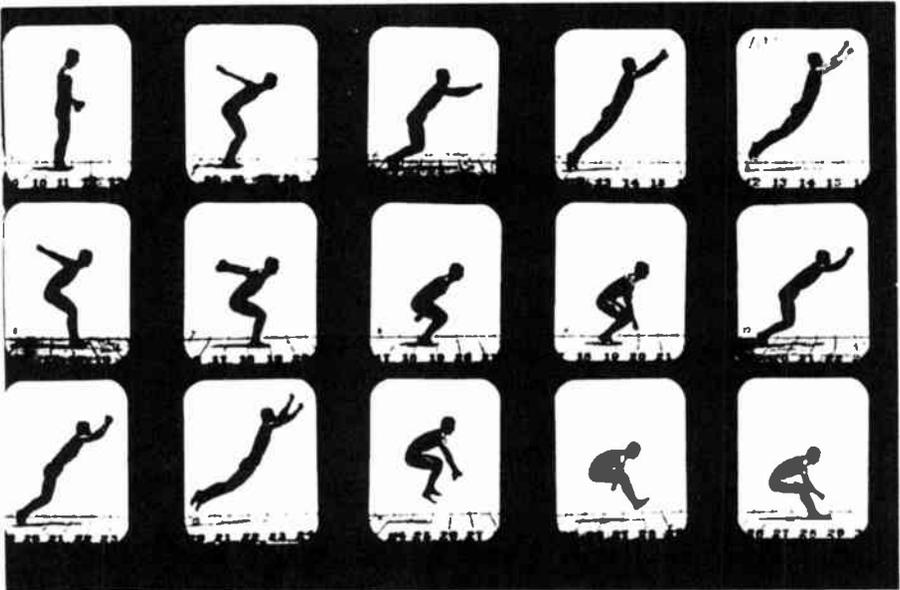
A camera that would take pictures faster than the still camera was essential. A number of attempts were made in this direction, including Eadweard Muybridge's famous demonstration of the gait of a galloping horse in 1877. However, the most successful step came in 1882 when Dr. E. J. Marey developed what he called a "photographic gun," which could take a series of pictures in rapid succession.

The next necessity was roll film. An American preacher, Hannibal Goodwin, was the inventor; but it was George Eastman who became its greatest promoter. In 1888 Eastman brought out his Kodak

camera, which used roll film. He was not concerned with cinematography, however.

It remained for William Laurie Dickson, an assistant of Thomas Edison, to perfect the first motion-picture camera using roll film. There is some confusion as to exact dates, but it appears that by 1889 Dickson was taking moving pictures. In 1891 Edison applied for patents on the kinetograph as a photographing camera and the kinetoscope as a viewing apparatus and soon began producing short-story film strips.

However, Edison's kinetoscope was only a "peep show" and was not projected. The final step, then, was the motion-picture projector. Here Edison was lax. He soon turned to other projects and only when it looked as if the idea was going to make money did he go back to it. At least a dozen other men were working on this device, including August and Louis Lumière in France. In 1895 they demonstrated a projection device, the cinematographe, and soon after began producing films. Edison took advantage of the efforts of the Lumières and Thomas Armat and on April 23, 1896, in Koster and Bial's Music Hall in New York, Edison's Vitascope projector was used for the first public showing of motion pictures in the United States.



The Beginnings. The first subject matter of the newly developed "art" of motion pictures was simple pictorial realism. The motion-picture medium began as a recording device—nothing more. The Lumières' *Arrival of the Paris Express* (1895) and other films, such as *Venice Showing Gondolas*, *Kaiser Wilhelm Reviewing His Troops*, and *Feeding the Ducks at Tampa Bay*, emphasized the ability of the camera to record reality. Few of these films ran more than a minute, and they were often run backward to pad the presentation and amaze the audience.

Nevertheless, people soon tired of various versions of Niagara Falls, fire engines racing down the street, and babies smearing their faces with porridge. Motion pictures next moved into themes involving a story and sustained narrative. An important factor in this rather quick development was that film, unlike some of the more traditional art forms, had the solid traditions and skills of photography and the theater behind it. In addition, when a new technique was discovered it was quickly imitated by other film makers.

As early as 1896 George Melies, a French film maker, began to create motion pictures with a story line, becoming the first artist of the cinema. Melies discovered new ways of seeing, interpreting, and even distorting reality. He contributed much to the development of the motion picture, including the invention or development of many standard optical devices so familiar today (dissolve, split screen, jump cut, superimposition, and others). His most important contribution was his approach to film as a means of telling a story, not simply recording reality. But Melies was never able to move beyond his theatrical background toward true cinematic construction. His films were always a series of "artificially arranged scenes" shot from the fixed view of a spectator in a theater.

Developments in England and America soon propelled the motion picture into its own unique means of cinematic expression. In America it was Edwin S. Porter who, with George Melies, is credited with the initial development of narrative films. In two films, *The Life of an American Fireman* (1903) and more importantly, *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), he demonstrated the power of editing—the element basic to all filmic expression. According to Nicholas Vardac, the significance of *The Great Train Robbery* lay not only in its technique of building up an effective continuity of action through editing but also in the timeliness of its arrival. Audiences had, de-

spite the camera trickery of Melies, begun to tire of films that simply moved. *The Great Train Robbery* presented a fresh approach and offered the public new excitement.

The Dawn. The years between 1906 and 1916 may be the most important period of artistic development in motion-picture history. During this second decade of film production came the birth of the feature film, the first film star, the first distinguished director, the first picture palaces, the place called Hollywood, and, above all, the film form as a unique and individual means of expression.

Some historians have aptly labeled this time "the age of Griffith." It was David Wark Griffith who took the raw material of film and created a language, a syntax, an art. To attempt to list his contributions in this short space would be impossible; but more than anything else Griffith made film a dynamic medium. Beginning with *The Adventures of Dolly* (1908) and culminating with *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916), Griffith freed the motion picture from strictly theatrical bounds. He pioneered a more natural acting style, better story organization, and, most important, a true filmic style. He developed a language that emphasized the unique characteristics of the film medium, such as editing, camera movement and angle, rather than simply using film as a moving photograph or portable theater.

To say that the years from 1906 to 1916 were the age of Griffith is not to deny the emergence of other notable film styles and important artists. Mack Sennett and his Keystone company developed silent comedy, and Charlie Chaplin moved beyond Sennett's slapstick to humor with a deeper, more philosophical edge.

The businessman also played an important role in this period. Since most inventors of cinematic devices did little to exploit these devices commercially, it remained for individual entrepreneurs like B. F. Keith, Major Woodville Latham, and Thomas Talley, among others, to bring showmanship to the motion picture. In Los Angeles Talley set up a movie show in the rear of the amusement parlor he owned. He was very successful and soon turned his arcade into an auditorium which advertised "The Electric Theater For Up-to-Date High Class Motion Picture Entertainment Especially for Ladies and Children." Essentially, there were four stages in the early commercial development of film:

1. Initially film makers were also ticket sellers, projectionists,

and showmen. They installed their machines in empty stores, music halls, back rooms, and attics. There were also a number of traveling film shows—"electric theaters" as they were called. This was strictly an itinerant operation, however, and something more permanent was needed.

2. The next stage involved the vaudeville houses, the first home of the American motion picture. Films started out as the "headliner," but soon ended as a "chaser," moving patrons out of the theater between shows.

3. A new surge began in 1905 with the rise of the nickelodeon, so named because of the five-cent price of admission, when films improved in quality and equipment became more plentiful. By 1907 there were more than 3,000 of these small theaters, and by 1910 there were 10,000. Motion pictures had survived an initial financial slump and were a prosperous and thriving enterprise. Between 1905 and 1910 narrative films grew longer and more costly as well as more popular and more profitable. Porter's *Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (1906) cost \$350 to make and grossed more than \$350,000. The Vitagraph Company started in 1896 with capital of \$936 and by 1912 showed profits of over \$900,000.

The trappings of an industrial empire were not yet apparent, however. There was no star system, no million-dollar salary, no Hollywood. These would all come about as a reaction against a monopoly called the Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC). Formed in 1909 through the pooling of 16 patents, it controlled virtually every aspect of motion-picture production, distribution, and exhibition in the United States for more than three years.

4. The film trust waged a constant battle with independent and foreign producers. It was a battle with one of these producers, Adolph Zukor, that saw the industry enter the next stage of its development. Zukor acquired the rights to the French film *Queen Elizabeth* (1912), starring Sarah Bernhardt. But to exhibit it he had to apply to the MPPC for permission. They refused, and as a result he went to an independent exhibitor. The picture was a success and the experience led Zukor to form his own company, Famous Players in Famous Plays (the forerunner of Paramount Pictures).

Soon others, heartened by Zukor's stand, began showing films without permission of the trust. Pressure was applied by the MPPC, and as a result many individuals moved West to escape its control. The move to California came gradually, but by 1914 the state had

attracted such men as Cecil B. DeMille, Jesse Lasky, Zukor, and others. Some prospered and many failed. However, most of Hollywood's major studios trace their origins back to the independents who between 1910 and 1914 flouted and fought the MPPC.

By 1919, 80 percent of the world's motion pictures were being made in southern California. Other important results of the "war" with the film trust were the introduction of feature-length films and the rise of the star system. The MPPC had limited all films to one reel and had blocked actor identification. To accommodate the influx of star-studded, feature-length films, new, elaborate theaters were constructed. With such films as *The Birth of a Nation*, motion pictures moved out of the nickelodeons and into their own grand palaces; one of the first of these was the Strand, built in New York in 1914. By 1917, the MPPC had been dissolved by the courts. The results of the fight were the foundation of an industrial empire, including a multitude of companies, feature-length films, the star system, Hollywood, and, above all, a new respectability for film.

International Awakenings. By World War I, film as an art and a business was well established. The war strengthened America's position in the international film market because virtually all the major film industries of Europe were either shut down or had had their production severely curtailed. This gave the American film industry an international head start, since silent film had no language barrier. The Hollywood film was dominant by 1920 as average weekly movie attendance in the United States was 40 million and growing rapidly.

Following World War I there was a great deal of international development in film. The war-ravaged industries of Germany, France, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries were quickly reconstructed and began producing films. These movements, particularly in Germany, France, and Russia, were important for the contributions they made to film theory and aesthetics. In Germany, for example, two types of film emerged: (1) the expressionistic film, a part of the art movement of the same name; (2) the realistic "street films," so named because city streets played an important part in them. The street films had a distinct impact in bringing to film a new sense of naturalism and realism. The camera was also used as an actor, switching point of view and moving the action.

The Russians, most notably Sergei Eisenstein and V. I. Pudovkin, contributed greatly to the theory of film editing. The Russian concept of montage—the creation of meaning through shot jux-

taposition (either collision or linkage)—had a significant impact upon Russian film and was used by Eisenstein and Pudovkin to produce films of stunning force and deep meaning.

In France the motion picture moved toward an abstract and surrealistic form, chiefly through the efforts of interested intellectuals and creative film makers such as René Clair, Jacques Feyder, and Luis Buñuel. These men extended the boundaries of film beyond the narrative into the realms of deep symbolism and pure form.

All this international energy had a distinct yet diffused impact. Few of the actual film forms and theories developed were totally incorporated by Hollywood; however, the talent that produced them was. Not long after they had achieved an international reputation, such directors and film stars as Emil Jannings, Josef von Sternberg, and Marlene Dietrich came to the United States to make films.

Hollywood in the 1920s. Meanwhile, Hollywood was providing films which were essentially a reflection of the roaring twenties. Companies and studios grew in size and power. Salaries rose, studios constructed huge stages, and many "back lots" contained entire towns. By the mid-1920s, a full 40 percent of a film's budget went to pay for studio overhead.

Three types of films dominated this final decade of silent film: the feature-length comedy, the Western, and the comedy of manners. In this era, many critics believe, film comedy reached its zenith. The comedic style of the time moved away from the broad, farcical slapstick of Sennett and his Keystone cops toward a more subtle, sophisticated format, characterized so brilliantly by Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton, Harold Lloyd, and others.

The Western came into its own at this time with the move toward the "big" feature as best represented by John Ford's *Covered Wagon* (1923), James Cruze's *Iron Horse* (1924), and William S. Hart's *Tumbleweeds* (1925). The "B" Western also became prominent, providing contrast not only to the "spectacular" Westerns of Ford and Cruze, but more importantly to the stark realism used so effectively by Hart. This was the era of the "romantic" Western so ably characterized in the films of Tom Mix.

The third film form was a direct result of the social conditions of the time. The mores of the country were much freer and open than at any time in its history. The comedy-of-manners film was a reflection of this increased sophistication. These films concentrated on high society, glittering wealth, and personal freedom. Such films

as Cecil B. DeMille's *Male and Female* (1919) and *Why Change Your Wife* (1920) appealed directly to this new sense of freedom.

The Arrival of Sound. Despite the fact that the 1920s were years of increased prosperity for moving pictures, the end of the era found Hollywood experiencing a profound uneasiness. As the result of a major scandal in 1921 a motion-picture-code office was formed to ease public concern with both the content of films and the behavior of the people who made them. This, coupled with the increasing popularity of radio and the automobile, created an attendance problem. In order to save the industry and win back the lost audience, something new was needed.

Warner Bros.-First National Studio, on the verge of bankruptcy in 1926, invested its remaining capital in a new sound system called Vitaphone. On October 26, 1927, they presented the first talking feature, *The Jazz Singer*, starring Al Jolson. The motion-picture industry, ready to adopt any new idea that would strengthen it, quickly abandoned silent film and eagerly embraced sound.

Sound had essentially three effects:

1. Sound's impact upon content was evident from the start with the rush toward the musical. The more a film talked, sang, or shouted, the better it was. Swept aside in the rush were many unique forms, most notably the silent comedy.

2. Individual stars were also greatly affected. Keaton, Chaplin, and Lloyd—whose basic comedic style was visual—were hampered. In addition, many stars found that their voices were displeasing to audiences. The careers of John Gilbert, Charles Farrell, and Norma Talmadge were affected because of unsatisfactory vocal quality.

3. The impact upon markets was most important. In 1929 Hollywood made more than 500 features, of which 335 were sound films. In 1927 only 55 theaters could handle sound, but by 1929 more than 8,700 had audio systems. American film rose from 60 million gross in 1927 to 110 million in 1929. This success gave the industry a tremendous financial boost and helped it over the worst years of the depression.

The expense of making sound film also brought a new financial domination in the form of Western Electric, RCA, and their respective financial backers, Kuhn-Loeb and the First National Bank of New York. RCA, which made sound equipment, bought a film company and the Keith-Albee Orpheum vaudeville theater corporation and then set up a powerful new studio, RKO. The eastern banking

interests—because of the financial demands of sound—gained a significant hold on the entertainment industry and its products. Despite Hollywood’s domestic success, its dominance of the world market diminished. Whereas silent films had a universal language, sound films required dubbing of foreign languages for overseas distribution.

Hollywood in the 1930s. Like other elements of the culture, film reflected the tensions, crises, and deepening social awareness in the United States. One reaction to the time was the documentary film, beginning with Robert Flaherty’s work in the early 1920s. The fruition of the documentary form began in 1929 in England with John Grierson. The United States initially failed to exploit the documentary’s potential, but in 1936 Pare Lorentz produced *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, a great documentary achievement. Lorentz was soon made head of the United States Film Service, and he—along with other directors—created several powerful films, including *The River* (1937), *Ecce Homo* (1939), and *The Power and the Land* (1940). For a variety of political reasons, however, the service was legislated out of existence in 1940, and it took the catastrophe of World War II to revitalize the documentary form.

Hollywood produced two other responses to the needs of the time. The first was the social-consciousness film, a form in which the action was, as John Howard Lawson states, “specifically motivated and rooted in social circumstances.” Such films as *The Informer* (1935) and *The Public Enemy* (1931) asked their audiences to view men and their actions as a part or result of the social conditions of the time. The other response was escapism. As the depression deepened, more films turned toward musical and comedic themes in an attempt to provide their audiences with another reality. Hollywood produced a wave of Busby Berkeley and Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers singing-dancing spectacles, such as *Footlight Parade* (1933), *Gold Diggers of 1935*, and *Flying Down to Rio* (1936). These were soon accompanied by “screwball” comedies, such as *It Happened One Night* (1934), directed by Frank Capra and “The Thin Man” series starring William Powell and Myrna Loy. Neither film form could ignore the conditions of the times, however, and basic plot motivation stressed such depression themes as the little man trying to make good.

World War II. Toward the end of the 1930s with war imminent in Europe, American studios began to produce strongly patriotic films, and some cautious steps were taken in portraying future allies and enemies in such films as *Foreign Correspondent* (1940) and *The*

Ramparts We Watch (1939). Until Pearl Harbor, however, the United States was technically a neutral nation, and most film companies were wary of economic reprisals by Axis governments.

After 1942 Hollywood began to produce fictional war film with the Japanese and Germans immediately becoming stock, stereotyped villains. By contrast, the image of the American fighting man was a strongly realistic one. Many celebrities enlisted or were drafted into the armed forces. Documentary and training films by the thousands for both civilian and troop consumption were produced by these armed forces film makers. The studios enjoyed a war boom and profits reached new heights. More than half of the 1,300 films produced from 1942 to 1944 had nothing to do with the war. The film industry tended to both reflect and distort the times of which it was a part. Both depression and World War II films attest to both realistic and escapist entertainment.

The Postwar Era. The story of postwar film is essentially a chronicle of decline and frustration for Hollywood and the major studios, but rebirth and growth for the foreign and independent film. After the war, American studios resumed standard operating procedures, producing a great many films designed for the mass public's tastes and habits. Before the 1940s were spent, however, four events occurred that forced major changes in the traditional Hollywood structure: (1) the rise of television; (2) the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings; (3) the Supreme Court divorce ruling; (4) the emergence of a vigorous international film movement.

The advent of network television in 1948 diverted much of film's audience, the habit audience. Between 1950 and 1960 the number of television sets in the United States increased by 400 percent, while theater attendance fell by 50 percent. Television eventually became the B movie, and as a result film income dropped.

The "Red scare" in the United States had a number of effects. One was the congressional hearings into alleged communist activities, which began in 1947 and quickly established a climate of fear over all aspects of American life, bringing about a real tragedy for motion pictures. Many talented craftsmen and artists were black-listed and lost to the American screen, resulting in damage to the content of film. Experimentation and initiative were discouraged, and producers either fell back on old patterns or grasped at experimental straws.

The third blow, the 1950 Paramount decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, forced the Hollywood studios to end vertical integration—where one corporation produced, distributed, and exhibited films. The High Court ruled that this setup restrained trade. Film companies were forced to divest themselves of one of the three operations. Most major companies sold off their theater chains and stayed in the production-distribution end of the film business. This, in effect, caused the collapse of the basic industry structure, and ended the absolute control of the American film market held for 30 years by the major Hollywood studios.

Coincidental to these domestic happenings, and to a certain extent because of them, a strong international film movement emerged. Beginning with neorealism in Italy, vital national cinemas developed in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Japan walked off with the Venice Film Festival award with Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* in 1951, and suddenly American audiences, became aware of another source of motion pictures; foreign films were available not only from Japan, but England, France, Italy, Sweden, and India, to name the more important ones.

Film in the United States was no longer *the* mass medium, and at the time its future as *a* mass medium looked shaky. Attendance figures dropped off sharply. The industry frantically responded with stereophonic sound, wide screens, and 3-D—anything television could not duplicate. These attractions were built on passing fancies, however. The basic fact of a changing audience was ignored. Attempts to inject new vigor or themes were fought consistently. This is evidenced by the unsuccessful fight to obtain the industry's seal of approval for two films, *The Moon Is Blue* (1953), an innocuous comedy about adultery, and *The Man With the Golden Arm* (1956), a film dealing with drug addiction. Hollywood clung to a "blockbuster" policy, emphasizing spectacular film productions of extreme length and fantastic budgets such as *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1956) and *Ben-Hur* (1959).

The Film Revolution. The 1960s witnessed the further decline of Hollywood and its traditional picture values and saw the emergence of a new cinema, a cinema difficult to characterize except perhaps in what it has rejected. The film of the 1970s is the product of a changing society, a society in which relevance, awareness, and freedom of expression have become watchwords. Motion pictures no longer exist exclusively as a product to be passively consumed by a

mass audience. Today's audience is seeking a new kind of involvement in the film experience.

The change can perhaps be dated from the reorganization at United Artists starting in 1951. Originally organized in 1919 as an outlet for the films of D. W. Griffith, Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, and Mary Pickford, United Artists was revamped in 1951 in order to carry out precisely the same function, that of providing an outlet for independently produced films. With such films as *The African Queen* (1951) and *Marty* (1955), it began to provide new hope for the independent film maker. From this beginning, the roots of the "new American cinema" emerged.

Hollywood did not die in the 1960s, but it did go through a radical procedural change. Most of the major studios were used as financing and distributing agents for independently produced features. But the traditional system of motion-picture production, distribution, and exhibition did not undergo transformation easily. Hollywood tried to win back its lost audience and regain some of its former prestige by emphasizing bigness. The spectacle has always been a part of Hollywood ever since *Birth of a Nation* (1915). However, in the 1960s this film form was looked upon as the savior of the Hollywood system. *Cleopatra* (1963) should have been a warning signal. It was the most expensive and most publicized film ever made (\$20 million shooting cost, plus a similar amount for distribution), and for all practical purposes was a box-office failure. But *The Sound of Music* (1965), another blockbuster, became one of the biggest box-office successes in history, earning more than \$80 million in rentals. The major studios, with their confidence bolstered by *Sound of Music's* success, set into motion a series of spectacles, *Dr. Dolittle* (1968), *Star* (1969), *Goodbye Mr. Chips* (1970), and *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1971). All were failures that plunged many of the studios to the point of bankruptcy and led to their eventual takeover by non-Hollywood business interests.

It was not simply the rush to duplicate the success of *The Sound of Music* that pushed many of the studios over the brink, however. Other forces were at work as well. Perhaps the most important was the so-called New American Cinema, which was essentially the surfacing of what used to be called underground films. There have always been films that were shot away from normal production sources. They have been called art, avant-garde, experimental, "new wave," or pornographic. Perhaps the major film trend of the 1960s was

that such films acquired a legitimacy that saw them exhibited virtually without restriction. Essentially, what happened was a juncture of the art/experimental film with the stag film through the normal channels of production, distribution, and exhibition.

Just as the French "new wave" grew up around a film magazine, *Cahiers de Cinema*, the New American Cinema found impetus in the magazine *Film Culture*, produced by the Mekas brothers and their staff.

One of the first underground features to surface and receive wide public distribution was Shirley Clarke's *The Connection* (1961). This was soon followed by Jonas Mekas's *The Brig* (1964), and Kenneth Anger's *Scorpio Rising* (1966). By the late 1960s this movement, coupled with the troubles of the major studios, had catapulted the independent film maker into a position of prominence. Dennis Hopper's film *Easy Rider* (1969) was the real watershed of this trend, as it finally convinced the major studios that a low-budget, independently produced film (cost \$370,000) could be a blockbuster.

The significance of *Easy Rider* is not that it had artistic merit, but that talents outside the Hollywood mainstream (Dennis Hopper, Peter Fonda, Jack Nicholson, Karen Black) could produce a good film on a skeletal budget with massive audience appeal. It showed a new way to mine the gold in the American audience.

New audiences are basic to the new cinema; in fact, they are the driving force behind it. Motion pictures today deal with a film generation. They must appeal to an audience no longer composed of a cross section of the American population. It is estimated that some 62 percent of today's film audience is between the ages of 12 and 30. This is a young audience aware of social issues. Its members do not look at film as simply a means of escape, although this function is still valid. Film, to many of these people, must go beyond escape; it must make statements.

An indication of this growing awareness is the expanding film curriculum in high schools, colleges, and universities. The American Film Institute's guide to college film courses lists over 2,800 courses being offered at over 600 schools. Film majors are now being offered at almost 200 schools. This new awareness coupled with formal instruction in film production and consumption has produced an audience that is more perceptive and more knowledgeable about film than ever before. These viewers make demands upon the medium. They do not simply sit and absorb. As Robert Evans, head of production at

Paramount, said: "The main change had been in the audience. Today people go to see *a* movie, they no longer go to *the* movies. We can't depend upon habit anymore."

Despite the growing awareness of film as a tool for responsible change in society, entertainment films remain dominant. However, even many of the so-called entertainment films have elements of social comment. *They Shoot Horses Don't They?*² (1969), while entertaining, revealed a sordid side to the often fondly remembered dance marathons of the 1930s. The outstanding success of such films as *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here* (1969), *Five Easy Pieces* (1970), *Z* (1969), *Joe* (1970), *M*A*S*H*. (1969), *Little Big Man* (1970), *Dirty Harry* (1971), *The Last Picture Show* (1971), *A Clockwork Orange* (1972), *Cabaret* (1972), among others, points to an increased awareness of film as a medium for social comment.

When one looks at the diversity of films that have achieved success in recent years—such films as *Easy Rider* (1969), *True Grit* (1969), *Patton* (1970), *The Last Picture Show* (1971), *Love Story* (1970), *The Godfather* (1971), *Last Tango in Paris* (1973), *The Exorcist* (1973), and *The Sting* (1973)—one has to agree with David Picker, president of United Artists, when he says: "There's only one place where American films are today and that's in the heads of the people who are making them." There are no formulas for success; there are only creative film makers and the films they gamble on.

The success of independent low-budget films such as *Easy Rider* (1969), *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), and *Goodbye Columbus* (1969) seemed to point the way for a more open production system. The studios started operating on the premise of making every film for less than \$1 million. But with the success of the \$12.5 million *Patton* (1970) the \$10.5 million *Airport* (1970), and the \$14 million *The Godfather* (1971), the industry still finds itself in a state of confusion. Even further complicating the scene is the success of *The Last Picture Show* (1971) and *What's Up Doc?*² (1972) which have become some of the biggest box-office hits of the 1970s and seem to be a throwback to an earlier era when basic social and pictorial values were stressed instead of thematic and stylistic exploitation. The 1970s are a time when few rules apply.

The new technical and thematic freedom from formula, convention, and censorship is reflected in the industry code, which no longer censors films but simply evaluates them by assigning a rating. (G = General Audiences, PG = Parental Guidance Suggested, R =

Restricted to those over 17 or those accompanied by parent or guardian, X = no one under 17 admitted).

As the French film critic Jean-Louis Comolli states: "A film was a form of amusement—a distraction. It told a story. Today fewer and fewer films aim to distract. They have become not a means of escape, but a means of approaching a problem. The cinema is no longer enslaved to a plot." There are other characteristics. Chronological sequence is no longer a necessity. Comedy and tragedy are no longer separate masks. Black-and-white intermingles with color. Above all, films have once again begun to reveal, rather than simply reflect or distort.

The Scope of the Motion-Picture Industry

Motion pictures have long been one of the primary recreational outlets for the American people, although no longer as significant as they were 25 years ago. The industry hit its peak in 1946 with box-office receipts estimated at \$1.7 billion and with approximately 90 million admissions per week. Receipts in 1973 were an estimated \$1.5 billion up from a postwar low of \$900 million in 1962. However, increased receipts have been the result of higher admission prices rather than increased attendance. Approximately 20 million people attended motion pictures in the United States in 1973, but various sources put the rise in admission prices between 1960 and 1970 anywhere from 90 percent to 108 percent. The number of theaters has also declined from over 19,000 in 1946 to an estimated 14,000 in 1973.

In 1973 approximately 400 motion pictures were either started or distributed by the major companies and independents, an increase from 1969. Studio production, however, fell from 177 to 147. These 400 motion pictures were approximately equal to what Hollywood alone produced in 1946.

Another traditional indicator of the scope of the motion-picture industry is the amount of money being spent on production. This figure has also decreased, although the number of productions has begun to increase. The key here is that where 20th Century-Fox spent \$25 million for *Tora! Tora! Tora!* in 1970 and \$100 million overall, it spent only \$25 million altogether in 1971. The current theme is to produce more pictures for less money. The estimated average cost per production in 1973 was \$1.5 million.

Thus, from all indications, the scope of the American motion-

picture industry is diminished. But it continues to be an economic force, with capital investments of \$3.5 billion, an annual payroll of more than \$1.2 billion and box-office receipts of \$4 billion (including foreign rentals). United States films still account for 60 percent of all world screen time, despite current problems.

The Structure and Organization of the Motion-Picture Industry

The film industry is divided into three major parts: (1) production—the creation of films; (2) distribution—the supplying of films to markets; (3) exhibition—the displaying of films to the public. In the past all three functions were performed by one company. However, in 1950 the Supreme Court ruled that the practice of vertical integration (control of production, distribution, and exhibition by one company) restrained free trade. Today most companies perform no more than two of these functions critical to the motion-picture communication process. And there is some indication that these three operations are growing more distinct than ever.

Production. The making of films is a complex operation involving the talents of many people, including directors, cinematographers, assistant directors, producers, editors, lighting and sound crews, designers, musicians, prop men, painters, plasterers, carpenters, plumbers, drivers, mechanics, costumers, makeup crews, choreographers, as well as actors. As film budgets have recently been cut back, the size of the crew has also been reduced.

The industry's unions, long one of the prime contributors to exorbitant production costs, have relaxed many of their requirements to allow skeletal crews and lower minimum wages for low-budget films. This shift in policy was forced upon the unions by economic conditions—if Hollywood was to survive, labor costs had to be reduced.

Film makers have also been forced to cut back their nonproduction expenses. In the 1940s over 40 percent of a film's budget went to cover studio overhead, which involved upkeep of the backlots, maintenance of huge stockpiles of costumes, props, sets, and equipment, as well as an extensive bureaucracy of production and nonproduction personnel. Today the independent production company's permanent staff consists of a small secretarial pool, a good account-



tant, and the producer. Studio overhead currently accounts for only 20 percent of production costs.

The heart of the motion-picture business in the 1970s lies beyond the studio gates. More and more films are being shot on location in the United States and Europe rather than on Hollywood backlots. With the advent of portable equipment, location shooting can create a more visually valid film. Robert Rafelson, director of *Five Easy Pieces* (1970), argues that for most films the sound stage has become unnecessary since the Cinemobile Mark IV was developed by cinematographer Fouad Said for his work on the TV series, "I Spy." This 35-foot studio-bus contains dressing rooms, bathrooms, space for a large crew, and a full complement of lightweight equipment. The Cinemobile Mark IV was used to produce more than 70 films in 1970. For such films as *The Andromeda Strain* (1971), however, the studio is still a necessity.

The key word today in film production is *independent*. Currently, independent film makers account for approximately 60 percent of all American films. Twenty years ago they accounted for 8 percent, and as late as 1960 they produced less than one-third. It was such nonestablishment film makers as John Cassavettes, Andy Warhol, Dennis Hopper, Peter Bogdanovich, and Francis Ford Coppola who proved to Hollywood that magical names on the marquee are not necessary for success. With 59 percent of box-office revenues coming from people under 25, it is the independent talent, often young

himself, who is currently succeeding as a film maker. In order to meet the demands for relevance and awareness, independent film makers like Francis Ford Coppola, Frank Perry, Haskell Wexler, and Peter Bogdanovich have persuaded financial backers to allow them total artistic and substantive control. They shoot on location with low budgets, stressing current issues, and making films that are personal statements in regard to social conditions.

This trend has then given rise to a new leadership in film, not only with directors, but producers and executives as well. According to United Artists president David Picker: "What's being established right now is an entirely new business, altogether unlike the movie business 30 years ago." The major studios have adopted an economical, low-budget philosophy and the days of the Richard Burtons and Elizabeth Taylors earning \$1 million per picture may be over. The new financial arrangement is for a star and even a director to take a percentage of a film's potential profit, rather than a high salary.

Today a great deal of money to finance films is coming from a variety of nontraditional sources. David L. Wolper's "family" films, including *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory*, are being backed by the Quaker Oats Company. Lee Rich's partner is a real estate broker. Leon Fromkes is financed by oilman J. Paul Getty. Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* empire backed Roman Polanski's *Macbeth*. The Mattel Toy Company and United States Steel are also investing in feature films. The new film business is a gamble because no one is sure what the public wants. However, the risk is less awesome if the film costs around \$1 million, especially if the film can eventually be used for a TV movie series. In 1972, blacks began to make their own films, using black actors and black directors for black audiences. Starting with Gordon Parks' *Shaft* (1972), a new image emerged from *Shaft's Big Score*, *Blacula*, *Superfly*, *Souder*, *Black Gunn*, and other black films. The black audience seemed willing to support movies that sought to meet their entertainment needs.

Distribution. The primary distributors of motion pictures are the old studios that have traditionally produced films. Most independent producers release their films through one of the established majors. There are two major markets for American films, foreign and domestic.

The foreign market is extremely important, since it accounts for over 50 percent of the total annual revenue for most American films. In a great many nations of the world, U.S. films dominate both the

exhibition schedule and box-office receipts. The popularity of the American film product is so great that most European nations limit the number of weeks U.S. films may be shown in local theaters. Rights to American films shown abroad are normally retained by the parent company. This contrasts with the practice of foreign film producers, who sell American distribution rights to their films.

Domestic distribution of films involves the normal channels used to move any product from producer to consumer. Seven major studios dominate film distribution in the United States: Columbia, MGM, Warner Bros., 20th Century-Fox, Paramount, United Artists, and Universal. A group of minor studios are becoming increasingly important: Disney's Buena Vista, Avco-Embassy, American-International, Cinerama, Allied Artists, and National General. The majors and minors account for 80 percent to 90 percent of annual film revenue in the United States. There are also independent distributors such as Grove Press, which handle foreign, as well as sexploitation and radical political films.

Film-distribution operations involve the booking of films into theaters. Licenses between the distributor and exhibitor include both price and nonprice agreements. The process of block booking—requiring theaters to buy groups of films rather than individual films—has been outlawed, so every film is leased separately.

Local theater owners bid competitively for films. This usually involves a specific guaranteed minimum against a percentage of the gross receipts. For example, the theater owner pays an amount (\$1,000 per week) or a percent of the gross receipts (60 percent of one week's ticket sales) whichever is higher. This procedure saves the exhibitor from losing too badly if the film is a flop, and helps the distributor if the film is a major success.

In the motion-picture business in the 1970s the distributor is still the major risk-taker. This is the case because distributors are the prime borrower of funds to produce films. They finance or provide the collateral for nine of every ten films. If the cost of the movie exceeds production estimates, it is the distributor who provides the necessary capital to complete it. Because of this, the distributor receives his return before the producer does. One-third of the distribution gross (total receipts minus the exhibitors' share) is retained to cover distribution costs; the remainder is sent to the bank to retire the standard two-year loan. Before the producer earns any sizable sum, the film must earn roughly 2.5 times its production costs. Thus, a film like *Patton* with a cost of approximately \$12 million would have to earn ap-

proximately \$30 million before the producer could realize any profit. In effect, interest and distribution costs of a film run about 150 percent of the production costs. Marketing costs in film are among the highest—if not the highest—for any major consumer product. The risk in film is increased by the fact that the economic life of a film is extremely short; in most cases about 25 weeks account for two-thirds of its total gross. Maximum gross in the shortest period of time is a critical aspect of film distribution.

Exhibition. The 14,000 local theaters and 4,500 drive-ins are the final link in the structure of the motion-picture industry. More than half these theaters are owned by theater chains. About 1,000 critical bookings in major population areas mean the difference between financial success or failure for a film. The larger theaters (over 400 seats) account for 80 percent of the total dollar volume of most features. Nine of every ten large houses are owned by the theater chains. The largest, ABC-Paramount, owns 500 theaters; most are in metropolitan areas. If a film is to be successful it must be booked by most of the 100 largest exhibition chains.

Films are exhibited in either “roadshow” or “popular-release” patterns. “Roadshow” is used only for “blockbuster” films, such as *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971) or *Last Tango in Paris* (1973). It requires a large marketing investment and must have a good long-run potential. Tickets are sold on a reserved-seat basis at one theater per market. If the film does not do well in this “hard-ticket” exhibition, it is immediately changed to “popular release.”

Most films begin in exclusive, then move to general, and finally to multiple bookings. The exhibition pattern of each film is designed to reach the prospective audience and to take advantage of its entertainment value. Elvis Presley films were first-run, multiple-run features, often as a part of a double bill, and they were financial successes.

Success in film exhibition depends on a number of factors including trade advertising, word of mouth, critical reviews, the weather, local publicity, previous box-office results, season of the year, number and quality of competing films in the area, the content of the film, and its rating by the code authority. Thus the predictability of a film’s success is difficult to assess until it is released for public appraisal.

The new theaters being built in the United States reflect the changes taking place in our society. They are often twin or multi-cinemas of 200 to 500 seats per theater located in peripheral shopping centers or malls that are leased rather than owned. The theater often

seeks identification with the shopping area, has fewer parking problems, gains maximum traffic and exposure, and does not face inner-city problems. The multitheater operates with one lobby, one concession stand, and one projection booth to cut costs. Important features can be run in both theaters, or the theaters can cater to two audiences with different films. Interestingly, the concession stand accounts for half the revenues in many theaters.

In addition to regular film releases, two film forms are gaining increased local exhibition—art films and sexploitation films.

Art films are an amorphous group of films, which, because of certain aesthetic, intellectual, artistic, or other reasons, appeal to a limited audience. A number are foreign films, such as *The Sorrow and the Pity* (1972) or *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* (1972), but many are low-budget American films designed to appeal to the art audience. The pattern is blurring, however, as many low-budget art films are receiving wide distribution and exhibition normally common only to general-release films. *Easy Rider*, for example, was made for \$370,000 and had been expected to have only limited appeal. In terms of exhibition, however, it became a general-release film.

Sexploitation films, commonly known as “skin flicks” or “nudies,” are low-budget and have a growing exhibition pattern. The success of some of these films, beginning with Russ Meyer’s *The Immoral Mr. Teas* (1959) and continuing with such films as *Deep Throat* (1972), among others, has led some of the major studios to produce this type of film, the most notable being Meyer’s *Beyond the Valley of the Dolls* (1970) for 20th Century-Fox. What may be a hybrid of this type is the 16-mm. sex film, which is being shown in certain “adult theaters.” In many cases these are nothing more than old-fashioned peep shows or stag films.

The impact of both these film types on the industry and local exhibition patterns has given rise to both a more artistic approach to film and a more liberal development of sexual themes. The moviegoing public, at least, seems to be accepting the trend.

The Characteristics and Roles of the Motion Picture

The motion picture serves as a primary source of content for another medium, television. Before the advent of videotape recording in the mid-1950s, television reruns were possible only when films

were used or when filmed kinescopes were made of a live performance. In the early '70s most regular, evening, network dramas were filmed. Feature films made up an important block of network schedules. ABC ran the "ABC Sunday Night Movie," "Tuesday Movie of the Week," and "Wednesday Movie of the Week"; CBS showed "The CBS Tuesday," and "Thursday Night Movies" plus the CBS "Late Movie" programmed Monday through Friday at 11:30 P.M. EST. NBC had "Monday Night at the Movies" and "Saturday Night at the Movies." This totaled 17 hours of feature films per week. The demand for feature films was so great that the networks entered the motion-picture production business. Two network runs of an average film bring in over \$800,000.

The motion-picture experience is of high technical quality and relatively strong involvement. The picture is a large, high-definition, intense, colored, visual image. The sound is also one of high quality. The theater is designed to encapsulate the viewer. It is dark; the chair is comfortable; there are relatively few interruptions; food is often available. Every aspect of film-going is designed to heighten the impact of film experiences and create viewer involvement. Film is the most realistic of all media and it is primarily this attribute that contributes to the great persuasive power inherent in film.

The primary function of feature films is entertainment, but television news, advertising agencies, and industrial companies recognize the medium's usability for other functions.

Film is one of the most portable of all media. New, light-weight 16-mm. and 8-mm. systems enable film to go anywhere.

The motion picture is perhaps the most international of the media as its primarily visual symbol system and easily dubbed sound make the entire world a film marketplace, one dominated by the American film product. It has become a highly selective medium catering to the tastes of a fragmented audience that is getting more discriminating. The industry is youth oriented because over 60 percent of its repeat audience is composed of individuals between 16 and 30. Current film themes reflect this audience's ambitions and tastes. Films have become a primary source of acculturation for the young.

CHAPTER 17

Radio

Thrill to the adventures of the Green Hornet, the Shadow, and Johnny Dollar. Follow the day-by-day episodes in the life of Ma Perkins or Helen Trent. Laugh with Fred Allen or Joe Penner. Listen to Rudy Vallee or Al Jolson sing. Unfamiliar names to most of us, and yet they and countless other programs like them made up what is affectionately known as radio's "golden age." Today, we know radio more by the type of recorded music it plays than by specific programs or personalities.

Within the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, the radio industry in the United States changed radically in order to survive in the age of television. However, commercial radio did much better than just sur-

vive; by 1970 it had evolved into a tough hybrid significantly different from what the medium was less than 15 years earlier. Today, television more closely resembles radio in its “golden age” than does the new radio of the 1970s.

Other factors besides video broadcasting also affected radio. These included the growth in the number of amplitude-modulation (AM) stations, the advent of frequency-modulation (FM) broadcasting, the development of transistorized technology and automation, the 80 million automobile radios now in use, and Americans’ changed attitudes toward and uses of the radio medium. The golden age of radio is dead, and new radio will be with us only as long as it continues to serve our purposes.

Historical Perspectives

1840–1919. Radio developed out of scientific advances made in the fields of electricity and magnetism. The first transmission of an electromagnetic message over a wire in 1844 by Samuel F. B. Morse demonstrated the immense potential of the telegraph. By 1861, a transcontinental, high-speed, electric communications medium was dot-dashing messages across the United States. Despite the spasmodic functioning of the first transatlantic cable laid in 1858, a web of underseas cables linked the Western world and its economic outposts by the 1870s. The replacement of Morse code with voice transmission began in 1876 when Alexander Graham Bell used undulations in electric current to activate oral-aural communications via wire. The telephone’s ability to code, transport, and decode voice transmissions personalized electric communication in a way that was impossible with the telegraph.

During the same period that the telegraph and telephone were being demonstrated and perfected, James Clark Maxwell predicted (1864) and Heinrich Hertz demonstrated (1887) that variations in electric current produced waves that could be transmitted through space at the speed of light. In 1901 Guglielmo Marconi transmitted wireless dot-dash transmissions across the Atlantic. With the invention of the audion tube by Lee DeForest in 1907, high-quality, wireless voice communications carried by electromagnetic waves set the stage for a radio industry, although there is evidence to support the idea that Reginald Fessenden sent a voice message prior to this date.

The advent of radio broadcasting, however, required more than

equipment. Men had to change their thinking about electric communication. Two senders talking back and forth are not broadcasting. The intellectual retooling needed to transform radio telephoning into radio broadcasting had to wait until men thought in terms of one encoder talking to a mass audience. Public and industrial appetites had to be whetted to create the demand for the radio medium.

From 1910 to the outbreak of World War I, radio amateurs, or "ham" operators, brought new noise to the night sky as they chattered to each other from their basements, attics, or pantries. It was the time of the neighborhood experimenter who pieced together a radio sender-receiver in order to carry on conversations with others of the same inclination.

During this period, the U.S. government passed two major laws concerned with the uses of radio: (1) in 1910 the U.S. Wireless Ship Act required all passenger ships to carry radio-transmission equipment; (2) in 1912 the Radio Act required all radio operators to be licensed by the Secretary of Commerce. The Radio Act of 1912 was the first comprehensive attempt to regulate all phases of radio communication. With the involvement of the United States in World War I, the federal government took over all radio operations. The medium marked time until the end of the war.

1920-28. With the cessation of hostilities, an organized attempt was made to develop radio broadcasting as opposed to point-to-point communication. With less than 1,000 radio sets in the entire nation, regular radio programming began with the broadcast of the Harding-Cox election returns over KDKA-Pittsburgh on November 2, 1920. KDKA, WEA, WLS, and more than 500 others took to the air to thrust politics, sports, current news, music, drama, and vaudeville into the home. By 1923, over a million American people a year listened to programs broadcast from the concert halls, the theaters, and the athletic fields of this nation.

As programming grew, the public bought more radio sets. As the audiences increased, stations expanded their program schedules. As additional hours of programming became available, the ever-growing audience became more discriminating. As listener tastes changed, broadcasters sought to provide a greater variety of entertainment. As the listening fare improved, the industry expanded.

As the broadcast industry expanded, the revenue from the sale of radio sets proved to be insufficient to support radio's mass entertainment and information services. A new method had to be found

to pay the bill for the public's insatiable appetite for radio programming. To solve this problem two developments occurred: (1) radio stations were linked together into networks so that the increased cost of expanded programming could be shared; (2) merchants were asked to support the system by advertising their goods and services. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) and set manufacturers formed networks in 1923 to provide national program-distribution services. After a lengthy, fratricidal war over use of Bell transmission facilities, AT&T withdrew from the program-distribution business in 1926. RCA immediately consolidated its position and formed the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). In 1927 the Columbia Broadcasting System and 16 affiliates set out to do battle with NBC's 48 affiliates and two networks, the Blue and the Red, and the economically powerful Radio Corporation of America.

Now that radio was becoming big business, something had to be done about the chaotic state of the art, so that it could more efficiently serve the public and the economic interests involved in broadcasting. As more and more stations went on the air, they began to interfere with each other. In 1926 a series of court cases ruled that Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover did not have legal jurisdiction under the Radio Act of 1912 to regulate broadcasting. Immediate legislative action was needed, if a satisfactory broadcasting medium was to evolve from the prevailing chaotic state of affairs.

The broadcast media, unlike other electric and print media, are physically limited as to the number of outlets available in the radio spectrum. The Berlin Conference (1903) and the Havana Treaty (1925) had established international rules for using radio frequencies, but internal use of the allocated channels was left to individual governments. A growing awareness that the airwaves were a natural resource that belonged to the public also began to affect the legal decision-making process.

Congress passed the Radio Act of 1927, which created a Federal Radio Commission to straighten out the radio mess. The Federal Communications Act of 1934 expanded and clarified the Act of 1927, when the Federal Communications Commission was created to regulate telephone, telegraph, as well as radio communication systems in the public's interest, convenience, and necessity. This act remains in effect today, modified, of course, by the prevailing political, social, and economic conditions.

1929-45. Broadcast historian John Spaulding has suggested that

the 1928–29 program year marks the point at which radio became a mass advertising medium. That year, four necessary requirements were met by radio: (1) the industry's technical competence had reached a level where station signals could be received dependably with a satisfactory degree of fidelity; (2) a sizable audience was listening to radio on a regular basis; (3) broadcasters were willing to accept advertisers as partners in program production; (4) program formats had been developed into satisfactory advertising vehicles. The economic stability provided by advertising set the stage for the advent of the golden age of network radio.

During the first five years of the 1930s a number of new radio-program types evolved. Network programs drew increasingly large audiences as living rooms became the entertainment centers of a nation locked in the squeeze of the Great Depression. Advertising revenues increased during this period of economic crisis, rising from over \$25 million in 1930 to more than \$70 million in 1940. The depression affected programming and advertising styles, and as networks and national advertisers came to dominate program content, selling commercials and spot announcements emerged as a major type of radio ad.

The network economic picture was so good in 1934 that a fourth radio network, the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS), was formed to challenge NBC-Red, NBC-Blue, and CBS. The next year MBS had 60 affiliates competing with the 80 to 120 affiliates of the established networks. As program costs increased, broadcast businessmen sought to estimate both the size of their program's and their competitor's audiences. By 1935, a number of research organizations were providing data on the size and composition of radio audiences. With more than 22 million American radio homes available, programming successes became advertising bonanzas.

The second half of the 1930s was a time of refining and polishing for radio broadcasting, rather than a period of extensive innovation. The networks were dominant throughout this period, especially in the areas of advertising revenue and program production. Over 50 percent of all radio-advertising dollars were spent with the four national networks; that sum was \$75 million in 1941 alone. Two major legal actions occurred during this period: (1) in 1935 the American Bar Association in Canon 35 ruled that at the discretion of the judge, electric journalists could be prohibited from using radio equipment in the courtroom to cover trials; (2) the FCC's Mayflower Decision

in 1941 forbade broadcasters to editorialize. These two decisions reflected to some extent the print bias of our society, which identifies print as information media and radio and television as entertainment media. The *Mayflower* ruling has been overturned and broadcasters may now editorialize, but to this day most judges bar the public from immediate, electric access to courtrooms.

Of the 850 stations on the air in 1941, 700 were affiliated with one of the four networks that dominated radio broadcasting. Only three corporations made up the radio oligopoly at that time, however, since the National Broadcasting Company had both a Red and a Blue network. The Federal Communications Commission, recognizing the long-range consequences of the situation, forced NBC to divest itself of one network under the chain-broadcasting rules. The Supreme Court upheld this duopoly decision of the FCC, and NBC sold its Blue network operation to a group of businessmen, who formed the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1943.

World War II brought domestic production of radio equipment to a standstill. Despite the fact that the number of radio receivers decreased during the war years, advertising revenue continued to climb. The public demand for war information doubled the number of news programs in the first half of the war, but as war weariness set in during the last 18 months of the conflict, entertainment programs began to squeeze the news out of time slots as Americans sought to escape from reality.

1946-59. When the war ended, electronics firms returned to radio manufacturing. In the period from 1946 to 1948, over 50 million sets were sold for \$2.5 billion. During this same time television haltingly began its phenomenal rise to preeminence as America's major leisure time activity. By 1948, the handwriting was on the economic wall, but radio was saved temporarily by the FCC's four-year freeze on television-station allocation. Two other actions by the FCC radically changed the face of radio during the postwar period: (1) FM frequencies were made available for commercial use, and by 1948, over 600 FM stations had been licensed; (2) the distance required between AM stations was adjusted to allow for multiple use of channels previously used by clear-channel stations.

When the restrictions on TV's growth were removed by the FCC in 1952, radio's economic situation was further strained by the fact that 3,000 stations were now competing for audiences and revenue. Network domination of radio programming ended because net-

work programming lost its economic base when reduced audience size brought in fewer advertising dollars. The once all-powerful radio networks were suddenly relegated to minor programming roles. By 1960, even the networks' daytime series were defunct.

The networks no longer provided revenue to affiliates, only a national news and speciality service, and they accounted for only 5 percent of the total radio-advertising revenue in 1960. The only major network-programming innovation of the period was NBC's "Monitor" weekend service, which was, in reality, a modification of the disk-jockey format for a national audience.

Local-station programming rapidly developed around the omnipresent disk jockey, a stack of records, a skeletal news and sports operation, and anything else that provided for and attracted audiences at a low cost. Total advertising revenue stumbled along from 1953 to 1956, as local salesmen attempted to make up the slack created by the continued slide of network revenue, which hit an all-time low of \$35 million in 1960. Despite the network crash, additional amplitude-modulation stations plunged into the business so that there were 3,500 AM stations competing for audiences in 1960. Over 1,000 stations reportedly lost money from 1956 to 1960. FM had become an auxiliary service that simulcast the programming service of the AM-FM station combines.

1960 to the Present. The 1960s proved to be the period of radio's heaviest economic growth. More than 150 million radios were sold at a retail value of \$6 billion. Advertising revenue totaled more than \$8 billion during the ten years from 1960 to 1969. Network radio stabilized, and revenues increased slowly. The increasing flow of revenue, coupled with intelligent management decisions and low-cost programming, made for a sound AM industry of over 4,393 licensed stations in the mid-1970s. One major network innovation occurred in 1968 when ABC Radio developed four separate radio services for affiliates. Although some broadcasters objected, the FCC ruled that the system did not violate the chain-broadcasting rules. More than 1,200 stations are now ABC radio affiliates, which makes ABC the largest U.S. network.

Although \$3 million was lost in 1968 by FM stations, this was a significant improvement in FM fortunes because many licensees began to show substantial profits. In 1961 the Federal Communications Commission permitted FM stereo broadcasting, and by the mid-1960s, more than 50 percent of all FM stations were stereo op-

erations. Then on October 15, 1965, the FCC ruled that AM-FM combinations in cities of over 100,000 population could no longer duplicate more than 50 percent of either station's programming. Businessmen with only FM licenses had been held in a competitive disadvantage, because many combined AM-FM operations used FM merely as another outlet of their AM programming. The AM-FM salesmen then sold the double audience for a unit price. This 50-50 ruling affected approximately 330 stations.

Table 17-1.
The Dimensions of Radio

KEY FACTS ABOUT RADIO

Radio stations on air^a

4,393	AM radio stations
2,482	commercial FM stations
625	noncommercial FM stations

Total radio revenues, 1972

\$1,407,000,000 for all radio stations and networks (from FCC report)

The radio audiences

66,200,000 radio homes

Some other facts about facilities

304	AM stations owned by newspapers and/or magazines
211	FM stations owned by newspapers and/or magazines
129	regional radio networks/groups

Facts about related businesses

40	talent agents and managers
280	radio program producers, distributors
155	radio commercial and jingle producers
212	associations and professional societies
53	companies providing research services
52	unions representing workers and performers
330	consulting engineers serving broadcasting
85	consultants on management, personnel, etc.
37	news services
81	public relations, publicity, promotion services
243	station representatives
16	station finance companies

Source: 1974 *Broadcasting Yearbook* (Washington, D.C.: Broadcasting Publications, Inc.), p. 12.

^aCompilation by FCC through October 31, 1973.

Shortly after this decision became effective the Columbia Broadcasting System began to market a CBS-FM Syndication Service called "The Young Sound." This combination of "chicken rock" and Muzak provided an initial 180 hours of radio programs, plus 20 additional hours every month. It attempted to fill the void created by the 50-50 ruling. A wide variety of station operations appeared in the late 1960s including KADS-FM in Los Angeles, which broadcast nothing but classified ads; WSDM-FM, which used only female announcers; and a number of all-news stations. The 1960s gave birth to a revitalized radio; by the 1970s, a tough hybrid had emerged from the ashes of radio's golden age.

The Scope of Radio Today

Using any measure as a means of comparison, radio is more massive today than at any other time in its history. There are more than 325 million radio receivers in use in the United States. Over 98 percent of all U.S. households are radio equipped. There are five radios for every home and over 1.3 radios for every man, woman, and child. Nearly \$2 billion is spent by Americans each year to purchase nearly 50 million radio receivers. Over \$1.4 billion is spent annually by radio advertisers. All major research studies agree that radio reaches nine out of ten people over 12 years of age every week. Over 75 percent of the adult population listens to radio every day, and studies indicate that the mythical "average adult" (aged 18 and over) listens to the radio 2.5 hours each day from an average of six to eight stations.

The important thing to realize is that the overwhelming share of this growth occurred after the so-called golden age of network radio. The radio-set count is over 200 percent higher today than it was in 1952, and Americans purchase twice as many radios now as they did in 1960. Radio's annual advertising revenue today is double what it was in 1960 and 400 percent above the 1948 level.

Any way the data is evaluated, "new radio" is more massive than "old radio," whether it be dollars, sets, or listeners. Significantly, the bulk of this growth has taken place since 1960.

The Structure and Organization of Radio

A variety of factors affect the radio medium. The local radio

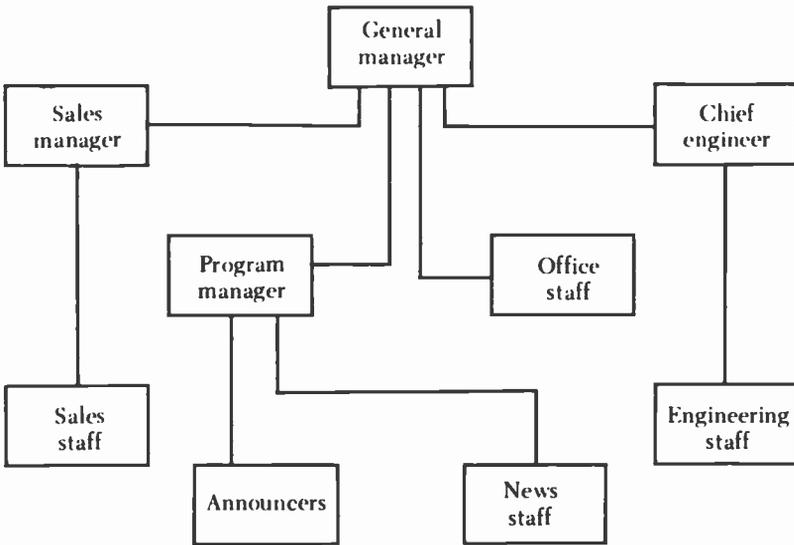


Figure 17-1.
Station organization chart.

station is the basic media unit responsible for the content. However, several media service units are deeply involved in radio programming. The phonograph or music industry provides the bulk of most stations' programming at *no cost* for the records, but stations are charged an annual fee for music rights by BMI and ASCAP. Networks provide a free service of national news and features. The wire services are the backbone of most radio news departments.

Station organization varies greatly, depending on the size of station, type of programming, size of market, and type of competition.

At very large stations, specialized tasks and departments develop in the news, sales, and programming areas. At medium-sized stations announcers double as newsmen, salesmen, or engineers, as well as entertainers. At small stations the program manager might also be the sales manager; there is often no news staff, and, normally, all announcers are licensed engineers.

Radio is highly competitive for audiences, especially in the big markets, and staff members' pay reflects their responsibilities and the size of the market they work in. High salaries and specialized roles exist only in the very large stations. Radio's high-paid "stars" are extremely rare and exist only in the largest markets.

Types of Radio Stations. There are two basic types of radio stations, amplitude-modulation (AM) stations and frequency-modula-

tion (FM) stations. The standard band of frequencies (540 to 1,600 kilocycles) is used for AM broadcasting. The FCC has assigned FM broadcasting to frequencies between 88 and 108 megacycles (1,000 kilocycles = 1 megacycle).

Within AM broadcasting there are three classes of stations: (1) The 50,000-watt-clear channel utilizes a frequency—assigned exclusively to that station during evening hours—that enables it to serve an audience in a large number of states. (2) Regional stations use from 500 to 5,000 watts of power and are designed to serve a large area. Most are located in metropolitan areas, but theoretically designed to serve rural needs. Several regional stations in widely separated areas of the country use the 40 frequencies reserved for them. (3) Six frequencies allocated to local stations use from a maximum of 1,000 watts during the day to a minimum of 250 watts at night to reduce interference, because AM signals travel further at night because of a bounce effect off the Heaviside layer in the atmosphere.

Three classes of FM stations are in operation today: Class A—under 3,000 watts; Class B—5,000 to 50,000; Class C—100,000 watts and antenna heights to 2,000 feet. The reason for the exceptionally high antennas and power is that FM signals do not travel as far as AM signals under exactly the same conditions.

Types of Radio Networks. There are four commercial radio networks: CBS; NBC; Mutual; and ABC. However, ABC provides four distinct radio services to fit the specific formats of distinct local-station operations. The networks provide little more than a national news service to their affiliates. Unlike television stations, the vast majority of radio stations are not affiliated with a national radio network. The financial conditions of network radio operation dictate that only a limited number of stations in the lineup receive payments from the national service, and those that do receive only a nominal sum.

In 1970 the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) began the development of a network radio service designed to provide programming for noncommercial, educational stations. PBS provides more hours of radio programming than any commercial network.

Station Programming. Radio programming is based on a limited number of inexpensive components:

1. Recorded music is provided free of charge by most record companies as a means of exposing the public to their new releases. The kind of music played has come to serve as a label for stations and to indicate the kind of audience who listens to them. Chicken-rock and hard-rock stations program popular music to young audi-

ences. Middle-of-the-road stations program show tunes, light, classical music, milder forms of pop music, or more traditional versions of rock music to older, middle-class people. Country and western stations, once located primarily in the South and Southwest, are now major operations in every metropolitan market as population and music alike have migrated north. Soul stations program the latest rhythm-and-blues music to predominantly black audiences in larger cities. There are also commercial as well as educational stations that program classical music for well-educated, upper-income groups.

2. News is the second-most-important part of radio. National news and features are provided by the networks (usually five-minute reports on the hour and/or half hour). Some stations (usually owned in conjunction with a TV station) have extensive local news operations, but many depend on wire services for nearly all news they broadcast.

3. Talk by disk jockeys serves as the cement that binds the music, news, sports, weather, and advertising into a cohesive unit. But the creativity of these announcers is limited by the style of the station. In fact, many "rock-jocks" seem to be made on an assembly line, and they are very much replaceable parts—any member of a station's stable of announcers sounds similar to all the others.

4. Local sports, especially high school and college sports activities, are major features on many stations.

5. Finally, advertising is the content aspect that pays the stations' bills. In radio, the most lucrative times of the day are the two "drive-time" periods when people are going to, or coming from, school and work.



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Characteristics and Roles of Radio in American Society

At present radio is a massive medium with highly fragmented listener and revenue bases. Radio is a local rather than a national

medium both in terms of its sources of audience and income. Radio-listening habits are personal, and stations program selectively to satisfy individual needs within a relatively homogeneous group. Radio, adapting to the nature of our society, has used technological advances to become mobile. Listeners use radio as a secondary activity to accompany the work or play of the moment, and advertisers use radio to supplement the primary medium in their advertising mix.

The Fragmented Quality. Radio's massiveness is tempered, however, by two major factors: (1) television siphons off most of the available audience and the lion's share of national advertising dollars; (2) the increase in the number of radio stations has fragmented the audience and revenue available in a given market. Radio advertising has doubled since 1950, but the number of stations has increased by 350 percent. In addition, station expenses for equipment and talent have both increased appreciably since the early 1950s. In 1973 there were more than 4,393 AM and 2,482 FM stations seeking advertising revenue. Another 625 educational radio stations swelled the number of stations competing for audiences to 7,500.

Radio stations must keep their advertising rates at a level that makes them more than competitive with other media. To ease the economic strain, the National Association of Broadcasters' Radio Code has raised the advertising limits to 18 commercial minutes per hour, but this is self-regulation rather than a federal law. The cost efficiency of radio throughout the United States is very good, with a cost per thousand listeners of less than a dollar available in most metropolitan markets.

With the improvement in FM economics, the frequency-modulation stations are anticipated to be the area of heaviest growth. Although many FM and some AM stations lose money every year, economic conditions are expected to continue to improve despite ever-increasing fragmentation of audiences and monies.

The Local Quality. Radio has become essentially a local, as opposed to national, medium in terms of its sources of audiences, income, and programming. Until the 1950s radio had been the prestige mass medium, controlled by national advertisers and networks. Network affiliation in the past had assured affiliated stations of extensive programming, audience, and revenue. Throughout the golden age, the national-distribution services accounted for at least one-third of all radio-advertising dollars.

Today networks account for less than 5 percent of all advertis-

ing dollars spent in radio. "Monitor," the NBC weekend service developed by Sylvester "Pat" Weaver, prevented the total demise of that network's operation. In point of fact, however, "Monitor" is little more than a slick national disk-jockey show.

In the 1970s, local stations provide the programming, attract the audiences, and earn the revenue. This is not to say that network radio is defunct, because it does provide a valuable news service. What it does say is that local stations are the driving force in radio broadcasting today.

The Selective Quality. In the mid-1950s radio broadcasters were in the position of needing more programs with less money to pay for them. Since both talk and music were relatively cheap, radio rebuilt its programming around music, news, and sports. What evolved has come to be called formula, or format, radio.

Very quickly, AM and FM broadcasters realized that general radio was dead. The more variety a specific station offered, the more its audience dwindled. Television had assumed the general-entertainer role. Stations began to develop variations of the music, news, and sports formula, based on types of recorded music. Audience research indicated that certain formats attracted select segments of the available audience. "Top 40" stations held a virtual monopoly on the teen and subteen groups, while the country and western stations had strong appeal, not only in the South and the Southwest but also for vast numbers in the large, northern, metropolitan areas. Middle-of-the-road stations attracted another segment.

Broadcasters began to program selectively to serve one portion of the population. The FCC granted licenses for racially and ethnically oriented stations, which specifically set out to establish themselves as radio service for minority groups within the community. Every station seeks to create a distinct personality, dependent on a program formula, and disk jockeys on formula stations must conform to that personality.

The radio station today programs selectively in order to corner a special segment of the listener-consumer market. Then, if any advertiser wants to reach the black market, the teen-age market, or the young-housewife market, in a given area, that advertiser must deal with the station that programs selectively for the consumer-audience in question.

The Personal Quality. Closely allied to radio stations' selective programming is the fact that listening to radio has become a per-

sonal activity. No longer does the family unit gather around the console radio to be entertained in a group situation. People tend to listen to the radio as individuals, and radio-station announcers attempt to develop "personal" listening relationships with radio audiences. How many times have you heard a disk jockey single out specific individuals for attention? "I'm sending this song out to Tom and Mary, and Ray and Roz." The radio talk show builds a loyal audience of individuals who call to express their personal views or argue with those individuals with whom they disagree.

You might see a couple of teen-agers stroll down the street as they listen as individuals to the same station on two personal radios. This personal orientation is possible because there are five radios for every American family or more accurately 1.3 radios for every individual in the United States. The status of radio today is even more striking when you consider the fact that in 1946 there were three people for every radio. In the kitchens, mothers listen for weather reports in order to send their children off to school properly dressed. Upstairs, teen-agers tune in on the latest number-one hit in the country. On their way to work, fathers listen to traffic reports on the automobile radio. The individual listens in relative mental and/or social isolation, seeking to gratify his personal entertainment or information need of the moment.

The Mobile Quality. The United States has been called "a nation a go-go," a "society on wheels," and radio has the ability to get out and go with its American audiences. This ability to participate in the individual's daily routine has been made possible by the new mobility of the medium.

The phenomenal increases in radio sales in recent years are the result in great measure of production of three specific types of radio receivers: the car radio, the portable, and the clock radio. The home-radio production schedules, usually small AM-FM sets, constitute little more than 15 percent of all radio sales.

This tide toward radio's mobility began immediately following World War II, although production of car radios had been an important part of total radio production as early as 1930, when 34,000 car-radio sets were manufactured, and by 1941 nearly 20 percent of the sets made were designed for auto installation. By 1951, auto-set production exceeded that of the home-receiver class for the first time and has continued to be the leading type of set manufactured for the past 15 years. Today 95 out of every 100 new cars are radio

equipped, and more than 90 million radio-equipped cars are on the road.

During the 1950s and 1960s portable production has also topped home-receiver production, excluding clock radios. The tremendous surge in popularity is due to the advent of the transistor, which reduced set size and cost. Sometimes it seems that every teen-ager has a transistor portable for an ear. The sale of transistor radios exceeds \$30 million per year, which is 200 percent above the 1952 level, and Americans spend more than \$100 million per year just to keep transistor radios going in a mobile society.

The Secondary and Supplementary Qualities. The final characteristics of radio are that it is used as a secondary activity by listeners and a supplementary medium by advertisers. Radio today is to drive a car by, or study by, or relax at the beach by. No longer does the audience eagerly cling to the radio for its every sound. Radio is no longer used as the primary entertainment activity in our society, and with the added mobility of the "new" radio it goes along as a companion for the activity of the moment. An automobile radio is secondary to the prime function of the car itself—to go somewhere. We need traffic reports to get there, and the radio provides them. The most recent development that enhances radio's usefulness as a secondary item is the clock radio. It does not jolt you awake; it sings or talks you out of the bed and into the day. Its primary function is not to entertain or provide information—it is basically an alarm clock.

Most national and local advertisers with sizable budgets use radio to supplement the major medium of an advertising campaign. Most local advertisers use newspapers primarily but keep the campaign supported with radio ads. Most major national advertisers spend only a small portion of their total budget on radio. However, Radio Advertising Bureau studies have shown that radio can effectively and efficiently reach consumer prospects that television misses. Most of the nation's top 50 advertising agencies spend less than 10 percent of their national clients' budgets on radio. The major exceptions to the rule are the automobile and related industries, which extensively use "drive time" to hit the available audience going to or coming from work.

CHAPTER **18**

Television

Have you attended a football game recently and yearned for an instant replay? Have you ever been called to the supper table and turned up the volume so that you wouldn't miss Walter Cronkite? Do you know Archie Bunker, Mr. Green Jeans, Marcus Welby, Uncle Miltie, Hoss Cartwright, Chester, Phineas T. Bluster, or Fred Flintstone? Did you see the Army-McCarthy hearings, the funeral of President Kennedy, the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald, "The Selling of the Pentagon," the Packer's victory in the first Super Bowl, the flight of Apollo 11, the nomination of George McGovern, the invasion of Cambodia, the last cigarette commercial on January 2, 1971, or the attempted murder of George Wallace? Can you name the star of "My Little Margie,"

“Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea,” “Dragnet,” “East Side/West Side,” “I Spy,” “Maverick,” “Combat,” or “All in the Family”? When was the last time you had a TV dinner? Do you have a subscription to *TV Guide*? How many hours a week do you watch the tube?

All these questions pertain to television—the uses you make of it and the impact it has had on your life. For many Americans it is *the* source of entertainment, the most reliable source of news, an important educational experience, one of the most important sources of advertising, and an important part of the total American life style. This is truly impressive when you consider that this is only television’s third decade. If there are such things as historical periods—one title for the second half of the twentieth century must surely be the Age of Television.

Historical Perspectives

Early Development (1928–47). The history of television in the United States breaks down into several fairly well defined units. The first encompasses the early experimental years leading up to commercial licensing in 1941 through the postwar era.

Television, like radio, grew out of intense experimentation in electricity in the late nineteenth century. Basic research in electromagnetic theory by James Clark Maxwell and Heinrich Hertz led to more practical experimentation culminating in the work of Guglielmo Marconi. Coincidental with this research in wireless communication in the 1890s was the work of Paul Nipkow and William Jenkins who experimented with a mechanical scanning-disc method of sending pictures by wire. Most of the early experiments in television employed the mechanical method. Research in television slowed down somewhat with the tremendous surge of radio in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless in 1923 Vladimir K. Zworykin patented an electronic camera tube, the iconoscope.

Barely three years after radio broadcasting became a reality, a crude, all-electronic television was available, although much of its early use was not successful. The first real transmission of television occurred in 1925 with Jenkins’s mechanical method. However, Zworykin’s method of electronic scanning was simpler and eventually produced a better picture. The Federal Radio Commission (later the Federal Communication Commission) granted the first experimental

license for visual broadcasting to RCA's W2XBS in April 1928. That same year, the General Electric Company began a regular schedule of television broadcasting, including the first television drama.

Experimentation continued throughout the 1930s, and by 1937, 17 stations were operating under noncommercial experimental license. The 1939 World's Fair in New York City was the setting for television's coming-out party. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's appearance on television became the hit of the fair.

Commercial television operations were slated to begin September 1, 1940, but the FCC rescinded its original authorization in March 1940. The delay was ordered by the commission because it felt that RCA had indulged in an unwise promotional campaign (to sell its transmission and receiving equipment) that would retard further television research and experimentation.

In January 1941 the National Television System Committee (NTSC) suggested television standards to which the FCC reacted favorably, and the start of commercial telecasting was rescheduled for July 1, 1941. On that date both the DuMont and CBS stations aired programming. But it was RCA's WNBT which ran the first spot commercial (Bulova Watch Company) and sponsored programs, Lowell Thomas's news program (Sunoco), "Uncle Jim's Question Bee" (Lever Brothers) and "Truth or Consequences" (Proctor and Gamble).

By the end of 1941, some ten commercial stations were serving approximately 5,000 to 10,000 television homes. Throughout the first six months of commercial operation, all licensed stations operated at a loss. In its first six months WNBT lost about \$7,000.

World War II interrupted TV's growth, delaying its national prominence for some years. The official wartime freeze on television began April 22, 1942. Commercial videocasting ended, although experimental telecasts continued on an irregular basis. Advertisers were encouraged to use the facilities free of charge. The war was detrimental to the immediate development of television, but, as many social scientists point out, the war also had its positive effects on TV. Chief among them was the development of better electronic techniques and equipment, such as the image-orthicon tube, as a result of research for the war effort.

The single most important event affecting TV's future during World War II was the 1943 duopoly ruling that forced NBC to divest itself of one of its two radio networks. This decision created an-

other economically strong national radio operation (ABC) that enabled the ABC-TV network to evolve and survive during its early years.

Following World War II, the rapid development of television was further retarded by problems involving the placement of television in the electromagnetic spectrum and the \$1 million price tag attached to building and equipping a television station. In 1945 there were six commercial stations; and by 1947 only 11 more had been added for a meager total of 17. At this time many broadcasters thought that FM radio would be the next important medium.

By March 1947, the FCC had set aside channels 2 to 13 in the VHF (very high frequency) band, and more and more receivers were appearing on the market. The rush for television facilities was now on and CBS, because of misplaced television priorities during World War II, belatedly joined in. There was a definite place for the stations because it looked as if people would buy the high-priced sets then being produced; a million were sold in 1948. By early 1948, 19 stations were on the air, 81 had FCC authorization, and a total of 116 applications were before the FCC. At this time it became obvious that the commission would have to reevaluate TV broadcasting to prevent station interference.

The Formation of the American Television System (1948–52).

During this four-year period of television history, three major factors significantly affected the future of video broadcasting: (1) the Federal Communications Commission's "freeze" on TV station allocations; (2) the development of the TV networks; (3) the evolution of programming formats. All three events influenced and were influenced by public response to the medium.

THE FREEZE. By the fall of 1948, there were 36 TV stations on the air in 19 markets and another 73 licensed in 43 more cities. In order to solve technical-interference problems, provide for the increased demand for licenses, and study color television systems, the Federal Communications Commission froze new-station allocations from September 30, 1948 to July 1, 1952. During these years the RCA compatible-color system was adopted; UHF channels 14 to 83 were added to VHF channels 2 to 13 for telecasting purposes; and 242 station allocations were reserved for educational television (ETV). This third class of stations—public, noncommercial, and educational—was established through the efforts of Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock, despite the lack of support from most educators and universities.

While the freeze was on, 108 of the 109 commercially licensed stations went on the air, and TV homes jumped from 1.5 million to 15 million. Between 1948 and 1952 one of every three American families bought a television set at an average cost of \$300. Growth was possible during this period although no new licenses were being granted, because almost every major population area was being served by at least one television station.

THE NETWORKS. The generally accepted date of the arrival of national television networking is the 1948–49 television season (September to August). That season the Midwest and the Eastern Seaboard were linked by coaxial cable in January 1949. The West Coast link-up occurred in September 1951. However, it was some time before every station was able to carry “live” feeds and no longer had to depend on kinescopes (films of electronically produced pictures) for network productions.

The birth and survival of the television networks depended on four factors: (1) the network needed a financially sound parent company that could survive the lean years of television development; (2) the network required ownership of key stations in the largest population centers to provide local revenue and guarantee that network’s series would be aired in those markets; (3) the network needed expertise in national radio operations that provided both financial support and a ready-made lineup of affiliates to carry its programs; (4) the network needed to have a backlog of, or to quickly develop, talent and programs that would attract large audiences for national advertisers.

The American Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the National Broadcasting Company were able to meet these four criteria and survived. The Mutual Broadcasting System which did not own any radio stations, was the weakest national radio operation, and was never able to muster its limited resources to enter the TV network business. The DuMont Television Network, owned by Allen B. DuMont Laboratories, an early pioneer in television operations, did not have the radio network, the financial strength, the station ownership, or programming experience necessary. Although the DuMont operation struggled along through the “freeze,” it collapsed completely in 1955.

PROGRAMMING. In these early years of network and station development most of television’s content came from radio-programming formats. The quiz shows, suspense programs, Westerns, variety

shows, the soap opera, and comedies were direct descendants of developments in radio. In fact, most of television's early hits were exact copies of radio series transposed intact to television: "Suspense," "The Life of Riley," "The Aldrich Family," "The Lone Ranger," "Break the Bank," and "Studio One." Television's first stars were radio personalities, including Red Skelton, Burns and Allen, Arthur Godfrey, Jack Benny, and Edgar Bergen. The networks were also able to improve on radio news programming, sporting events, and live coverage of special events such as the 1948 and 1952 political conventions and election returns. Programming during the period from 1948 to 1952 changed radically. Nearly one-third of the network's lineup changed each year—a practice that continues today.

The local station attempted to provide extensive programming in those early years to fill the gaps left in the network schedules. The syndicator emerged as an important source of TV content. In 1950 the first package of theatrical films found its way into local markets. Today feature films are a major type of television fare, filling up almost 17 hours of network programming every week.

The financial bases of television were clear from the start. The public was acclimated to radio commercials and accepted them as the means of paying for their programs. There were other reasons also, such as an existing network structure complete with contractual agreements with sponsors. Structurally, television economics was simply an extension of radio economics, and because of this TV developed much faster than expected.

Television, despite its affinities to radio, was still a new medium. Its own particular pattern of adoption in society coupled with its unique properties were prime factors in the rapidly changing pattern of programming. Television, like newspapers and radio before it, was not initially a household medium. As newspapers were first read in the "coffeehouses," television was first viewed by many in local bars and taverns. This factor plus the inherent "visualness" of television were strong reasons for sports programming making up as much as 30 percent of all sponsored network evening time in 1949. As the television set became more of a household item, the programming changed to reflect this. Children's and women's programming became more apparent, as did family entertainment, such as variety shows. It has been said that all television programming could be characterized as a pattern of "invention, imitation, and decline."

The end of television's birth and its push into childhood came

in 1952 with the FCC's Sixth Order and Report. The report did more than simply end the freeze. It was essentially a master plan for television development in the United States. Television was beginning to fulfill its destiny as the dominant leisure-time activity for most Americans.

The "Golden Age of Television" (1952-60). This eight-year slice of television history contained the most fantastic growth spurt ever experienced by a mass medium. As one would expect, there was a great rush to obtain station licenses immediately following the end of the freeze. By January 1954, there were 357 stations on the air. This number grew to 501 by January 1960. Set sales mushroomed as more stations began broadcast operations. The 15 million TV homes in 1952 expanded to 26 million in 1954, 42.5 million in 1958, and reached 45 million homes by 1960. In this eight-year stretch the percentage of TV-equipped homes in the United States grew from 33 percent in 1952 to 90 percent in 1960. Station and network profits kept pace with this growth pattern. Gross industry revenues increased from \$300 million in 1952 to \$1.3 billion in 1960.

The death of the DuMont network in September 1955 eased ABC's need for more affiliates to a limited degree. This factor, plus merger of ABC with United-Paramount Theaters, helped increase its competitiveness, but throughout the 1950s ABC ran a poor third to both CBS and NBC.

The FCC's Sixth Order and Report had sought to ease problems that faced the industry, but the implementation of these changes took considerable time. The UHF (ultra high frequency) band had been opened to increase the number of stations, but since most TV sets were built to receive only VHF signals, special adapters and antennas had to be purchased in order to receive these stations. Although 126 UHF stations were operating in 1954, the UHF station was in an extremely poor competitive position, and that number fell to only 77 in 1960. Throughout the 1950s most UHF stations had financial problems, and the failure rate was more than 50 percent because the lack of UHF receivers meant small audiences and little advertising. This situation continued until 1962 when Congress passed the all-channel legislation, which required that all sets produced after January 1, 1964, receive both UHF and VHF stations.

Color television in the form of RCA's system began to emerge slowly following FCC approval in 1953. The first color sets were manufactured in 1954 and sold for about \$1,000. The high cost of



Courtesy Publishers-Hall Syndicate.

"YOU'VE JUST SET A NEW RECORD FOR YARDS RUSHING BETWEEN THE TV AND REFRIGERATOR."

both receivers and broadcast equipment dictated a slow growth, however. The season of 1954–55 was the first color season, with NBC programming 12 to 15 hours a week. It was not until the season of 1964–65 that color television programming really broke through.

Several factors were responsible for the public's slow response to color television: (1) set costs were extremely high; (2) both ABC and CBS refused to move into color programming, because it would have given NBC the competitive edge since most compatible-color patents were held by NBC's parent company, the Radio Corporation of America; (3) the electronics industry already had a boom business in black-and-white sets and they too would have to do business with RCA. These manufacturers chose to experiment with, rather than produce, color sets. In 1960 there were no color series on ABC or CBS, and NBC was carrying the full color-programming load.

Another important technical development that occurred in the 1950s was the move toward film and videotape programming. With the development of videotape in 1956, live telecasting, with the exception of sports, specials, and some daytime drama, soon became a

thing of the past. By 1960, virtually all network prime-time programming was on film or videotape. Much of the daytime programming on both the network and local level was still live, however. The two reasons for the rise of recorded programming were: (1) errors could be corrected before they were broadcast, thus improving the artistic quality of the program; (2) the program could be rerun, and this reuse cut the skyrocketing costs of program production.

Programming in the 1950s continued the trends of the early years. Two important additions were the adult, or psychological, Western ("Gunsmoke") and the big-prize game shows ("The \$64,000 Question," "Twenty-One," "Dotto," and "The \$64,000 Challenge"). The adult Western continues today with "Gunsmoke" the longest-running network series still on the air. The quiz scandals in 1959-60 revealed that some participants had received answers prior to their appearance or had been coached in their responses to heighten the tension. The notoriety killed off the prime-time big-money quiz shows—the public had lost faith in them.

"Live" drama reached its zenith in the middle 1950s with such programs as "Studio One," "Playhouse 90," and "The Armstrong Circle Theater." But television's voracious appetite for new material soon made it impossible to sustain any extremely high standards. The form began to blend with other dramatic types and gradually faded from the scene. Today, with the exception of "The Hallmark Hall of Fame" and limited network specials, quality drama on television is rare.

Program experimentation began to dwindle as network competition set in. In the late 1950s, Westerns, situation comedies, and crime-detective dramas accounted for over 50 percent of all prime-time programming. In the 1959 season alone, there were 32 Westerns in prime time. Everyone seemed to be jumping on the program bandwagon, duplicating whatever was popular at the moment.

The quiz scandals in TV seemed to herald an end to television's age of euphoria. According to the *Tenth Annual Videotown Report* made in 1957 by Cunningham and Walsh, television had become accepted as a routine part of life. It had lost much of its former novelty and excitement. A public opinion poll taken by Sindlinger in 1959 revealed a sharp drop in the public's estimation of television following the quiz scandals. Congress began a series of investigations focusing particular attention upon the relationship between advertisers, agencies, and broadcasters. Much of this concern was strikingly

capsulated by FCC Chairman Newton Minnow in 1961, when he criticized television, calling it "the vast wasteland."

The 1950s were a time of experimentation and change. They were witness to the rise and fall of a whole new generation of programs, stars, and techniques. By 1960, the "trial period" was over.

A Time of Progress and Criticism: 1961 to the Present. The two words "progress" and "criticism" sum up much of what television was all about in the period since 1960. Criticism of television became the "in" thing as politicians, educators, social scientists, minority groups, and parents all took turns attacking the medium. Of particular public concern was television's role in the violence that seemed so much a part of America in the 1960s. Countless studies were, and still are, being conducted assessing television's effects, especially on children. The results have generally concluded that everyone knows television has an effect, but few are sure just exactly what this effect is and how it works. The medium's advertising effectiveness was evidenced by the \$2 billion investment made annually by advertisers after 1968.

Television's impact upon the political process became apparent in the 1960s, beginning with the Nixon-Kennedy debates in 1960 and reaching a peak in 1968 with TV's coverage of the Democratic convention in Chicago. Television's advertising role in the presidential campaign was dramatically described in Joe McGinnis's book *The Selling of the President* (1968).

Networks continued their domination of the airwaves. By 1969, they provided almost 64 percent (77.5 hours per week) of their affiliate's programming. As revenues and profits increased, the criticism seemed to keep pace. The FCC proposed a plan whereby 50 percent of all prime-time programming would have to be nonnetwork originated, but this proposal was never implemented. However, in the 1971-72 season, the FCC did institute a ruling cutting network prime-time programming from 3.5 hours to three hours per evening in the 7:30-to-11:00-P.M. (EST) time block.

Pressure groups also succeeded in altering programming. Violence on television was somewhat curtailed because of pressure brought to bear following the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy. A dramatic overhaul of Saturday morning cartoon shows occurred in the 1970-71 season to appease critics. Perhaps the most dramatic and effective attack came against the cigarette industry by the Surgeon General's Office with

its claims that cigarette smoking was dangerous to a person's health. Pressure by the Surgeon General resulted in all cigarette advertising being taken off the air on January 2, 1971.

Any historical overview of television in the 1960s finds itself overwhelmed by the sheer number of events, people, and issues in the television spotlight. In this mass, three events stand out: the Vietnam war; the assassination and the funeral of President Kennedy, and the Apollo 11 moon landing. All three events are competitors for the label of television's finest hour. It was primarily because of television that these events achieved the drama they did. Rather than simply hearing or reading about the war, the President's funeral, or the moonwalk after they happened, the American public was enabled—through television—to witness and participate in the events almost as they were happening. At times this witnessing was inspiring, as when television went to the moon. At times it was frightening, as when suspected presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald was murdered in full view of the nation by Jack Ruby, or when a captured Vietcong soldier was shot in the head as cameras recorded the scene, or when dogs and water hoses were turned on civil rights demonstrators and police fought with protestors in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic convention. The 1960s were anything but peaceful, and television was on hand providing dramatic witness, perhaps even dramatic stimulation to the turmoil. Much of the world was watching and being changed in the process.

In the area of program content, motion pictures became a major part of the network's prime-time fare. In addition, programs such as "That Was the Week That Was," "The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour," "Laugh-In," and "All in the Family" challenged a number of taboos, and television in general got in step with a more permissive society. Blacks such as Bill Cosby, Diahann Carroll, Redd Foxx, and Flip Wilson became successful series stars when the entertainment industry responded to the civil rights movement by integrating programs and commercial spots. Professional football became the national television sport, and NBC made it possible for the AFL to survive economically by exposing the junior league to national audiences and by paying large sums for TV rights to the games. Late-night talk shows became part of the three-network competition. "Sesame Street" emerged as public broadcasting's first "star" and helped focus attention on the almost anonymous fourth network.

The 1960s were important years for technical development as

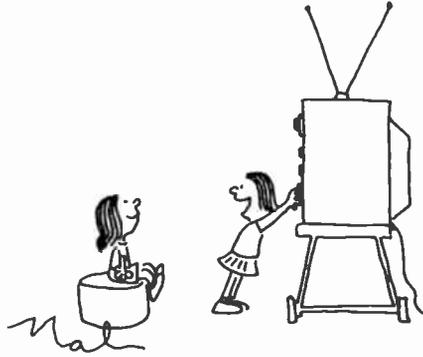
well. It was the first full decade of videotape, satellites, widespread color, active UHF stations, and community-antenna television. Toward the end of the decade video cassettes appeared, assuring another TV revolution in the 1970s.

With the passing of the Communication Satellite Act of 1962, the United States officially got into international television. The bill provided for the creation of the Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT), a private corporation, which came into existence on February 1, 1963. The first satellites, Telstar and Relay, went up in 1963 and provided intercontinental coverage of the funerals of Pope John XXIII and President Kennedy, among other events. In 1965 another satellite, Early Bird, was launched, becoming the first satellite to be used for full-scale commercial operation. By 1969, satellite usage had increased to a total of 779 hours of transmission and 1,050 hours of receiving, much of it being Vietnam coverage via Lana Bird, the Pacific counterpart of Early Bird. By 1971, a full-scale international communication system existed, with three synchronous satellites in fixed positions over the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, as well as a large network of earth stations.

Cable television, CATV (Community Antenna Television), has made even more dramatic strides. In 1960 there were only 640 operating systems, with a total of 650,000 subscribers. In 1973 there were almost 5,000 systems and nearly 6 million subscribers. Revenues in 1973 totaled \$350 million. What began in the late 1940s as a plan to bring better reception to fringe areas has emerged as a huge industry challenging even the commercial networks.

Pay television survived the 1960s but is in a weak position. Two forms of pay television have emerged: (1) closed-circuit TV feeds to local theaters of special theatrical and sporting events are financially successful when the event is a spectacular, such as the 1971 heavy-weight championship bout between Joe Frazier and Muhammad Ali; (2) subscription TV existed on the East Coast in an extremely limited way until 1970, but pay TV was dealt a death blow in a 1964 California referendum, which banned in-home pay TV from the state.

Color television programming replaced black and white in the 1960s. At first, ABC and CBS were reluctant to commit the time and money to convert to color but, following a research report indicating a rating edge for color programs over black and white, both ABC and CBS revised programming plans for 1964-65 with significant increases in color programming. By 1965-66, all three networks



'How green do you like your faces?'

*Reprinted with permission from TV
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Triangle Publications, Inc.*

were running a complete all-color, prime-time schedule. This growth in available color programming has led to a boom in color-set sales. By 1973, six of every ten American families owned a color-TV set. Color-equipped homes used their sets approximately 20 percent more than a black-and-white home.

Important changes in the structure and organization of TV occurred in the 1960s, as many companies merged and/or diversified. Educational television (ETV) took on a new name, "public broadcasting." With it, and long-awaited governmental support, it also acquired new life. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 ranks with the 1952 Sixth Order and Report as one of the most important events in educational television. In effect, the 1967 act provided for the first interconnected network of ETV stations. Most importantly, however, it provided educational television with the long-needed financial support necessary for it to become a vital force in American life. Without that act, many ETV stations would never have been built or modernized.

The 1960s were witness to the most intense and dynamic media-society relationship in history. Television was said to have created a "new" politics, a "new" generation, and a "new" society. In turn, the events of the 1960s forced television to mature, to expand its role beyond that of entertainer to becoming a positive social force. Some say it did not mature enough. That is probably true. However, television is young as a national medium. The 1940s saw its birth, the 1950s its childhood, the 1960s its stormy adolescence. In the 1970s the medium seems headed toward adulthood.

Table 18-1.
The Dimensions of Television

KEY FACTS ABOUT TELEVISION

Television stations on air^a

513	VHF commercial TV stations
192	UHF commercial TV stations
705	total commercial TV stations
91	VHF noncommercial TV stations
138	UHF noncommercial TV stations
229	total noncommercial TV stations
934	total TV stations
8,434	total radio and television stations

Total television revenues, 1972

\$3,179,500,000	for all TV stations and networks (from FCC report)
\$4,586,500,000	total radio-TV revenues

The TV audiences

66,200,000	U.S. TV homes
43,400,000	color TV homes
5,957,910	CATV homes
6 hours, 20 minutes	total TV viewing per home per day

Some other facts about facilities

179	TV stations owned by newspapers and/or magazines
20	regional television networks
4,875	community antenna TV systems

Facts about related businesses

40	talent agents and managers
548	TV program producers, distributors
288	TV commercial producers
210	producers and distributors of business promotion films
39	TV processing labs
212	associations and professional societies
53	companies providing research services
52	unions representing workers and performers
330	consulting engineers serving broadcasting
85	consultants on management, personnel, etc.
37	news services
81	public relations, publicity, promotion services
47	station and CATV brokers
243	station representatives
16	station finance companies

Source: 1974 *Broadcasting Yearbook* (Washington, D.C.: Broadcasting Publications, Inc.), p. 12.

^a Compilation by FCC through October 31, 1973.

The Scope of Television

Television is massive in every aspect of its operation. Over 66 million homes (95 percent of all U.S. households) are equipped with television sets. More than half of these families own a color set. Nearly 10 percent are connected to a CATV system. More than 60 percent own two sets. According to the A. C. Nielsen Company, the average TV household uses its set more than 44.5 hours per week. Top-rated network programs consistently attract more than 30 million viewers during the winter quarter. For special events, television viewing is truly phenomenal. During the Apollo 11 moon flight, 94 percent of all U.S. TV households saw part of the three-network coverage.

Of the total \$5.2 billion spent annually on consumer electric products, including radios, phonographs, tape recorders, musical instruments, hearing aids, and soft ware, television-set sales of more than 13 million accounted for 50 percent of that dollar volume.

The industry providing the programming for this consumer investment is in itself huge. There are almost 40,000 television broadcasters in the United States, with thousands more in allied fields. These people work at 705 commercial television stations, three national networks, and a variety of regional networks. Thousands of others are employed at many related businesses, including almost 550 program producers and distributors, 288 commercial producers, 243 station representatives, and 39 processing labs. In addition, there are 229 educational television stations served by one national network and many program suppliers, including National Educational Television (NET).

A typical television station is on the air 18 hours a day all year long; approximately 65 percent of this time's programming is provided by the networks. A television network provides almost 90 different series in any one week.

In order to support this production schedule, television takes in an enormous amount of advertising. Eighteen cents out of every advertising dollar is spent in television. Estimates indicate that TV advertising revenues will run about \$2.5 billion in the early 1970s and are the third-largest content form on television in terms of amount of time. In the early 1970s, 30-second commercials in network prime time cost advertisers anywhere from \$21,000 to \$43,000 depending on the network and the particular program. For example, commercials cost \$42,-

000 on ABC's "Marcus Welby, M.D." and \$36,000 on CBS's "Hawaii Five-O." Production costs in 1971-72 for network series averaged about \$95,000 for each 30-minute program, \$210,000 per 60-minute show, \$350,000 for 90-minute movies, and \$750,000 for 120-minute movies.

The costs, audiences, and advertising revenues make television one of the greatest growth industries of the postwar era. Without doubt, television is the dominant force in American leisure time.

The Structure and Organization of Television

Television's basic function is programming, and the ways in which programs are produced, distributed, and exhibited are the basis for the organization of the TV industry.

Program production is the responsibility of networks, stations, and program-production companies. Distribution is the critical function of the networks using the facilities of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The exhibition of programs is the role of stations and CATV operations.

The best analysis of the structure of television of the United States can be accomplished by analyzing these critical participants in programming: (1) the networks; (2) stations; (3) CATV companies; (4) public television.

The Networks. At the present time the primary forces in commercial television programming are the national networks: the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

These three commercial networks produce much of their programming in conjunction with package agencies owned by film companies or corporations set up by the talent that appears in the specific series. Approximately 90 percent of the networks' prime-time schedule is produced cooperatively with these program-production agencies.

The networks currently provide about 65 percent of all programming hours broadcast by their affiliates during the four blocks of time that make up the television week.

PRIME TIME. (7:30 P.M.-11:00 P.M. daily). The networks may provide up to three hours of programming per night. During these hours the most expensive and elaborate programs are aired, and the average audience for the average network program in prime time is

22 million persons during the winter quarter. In 1971-72 the dominant form of prime-time network programming was action/adventure series (30 percent), with movies second (25 percent), and situation comedies third (18 percent). The only "live" program—transmitted at the time of the event—was ABC's "NFL Monday Night Football." All variety shows and one situation comedy were videotaped. All other programs, or 88 percent of the total three network prime-time schedules, utilized film-production methods. All programs were telecast in color.

FRINGE TIME is divided into two classes: (a) early fringe (5:00 P.M.-7:30 P.M., daily) and (b) late fringe (11:00 P.M.-1:00 A.M., daily). The early period features network news while the late-fringe programming consists of 90-minute talk shows, videotaped five times a week, and the CBS "Late Movie" series.

WEEKDAY DAYTIME (7:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M., Monday through Friday) is the domain of videotaped quiz shows, soap operas, film reruns of network situation comedies, "The Today Show," "Captain Kangaroo," and "The CBS Morning News." Program decisions are dominated by the fact that audiences are composed primarily of women. Advertising is sold by quarter hours, with three commercial minutes in each 15-minute period.

WEEKEND DAYTIME (7:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M., Saturday and Sunday) offers children's programs (especially cartoons) on Saturday mornings; public service religious programs, and cartoons on Sunday mornings. Weekend afternoons are dominated by live sports broadcasts.

Besides exercising production control the networks also assume economic responsibility for distributing the programs, using coaxial cable and microwave facilities of AT&T at an annual cost of about \$50 million.

Many of the traditional patterns of distribution may be changing, however, as another mass communication distributor, the satellite, looms literally on the horizon. Satellite transmission has become an ever-increasing method of television and radio-program distribution since its beginning in 1965. There are numerous proposals suggesting more and varied use of satellite transmission including direct transmission into homes. The possibilities of this type of distribution are almost limitless, and satellites can be expected to become a key component of the future of broadcasting.

Each network owns five VHF (very high frequency) stations in major metropolitan areas. These network-owned-and-operated sta-

tions, along with the other 200 affiliates, provide for the exhibition of network TV programs.

The dominance of the networks in programming is further strengthened by the fact that successful network series often turn up in syndication programming carried by the local station.

In addition to national networks, there are about 15 regional and special-program networks that offer programs for local broadcast. These networks service national, regional, and local advertisers.

Stations. The actual broadcasting or airing of programs is done by stations in each market. Stations affiliated with networks are paid approximately 30 percent of their hourly rate by the network. No network payments are made for most sports, news, and late-night programs. A specific number of advertising slots in these programs are left open for local sales.

The local network-affiliated station's schedule consists of: (1) 65 percent network shows, (2) 25 percent to 30 percent from syndication, (3) 5 percent to 10 percent is locally produced. The syndicated programs are dominated by feature-movie packages, old network series, and talk shows produced by other stations, such as Westinghouse's "The Mike Douglas Show." Locally produced programming consists primarily of the six and eleven o'clock news, noon-time and morning talk shows, plus a local children's series, such as "Romper Room."

The local station's role then is as the exhibitor of programs created by someone else. Despite this fact, the station assumes responsibility for the content of all programs it broadcasts. It is also true that the administrative personnel of a station seldom preview the episodes of a series before they are aired. In effect, the stations have little control over much of the programming they telecast.

No two television stations are exactly alike, but certain basic functions that are common to most commercial stations. In a typical television station there are four functions, or activities: programming, sales, engineering, and management.

The organization of a noncommercial station is the same except for the absence of a sales operation. A general manager performs the overall supervisory function for a station, but no one category is most important. Programming incorporates the greatest diversity of any of the units, as it includes on-the-air personalities, such as news broadcasters, master of ceremonies, writers, producer-directors, and film editors, among others. Sales in a large station are handled by a sales or advertising department with a sales manager and a number of

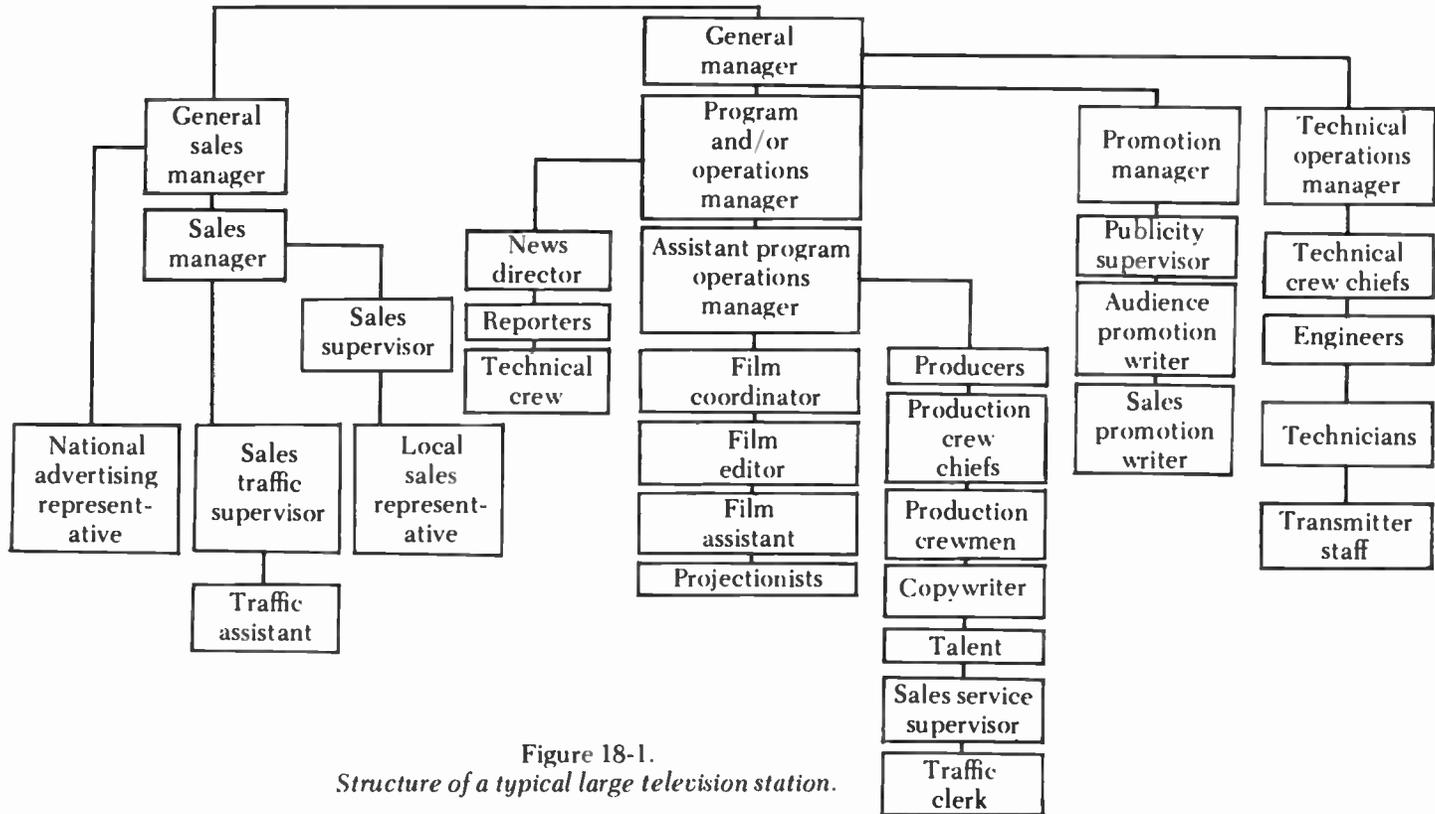


Figure 18-1.
Structure of a typical large television station.

salesmen. In a small station one person may constitute a whole area, or he might handle programming in addition to sales. Engineering involves all personnel used in running cameras, slides, and film projectors, as well as those used to maintain technical engineering standards.

Table 18-2.
Characteristics of the Work Force of the Broadcasting Industry

<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
22,000	(27)	were in New York City, Los Angeles County, or Cook County
58,000	(73) 100	were outside New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago
40,000	(50)	were in New York, California, Texas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, or Michigan
40,000	(50) 100	were in the 43 other states
44,000	(55)	worked at radio stations or radio networks
36,000	(45) 100	worked at television stations or television networks.
1,000	(1)	worked for one of four national radio networks
43,000	(54)	worked for local radio stations
9,000	(11)	worked for one of three national television networks
27,000	(34) 100	worked for local television stations
32,000	(40)	worked in programming
16,000	(20)	worked in engineering
12,000	(15)	worked in sales—including promotion or publicity
20,000	(25) 100	worked in business, management, administration, etc.
72,000	(91)	were males
7,200	(9) 100	were females
28,000	(35)	graduated from college, attended or graduated from graduate school
38,000	(47)	attended college, attended or graduated from technical school
14,000	(18) 100	graduated from high school or less education

Table 18-2, compiled by Lawrence Lichty and J. R. Ripley, provides some indication of the general size and composition of broadcasting stations' staffs for both radio and television.

Unlike radio, all television stations are classified as local outlets. However, as local outlets they can be typed according to several classifications: (1) technical, (2) market size, (3) network affiliation.

Technically, television stations are grouped according to where their signal falls in the electromagnetic spectrum. The two bands into which all television signals are placed are very high frequency (VHF) and ultra high frequency (UHF). Channels 2 to 13 are VHF. Channels 14 to 83 are UHF. Of the 705 commercial television stations on the air in 1973, 513 were VHF and 192 were UHF. This technical classification is very important because stations located in the VHF band reach a greater geographical area with less power and a clearer signal than stations in the UHF band. Thus, almost without exception, VHF stations are more powerful, better established, and more profitable.

Another important classification is market size, or the number of households a television station reaches. Generally there are three basic market-size groups: (1) major—the 100 or so largest cities in the country; (2) secondary—cities with populations ranging from 50,000 to 125,000; (3) small—cities of less than 50,000 population. Market size is vital in television broadcasting. National advertisers buy time on stations according to market size; thus stations in the major markets get most of the nonlocal advertising dollar, while the small-market station must depend greatly on local advertising.

The third important basis for television station classification is whether the station is independent or network affiliated. Most television stations want network affiliation because networks are capable of providing the type of programs that are more popular than local productions and hence attract a larger audience. More than 93 percent of all U.S. television stations are network affiliated. A station is seldom independent unless it is in a market of four or more outlets, and all three networks already have affiliates.

Community Antenna Television (CATV). The first commercial CATV system began operations in Lansford, Pennsylvania, in 1950 to provide programming not available in that region because of reception problems. Cable TV today seeks to expand programming offerings to its subscribers at a monthly rate of \$5 to \$10, normally for eleven program channels and a time-weather service.

Regulation of CATV has been one of the key factors affecting

its development with the FCC only belatedly assuming some regulation in 1962 and achieving complete jurisdiction in 1968. Small, apartment-house operations with limited subscribers are still not regulated by anyone.

Today there are several critical factors affecting CATV operations, the most critical being:

1. Local TV stations have 24-hour protection from CATV duplication of programs they broadcast.
2. Local-station programs must be carried.
3. In the top-50 markets (the rule reads top-100, but the FCC only enforces in the top-50) only four distant signals can be carried by a CATV franchise. Local UHF or impoverished VHF stations may substitute their own commercials on these four channels. There are several other factors involving payments by top-50 CATV systems to noncommercial broadcasters, and large CATV systems being required to originate programming.

Public Television. Educational television operations are very similar to commercial telecasting. Network services from NET (1952), PBS (1967), and the Children's Television Workshop ("Sesame Street," 1970) dominate quality programming in ETV. Many of the most eminent public TV successes in the United States are replays of programs produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), i.e., "Civilisation," "The First Churchills," and "The Forsythe Saga." The best of educational TV's American programs are in the area of public affairs. In 1971-72, PBS followed commercial networks and added a night at the classic movies to its schedule.

Federal financial assistance has been critical in the development of most of the approximately 91 VHF and 138 UHF public TV stations. Foundation monies, especially the Ford Foundation, have also been important. In the near future, public television, through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, must find a stable source of funds—future federal support of PTV is still far from certain.

Characteristics and Roles of Television

Television today is huge, complex, costly, continuous, and competitive. It is a mass entertainer, mass informer, mass persuader, and mass educator.

Television is universal; more than 95 percent of America's homes are TV households, and viewing television is the dominant leisure-time activity in our society.

TV viewing is an in-home activity, but is becoming more mobile as small-screen, lightweight portable sets have been marketed.

Although multiset homes are increasing, TV usage is still a family or small-group activity rather than individual or large-group experience.

The content of the medium is dominated by national organizations that seek to provide general programming for massive, heterogeneous audiences—rather than special content for limited, homogeneous minorities.

The medium is the costliest of all electric media because of the demand placed on it by the 18-hour-per-day schedule of most stations.

Only television among the advertising media has sight, sound, motion, and color, which makes it a dynamic sales tool. These same characteristics provide added impact in its other roles as well.

As was pointed out, the primary role of the magazine is the custom tailoring of mass communication. Television's primary role is just the opposite. It specializes in the mass production of mass communication. It is the channel through which stream mass-produced messages for the widest-possible dissemination. With virtually the entire population having access to television 18 hours a day, 365 days a year, it is the mass medium for reaching most of the people most of the time.

Because of this, television is perhaps the least flexible of all the mass media. While it can and does provide instant coverage of many important national and international events, the majority of its time is taken up with programs in schedules that have been put together a year or two in advance.

In a more critical sense, television has been looked upon as having two primary roles: reflecting society and evaluating society. Aubrey Singer, a leading executive of the British Broadcasting Corporation, has stated that television's most common role as practiced today is that of "one of the many windows through which we observe, transmit, and reflect our valuation of society to each other. It has little to do with the initial creation of a spiritual trade wind. It is only a sort of air conditioner that processes and gets this wind into homes more quickly."

However, Singer and others feel that television has another potential role. Despite television's essentially passive nature, there are times when it does act in its own right, when, according to Singer, it

“uses its power of communication not merely to convey other people’s images, but rather to create out of its potentialities its own genuine statement.” Many people feel that television’s coverage of the assassination and funeral of President Kennedy, along with the coverage of the Apollo 11 moon landing, were times when television did create genuine statements, perhaps not so much out of its particular design or structure, but merely by being there to record the event as it was happening.

CHAPTER 19

Sound Recording

A mother walks by her son's room, and the phonograph's volume is so loud she cannot hear the words. "Turn it down," she yells. "Turn on," he responds.

A father trying valiantly to work out his income tax report becomes irritated by the unintelligible jumble coming out of his daughter's portable cassette. "Why do you listen to that junk?" he growls. "But, you don't know what it is—do you, Mister Jones?" she murmurs.

Nowhere is the cultural gulf between young and old so evident as in rock music, the staple of the American sound-recording industry. If any medium can be said to be a contributor to the generation gap, it is the phonograph-tape-recording institution.

Historical Perspectives

Until quite recently, the potential of sound recording as a mass medium had not been fully exploited. The use of the term recording is generic and refers to a variety of sound-reproduction systems—including cylinders, disks, records, reel-to-reel tapes, cartridges, and cassettes. Like other electric media, the phonograph requires a machine to encode and decode the messages. The individual must have access to a playback system in order to take advantage of the medium and become a part of the audience. The recording tape has the ability to store content for later use. Recordings stop time in the sense that a past event can be repeated. The consumer can be highly selective in his choice of content.

These are three major periods in the history of sound recording: (1) 1887–1923, a time of experimentation and exploitation; (2) 1924–47, a time of technical improvement and financial trouble; (3) 1948 to the present, a time of technical rebirth and cultural revolution.

1887–1923. In 1887 two men working on different continents contributed to the birth of the phonograph. Charles Cros filed a paper with the French Academy of Science (April 1887), which described a system of sound reproduction, but the French physicist never produced a working model. In the United States, Thomas Edison and his machinist, John Kruesi, actually built a functional sound record-playback device. This phonograph used a hand-cranked metal cylinder wrapped in tinfoil for recording purposes. Having invented what he considered to be a dictating machine, however, Edison did little to exploit his invention. For the next decade the phonograph was little more than a traveling sideshow, exhibiting the marvels of a “talking machine.”

Chinchester Bell and Charles Sumner Tainter began work on an improved version of Edison’s phonograph in 1885. They applied for a patent on a device that utilized wax-coated cardboard cylinders instead of tinfoil. By 1887, however, Edison had returned to work on a reusable solid-wax cylinder called the phonogram. Jesse H. Lippencott’s purchase of the business rights to both the Edison and Bell-Tainter devices in 1888 brought an end to what was becoming a serious patent dispute. The dream of Lippencott was that the phonograph would become the major means of business communication.

In the early 1890s Edison slowly began to exploit the entertainment value of the phonograph, mostly through the use of coin-operated machines in public places, a predecessor of the jukebox.

During this same period another American, Emile Berliner, was experimenting with a system that used flat disks instead of cylinders. Berliner's gramophone was demonstrated in May 1888. When Eldridge Johnson built an electric motor in 1896 to drive the gramophone, it became a significantly improved system. The advantages of the disk over the cylinder were: (1) the disk could be mass produced from an etched negative master, whereas each early cylinder had to be an original; (2) the shellac record was harder and more durable than the wax cylinder; (3) the disk was more easily stored than the cylinder; (4) the disk produced greater volume and better quality from a simpler machine.

The Victor Talking Machine Company (using the Berliner-Johnson system) and the Columbia Phonograph Company (operating under the Edison and Bell-Tainter patents) dominated the phonograph industry for the first 20 years of the twentieth century. The public was interested, and as prices came down audiences increased. After an initial coolness toward the medium, famous artists turned to the phonograph as a means of expanding their audiences, and millions of their records were sold. The industry was worldwide in scope, with interlocking patent agreements between European and American corporations. All disks were one-sided until 1905, when Germany's Odeon Company introduced two-sided records.

During the time from 1905 to 1923, few significant changes took place in this medium, and only minor changes were made in the device itself. Although the speaker horn was enclosed in the cabinet in the first Victrola (1906), the tone arm was modified, and frequency range of the disk was improved, the scratchy quality persisted in this mechanically produced sound system. Many musical instruments could not be used because they did not record well, and mechanical problems prevented the extensive use of large orchestras.

1924-47. Economically, the 1920s were expected to be a boom time: low-cost, reliable sets were available, and the people had the money to buy them. The development of radio broadcasting had two major influences on the recording industry in the mid 1920s: (1) the developments in electric-radio technology (microphones and speakers) led to significant improvements in the technical quality of the phonograph; (2) the public acceptance of radio created an eco-

conomic recession for the recording industry as audiences used the radio more and the phonograph less. Radio provided “live” rather than recorded music, a far cry from the situation today.

The first commercial, electrically produced recordings were marketed by both Victor and Columbia in 1925. The new process opened an entirely new aural dimension because the sound was recorded, using microphones, and played back using amplified speakers. That same year the Brunswick Company marketed a low-cost electric phonograph with speakers of brilliant quality compared to previous mechanical horns. By 1926, whole symphonies and operas were being recorded on albums of up to 20 disks.

Despite the technical progress in recording and the expanded musical content, the medium continued to lose ground—first to radio, then to talking pictures. In 1928 RCA purchased Victor and discontinued production of record players in favor of radio receivers. Edison had previously stopped all phonograph production in 1927. The depression hit the phonograph harder than any medium. Record sales dropped to a tenth of what they had been, and few playback devices were marketed. The phonograph seemed headed for extinction.

The one bright spot was the development of the jukebox and public consumption of pop music. By 1940 more than 250,000 “jukes” were using 15 million records a year made by bands of the “swing era.” Nevertheless, the record business was still locked in the grips of a classical-music tradition, limited by financial resources, and hindered by unimaginative marketing procedures. As a result, public support of the medium as home entertainment dwindled still further.

In 1940 RCA and Decca sold two of every three records, and Columbia was in serious financial difficulty. Edward Wallerstein, a former RCA executive, was hired to rebuild Columbia’s fortunes. He instituted two major policy decisions. First, Wallerstein signed a large number of successful pop musicians and almost cornered that market. Second, he cut the price of all Columbia’s classical albums to \$1, and overnight sales jumped 1,500 percent. By late 1941, Columbia had revitalized itself, and the recording industry was ready for a comeback.

World War II destroyed all hopes of the phonograph’s immediate rebirth, when the shellac required for disk production became unavailable and electronics manufacturers turned to war work. Then,

in mid-1942, the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) under James Caesar Petrillo refused to allow its members to cut any more records. The AFM was concerned that canned music would cut back employment opportunities for its members. The record companies initially refused to negotiate. After a year, however, economic pressure forced Decca Records to give in to demands that an amount up to five cents per record sold be contributed to the AFM's fund for unemployed musicians. In mid-1944 RCA and Columbia accepted similar terms, but all of the AFM's gains were wiped out in 1947 when the Taft-Hartley Act made it illegal to collect royalties in this fashion. That year was the best ever for the recording industry—\$200 million—and it appeared that the phonograph was about to boom.

1948 to the Present. During the period following World War II, five major forces revolutionized the phonograph industry: (1) technical achievements in electromagnetic recording, (2) improvements in records and playback systems, (3) television's destruction of radio's old format, (4) changes in marketing procedures, (5) a revolution in the content of the medium.

ELECTROMAGNETIC RECORDING. When magnetic tape recorders were developed, they improved sound by eliminating noise, and they contributed flexibility to recording sessions. Tapes could be edited to remove coughs, miscues, or other errors. Today, this flexibility is an integral component of the music business, with parts of various takes edited together or several tracks overlaid on a final master tape. *Sergeant Pepper* and other Beatle records could never have been made without this flexibility provided by tape.

Electromagnetic recordings had been experimented with since 1889 when a Danish engineer, Vladimir Poulsen, produced a recording on steel wire. Later, paper was used, and, finally, plastic tape. In 1944 the Allies uncovered a tape machine used by Radio Luxembourg, which proved to be a significant improvement over any existing American recording method. By 1949 most major studios were using noise-free tape recordings for masters, which were then edited and transferred to disks.

The 1950s saw extensive use of reel-to-reel tapes, and technical experiments during these years led to a tape bonanza in the 1960s. Today, there are three basic tape systems: (1) reel-to-reel systems, which can be edited and have both playback and record capability, but high-quality units are fairly large even in portable models; (2)

cartridge systems are compact, have great selectivity in 4- and 8-track models, but do not usually have record capability; (3) cassette systems are very portable, but cannot be easily edited; however, they do have record capability. Blank cassettes cost less than \$1, and dubs are easily made.

There is a definite swing to cassettes throughout the home-entertainment industry. Most major equipment companies are offering cassette units, in consoles as well as in a wide variety of portable component models. Although about 100 labels have music available on tape as well as disks, RCA and Columbia dominate the business, with Ampex releasing most of the others through its affiliate, United States Tapes. Ampex concedes that the cassette system is not yet up to the quality of good reel-to-reel recordings, but it is improving. Ampex also points out that eight-track players move the head from track to track, whereas cassette machines have fixed heads, like open reel-to-reel machines. Cassette players have also begun to serve as a convenient and inexpensive dictation system, and Bell & Howell offers a cassette home-movie sound system.

RECORD AND PLAYER IMPROVEMENTS. In 1948 Columbia introduced the microgroove, $33\frac{1}{3}$ -rpm. (revolutions per minute), long-play (LP) record developed under Dr. Peter Goldmark. This new advance was far superior to the 78-rpm. shellac record. The $33\frac{1}{3}$ could handle nearly 25 minutes of music per side because of its slower speed, larger size, and narrower grooves, whereas the 78 was capable of handling only three to five minutes of music. The $33\frac{1}{3}$ records were made of plastic "biscuits" and were far more resilient than the 78s—so much so that 33s were called unbreakable.

Rather than submit to a coup by Columbia, RCA Victor brought out its seven-inch, 45-rpm. in both single and extended-play (EP) versions. The center hole was far larger than that of either the 78s or 33s. This meant that the consumer needed both a larger spindle and slower speed to adapt to the 45.

The "battle of the speeds" lasted two years, and both Columbia and RCA spent a great deal on their products. RCA was producing 45 players and selling them for less than they cost to make. In 1950 when the speed war ended, record sales had dropped \$50 million below the 1947 level. The consumer did not know which system would be adopted and therefore bought neither one. The companies reached a compromise that established the $33\frac{1}{3}$ LP album as the means of recording long, classical works and collections of a pop art-

ist's work. The 45-rpm. became the method of distribution of pop singles. By 1955, 78-rpm. records were no longer in production.

During this same period significant improvements were made in the sound quality of record players, and high-fidelity recordings were now possible with the advances in electromagnetic-recording studio techniques. The hi-fi boom lasted nearly ten years, and then stereophonic or multichannel sound systems were marketed in 1958. This made monaural systems obsolete, and the equipment boom has continued ever since for phonograph manufacturers. Today, all LPs produced by the major companies are hi-fi stereo albums. Even the 45 is moving toward total stereo production.

Today the home sound-recording unit may be composed of a variety of playback units, including a stereo phonograph, cassette cartridges or reel-to-reel tape, and an AM-FM radio, with speaker sets throughout the house. In addition, cartridge units have become important accessories in automobiles.

THE EMERGENCE OF TELEVISION. During the years from 1946 to 1952 television began to emerge as the dominant mass entertainment medium. Both radio and the film industry were forced to adapt to survive economically. Once the Federal Communications Commission lifted the "freeze" on local TV-station allocations in 1952, there was no holding back video broadcasting. Financial conditions—because of the loss of audiences—forced network radio to cut back their operations, and local radio stations had to develop a new source of programming. The music, news, talk, and sports formats evolved as the program policy of most U.S. stations. *Music* became the dominant element in the mix. Since the recording industry is popular music, the phonograph record became the content of radio. This provided wide, free exposure of the record industry's products to a huge, affluent, young audience of potential buyers, and the boom was on.

MARKETING PROCEDURES. The ways of selling records changed in the mid-1950s. First, discount outlet (low-margin retailers) offered significantly reduced prices on all popular records. Second, rack-jobbers rented space in dime stores, drugstores, grocery stores, and anywhere else one would be likely to buy a record on impulse. These middlemen put up the racks, kept them stocked, and everybody made money. Third, the major record producers noted the success of small record societies supplying albums to their membership, and they started their own record clubs. Columbia led the way in 1955, and at the end of the first year's operation it had 500,000 members. Two years later RCA joined in, and then every major company made the move.

All three marketing innovations hurt most traditional retail-sales outlets—record and department stores. However, business was so heavy as a result of the changes that traditional dealer complaints carried little weight with the record companies.

THE REVOLUTION IN CONTENT. The development of the phonograph since 1955 is closely linked with rock music, which is the only musical form that is indigenous to the electric media. In fact, rock is the only music where the recording is the original, and the live performance is the imitation. Rock is a four-letter word that means **AWOPBOPALOOBOPALOPBAMBOOM**, which translated means there is no satisfactory definition of this musical form. Rock is a heavy beat; it is loud; it is electric; it is blatant; it is simple; it is a rejection of parts of adult society; it is often committed to social change; it is immediate music; it is pop culture; it is “people music,” which comes from and to young people. Every teen-ager is a potential “star,” and the young listener is a participant in the musical experience.

Rock music is and always has been a direct assault on adult sensibility. It purposely alienates parents, and that is one reason young people respond to it—it is their culture. In the beginning there was no content; it was intentionally meaningless. The lack of meaning, the crudeness, the heavy-handed beat, and the obvious lack of respect angered some adults. Many young people understood that fact and loved it. Parents might think that the performers are punk kids with no training and experience—that might be why it is irrationally beautiful to teen-agers.

The loudness of rock encapsulates the listener. One physically, tactilely, feels rock as well as listens. The phonograph creates a new sound barrier that insulates an individual; it is a self-contained mentally isolated environment. It is a means of mental and emotional escape from other individuals in the same physical space.

Rock music dominates the content of the recording medium. Young people select the content and perform it. But most important is that the young *buy* it. Youth dominate the medium economically.

A Capsule History of Rock Music. Rock comes out of five traditions: (1) white, romantic pop provided the “crooner” or sex idol and sentimentality; (2) rhythm and blues provided the black beat and a frank approach to the sexual experience; (3) country and western provided the basic instrument, the guitar, and most of the early stars; (4) folk music provided the tradition of untrained people writing, performing, and participating in their music; (5) jazz provided improvisation and high-quality musical skills. All these musical forms

HIS MASTER'S VOICE



have since the early 1960s been integrated gradually into the rock mainstream.

Alan Freed, a disk jockey from Cleveland who became a “rock-jock” in New York City, is credited with coining the phrase “rock ‘n’ roll” in the early 1950s. Several songs in the period from 1952 to 1954 bordered on the rock sound; but rock ‘n’ roll did not crystallize until 1955 with one monster record (multimillion-copy seller) and one group, Bill Haley and the Comets’ “Rock Around the Clock.” The record has sold over 15 million copies, and its appearance is generally accepted as the start of the rock ‘n’ roll boom, although the entire period from 1952 to 1954 is full of artists and music that set up the audience for rock.

The first superstar of rock ‘n’ roll was Elvis Presley, a hip-swinging, greasy-looking, brilliant performer. The late 1950s belonged to Elvis because he was young, blatant, noisy, aggressive, and sexual. He was “the King” for nearly five years, an unbelievably long time in rock. Beginning with “Heartbreak Hotel” in February 1956, Elvis had 18 million-seller 45s before 1960. Today, he is still an important force in this musical form.

In the period from 1954 to 1960 the music field became racially integrated. White performers sang black music and sold it to white consumers. This made it possible for black singers to sing black music and sell it to white consumers. Previously, blacks like Nat

“King” Cole, the Ink Spots, and Lena Horne had sung white music for “white folks.” But rock helped legitimize the black beat and black themes. Blacks were colorless on radio and the phonograph, but what was really important was that both black and white singers sounded the same.

The first white rockers came out of country and western music, but Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, the Everly Brothers, and Buddy Holly sang rock that had black roots. This opened the door for blacks doing rock. Little Richard (Penniman) sold a million copies of “Tutti Frutti” and “Long Tall Sally”; Fats Domino sold 50 million records to youngsters before 1960; Larry Price did “Bony Maronie”; the Coasters and the Drifters opened the door for other stylized black groups to reach white audiences. Most important was Chuck Berry, an extraordinary writer as well as performer. His “Maybelline” was one of the first black, monster rock hits.

In the late 1950s, rock created a whole new series of noncontact sports, starting with Chubby Checker’s “twist,” then the “monkey,” “frug,” “mashed potato,” ad infinitum. Dancing became narcissistic rather than “necking on the run.” Nobody touched anybody—the body movement was detached yet sensual. As soon as a dance was adopted by adults, it was often discarded by their children. Some parents were beginning to ape their sons and daughters. The discotheque became the nightclub based on recorded music and recorded dances.

The biggest fad of the early 1960s was strictly good old, white, middle-class, pop-*kitsch*, surfing music that rejected the corporation life for the beach buggy, bikini, and surfboard. Brian Wilson and his disciples, the Beach Boys, made hot rods, motorcycles, and beach bums into national symbols.

During 1959–60, the government investigated rock through the payola hearings of the Special Subcommittee of Legislative Oversight of the House of Representatives. The record companies regularly paid disk jockeys for plugging records. These more overt types of “hype” were stopped—but “hype” is so integral a part of the entertainment industry it is almost impossible to stop. Throughout the hearings negative attitudes were expressed toward “that music” and “those performers.” The implication was that the only reason rock was popular was because those pushing it got paid off. Stopping payola, however, did not stop rock—because rock was a significant cultural force with young people.

Although rock is definitely an American creation, it reached fruition under the English. If the late 1950s belong to Elvis, the late 1960s belong to the Beatles. This shaggy bunch of household words (John, Paul, George, and Ringo) had the top five records in America in April 1964. Every album they cut was a million seller. They were a cultural phenomenon as well as a musical phenomenon. They were artist-poet-performers. Without a doubt they influenced the total rock scene more than anyone in the decade of the 1960s with the possible exception of Bob Dylan. Their uniqueness, however, was not only the quantity of their work and its financial success; it was the quality of the Beatles' music that set them apart. In addition to the Beatles, Britain produced the Rolling Stones, the Dave Clark Five, Herman's Hermits, and others. Rock is so powerful that nationalities have become sublimated in the new rock-youth culture.

In the mid-1960s Bob Dylan was the most influential American pop musician. His music was socially conscious, and since 1966 many pop singles in the "Top 100" have become committed to social causes. Many young have been interested in peace, ecology, race relations, loneliness, and love. Their music has reflected it. Rock music is part of our total cultural life style. The 1970 Woodstock Music and Art Festival was a celebration of this rock-youth culture. Rock music is, in effect, rock politics, rock economics, and rock sociology.

A rock is something to throw in order to smash. Roll means turn over. Rock 'n' roll has smashed and turned over many musical traditions. Many depression-reared adults cannot fathom rock's style; that is why for young people it is important to smash their instruments, and that is why Jimi Hendrix made physical love to his guitar—and that was why Jim Morrison's performances and Mick Jagger's life style are so important to young rockers. Rock is a raw, sexual, antisocial, young experience, and it is the economic backbone of the recording industry.

The Scope of Sound Recording

Today, retail sales of records and tapes exceed \$2 billion a year. The public has money to spend, and it spends almost as much on records as it does on textbooks. Over 75 percent of this dollar volume is spent on LPs, but sales of singles are still tremendous—more than 300 million copies a year. The market is international in scope. Almost a third of all American-produced records are sold overseas.

Although the business is less dominated and more competitive than at any other time, five companies (Columbia, RCA, Warner Bros.-Seven Arts, Capitol, and MGM) account for 55 percent of all sales. Ninety middle-range companies sell 35 percent of all records annually. The final 10 percent of the record sales volume is sold by more than 1,400 small concerns, all hoping for a big seller. There are about 1,500 companies that put out records on 2,500 labels. The records are handled by 500 regional distributors, 300 rack-jobbers, 300 jukebox firms, and literally thousands of retailers.

The record industry produces from 6,500 to 7,500 singles every year, but less than 1 in 25 are profitable. A single has to sell about 25,000 copies to break even. Over 60 percent of the 4,000 to 5,000 albums produced each year fail to break even, which means they cannot sell 85,000 copies. It is even tougher with classical music; nine out of ten of these albums lose money. When a record is a hit, however, the profits for the company can run as high as 50 cents per album and five cents per single.

One method used by the record industry to measure success is through trade magazines' "Top" or "Hot 100 Lists." In 1970 the issues of *Billboard* indicated that 403 artists (individuals and groups) appeared in its "Hot 100 Singles Chart" and 40 artists accounted for 41 percent of the 45s. The "Hot 100 Albums Chart" listed 437 artists, but 40 artists held down 46 percent of the slots. In terms of record companies, 148 labels made *Billboard's* singles list—122 made the album list. However, ten companies held 39 percent of the single slots and 54 percent of the album slots.

Obviously, this data means that it is crucial that a company keep a stable of successful artists. Since the lifetime of people as well as music is relatively short, new talent is constantly being recruited. One supergroup can make a company. In 1970 Apple Records ranked tenth in albums (3.4 percent of the slots on the Top 100 lists)—all but one of these entries belonged to the Beatles.

The economics of the industry work out so that the producer earns from 40 percent to 50 percent of the retail price; distributors get from 15 percent to 25 percent; the retailer gets the remaining 20 percent to 30 percent, depending on his mark-up. The rack-jobber pays the record company 40 percent to 50 percent and the retailer a flat fee of 10 percent to 15 percent of total sales, which means that the jobber keeps 35 percent to 40 percent of every record he markets.

The period we are now in shows signs of still further growth. The future is in cassettes and miniaturization, but the content of records is totally unpredictable.

The Structure and Organization of Sound Recording

As with all media, sound recording is deeply involved with cultural communication, especially for youth audiences. The media products (records and tapes) that the industry produces exceed audience demands. Because of this the business of recording is organized to preselect those items to be consumed by audiences. No one is able to predict exactly which messages will be successful in attracting a mass audience, but a variety of people or groups can affect the flow of these messages.

There are 11 categories of persons under four major subheadings that determine the success of a given record. Before a record can be a success, four groups must support it: (1) the creative element, (2) the business element, (3) the information-distribution element, (4) the consumer element. Although no single element can create a hit or prevent a great record from making it, a variety of groups do affect the flow of recordings to consumers. See figure 19-1 for this structure.

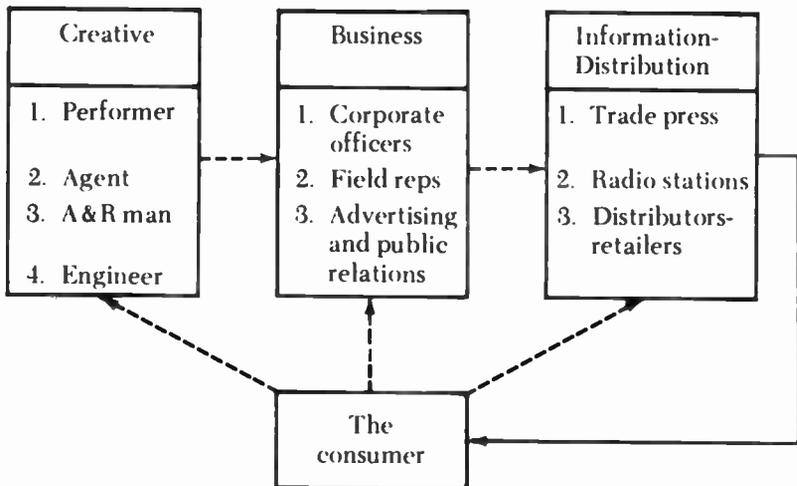


Figure 19-1.

The structure of the sound-recording industry.

The Creative Element. This segment has four participants. The performer-artist creates the material. With the advent of rock, many performers, who have been successful, write as well as perform their own material. They are aided, guided, and supervised by a business consultant, generally called a manager. He serves as an agent for the artist. The artist-and-repertoire (A&R) men serve a similar function as agents for production companies. The A&R man is a talent scout seeking the next "stars" in the field for his company. There are also A&R independents not associated with established companies, who act as go-betweens for the artist and the producer. The record producer often also serves as the A&R man, but his task here is not to select the groups, but to get them taped in a satisfactory manner. George Martin was so important to the content of records he cut that he became known as the "fifth Beatle." The engineer-technician is the mechanical wizard who manipulates the inherent qualities of the medium to create recorded music.

The Business Element. This aspect of the medium has three participants. The business decisions to exploit the creative element are made by high-level corporate officers. They make all the financial appropriations considered essential to the successful marketing of the record. They provide the capital and reap the greatest portion of the profits. The field representative, or promoter, devises the best way to get visibility for the record. If it is the product of an established star or group, there is less difficulty than if it was made by an unknown. The company representative can only promote what his company puts out, and he has no way to force radio stations to play his company's product. Since he cannot push all the records with equal effort, however, he must selectively promote one of his company's product units in preference to another he is supposed to be selling with equal ardor. In this way he can retard the development of some material. The advertising and public relations staffs prepare trade announcements for radio stations, distributors, and retailers, as well as consumer advertising for the general public. Most of the effort and money is spent on trade materials.

The Information-Distribution Element. This area has three participants: the trade press; radio-station programmers; and the distributors, rack-jobbers, and retailers. The trade press serves as a general information and evaluation source for distributors, rack-jobbers, retailers, radio stations, plus the creative and business people. Four major publications serve this function. *Billboard* is considered the

most reliable source for business and creative information. *Cashbox* and *Record World* are less important but serve the same function. *Rolling Stone* concentrates on creative evaluation and has a wide public as well as trade readership. All four aid in the selection process by featuring articles on what records are expected to be successful. Radio-station programmers greatly affect the sales performance of many records—if the local D.J.s do not play the records, the public cannot become acquainted with them, and audiences are less likely to buy them. Stations must choose a limited number of songs each week to add to their play list. Only four or five of the 75 to 100 records received each week ever get extensive air play, which is more valuable than any advertising available. The distributors, rack-jobbers, and retailers are also crucial to the whole process. If a record is not in stock, it cannot be bought. And since the life of popular music, especially singles, is so short, it is crucial that the record be available immediately upon public demand.

The Consumer Element. Finally, there is the audience, the consumer of phonograph records. It is this individual who makes the final financial decision as to whether a record will be a success. A million seller is, in the end, determined by audiences. The gold record presented to an artist attests to the fact that a million consumers bought a single or that almost 300,000 people spent a total of \$1 million for an album.

Interestingly, the audience can only select from what is available. Therefore, each of the above elements serves as a gatekeeper in phonograph communication. The artist, his manager, the A&R man, the producer, the policy maker, the publicist, the promoter, the trade press, the station, and distributor-retailer can hinder success by not doing the job. Nevertheless, even if they all support a given record, the public can and often does prefer to buy something else.

Characteristics and Roles of Sound Recording

The record industry is a mass media institution that has grown around a physical reproduction system. And there are very specific characteristics of this medium.

It is massive. Record and tape sales are in excess of \$2 billion a year. Nearly 5,000 LPs and 7,500 45s are produced each year by more than 1,500 record companies on 2,500 labels. The records are sold by 500 distributors, 300 rack-jobbers, 300 “one-shot” jukebox leasors,

and thousands of retail outlets. Each year more than 5.5 million phonograph players are sold at a value of \$590 million. Of these units 1.5 million are considered high-fidelity units and over 3 million are portables. There are more than 60 million phonograph players in use in the United States today, and although estimates vary as to the number of households with record players, it seems that three out of every four families own one. An additional 5 million tape recorders are sold each year at a value of more than \$530 million.

The phonograph is a high-intensity medium. The sound quality of the medium is far superior to that of most television, home movies, and most radio receivers. Most homes that own hi-fi radios normally have this as part of a phonograph or tape system. Nearly one of every three new phonographs sold today are hi-fi stereos.

The medium is national in scope, although most of the content is actually recorded in Hollywood, New York, and Nashville, Tennessee. Since the advent of rock music, however, when a record is a hit in New England it is probably also popular in Texas and the Pacific Northwest as well. Local tastes that previously split markets according to sections of the country are no longer the dominant force they were. In fact, the phonograph since rock music may be the most international medium—even more so than film.

It is a youth medium. The artistic aspects of popular music are overwhelmingly dominated by people under the age of 30, and young men are beginning to take over the business operations as well. In terms of audiences, over eight of every ten singles are bought by persons under 25, and over two-thirds of all albums are sold to persons under 30.

Of all the mass media, the phonograph and pop music are most youth oriented. The producer as well as the consumer of rock music is young.

The phonograph is becoming more and more portable and durable. The evolution of the cassette has brought up to two hours of listening on a single unit that will fit in a coat pocket. Portable, battery-powered, transistorized cassette players are no bigger than many portable radios. In addition, stereo-cartridge machines are now installed in more than 2 million automobiles. Both records and tapes have become sturdy.

The medium has a highly selective capability—more than any other electric medium, and almost as much as the book. In other words, the individual can select the content he wishes to use. This

selection process is much less restricted than with most other media.

The phonograph medium has become the content of the radio medium. When television became the dominant leisure-time activity, the networks stopped programming and the increased number of stations switched to local programming of music, news, and sports. Today music is the phonograph record. These two media are extremely dependent upon each other. Without records the current radio formats could not exist. In turn, radio helps determine which records will succeed.

The sound-recording medium is a means of socialization of the young. It is a medium that is danced to, which is essential in the dating-mating process; it is a medium committed to young social, political, and economic causes; it insulates young individuals within the household from parental moral values. It has become a crucial element in the development of a youth culture.

The medium provides cultural variety in that, although it is dominated by rock music (six of every ten dollars spent on records buys rock music), other forms of musical expression are available for limited consumption. Within the rock area a wide range of music is offered: acid rock; folk rock, soul; hard rock, and so on.

And, like the book, the phonograph stores the culture of today for future examination.

CHAPTER **20**

Other Media

In addition to the seven media covered in previous chapters, there are other established means of mass communication. Our discussion here is limited to some of the new media that emphasize personalized or specialized media communication, rather than mass communication. Although they often utilize the production and distribution techniques of mass media, these new media are often used in a new way because of recognition of the impersonality of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, books, and motion pictures.

These new media attempt to individualize the communication process, to provide more intimate communication, including audience response and participation, interaction between medium and

audience, and immediate feedback for more effective dialogue, which alone can make communication truly meaningful.

The Newsletter

The rise of the newsletter is a twentieth-century journalistic phenomenon, even though the newsletter itself is one of the oldest forms of journalistic communication. Letters were used for news and general communication in ancient Greek and Roman civilizations and throughout the Middle Ages. The Fugger newsletters, produced in several German city-states in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries by the Fugger banking house, were among the forerunners of the modern newspaper. Written in letter form, they were reproduced and circulated among merchants and businessmen and contained financial and economic information that helped spread the mercantile revolution. The modern newsletter is often used for a similar purpose.

The father of the modern newsletter was probably Willard M. Kiplinger, who started the *Kiplinger Washington Letters* in 1923. He had been a Washington reporter for the Associated Press and was hired by a New York bank to send it reports on government information vital to banking and business interests. Kiplinger put this information in a letter that he regularly sent to the bank. He reasoned that he might sell the information in his letter to other banks, as well, and then he saw he could sell it to businessmen, too.

He typed the four-page letter on his own typewriter, had it mimeographed and later printed by offset, without any fancy make-up or advertising. Underscoring and capital letters were used to provide some graphic effects, but Kiplinger was primarily interested in distilling information to its essence. He wrote so that each typewritten line carried a complete thought, putting it into good meter so each line would be easy to read and readily remembered. He did not feel constrained to follow normal journalistic restrictions of objectivity and attribution. The *Kiplinger Letters* made interpretations, analyses, and predictions for its readers, taking them into its confidence.

In reality, Kiplinger was writing a personal letter to each of his subscribers, telling them his version of the real truth. He started his letter with "Dear Reader," and he closed it with his own signature, in his handwriting, printed in blue ink. This feature alone cost him many thousands of dollars in postage, because he had to send his let-



Courtesy John A. Ruge. © 1969 by Saturday Review, Inc. First appeared in Saturday Review, October 4, 1969. Used with permission.

"I don't have the heart to tell him this law has been repealed."

ter as first-class mail, rather than getting second-class status as a news publication. But that extra cost was worth it to Kiplinger because he wanted to have a form of communication that was warm, personal, and intimate.

The *Kiplinger Letters* have been widely imitated. Others preceded them and others followed them, but none has been as successful or as widely copied. By 1973, there were nearly 3,000 commercial

newsletters, plus a newsletter on newsletters and a national directory of newsletters. The criteria for being called a newsletter include periodic publication (at least quarterly), limitation to one general subject area, timeliness, and wider reader interest than simply the membership gossip of any group or association.

A commercial newsletter, as defined by the Gale Research Company, publisher of the newsletter directory, is a publication that is usually reproduced as a typewritten page, without elaborate makeup or printing. Equally important, it does not carry advertising, since its essential feature is the personal relationship it attempts to develop between author and reader, without any middleman to sponsor or subsidize the communication. Thus, the commercial newsletter must charge a subscription, and sometimes the rate may be very high. Some newsletters cost as much as \$1,000 a year, if there are few subscribers and the information is of vital importance. The *Kiplinger Letters* cost about \$28 a year, an average for the field.

Not counted in the 3,000 commercial newsletters are the many thousands of subsidized newsletters used to promote or persuade, or as internal organs of communication within an organization or a group. Nearly every congressman today uses some form of newsletter to communicate personally with his constituents. Newsletters are used by professional associations, church groups, factory workers, fraternal organizations, university administrations, alumni associations, labor unions, and most other organized units in our society.

The newsletter is quick, inexpensive, simple to produce, and useful. Just about anybody with a typewriter, a copying machine, and a mailing list can get into the newsletter business. Succeeding at the business is not so simple, however, since most newsletters have short lifetimes and make only a fleeting impression.

Underground Press

Like the newsletter, the so-called underground press has become a new medium of communication that has a direct and personal appeal to select subcultures within our society. The newspapers are not "underground" at all but are publicly available. They came into vogue during the 1960s, and by the end of that decade several hundred were in existence.

These papers are printed by inexpensive offset methods, are often sold on the streets rather than by subscription, and usually deal



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with sensational materials, either sexual, social, or political. Some have become well-established and financially successful operations.

In order to divorce themselves from the traditional press, the young people who run underground papers have deliberately cast off accepted newspaper forms. Underground newspapers are deliberately garish, obnoxious, gaudy, biased, amateurish, vulgar, crude, slanted, and obscene. These tabloids specifically seek to combine unorthodox style with their content of dissent. The rejection of newspaper conventions, say the editors of the underground press, like the rejection of American society, is vital—style and content are inseparable and must reject present societal and press conventions.

Five factors have contributed to the rise of the underground press and its continuing development:

1. In the United States—since the mid-1960s—a climate of dissent has been nurtured by an increased awareness of negative aspects of our society and knowledge that involvement and protest can change existing evils. First the civil rights movement and then the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations have involved young people in political action. The underground press has come to serve as the media of the protest movement.

2. Although there have been considerable public and local government harassment and some outright attempts at repression of underground newspapers in some communities, recent court decisions and the changing morality of our society have liberalized views on obscenity. In general, the local governments and society as a whole are considerably more permissive than ten years ago.

3. The underground press has turned to inexpensive photo-offset printing as a means of cutting costs. Depending on the market, 10,000 copies of an eight-page issue can be obtained for less than \$200. This has meant that a small group of young people can pool their resources and put out a paper.

4. The staffs of underground newspapers have been willing to work for small salaries and seem willing to perform any task, from

writing the copy to selling the paper on street corners. Their commitment to social-political movements is critical for these papers, most of which were started on a shoestring.

5. Most important of all is the fact that the underground press serves as a growing subculture dissatisfied with traditional forms of journalism. The readership as well as editorial staffs are often openly hostile to the establishment and the press that serves it. Although there are predictions that the underground newspaper is a passing fad, growing numbers of such papers with increasing circulation seem to negate this observation.

The underground press appears to satisfy a need not fulfilled by the usual news media channels. These papers' editors argue that traditional "objective" reporting is impossible, and, indeed, subjective reporting of events should be the norm. Although some of the content is designed simply to shock, much of the "news" in these papers simply cannot be found in regular newspapers. The success of some of these papers cannot be discounted. The *East Village Other* has a circulation of more than 40,000. The *Los Angeles Free Press* has its own building and equipment. The *Great Speckled Bird* of Atlanta is gaining a positive reputation as a quality paper in some circles. Underground papers are found on military bases, college campuses, and in high schools. Two news services supply information to these papers, the Underground Press Service (UPS) and Liberation News Service (LNS).

Although individual underground papers may fail, some are forcing journalists to reassess their roles and suggesting alternatives to the rather restricted formats of traditional papers. While much of the underground press is strident and excessive, the successful development of underground newspapers—at a time when some papers are in serious financial difficulty and the Roper polls indicate that newspapers as a whole are slipping in public opinion as the most reliable news source—speaks to the fact that they serve an important function for a growing subculture in our society.

Direct Mail

The personal letter can also be used as a form of advertising for persuasive communication, and with the development of robotypewriters and computers, the personal letter has become a form of mass communication. A robotypewriter is a machine that can be programmed to type the same letter many times, leaving spaces for in-

dividualized names, addresses, and salutations. Direct mail is based on sending a message through the postal system to a mailing list of potential readers who have something in common. The gathering of such mailing lists has itself become a big business, and one can rent or buy the list of names from a mailing-list company to reach almost any desired audience.

Direct-mail letters in the past have been printed and sent out to anonymous recipients, but today, with sophisticated computer capability, the letters can be individually addressed, with individual messages inserted at key points in the letter, and personally signed by the sender. That is, the letter can be signed with pen and ink, by a signature machine that can produce an exact copy of the original handwritten signature. Letters from the President, congressmen, political, governmental, or business officials are now often handled in this manner, with thousands of letters sent to individuals; they appear to be personal letters but in fact are mass-produced by machine.

A typical congressman's office, which might receive a heavy volume of mail on a political issue, might program into the computer half a dozen stock replies; each incoming letter is simply marked for a particular response. Names and addresses and any variations can be inserted in the program and the robotypewriters automatically do the rest, even signing the congressman's name.

Thus, direct mail has become a new mass medium, capable of reaching millions of people with direct messages, more personally and more intimately than newspapers, magazines, books, or electric media.

Graphic Materials

The volume of other printed materials is so rapidly increasing that mention should be made here of the nonperiodic graphic media as well.

Display graphics, one of the oldest forms of communication, are increasing. Earlier societies used bulletin boards and wall postings for information and persuasion. Many countries, particularly China and Russia, still use wall newspapers and posters, as well as open-air radio and television, to inform and exhort their peoples. In America, posters have experienced a rebirth and revitalization with the advent of psychedelic colors and images. Poster-publishing companies have

come into existence to produce posters in volume for decoration and information. Billboards have been a fixture in graphic display for as long as America has had highways and automobiles. Equally ubiquitous but even more effective, according to research findings, are car cards on streetcars, subways, and buses. Even the automobile-bumper sticker carries a message, often political, to say nothing of matchbook covers and restaurant menus.

The National Institute of Mental Health, a U.S. government agency fighting drug use among young people, decided to tell its message about the abuses of drugs, not through the traditional media but through the new display graphics. As a result, it has produced brilliant posters for bedroom as well as classroom, eye-catching billboards, striking car cards, bumper stickers, and even clever matchbook covers. These media are sure to carry a message to many people who would not otherwise be reached.

Printed matter, other than books and periodical publications, are also expanding. Again, these are not new media, but they are being put to new use. They include tracts, leaflets, flyers, pamphlets, brochures, and booklets. Their proper distribution has always been a problem; the government alone produces many thousands of such printed materials each year, ranging from booklets on legislative actions to leaflets on rat control in inner-city slums. But many of these in the past have remained in literature racks in public post offices or stored in government warehouses. The use of direct-mail techniques to distribute these reading materials to appropriate mailing lists, however, has vastly increased their utility.

Audiovisual Materials

Audiovisual materials have been so fully developed and widely used that we might consider them a new kind of communication medium. Most of the equipment is built for small-group usage, but the equipment itself is standardized, and programs are being mass produced to the extent that audiovisuals almost qualify as mass media, yet they retain their personal intimacy and allow for easy and inexpensive production of audiovisual presentations even by amateurs. Most audiovisual equipment falls into two categories.

Filmed materials for visual presentation include still photographs, either for display or projection through opaque or overhead

projectors; slides and film strips, usually 35-mm., for projection; and motion pictures for projection.

Audio materials for sound reproduction include disk recordings, audiotape recordings, and videotape recordings. Videotape, of course, includes sound and picture. Most sound reproduction is now made to synchronize with visual presentation, even with slides and film strips, and simple systems are now available to program, synchronize, and mix sound and sight. The development of stereo tape and tape cassettes has also enlarged the potential of the entire audiovisual field, providing compact and convenient packages of sound that rival the convenience of books for storage, retrieval, and easy access.

Closed-circuit broadcasting is another form of audiovisual presentation, one that is finding increased use in large meetings, conventions, and educational institutions to augment the communication process. Both closed-circuit radio and television are finding increased use in home and office, in shops and factories, and for personal communications.

Finally, audiovisual tools of all kinds are being programmed and computerized to become teaching machines, capable of individualized communication and instruction. Large libraries of instructional programs and programmed courses are now available in slides, film strips, motion pictures, videotape, and tape cassettes. These libraries are certain to expand in the future, making individualized instruction more possible, through use of the technical equipment of mass communication.

Mixed-Media Presentations

Since person-to-person communication is still the most effective way to send a message, eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation has become institutionalized in our mass society. It has long been the dominant form of communication in the classroom, church, synagogue, or town hall. Now person-to-person meetings are widely used and fairly standardized in format to inform, persuade, educate, and even entertain us in business, trades, professions, associations, and even social groups.

Meetings, seminars, conferences, and institutes have become such successful media for communication that they are now regular-

ized affairs for most groups, at the least on an annual basis, although some are semiannual, some quarterly, others monthly or weekly, and, not inconceivably, some even daily. Most such meetings bring together people from diverse geographical locations for personal communication; thus hotels have become common meeting grounds, and new hotels are being built today with a great variety of auditoriums, meeting and seminar rooms, and with the latest audiovisual equipment built in. Such facilities are themselves communication media.

Sometimes the message rather than the audience is moved from place to place for different meetings. The display and exhibit have become new communication media for such a purpose. Here again, techniques of display and exhibit production have been formalized and standardized to the point where these new forms of communication might almost be considered mass media, although they too provide for direct confrontation with their audience and lend a personal approach to the message.

The traveling display or exhibit has been used effectively for communicating across cultural barriers. The United States makes wide use of such shows in its overseas information programs. The Soviet Union made effective use of this technique in a traveling exhibit of photographs, including hundreds of black-and-white and color pictures of life in Russia. This exhibit was displayed in hotels in major cities around the United States and received an enthusiastic American response.

In many of these person-to-person communication efforts, mixed-media presentations are used to enhance the communication effectiveness. But nowhere is the mixed-media presentation so varied as at a fair, with color, lights, sound, pictures, sights, people, smells, and even tastes—all to communicate a message. The fair, which started out as a way for farmers to get together and show their wares, has become a mass medium in modern times.

The grandest expression of multimedia, mixed-media presentation is the world's fair, whether held in New York, Montreal, Belgium, or Japan. Here nations and cultures communicate with each other—through sight and sound and smell and touch—the way neighboring farmers might at a county fair. New forms of multimedia presentations, developed at world's fairs, have furthered the effective techniques of communication. Such presentations have ranged from posters and brochures to light and sound shows, from

multimedia-screen projections to complicated, all-encompassing exhibits through which one might ride in a special car fitted with audiovisual-olfactory-sensory mechanisms to massage all the senses and provide for total communication.

The communication techniques developed for world's fairs have had wide application in other areas as well, including higher education and popular entertainment, from the multimedia center at the University of Texas to Disneyland in California.

Data Banks and Information Centers

Increasingly, American institutions—business, professional, or educational—are finding it necessary to provide for multimedia in-

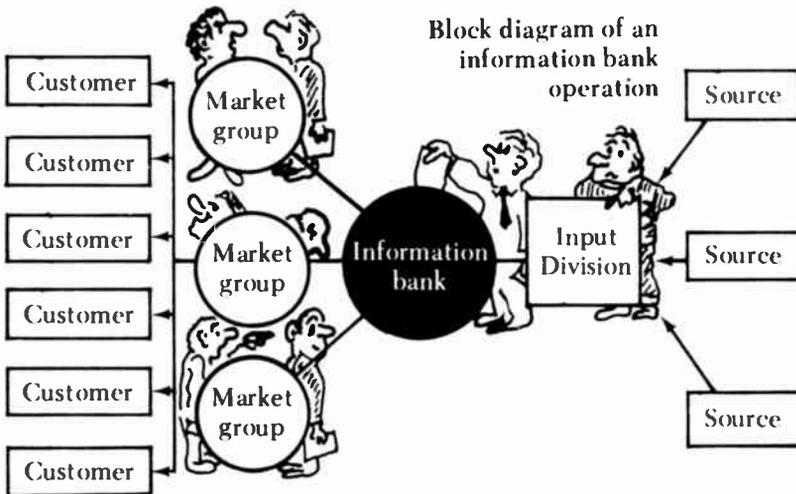


Figure 20-1.

Information is gathered from sources and organized by an "input" staff for entry into the bank. When needed to form various end packages or products, information is withdrawn from the bank by staffs of the various market-oriented groups. A "market" group would include both product creators (editors, art staffs, etc.) and sales personnel (salesmen, advertising and promotion people, etc.) On the input side, the input division would also require several types of specialists such as reporters and other data gatherers, subject area experts and analysts, machine operators and systems managers, etc.

Source: *Book Production Industry*, February 1969.

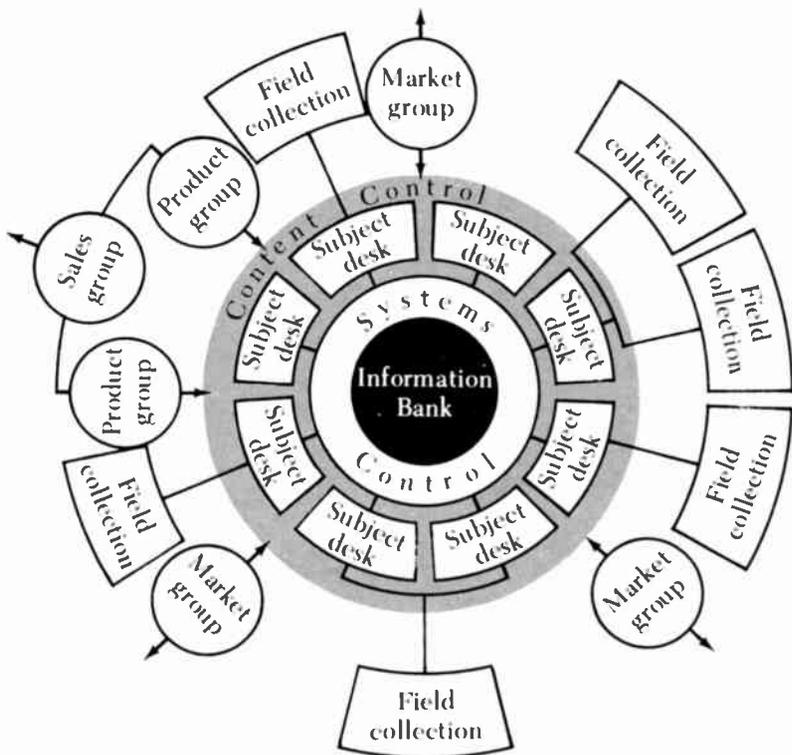


Figure 20-2.

Circular concept of an information bank operation. Immediately surrounding the actual files or store of information is a group of systems and operating people who maintain it in proper order. Around this are subject managers, whose staffs screen incoming data and organize it for storage, help product designers and marketers get what they need from the bank, and cull outdated and obsolete material from the bank. Where required, subject managers may have field staffs to collect information. Finally, market groups draw on the central bank to create and sell a variety of informational products.

Source: *Book Production Industry*, February 1969.

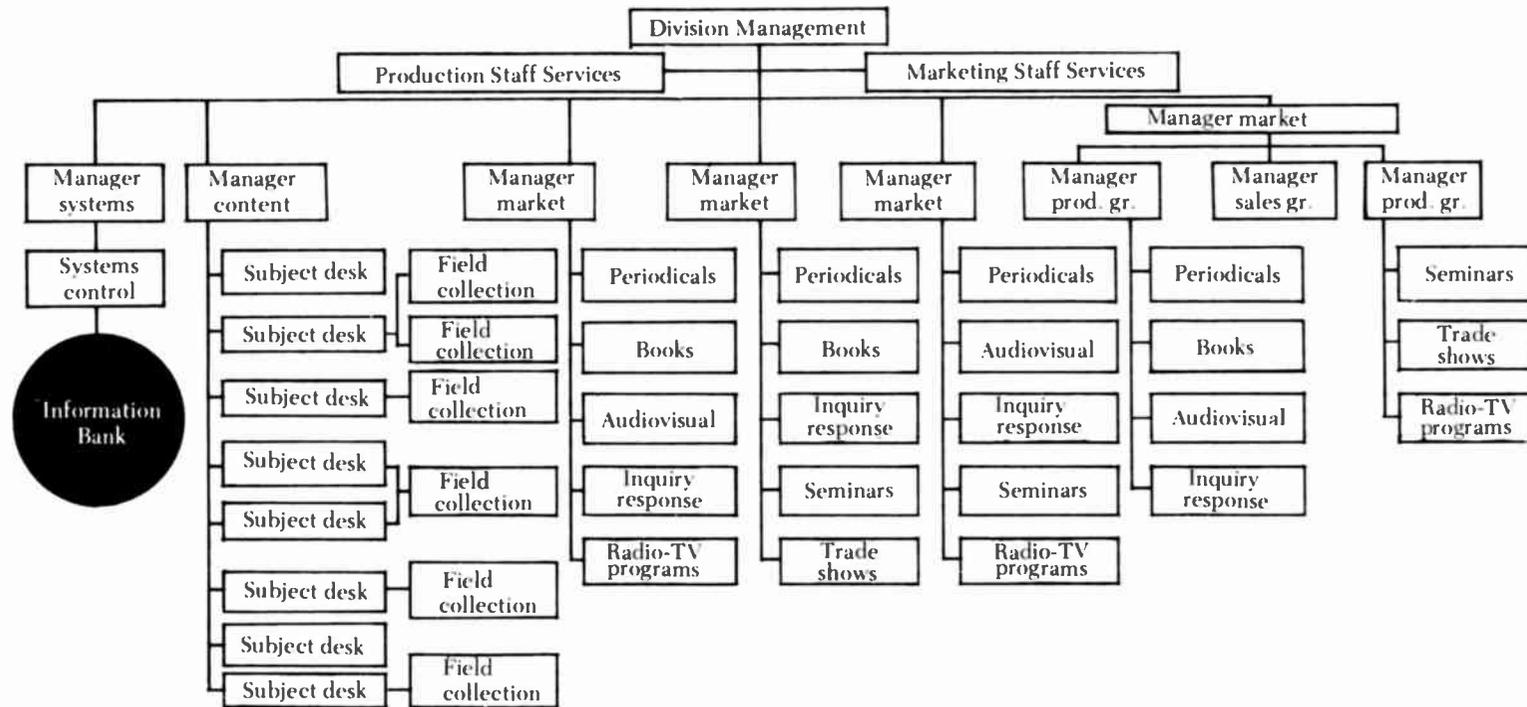


Figure 20-3.
 Organization chart for an information bank.

Source: *Book Production Industry*, February 1969.

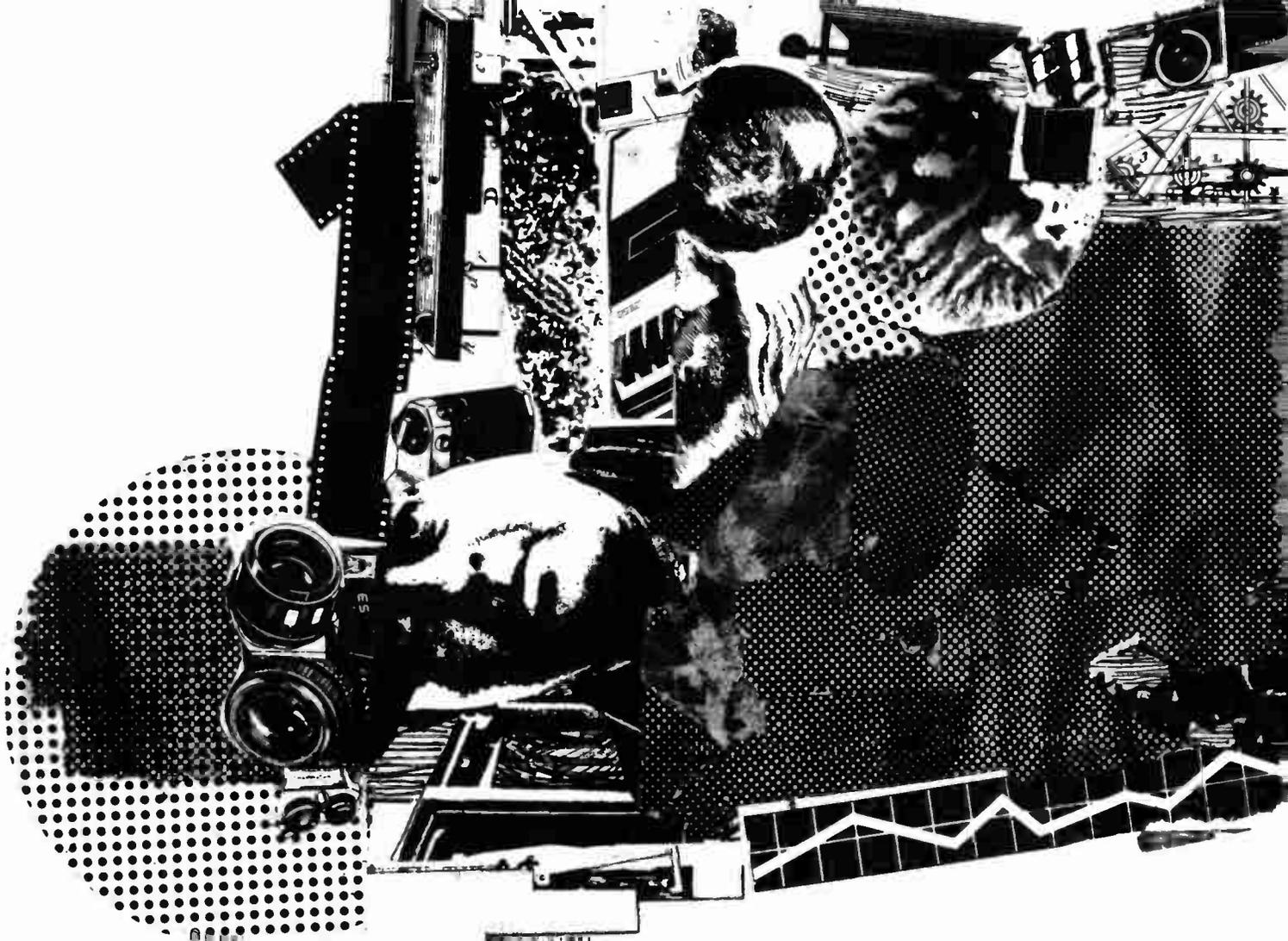
formation centers, data banks, and libraries to insure effective communication. These, too, are new media. A number of organizations now use a multimedia information center complete with central projection core, control lectern, multiple rear and front projection screens, individually contoured chairs, and specially designed lighting and acoustics. The aim is to provide a total environment in which messages can be transferred with great effectiveness.

At the same time, our concept of information storage is changing as well. Libraries are no longer viewed only as places in which to shelve and store books and papers, but rather also as information systems. When storage and retrieval of the library's contents are fully computerized, the library is really a data bank, and as such it is a new medium of communication. See figures 20-1, 20-2, and 20-3.

Such data banks are in effect publishers or broadcasters, not of mass communications but rather of individualized reports and communiqués to fulfill the specific needs of the person who seeks some specific data. These data banks are organized more as modern newspapers, magazines, and book publishers are than as libraries. That is, they are engaged in data gathering, data processing, data editing, sales, and promotion. The staff is organized much like a modern newspaper's staff.

Such data banks may well become the newspapers, magazines, and book publishers of the future, producing materials on demand to fit individual needs.

While most of this book discusses mass media, we have seen in this chapter how the techniques and mechanisms of mass communication are increasingly being used by new media for a more personal communication experience. Without a doubt, more eyeball-to-eyeball communication is needed in human discourse in our mass society. These new media that can achieve some greater measure of dialogue and mutual response may well provide important areas of communication development in the years ahead.



USES of the PART 4 MASS MEDIA

This section analyzes the content of mass communication in terms of the six uses of media described in the HUB Media Systems Paradigm.

The major service of the U.S. media system is to provide *content* for audiences. The media are used for six major purposes: (1) news and information, (2) analysis and interpretation, (3) education, (4) persuasion and public relations, (5) advertising and sales, and (6) entertainment.

CHAPTER **21** News and Information

The mass media, for the most part, do not usually cause events that become news; they merely record them, interpret them, or express opinions about them. Traditionally, we have ascribed to media certain functions—such as to inform, to educate, to entertain, and to sell—but perhaps a better way to look at media would be to view certain uses to which others put them. Media themselves are not functions; they are vessels to be put to use to serve various purposes.

In this interpretation of the media, they are more passive than active agents. Other forces in society—political, economic, sociological, meteorological, personal—cause events to happen, while media react to events. As man acquires greater control over his environ-

ment, he can also exercise greater control over the media, by manipulating people, events, and environment to make news.

Thus, it becomes important to see media as bodies that are used for various purposes by other forces in society. This section attempts to describe and analyze the uses to which mass media are put, to provide society with information, interpretation, persuasion, education, promotion, and entertainment.

Why Do We Need News?

One of the most important uses of mass media is to provide society with news and information. The need for information is basic to nearly all human groups. Even in primitive societies someone acts as a watchman for the tribe. The best climber might be dispatched to climb the tallest tree and look out over the horizon for dangers and portents, for rain or fire, for animal food or tribal enemies. The tribe depends upon his reports for survival.

In modern society we sometimes employ private informers, such as detectives or investigators, to perform informational services. But for the most part we depend upon mass media to keep us aware of dangers and potentials on the horizon. We need journalists to provide a check on government and business, as well as neighbors and friends. The newsman is, indeed, a tree climber, a man who knows how to position himself in the best way to get the broadest view of what is happening in the world, so he can report the important news and information for his particular audience.

In the terminology of the newsman, news is that which an individual is willing to pay for with time or money in order to read or hear or watch. In other words, news must have some intrinsic value to the individual. News is different from information. A great deal of information about many subjects is available in the world, but in-



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formation does not become news until a disinterested newsman selects it for presentation via news media to an interested audience.

Before information can become news, it must be made to fit the quality and criteria of news; it must be an accurate, fair, balanced, and objective presentation, and it must have a relatively high degree of news value, based on such criteria as prominence, proximity, consequence, timeliness, and human interest. We will return to these qualities and values shortly.

Relativity and Relevance

The only area where the newsman's role is active rather than passive is in making judgments about what is news. Literally millions of events occur in any given day, and it is news media gatekeepers who determine which events are newsworthy and which are not.

Newsworthiness depends upon those judgments. Gatekeepers select and evaluate facts, ideas, and events that make up the news. That selection and evaluation depends upon many factors, not the least of which is the nature of the group to which the newsman is reporting.

News and information are, therefore, relative matters; only those people and happenings that are relevant to the audience become newsworthy. We might say, then, that news is that which gatekeepers decide should go into the stream of communication on any given day. Today's news may not be relevant tomorrow, for news values are entirely relative.

Elements of News Quality

Perhaps the most dominant principle of news in America is the idea of objectivity. News is supposed to be a factual report of an event as it occurred, without the bias of the reporter or an attempt on the part of the newsman to make any one view more influential than another. In American journalism, the newsman plays a non-partisan role. He takes the part of a teacher, passing on facts for their own sake, allowing the individual to draw his own conclusions and to make his own interpretations. The newsman disavows the role of the promoter, to pass on information in order to persuade or influence his audience.

Objectivity is a difficult quality to measure and a difficult standard to attain. The newsman can never really wholly divorce himself from his work; his emotions and opinions are apt to be tied into his very perceptions of facts and events, whether he thinks they are or not. Moreover, no newsman ever sees the whole of any situation; and as events become more complex in our complicated world, the newsman necessarily sees a smaller portion of any set of facts.

A growing school of thought in American journalism argues against the principle of objectivity for these reasons. This "new journalism" is devoted to the idea that reporters should be more than messengers delivering a message; this concept holds that they are involved in the message itself, and their reporting will be better if they openly and honestly admit their biases and clearly label their reports as their views of the situation.

In any case, the goal of any news operation is to keep people fully informed about vital events and information, knowledge of which is essential to full citizenship in a democratic society. The people have a right to know; that is a basic tenet of free men, and news must provide the necessary factual basis for forming sound opinions. The reporter who wishes to fulfill this responsibility through objective reporting must work at it diligently.

Objectivity is enhanced by proper attribution of facts and opinions. The news reporter, following the basic principles of objectivity, must attribute to an authority—an eyewitness, an official, a participant, an expert—anything that is not routine and readily verifiable knowledge.

Accuracy of reporting is another basic quality of news. The reporter must train his eyes to see and his ears to hear as accurately as possible. He must be constantly vigilant for detail and perpetually skeptical of those who would deceive, exaggerate, or hide in order to twist and distort the truth.

Finally, balance and fairness in reporting are crucial standards by which the quality of news should be judged. Both sides of the story must be told; all arguments fairly represented. A report of a football game may be accurate and factual, but it could be unbalanced and unfair if only the play of the home team were noted.

Telling both sides of the story is so much a part of American journalism that newsmen sometimes seem unpatriotic, unwilling simply to accept the pronouncements of presidents or bureaucrats as the only statement on a matter. In war this becomes particularly difficult

for leaders to understand, as the press and news media seem bent on reporting the successes of the enemy as well as the failures of compatriots. But the journalist is dedicated to the proposition that only from balanced reporting of both sides will the people be able to discover the truth.

Criteria for News Selection

On what basis do newsmen for the mass media make judgments about men and events that turn information into news? In the past, those decisions have often been made from seasoned intuition. The editor could say, this is news and that isn't because my past experience tells me so, but he could not rationalize and quantify his criteria for selection.

This is a little like flying by the seat of one's pants, as the old pilots' saying goes. And it might be perfectly well to guide an ancient flivver by feeling the tug of gravity in one's bowels, but one would not dream of piloting a multimillion dollar jet with hundreds of passengers without using a computer to aid in the thousands of decisions and judgments necessary to make the trip as scientifically safe and sound as possible.

In mass communication, too, where hundreds of thousands of people depend upon the information that newsmen decide to publish and broadcast, the decision about what is news and what is not must be made as rationally as possible. We need to develop better criteria for the selection of news, and in the future it may well be that media will use computers to aid in making these judgments as much as we now do in other fields. Meanwhile, we depend upon a few standard bases of news judgment.

Timeliness. Certainly one of the most important criteria for news is its newness. We say that nothing is as old as yesterday's newspaper, but actually the length of time for which a piece of information continues to be newsworthy depends upon the medium. For radio, a story may lose its timeliness after one hour. Television news, because of the longer time it takes to provide film than tape, may have a slightly longer lifetime, from an hour to a day. Newspaper news has a one-day lifetime; after that the story must be rewritten with new information. Weeklies have a week, monthlies a month, and so on.

Proximity. Geographical factors are also important to news judgment. Relatively speaking, the nearer an event occurs to the people who read about it, the more newsworthy it is. The election of the governor of New York is much more important to New Yorkers than it is to those who live next door in New Jersey. A two-car accident killing two local people might be more significant to the audience in their community than a major earthquake in Peru taking the lives of thousands on the same day.

Prominence. The more widely known the participants in an occurrence, the more newsworthy the happening. If the President of the United States hits a hole in one on the golf course, it could be national news. If the mayor does the same, it might be news in his town. If the golf club pro does it, it might make the newsletter at the country club. Actually, prominence has a snowballing effect on newsworthiness since mass media make men widely known to begin with. Famous people become more prominent through constant reference to them in the media, while the anonymous sink deeper into anonymity.

Consequences. The consequences of an event have a direct bearing on its newsworthiness. Even the most inconspicuous and anonymous human being might suddenly become newsworthy by inventing a better mousetrap or assassinating a president, acts which could have widespread ramifications. The earthquake in Peru might be more newsworthy to the small community where the two-car accident occurred if the tremor will cause a shortage of Peruvian tin at the local factory.

Human Interest. Finally, we can identify a criterion which we only vaguely refer to as human interest, matters that catch and hold our attention because of physical and emotional responses that are built into human beings. Professor Mitchell Charnley, in his book *Reporting*, notes a number of elements that provide human interest, including adventure and conflict, humor, pathos and bathos, sex, the odd and the unusual, and self-interest. A high percentage of each day's news is selected on the basis of these factors.

Immediate and Delayed Rewards

All news in American journalism is selected by media gatekeepers because it fulfills some audience need. People are willing to

spend time and money on it. The basic criterion is, in other words, will it sell? Will people pay attention to it? Do they want it and need it? To catch and hold attention, information must fulfill a need, whether for self-preservation, self-advancement, ego satisfaction, sexual stimulus and gratification, or for vicarious resolution of thwarted desires for adventure and conflict.

Wilbur Schramm, formerly professor of communication at Stanford University, has categorized news as providing either an "immediate reward" or a "delayed reward" to a felt need. The immediate-reward type of news provides instant satisfaction for the recipient. He laughs, cries, sympathizes, thrills, or muses. Schramm places in this category such news as "crime and corruption, accidents and disasters, sports and recreation, and social events."

Delayed-reward news has an impact that does not affect the consumer until later. Such news includes information about "public affairs, economic matters, social problems, science, education, weather, and health." Often, delayed-reward news may bring an unpleasant consequence for the reader, listener, or viewer, while the immediate reward can bring instant gratification. Schramm concludes that most news consumers spend more time with, find more satisfaction in, and give greater attention to immediate-reward news than delayed-reward news.

Consequences of News Selection

Judgments about news may comprise the most important decisions made in our society, with wide significance and deep consequences. It is important to examine the problems that have arisen in the past and that loom on the horizon of the future as a result of news selection.

First, since news decisions are consumer oriented, in order to sell media, news usually overemphasizes immediate-reward types of information. Crime and violence almost always outweigh and outdraw stories of good deeds, constructive action, peaceful progress, and orderly dissent. Sex is not as large an element in news as it is in advertising, but it is nonetheless a significant factor. The aberrations of society—the odd, the unusual, the unique—are more often the subject of news than the normal.

The result can be a gloomy view of the world. Dr. Glenn T.

Seaborg, Nobel Prize-winning nuclear scientist and former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, warns that the last decades of the twentieth century may usher in a worldwide doomsday depression. People, he says, are so constantly reminded of evil and corruption in the world by the news media that they may sink into a hopeless morass of gloom and despair, not realizing that the world is still a beautiful place with much more good about it than bad.

Indeed, fright and hysteria can sometimes result from a small detail of news. The famous Orson Welles broadcast in 1938 about an invasion from Mars brought such a reaction. The Welles radio program was a dramatization of a science-fiction story about Martians coming to earth, told in the form of a news program, with bulletins interrupting a music show. Dr. Hadley Cantril, a psychologist who studied the event, summarized his findings in his book, *The Invasion from Mars*: "Long before the broadcast had ended, people all over the United States were praying, crying, fleeing frantically to escape death from the Martians. Some ran to rescue loved ones. Others telephoned farewells or warnings, hurried to inform neighbors, sought information from newspapers or radio stations, summoned ambulances or police cars. At least six million people heard the broadcast. At least a million of them were frightened or disturbed."

As a result, the NAB code adopted a resolution forbidding dramas to be presented as news programs. Yet other straight news stories continue to have such an effect. A massive publicity effort by the federal government to tell the people that smoking might cause lung cancer had the effect of sending thousands of smokers to their doctors for hypochondriacal ailments.

One news reader in Washington, D.C., expressed the feelings of many consumers when she wrote to the *Washington Post*:

Isn't there such a thing as *good news* any more? Every morning after reading the newspaper (yours) I am left depressed for the rest of the day. Is it that I am too weak to cope with the cruel realities of the world or is it that *you* are too weak to deny the sensationalism that brings your paper its profit and salaries? Can you never print just *one* happy or amusing or heart-warming story on the front page? Or for that matter, on *any* page? Even the food advertisements on Thursdays are psychologically devastating, but that, in short, is not your fault—I guess none of it is. I guess, too, that you are just printing things as you see them.

It's a vicious cycle, though: the world is sick, which makes

the people sick, which makes the sick people make a sicker world. If everybody gets as depressed as I do after reading or seeing the news, there's only one destiny for all of us—an insane asylum. (Letters to the Editor, *Washington Post*, 4 July 1970).

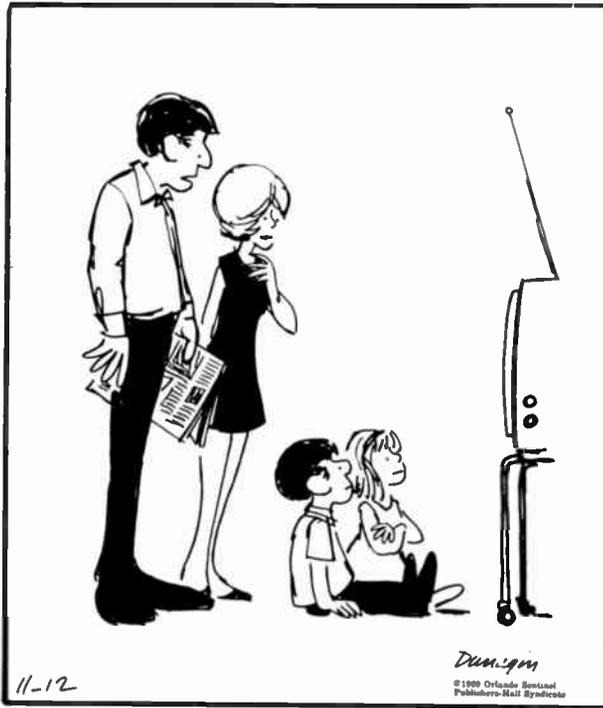
Newsmen have traditionally defended the publication of “bad” news and “unusual” information by saying, first, that people prefer to read such stories, and second, that exposing evil and corruption does more good for society than praising constructive action. But here, too, greater balance is desirable to tell the whole story to the news consumer.

A second consequence of news selection is the distortion caused by the attempt to be objective and fair. The unprincipled man can tell a lie to make news and have his side reported with the same weight as the honest man who tells the truth.

Perhaps the best historical example of this is the story of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, a man who used the exposure of communists in government for his own political ends. The senator made charges, most of which he was never able to substantiate, sometimes ruining men's careers and lives. The news media would objectively report the fact that the senator had charged Mr. A with being a communist, and Mr. A would, if available, deny the charges. Both sides of the story were told, so the news media were giving a fair and balanced coverage of news. But the reporters could not inject their opinion that the senator was lying, and irreparable public damage was thus done to the accused.

Ultimately, the truth will win out, if we believe John Milton's theory about putting truth to the test in the open marketplace of ideas. And ultimately, in the case of Senator McCarthy, it was the news media that continued to give coverage to the senator until his distortions were so apparent that his colleagues in the Senate finally censured him.

In the end we must say that news is a two-edged sword that cuts both ways. Those who would use it purposely to depress or deceive the world will, sooner or later, be exposed by the same media that allow them expression. The consequences of news, however, are enormous, and no one should undertake to deal with news who does not want to accept the awesome responsibilities for making such decisions.



Courtesy Publishers-Hall Syndicate.

"DON'T YOU THINK THEY'RE A LITTLE YOUNG
FOR THE NEWS?"

News Services and News Gathering

Thorough coverage of news requires a complex organization of well-trained professionals who follow a scrupulous routine to uncover not only that which has happened and is happening but also that which is going to happen. News coverage is not accidental, in other words, but well planned and carefully managed.

The newspaper organization, described in chapter 14, provides the basic plan for news coverage, with editors to supervise and make final decisions; reporters and legmen to gather facts, usually on the basis of permanent beats at routine sources of news; reporters and rewrite men to write the news into readable prose; copy readers and proofreaders to edit and check that prose. Magazines, radio and television stations, and network news organizations simply provide variations on the basic newspaper organization for the gathering and processing of news.

Most news media also have some small network outside their local communities for gathering news. Some employ housewives or students as part-time stringers in suburban communities or outlying towns. Some have bureaus in their state capitals or county seats to report local governmental news. A few large stations and publications have bureaus in New York City, particularly to report business and financial news. An increasing number of media of all sizes have correspondents or bureaus stationed in Washington, D.C., to provide news coverage of the nation's capital, often called the news center of the world. And the larger media have their own foreign correspondents, men who are usually stationed on one continent or another with roving assignments to follow the international news of particular interest to their audiences.

Most news media, however, have as their primary purpose the processing of local news. No one newspaper (even the *New York Times*), no magazine (even *Time*), no radio or television station or network (even NBC, CBS, or ABC) could provide worldwide coverage of news on an efficient basis. Increasingly, the news media have turned to independent news services or wire services for such coverage.

The wire services today are the world's news brokers, providing the vast bulk of nonlocal news for most media. Their news and information usually goes out to their subscribers by telegraph wire. In America the important services are the Associated Press and United Press International; in England it is Reuters; in France, Agence France-Presse; and in Russia it is TASS, which is part of the Soviet government.

The Associated Press is a cooperative, started in 1848, and owned by the newspapers and other media which subscribe to its services. UPI is an amalgam of the old Hearst International News Service, begun in 1909, and the Scripps-Howard United Press, started in 1907. During the early 1970s AP was serving more than 8,500 newspaper, magazine, television, and radio clients around the world; more of its clients are now in broadcast than print media. UPI had more than 6,600 subscribers. At the last count, AP was operating in 107 countries and UPI in 114. Together they lease more than 400,000 miles of telephone wires in the United States alone, and both make extensive use of radio-teletype circuits and transoceanic cables for reports around the world.

In the United States, AP sends its news stories and features to

a total of 1,265 individual dailies, weeklies, and magazines, and to 3,400 television and radio stations. UPI serves a total of 1,140 dailies, weeklies, and magazine clients and over 3,600 radio and television subscribers.

News services provide a variety of types of coverage, such as a national wire, a state wire, a local wire, or a special radio wire written for broadcast. They charge the media a fee based on circulation or station size. A small newspaper of 25,000 circulation may pay from \$100 to \$400 a week, while a large metropolitan daily might be charged as much as \$6,000 a week. Both wire services have annual budgets in excess of \$50 million.

The wire services are staffed by seasoned reporters who work out of bureaus organized much like the city staff of a daily newspaper, again with legmen, reporters, copyreaders, and editors. Nearly every state capital, all major cities, and most foreign capitals of the world have wire-service bureaus; one of the largest of all is in Washington, D.C., where more news is made than in any other city of the world; New York is the headquarters and largest operation for both major wire services.

The wire services are basically news-reporting organizations. Their staffers are professional news hounds; they know where to get the news, and how to get it. When anything important happens, they are sure to be there. No better training for news work could be obtained than at one of the wire-service bureaus.

The Style and Structure of News

Since the purpose of news is to transmit information as efficiently as possible, it must have a style and structure that permit quick and effective communication. Language must be clear, simple, and to the point. Syntax must be direct and concise. Organization must be logical. Above all stands clarity and brevity.

The news story must be organized and written in such a way that others who work on it can do so easily; it might be compared to a racing car with easily accessible parts for rapid repair by all mechanics at the pit stop. Copyreaders, printers, announcers, editors, directors—all must be able to work with the news copy quickly and cooperatively.

The inverted pyramid structure is usually used to organize the news story, telling the most important part of the story at the begin-

ning, the less significant material in the middle, and the least meaningful at the end. News is usually not told chronologically or dramatically, for the most important things usually happen at the end of an event or a drama, not at the beginning. If we were writing fiction about a baseball game, we might start our story with a description of the weather and an investigation of the butterflies in the stomach of the pitcher. But in news the story begins with the final score of the game.

This method of reporting serves two important functions. First, it gives the hurried news consumer the most important information he wants immediately. He need not learn more about the event unless he has time or special interest. Second, it allows the news processors to cut a story at the end, if there is competition for the time or space (as there usually is) without losing the essential facts of the story.

Since the beginning of the story is the most important, the usual lead, or opening paragraph, is used to summarize the significant facts of the event. In the past, newsmen spoke of the five *ws* and the *h*—who, what, when, where, why, and how. If these questions about each event were answered in the lead, the main points of the story would be summarized. Today there is less emphasis on the five *ws* and the *h*, and yet the basic principle remains—that the first paragraph must summarize the most important elements of any news situation.

Finally, news must be presented in a style that is attractive and interesting. Factual writing that is clear, direct, and concise need not be dull. Often the facts are the most arresting aspect of good style; a man who has done a good job of reporting, interviewing, investigating, and researching need not worry about drab writing. Some of the most forceful literature of the twentieth century is the product of men and women who mastered news style, including former reporters such as Ernest Hemingway, John O'Hara, and John Gunther.

Media Differences in News

News is not treated the same by all the mass media. For one thing, communication designed for eye reception must be structured in quite a different way from communication designed for the ear.

In writing for the print media, an important principle to note is that the eye is apt to be attracted to the first part of the page or the

story or the paragraph or the sentence; the eye then trails off or is attracted elsewhere. Thus, the most important element is usually placed at the beginning. A newspaper lead would begin: "President Nixon has won a second term in office, according to latest election figures."

Writing for the broadcast media, however, requires attention to ear reception. Unlike the eye, which focuses immediately, the ear needs time to become accustomed to sound. So radio and television news copy generally backs into a story, giving the ear time to warm up for the important element of the sentence. Our lead for radio or television might begin: "According to the latest election figures, President Nixon has won a second term in office."

In addition, print media have more space to develop stories in depth, while the broadcast media usually only have time to skim the surface of the news. Broadcast news must use fewer words and transmit fewer stories. A 15-minute newscast contains only about 1,800 words and about 25 different stories. An average daily newspaper has more than 100,000 words and dozens of different news items.

Differences in mechanics of news gathering also cause differences in media handling of news. The print media reporter still needs only pad and pencil to gather news, although he may be accompanied by a photographer and he may carry a tape recorder to help him with note taking. A radio reporter depends heavily on a tape recorder, although he may still do most of his legwork with pencil and paper, too. The television news operation requires heavier equipment—movie and video cameras as well as complex sound equipment. A mobile unit is usually transported in a van, giving television quicker and more maneuverable coverage of more news than it used to have. Nonetheless, many events are inaccessible to such equipment, including courtroom sessions, legislative meetings, and even Sunday sermons.

In the future, media news coverage may become even further differentiated, with the media complementing each other with various types of coverage rather than competing for the same facts and using the same methods. The print media will no doubt increasingly stress in-depth coverage, interpretation, explanation, and analysis, while the broadcast media will assume the headline and spot-news responsibilities, the extra editions, and perhaps more of the light, dramatic, and human interest elements of the news.

CHAPTER **22** Analysis and Interpretation

The man who climbs the highest tree and looks out over the horizon, no matter how accurately he observes and how carefully he reports, by giving the facts alone may not communicate all that his tribe needs to know. A black cloud may turn out to contain locusts, not rain. A friendly looking tribe may turn out to be hostile. A promising supply of fruit or game may not be edible. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, even a fair and objective account of an occurrence may be misleading.

During World War II it became apparent that propaganda activities by Allies and Axis alike could and did color the news reporting of the war. American concern about the effect of interna-

tional propaganda prompted the establishment of a high-level group to study the problems of free communication in modern society. The Commission on Freedom of the Press carefully investigated and analyzed the passive objectivity of news, and concluded, among other things, that "It is no longer enough to report *the fact* truthfully. It is now necessary to report *the truth about the fact*."

Why Interpretation is Needed

Professor Hillier Krieghbaum says succinctly in his book, *Facts in Perspective*: "Straight news is not enough." Observe, for example, how news can be abused. Tom Hayden, one of the "Chicago Seven" defendants convicted of conspiracy in starting riots at the 1968 Democratic convention, described the tactics of his colleagues in disrupting the courtroom during the trial:

Part of the Yippie genius is to manipulate the fact that the media will always play to the bizarre. Even the straightest reporter will communicate chaos because it sells. The Yippies know this because their politics involve consciously marketing themselves as mythic personality models for young kids.

Now, almost entirely media personalities, Abbie [Hoffman] and Jerry [Rubin] would spend much of their courtroom time analysing trial coverage in the papers, plotting press conferences, arranging for "Yippie witnesses" to get on the stand in time for deadlines, even calculating which of the defendants was getting most of the media attention. They knew that the smallest unconventional act would goad the court into overreaction, would be fixed upon by the press, and would spread an image of defiance and disorder in the country.

On completely the opposite side of the spectrum, a respected scholar and statesman, Andrew Cordier, former president of Columbia University, makes the same point:

I am convinced that there is increasing confusion on the part of the older generation regarding the youth of our day. Part of the difficulty can be attributed to the news media, whose field reporters seek out news regarding every shred of tension, crisis, and disruption on campus after campus... (creating) a sadly distorted picture of American campus life.



Courtesy E. Frascino. Copyright © 1970 by Saturday Review, Inc. First appeared in Saturday Review, February 14, 1970. Used with permission.

"In order that our viewers be allowed to form fair and unbiased opinions of today's events our regularly scheduled news broadcast will not be seen tonight."

Those who wish to express a particular point of view, from the Right to the Left, from the old to the young, can use the news function of the media to communicate their one-sided ideas. To balance the use and abuse of news, the media must also be used to fulfill the need for analysis and interpretation, to put facts into perspective, to tell what it all means, to explain, to argue, to persuade, to express expert opinion about what happened, and to provide a forum for the expression of other opinions, as well.

Actually, the role of persuader, the act of molding opinion, came earlier in the historical development of media than the role of informer. Early newspapers and magazines were often more a collection of editorials and advertisements than news stories. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that news assumed great importance in mass communication.

Separation of Fact and Opinion

When news became a part of American journalism, the tradition grew that news and opinion should be communicated separately. The reporter has been taught not to editorialize, not to express his ideas and opinions and feelings about what happened, but rather to tell simply

what happened. This practice is not followed by journalists in all countries. In many European countries, journalists are expected to bring their own interpretation to the news they report.

The usual practice among American newspapers is to place editorial comment and opinion on a separate editorial page, often printed toward the end of the first section of the paper, leaving the front page and first inside pages for the publication of straight news. Another practice is to label clearly interpretative analysis or comment. Often the newspaper will publish a straight news account of a major story on page one, followed by an interpretative report as a sidebar feature, either on the same page or the inside pages. An editorial might then be written, on the same day, but more often on succeeding days, telling what the newspaper management's opinion is about the occurrence.

Much criticism is frequently directed at news publications for injecting editorial remarks into their presentation of the news. The political affiliation of a newspaper or the bias of its staff may sometimes seem to affect its political news coverage. News magazines, such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, have a particular problem because, while they conceive of their mission as a weekly "interpretation" of the news, their stories are not individually labeled as interpretation and many readers accept these stories as unbiased news accounts.

Broadcasting and Editorializing

Radio and television also have a special problem in being used for interpretation and analysis. For many years, the FCC prohibited editorializing, on the somewhat nebulous ground that broadcasting was such a powerful medium that it should not be allowed to influence opinions; it should only report facts.

Happily, that situation no longer exists, but the FCC still regulates the editorial function of broadcasting, particularly through the so-called Fairness Doctrine and the "equal time" provisions of section 315 for political candidates.

The Fairness Doctrine requires that when a station presents one side of a controversial issue of public importance, a reasonable opportunity must be afforded for the presentation of contrasting views. For example, station KING in Seattle, Washington, aired 24 editori-



"We've scheduled the President's speech, the Democrat's rebuttal, and the GOP's answer, now some of our regular shows are demanding equal time."

als for 20 seconds each, endorsing certain candidates for public office. It offered all the other candidates not endorsed six 20-second time periods in which to respond. The FCC ruled that six replies were not a "reasonable opportunity" for rebutting 24 editorials. When KURT in Houston, Texas, expressed the opinion that the John Birch Society engaged in "physical abuse and violence" and "local terror campaigns against opposition figures," the FCC ruled that the station must give the society equal opportunity to express its views. Many such rulings have been made.

The equal-time provisions of section 315 of the FCC code require broadcasters to give all political candidates the same amount of air time to present their platforms. In 1967, when President Lyn-

don Johnson made a speech with heavy political overtones, Senator Eugene McCarthy, then a candidate for the presidency, asked for equal time on the networks to present a different political point of view. The FCC commissioners, reviewing the request at length, ultimately voted against it on the grounds that President Johnson was not a presidential *candidate*. On many other occasions the FCC has ruled that candidates must be afforded the same air time as incumbents, and vice versa.

How the Media Interpret and Analyze

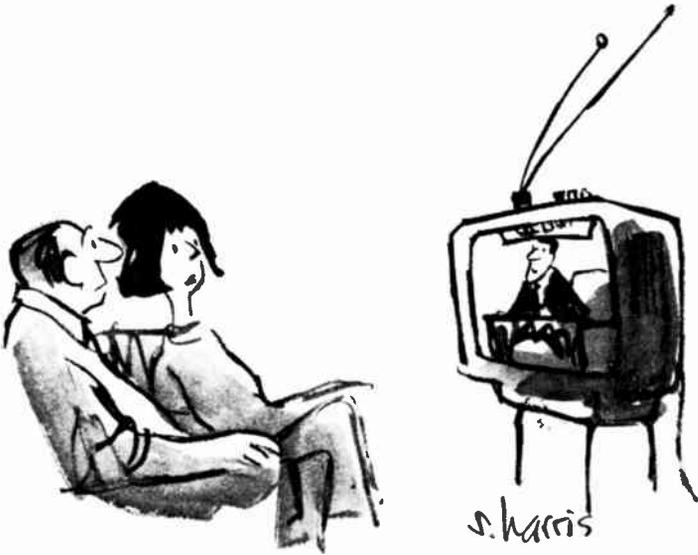
It is useful to examine the variety of ways in which mass media are used to provide interpretation and analysis of the world in which we live.

Interpretative and Background Reports. An increasing emphasis is being placed on reporting that attempts to tell more about an occurrence than the fact that it happened today. Historical background and perspective is needed. Many facts need further explanation, amplification, and clarification. The news media are increasingly developing specialists among their reporting staff, men who know as much about their subjects as the experts, and in reporting about a complex or controversial matter they can add their own expert opinions to give their audiences fuller understanding of the situation.

Even the wire services, long the staunchest defenders of straight, objective news reporting, are making more use of background and interpretative reports. In Washington, D.C., the Associated Press now employs a team of special reporters who carry out in-depth investigations of complicated yet vital concerns and practices. They are under no deadline pressures that would force them to write a quick and superficial report of the facts. They can get behind the facts, explore the ramifications and meanings of the facts, and reveal the "truth about the facts."

Editorials. These have become a standard feature on the editorial pages of American newspapers and in some magazines as well. At times they are placed on the front page when they concern an issue that is extremely important to the publisher, but the responsible practice is to put the editorial in a box, set it in larger type, or in other ways make it appear separate from news coverage.

Generally, editorials are written anonymously by editorial writers, men who specialize in persuasive rather than informative writ-



"Following the President's press conference will be an interpretation, followed by a discussion of the interpretation, followed by an analysis . . ."

Courtesy S. Harris. Copyright © 1969 by Saturday Review, Inc. First appeared in Saturday Review, August 9, 1969. Used with permission.

ing. The editorial-page staff begins each day by deciding the issues that require editorial statements and assigning topics. Editorial staff members discuss the general treatment of these issues and, with guidance from management on crucial issues, determine the stand the newspaper will take. Others may write editorials, too, including the editors and publisher as well as reporters who might develop strong opinions about the news they are covering and feel compelled to make a relevant editorial judgment.

Unlike the printed media, which have enjoyed freedom of expression for centuries now, the broadcast media have not yet unambiguously embraced their right to air their opinions. A 1967 survey by the National Association of Broadcasters indicated that only slightly more than half of the stations in the country (57 percent of radio and 56 percent of television) regularly broadcast editorials (following the NAB's definition of an editorial as an "on-the-air expression of the opinion of the station licensee, clearly identified as such, on a subject of public interest").

But the editorial function is growing in broadcasting. The larger stations are more apt to editorialize, which bears out the journalistic theory that the stronger the medium, the more courageously it can accept its responsibilities. Four out of ten television stations now put

editorials on the air every day, while only two and a half out of ten radio stations do the same.

Weekly Summaries and Interpretations. Weekly news magazines, Sunday newspaper supplements, and some weekly newspapers also fulfill the need for interpretation and analysis. News magazines, particularly *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, have had a major impact on interpretative journalism. They see their role as weekly summarizers and explainers, putting the news of the week into historical, political, or scientific perspective, to express the meaning in the news. *Time*, especially, has perfected the technique of "group journalism," where facts are sent to New York headquarters from many different persons and many different angles on a given story. These facts are chewed over and digested at the Olympian heights by editors and specialists, who then put together a final summary, synthesizing, interpreting, and analyzing the facts in some perspective.

Most major metropolitan newspapers are now also publishing special weekly reviews for their Sunday editions; here, news for the past week in various fields—politics, education, finance, culture—is reviewed and interpreted. A few publications, in weekly newspaper format, have been started for this purpose alone, such as the *National Observer*, a national weekly review newspaper published by the *Wall Street Journal*.

Editorial Cartoons. The editorial cartoon may be the most widely communicated interpretation or analysis of all. It has been a force on the editorial page in American journalism since 1754, when the first cartoon appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* accompanying an editorial written by Benjamin Franklin. It pictured a snake, cut into 13 pieces, representing the British colonies, and it was entitled "Join or Die."

Effective editorial cartoons use the art of caricature, employing a few swift lines to exaggerate a character, personality, or feature to make a point. Bill Mauldin's "GI Joe" came to represent the attitudes and feelings of servicemen for an entire generation, and a few strokes of the pen could communicate much meaning. Herblock's grim and five-o'clock-shadowed hydrogen bomb expressed widely shared opinions about banning nuclear warfare. The economics of time and space that are permitted by the editorial cartoon give it particular force for mass communication; but by the same token the editorial cartoon is often a superficial and exaggerated statement about people or issues.

Documentaries. The broadcast media have combined interpretative reporting, analysis, and even editorial comment into one of the best vehicles for getting at the truth behind the facts, but the documentary has not been used nearly enough. However, when it has been used, the resulting product has been a powerful force for interpretation and analysis of events that often cannot be better communicated in any other way.

Most news on radio comes in five- or 15-minute segments, while television usually offers half-hour or hour news programs. Some interpretative programs and documentaries have often been "tucked away at unwanted hours" of Sunday mornings or afternoons, the so-called "Sunday ghetto" of broadcasting, says William Small, executive vice-president of CBS News, in his book, *To Kill a Messenger: Television News and the Real World*. The networks use special documentaries which preempt regularly scheduled shows whenever an event of major consequence occurs—an earthquake, a moon shot, a riot, or the death and funeral of a great man. Using sight and sound, television has been able to probe, capture, and communicate such events with great effectiveness.

The same techniques have been used to probe, analyze, and interpret great issues as well as events. The networks have produced documentaries on race relations, drug addiction, court procedures, political campaigns and elections, spy flights, island invasions, and war. Local news staffs of both radio and television stations have used the documentary to expose local police corruption, housing ills, poverty and hunger, and education problems.

The documentary can have a powerful effect because it can use sounds and pictures together to move men. William S. Small describes one of the most impressive CBS News efforts, a documentary on "Hunger in America," a moving hour of broadcasting that opened with film of a baby actually dying of starvation as the camera took its picture. "The broadcast had tremendous impact," says Small, "particularly on the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, who bitterly attacked it and demanded equal time. He called it 'shoddy journalism' that blackened the name of the Agriculture Department. Even as Freeman attacked, he was taking official steps that CBS interpreted as conceding the broadcast's main points: The Department abandoned its ceiling on food stamp programs, sharply expanded the number of counties with such programs, enlarged the quantity and variety of surplus food and sought (and won) Senate approval for an additional \$200 to \$300 million for food programs."

In 1971 CBS's "The Selling of the Pentagon," a documentary on the public relations efforts of the military, in turn became an editorial issue. Supporters and detractors took to the media to praise or attack the production. The program's format eventually caused an attempt by the House of Representatives' Commerce Committee, led by Chairman Harley O. Staggers, to force a contempt citation against CBS president Frank Stanton. Dr. Stanton refused to submit "out takes" (film not actually used in the program) for committee analysis. The committee was concerned over whether two personal interviews shown in "The Selling of the Pentagon" were used out of context. Eventually, the issue became whether Congress should become the arbiter of what is *truth* in programming. The FCC ruled that the program met all criteria under the Fairness Doctrine. Some cynics saw the criticism of the documentary as an attempt by Pentagon supporters to cloud the issue or prevent future media disclosure of military-industrial activities for fear of reprisals.

Crusades. In some ways the print media counterpart to broadcast documentaries is the crusade. A newspaper might undertake a crusade for an issue on which it feels public interpretation and analysis is vital. The *Washington Star News* undertook a crusade against fraudulent used-car sales practices and forced the government to improve regulations. The *Washington Post* crusaded against deceitful savings-and-loan-bank operations and brought about new legislation curbing such activities. Crusades have been the hallmark of courageous journalism and often have led to Pulitzer prizes.

A crusade often starts with a news story that uncovers some illness in society which the editors feel should be exposed. A reporter or a team of researchers and writers might be assigned to dig into the facts. After the newspaper knows the facts, it decides how it will treat the story; it might publish the material in a series of news stories or interpretative reports, sometimes following up with sidebars and features on various aspects of the problem, and finally nailing down the crusade with an editorial or series of editorials in which the newspaper presents its conclusions and recommendations.

Columnists and Commentators. The media provide an opportunity for experts and specialists to analyze and interpret public problems in their fields regularly through the column, a by-lined feature. Many newspapers and magazines have staff columnists who write on local or special interests. But most columnists are handled by national

syndicates, to which the publications subscribe. The columnist has great latitude to handle his material in his own way, with a light or heavy touch, as a reporter or an essayist, with sarcasm, satire, or humor, as a critical review or exposé.

A typical newspaper publishes an amazing variety and number of columns. On an average Sunday, selected at random, the *Washington Star News* published about two dozen columnists. Among them were four nationally syndicated political columnists representing a variety of political viewpoints: James J. Kilpatrick, conservative; Carl T. Rowan, black; Charles Bartlett, moderate; and Michael Harrington, liberal. Not all newspapers have such a spread of views among their political columnists, but most editors feel a responsibility to represent differing political ideas.

Five nationally syndicated columnists dealt with a variety of personal problems. Abigail Van Buren ("Dear Abby"), in the modern version of the old "advice to the lovelorn" columns, answered mail questions about love and sex. Marjorie Holmes wrote about family relations. Dr. Joyce Brothers provided information about popular psychology. Arnold Arnold answered questions about parent-child relations. And Carolyn Hagner Shaw wrote on "modern manners." Newspapers currently are moving away from lovelorn advice and using more columns on medicine, psychology, sociology, and behavior.

The gossip column is also fading. This typical issue of the *Washington Star News*, for example, carried only two gossip columns, one nationally syndicated from Hollywood (Sheilah Graham), and the other a local-society gossip column.

Five columns in the *Star News* were devoted to sports, all locally written. They included a general column, and four columns on sports in season, in this case baseball, tennis, golf, and boating. In other seasons, other sports would be covered as well, and on other days of the week minor sports such as bowling, archery, hunting, and fishing would get coverage.

Two columns were devoted to business and finance, one nationally syndicated ("Your Money's Worth" by Sylvia Porter) and one local on "Business Outlook."

Finally, a variety of other special-interest topics were covered by columnists, both local and national. In this particular issue of the *Star News*, columns were written about gardening, stamp collecting,

science, federal employment, food, and male fashions. On any other given day, or in any other newspaper, the list could be enlarged to include a vast variety of topics.

Radio and television also utilize commentators who play a similar role for electronic audiences. The old format of 15-minute radio commentaries by strong personalities is vanishing: men with strong political commitments, like Gabriel Heatter, Raymond Gram Swing, and Fulton Lewis, Jr., or men with strong interpretative reporting talents, such as Elmer Davis, H. V. Kaltenborn, and Edward R. Murrow, are all gone and have not been replaced.

Most stations now use a variety of newsmen and correspondents, some of whom might comment upon and analyze local news, but not as personalities. The networks have commentators, but they, too, are more likely to be newsmen than persuaders, men like CBS's Eric Sevareid, NBC's David Brinkley, and ABC's Edward P. Morgan and Howard K. Smith. Only Mutual's Paul Harvey still falls into the category of strong personality with definite political commitments.

Criticism and Reviews. The mass media assume a responsibility to provide critical analysis of public performances, particularly in the popular arts. Books, movies, concerts, recordings, and dramas are all public performances that need comment. Such public review helps the audience find the right performance and the performer find the right audience and aids the artist in perfecting his craft and the public in making its decisions.

In the past most mass media commentaries on popular arts were reviews rather than criticisms; they were reports of what happened, and only sometimes critical reports. The reviewers were more likely to be news reporters who had been given the book beat, the movie beat, or the music beat. There is now a general trend, however, on the larger newspapers, at the networks, and certainly among national magazines, for these reviewers to be critics, expert and trained judges of literary, dramatic, or aesthetic performances, who can make authoritative evaluations.

Letters to the Editor. Finally, it is the responsibility of the mass media to provide a forum for the expression of audience opinion as well. This function increases in importance as the ability of the masses to communicate publicly decreases because of the rising costs of printing and broadcasting. The people who write letters to the editor, however, do not represent a true cross section of the public, nor can the media publish or broadcast all the letters that come into

their offices. Selection and judgment are key elements in publishing the public's letters, as in all other phases of mass communication.

Syndicates

As news services provide for the centralized gathering and distribution of news and information, so syndicates serve the analysis and interpretation function for the media. There are about 200 agencies that sell feature and editorial material to the media, both print and electronic. The small, independent weekly and daily newspaper or radio and television station are the most likely prospects for the syndicated material.

Syndicates hire writers and commentators and market their work to the individual media. Like the wire services, they charge the media on the basis of circulation or size. A widely syndicated columnist, such as political humorist Art Buchwald, can earn well over \$100,000 a year through syndication.

Editor and Publisher's Yearbook lists columns that can be purchased from syndicates in the following categories: astrology, automotive, aviation, beauty, books, bridge, business-financial, cartoons and panels, chess, checkers, children, editorial, editorial cartoons, fashions, fiction, fillers, food, gardening, farming, health, history, household, maps, motion pictures, music, nature, patterns, photography, puzzles-quizzes, radio and television, religion, science, serials, short stories, special pages, sports, stamps, travel, veterans, women's pages. These are main features. Other classifications include agriculture, bedtime stories, dogs, foreign news, labor, manners, politics, questions and answers, schools, and verse.

Impact of Analysis and Interpretation

Finally, we must ask the question, how effective are the media in fulfilling a role as interpreters and analysts in our society? Most readership studies show that more people read comic strips than editorials. Wilbur Schramm and David Manning White have reported surveys that show that 46.8 percent of college-educated males read the comics, while only 36.6 percent of college-educated males read editorials. The percentage of comic-strip reading decreases with increasing education, age (until age 59; after 60 it increases), and economic status, while the reading of editorials increases with age, edu-

cation, and economic status.¹ Editorials, thus, may not reach as many people as comics, but they no doubt reach more important people, the doers and the thinkers who influence the masses.

In its study of the impact of broadcast editorials, the National Association of Broadcasters also concluded that awareness and actual exposure to editorials are more prevalent among certain types of people,

They're apt to be found in three segments of the population: men; young adults; and college-educated people. In these groups there is greater awareness that stations editorialize . . . and that an editorial is the viewpoint of the station itself. Moreover, these are the people most likely to have been exposed to television and radio editorials (which may be why they are better informed on the subject to begin with). And, finally, they are the ones most inclined to want to see and hear more editorials than they do now.

The NAB's survey showed that about two-thirds of the public felt that broadcasting stations should editorialize. A large majority of those who have seen or heard editorials (83 percent for television, 73 percent for radio) remembered instances in which an editorial made them think more about a particular issue. And about half (54 percent for television and 47 percent for radio) reported that these editorials helped them make up their minds about issues.

Do editorials change minds? Probably not as much as editorial writers would like. During political campaigns, editorial endorsement of political candidates does not seem to have made a great impression on voting, according to most studies. Frank Luther Mott's analysis of the power of the press in presidential elections showed that newspapers had been beaten more frequently than they had triumphed.

On the other hand, there is much tangible evidence of the immediate impact of the mass media's analysis and interpretation, from editorials, columns, commentaries, crusades, and documentaries, including legislation passed, injustices corrected, individuals aided, tasks completed, and political victories won.

1. Wilbur Schramm and David M. White, "Age, Education, and Economic Status as Factors in Newspaper Reading," in *Mass Communication*, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960).

In sum, well-informed citizens, who alone can make democracy work, require news, information, analysis, and interpretation. They should get their facts, and the truth about the facts, from as wide a selection of media as possible. They should not depend upon any one radio or television station, or any one newspaper or magazine. They should have access to as many different reporters and interpreters for any given event or issue as possible. Otherwise, they will be like blind men, touching only one part of the elephant and interpreting it as the whole.

CHAPTER **23**

Education

A boy is roused a little early so that he can finish an assignment in his programmed-instruction sheets. After breakfasting with "Captain Kangaroo" he rushes out to the school bus, and shares a copy of *Mad Magazine* with the older boys.

When he gets to his third-grade pod, a large open area containing four classes, he goes directly to the media center, puts on the head set, and pushes a button. A voice tells him about fractions, and slides come up to illustrate the points being made. Then he begins reading a fifth-grade book and responds to questions on reusable acetate pages in his workbook. Each third-grader works from a daily prescription that meets his special needs. After this he picks up a

cassette tape and walks down the hall to the place where he will practice his French drill, imitating the narrator. When the practice drill is completed, he plays back the recording so he and the teacher can assess his progress. Back in the pod, a friend is watching an enrichment film on farm animals. In another part of the pod, an intern is working with several slow readers, while being videotaped for evaluation by a master teacher later in the day.

On the way home from school the same boy reads a section in *Sports Illustrated* on "red-dogging" to his little brother. After dinner he settles down to some television entertainment; Jacques Cousteau is investigating sharks. After he goes to bed, he listens to his record player as Maurice Evans reads *Winnie-the-Pooh*.

This is not an unusual day for an American child, at least for one from a middle-class home in a suburb with an advanced public school system. For him the mass media are involved, both in and out of the classroom, with his education. But it is important to understand the extent to which the mass media have become his teachers.

Mass media perform two important educational functions: (1) socialization, or the process of enforcing or changing cultural norms, mores, and value systems; and (2) formal instruction, or the process of systematically imparting specialized data and skills in a controlled environment.

Socialization

To what extent are the mass media used in the socialization of modern society? Socialization, or the "process by which an individual becomes a member of a given social group,"¹ is impossible without communication. But personal communication is far more important than mass communication for certain kinds of socialization.

It is obvious that the infant acquires much of his behavior patterns from his mother, father, family, and immediate environment. Child psychologists tell us that much of a child's concept of himself in relation to others is well established before he can use words, or talk; that his system of social values is well on the way to being fully established before he has sufficient social experience to have rational perception of radio or television images. And the child certainly must

1. Eugene L. and Ruth E. Hartley, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 202.

experience considerable formal instruction before he can read newspapers, magazines, and books.

It is useful, therefore, to view socialization as consisting of different sorts of learning, some of which are more affected by mass media than others. Gerhart D. Wiebe, dean of the School of Public Communication at Boston University, has sharpened the definition of socialization by breaking the communication process into three zones in a continuum. He refers to these as directive media messages, maintenance media messages, and restorative media messages. In other words, Wiebe proposes, some media messages direct or change human behavior, some serve to maintain or provide norms for human behavior, and some restore or release pent-up behavior.²

Directive messages are those which command, exhort, instruct, persuade, and urge in the direction of learning and new understanding. They must, says Wiebe, come from authoritative figures and call for substantial and conscious intellectual effort by the learner. Those kinds of messages which intend to direct performance or change behavior, most studies show, do not succeed unless they tie in to a structured, face-to-face, teacher-pupil relationship. Since the mass media cannot provide this sort of relationship, they are not important bearers of directive messages. They may supplement and enrich the direct learning process but they cannot replace it. In classrooms, from kindergarten to college, teachers having a direct relationship to students cannot be replaced by books, television sets, or computerized learning machines. As Wiebe says, "the printed Bible has not made the church obsolete nor has it reduced the role of the clergy."

Maintenance messages are those needed to tell us what to do in the everyday business of living. They tell us where we can find food, what dangers we should avoid, when we should pay our taxes, how we can get a driver's license, who we should regard as friend and foe. Such messages call for relatively little conscious intellectual effort. Here the mass media play an extensive role, through the communication of news, information, analysis, interpretation, persuasion, and sales promotion. Wiebe maintains, however, that three conditions must exist before mass communication messages will have an impact in maintaining social norms: (1) the audience must be predisposed to react along the lines indicated in the message; (2) social

2. Gerhart D. Wiebe, "The Social Effects of Broadcasting," in *Mass Culture Revisited*, ed. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1971), pp. 154-68.

provisions must exist for facilitating such action; and (3) the message itself must have audience appeal.

Restorative messages are those which renew and refresh the human capacity for productive social relationships. These include the fantasies which allow us to escape the harsh realities of life, humor which allows us to relieve the tensions of the day, and drama and violence which can provide catharsis for frustrations and anxieties. Here the mass media play perhaps the most important role in the socialization process, not only in the dramas of dime novels and soap operas, but also in the escapist TV serials and televised sports events, the violence of rape and robbery news, and even the fright in the stories of riot and war.

In sum, the media play a significant role in the socialization process, but their part in directive kinds of messages is considerably less than in maintenance or restorative messages. Directive messages can be augmented, enriched, and amplified by mass media's use in formal instruction, however. Every medium is used to some extent in formal instruction, but each is used differently.

Books in Education

The most influential medium in formal instruction is the book, and it also plays an important role in socialization as well. Books are successful largely because they adapt so well to individual needs and habits of students who use them.

Three crucial elements interact in the classroom: the student, the book, and the teacher. In many situations the book is the central reference point for both students and teachers. For example, books may be the only common, shared intellectual experience most white, middle-income teachers have with their black, low-income pupils in ghetto schools.

A specialized form of the book has evolved in the school environment. The textbook, by definition, is a book prepared specifically for classroom use; it provides an exposition of one subject area; and it serves as the content core of a given class. Several other types of books are specifically designed for the classroom; these include teacher editions of the text, consumable workbooks (the student writes directly in the book) to be used in conjunction with the text, standardized tests to evaluate student performance on the text, and

manuals and trade books that are used to supplement and reinforce textbooks. The paperback, a softbound, less-expensive form of trade book, is used for a variety of classroom purposes, largely in higher education. Two kinds of textbooks are of primary importance. First are authored books, which focus on a special topic within the general subject area; second are edited books, which provide a general survey of materials written by a large number of specialists on their area of expertise.

Before a textbook gets into the hands of elementary school children, it must pass through the hands of a series of gatekeepers:

1. The book must be selected and printed by a publisher, who either solicits someone to write it or accepts a manuscript submitted to him by the authors.

2. The book must be adopted by both the state and local school boards; and competition here is intense, because these adoptions are crucial economically. Unfortunately some boards exercise their power not only to modify the style of textbooks, but to censor the content as well.

3. The book must be chosen by the total school faculty, although some individual teachers have some degree of latitude in the use of supplementary material.

The selection process is similar at the secondary school level, but professional organizations, such as the National Council of Teachers of English, exert considerable influence. At most universities the individual teacher makes the selection of most books. This has led to the procedure of individual salesmen contacting individual professors, not only to sell books but to procure future manuscripts. Many college bookstores serve as little more than clearing houses for course materials, but the more progressive serve a critical role of carrying an extensive stock beyond course demands.

Besides the standard trade and textbook publishers' offerings, there are about \$44 million worth of scholarly books, usually with limited appeal, marketed by approximately 70 nonprofit, university presses.

Textbooks cost Americans more than \$900 million annually, and they account for almost one-third of all book sales. Of this amount, 35 percent is spent on books for the 33 million elementary students; 23 percent for the 19 million high school students; 42 percent on the 8 million college students. The average college student uses eight new books per year at an average cost of \$6 per book. Over 3 new books at

an average cost of \$3.60 are used by high school students. Texts for the elementary school child cost about \$4.70, and he uses about 2 new books each year.

Textbooks have a relatively low profit margin, and are expensive to market. It costs from \$1 million to \$2 million to launch a new elementary school series. For the individual high school text, preparatory costs can run as high as \$250,000; for one college text, \$100,000. To compound the problem, many textbooks have life spans of only three to five years before revisions are necessary.

Men have created a separate institution just to house their books. The primary purposes of the library are to provide long-term storage and easy retrieval of information. There are approximately 3,000 university, 68,000 school, and 7,700 special libraries to house over 600 million books in our educational systems. Over \$850 million a year is spent on university libraries alone, and total U.S. library costs for all areas and activities is over \$1.2 billion a year. The Library of Congress alone contains 300 miles of shelves and four trillion words.

In order to make efficient use of the information stored in the library, a new class of books has been developed. Reference books, despite their limited numbers, account for 20 percent of all book revenues each year. This group includes general references, indexes, annuals, encyclopedias, handbooks, and many other subcategories. The reference book is crucial to the retrieval of data from large, complex, library systems.

The book is a useful learning device because it is compact, portable, low in cost, and reusable; does not require special equipment to use; does not disrupt nonusers; provides individualized learning experiences as the child sets his own rate of learning; has easy reference capacity; and the reader can reread those portions which at first were not mastered.

Without doubt, the book is the best medium for many kinds of classroom instruction. Its inherent characteristics, and the schools' predisposition to exploit them, make the book an important information source in the classroom, library, and bookstore. Books are important for providing insights into a variety of activities and skills.

Magazines in Education

The *Standard Periodical Directory* lists more than 62,000 titles of periodicals other than newspapers. The education system uses a wide

variety of these magazines, but two types of periodicals are more important than the others: (1) the 5,000 or more scholarly journals, which print the latest research and other information in a given field; (2) the 20,000 or more trade journals, which offer the latest information about the application of new research.

These two types of magazines provide important learning tools, especially at the university level. As a field expands, the number of scholarly and trade journals proliferate as well. For example, there are almost 2,000 periodicals that deal with education; about 1,000 cover library science; and over 450 that deal with media and media-related activities. It is almost impossible to stay abreast of the information in these fields, so special reference services, which cover a given area, have emerged—for example, *Topicator* is a periodical guide to a select group of magazines that deal with radio and television.

The scholarly magazine provides an open review of a scholar's work by his peers. These scholarly journals usually contain original research, surveys of research literature, abstracts, reviews of research, news about the field, and book reviews.

The magazine plays a minor role in the primary grades of public school because few magazines of the quality of *Highlights* are published for elementary pupils. Publishers find that subscribers outgrow their material rapidly, and it is too expensive to resell their product to each generation. Also, many classes of advertising are not considered suitable for children's fare. Most school libraries fill the void by subscribing to general adult periodicals like *National Geographic*, *Popular Science*, and *Popular Mechanics* that are used by children. Since few school libraries can afford to bind back issues, however, these periodicals are usually used for recreation rather than instruction or research. Even in high school, when term papers become part of the assignments, most students who want to search periodical literature must use the public library.

Thus, students making the transition from high school to college sometimes have difficulty adjusting to the increased emphasis placed on the magazine medium. Although the book is easier to find and use, the large library's periodical collection can and should expand the amount of recent data available.

The popular magazine is obviously a more important force for socialization than formal instruction. But many popular magazines such as *Popular Mechanics*, *Consumer Reports*, and *Better Homes & Gardens* provide specific information and teach new skills or improve old ones.

Newspapers in Education

Although the newspaper is heavily used for the socialization of society, especially for the communication of maintenance and restorative messages, it is the least used of the mass media in formal instruction. Newspaper organizations are making increasing efforts to have newspapers used in classrooms, but despite a few exceptions such as *My Weekly Reader*, newspapers are not yet as widely used as the other media.

Curiously, however, newspaper organizations are increasingly thinking of themselves as educational institutions rather than merely businesses. The editorial staff of the daily newspaper is essentially in the business of developing and communicating knowledge, researching facts and packaging them for their audience. Some newspapers today approach this task with the same seriousness that universities bring to the development of knowledge, allowing their staffs the time, freedom, and security necessary to pursue knowledge, even providing a sort of tenure and sabbatical leave system for expert writers and specialists on the staff.

Without a doubt, newspapers provide a wide variety of information necessary for carrying out day-to-day living, as well as an increasing amount of facts and ideas to round out a well-informed citizen. Newspapers have also increasingly become source materials for some academic disciplines, particularly the social sciences, such as history, sociology, and cultural anthropology.

The Electric Media in Education

Before analyzing the electric media, it is important to understand that despite the potential educational impact of television, film, radio, and the phonograph in classroom instruction, there is—in comparison to print—little use of electric media in most classrooms, written material extolling the virtues of the classroom use of electric media notwithstanding.

Five factors have negatively affected electric media usage in the school:

1. Society's general attitude is that electric media are for entertainment, not education.
2. Teachers often are print oriented and have little free time to

develop the skills and attitudes necessary to use electric media in the classroom.

3. The decision to use electric media in schools is often made at the administrative level and forced on teachers, who resent this additional imposition.

4. Most of the materials available do not exploit the inherent qualities of these media.

5. The electric media are prohibitively expensive unless used for a large number of students.

Sound Recording. Recordings are seldom used in classroom instruction. Some use of tapes and records is made in music-appreciation classes, but few if any teachers have been able to obtain a sophisticated, stereo-equipped, acoustically satisfactory learning environment. Teachers use the old, worn phonograph, and then are amazed when their students are not overwhelmed by the classical-music experience. Many young people have sophisticated sound systems at home and are musically adapted to a culture out of touch with classical music.

Foreign-language teachers have been able to develop expensive language laboratory operations to handle rote learning of pronunciation (a Berlitz approach). Unfortunately, some teachers and students have not learned how to function efficiently in these labs.

Audiotutorial systems based on programmed instruction are one bright area for the future. This process uses cartridge and cassette tapes, sometimes with auxiliary slides or film strips, for individualized instruction. At a few universities dial-access systems have been installed in library carrels or dorm rooms, so that students can dial a given number and taped lessons can be obtained, as frequently as needed by a given student.

Radio. Using phonograph music for the bulk of its content, radio serves a significant role in socialization. The general education function of radio in the United States is expensive and fairly ineffective. Many of the more than 600 educational radio stations serve as little more than classical jukeboxes for an elite audience within the total society. National Public Radio (formed in 1969) is attempting to change the educational-radio service using government and foundation money. Educational radio also attempts to serve as a training ground for students planning careers in broadcasting, and many educational-radio facilities are used to teach broadcast courses within the university curriculum.

Attempts have been made to use educational radio as a means

of formal instruction, but, in general, this use has met with only minimal success. Despite its potential, radio is not deeply involved in classroom education in most U.S. schools.

Film. Film is used extensively in socialization, and along with radio and the phonograph, is a crucial mold of youth culture.

Film is used in formal instruction but in limited amounts. Unfortunately, many films supplied by audiovisual centers are either commercial films from television, which require modification of the course content in order to be used successfully, or they are poor-quality films designed for specific classes. When the commercial film is used, often little attempt is made to integrate it into the course. Student reaction to films in class is that screenings mean a day off from learning. Many specially developed, low-budget films are poorly produced. They become adverse experiences, which reinforce both the teachers' and students' negative attitudes about electric instruction.

The major suppliers of educational films fall into two groups: (1) those companies that produce their own films (such as Encyclopedia Britannica, Coronet); (2) those companies that distribute films produced by other companies for initial use in situations other than the classroom (McGraw-Hill distributes films produced by the television networks). At the present time there are more than 50,000 educational films, and too many of them are classroom-instruction disasters. Film production budgets, when they exist, range from \$500 to \$1,000 per running minute of an instructional film, compared to a budget which can run up to \$70,000 a minute for television and theatrical films.

Future movies in the classroom will probably use the 8-mm., cartridge, single-concept film. The function of such films is to teach one idea or operation in a few minutes. The film can be repeated until the student has mastered that body of information. The equipment is fairly inexpensive, and, once the cartridge is assembled, the loading and unloading of the projector can be handled by the student without difficulty. However, there is a problem with "software." The ready-made cartridge films are few in number, and many are poorly made.

The film may have had more impact on classroom than any other electric medium, yet the impact is still really minimal. Many teachers cannot even thread projectors, and a large number of schools do not have an adequate equipment supply. The person responsible for audiovisual equipment is generally a classroom teacher

with a part-time audiovisual job. If film is to become a significant part of classroom instruction, motion pictures must be integrated into the total curriculum and cease to be used as vicarious experiences and classroom entertainment.

Television. Television is the medium that contributes most to the socialization of Americans, because it is the medium used by more people most of the time. Both commercial and educational (ETV) networks contribute significantly to general education.

In 1952 the Federal Communications Commission set aside 242 (later increased to 309) station allocations for ETV. This was done in spite of considerable indifference toward the idea on the part of most educators. Four years later there were fewer than 30 ETV stations in operation. Educational institutions were not willing to invest the capital necessary to build the facilities. Thanks to an investment of more than \$100 million by the Ford Foundation and extensive federal grants, there are more than 225 ETV stations on the air today. Well over 50 percent unfortunately use the less desirable UHF channels. Despite tremendous dollar investments, plus extensive interconnection of the National Educational Television network, the successes of ETV have been few in number. Most ETV stations are on the level of paupers compared to the commercial stations and their resources.

A task force under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation analyzed the ETV field. Because of this report and actions by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB), Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which provided the ludicrously small sum of \$9 million to establish the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). The 1967 act also stipulated that Congress may appropriate additional sums each year if public broadcasters request such funds from Congress. Once again, the Ford Foundation came to the rescue, putting up the \$10 million needed to air the first two-hour Sunday-evening broadcast of CPB, but that programming was less than successful and is no longer on the air.

To date, there have been two major achievements of American educational television, The Children's Television Workshop's series "Sesame Street" and "The Electric Company." Despite some carping from special interests in the school community, both series are considered to be the best educational programs yet produced. The two series used the surprisingly unusual approach that learning can be pleasurable. These programs succeeded because they used flashy, commercial, TV techniques to "enterteach" youngsters.



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Classroom use of television or instructional television (ITV) has been less than a complete success, especially when money spent and successful results are compared. Most of the research literature indicates that telelessons are no more effective than other methods of teaching.

Two generalizations become evident after a review of the research literature: (1) most ITV materials are developed without adequate consideration of learning theory and the inherent qualities of the medium; (2) the experimental situation has been unable to assess the complex nature of television learning. Most studies examine *how much* was learned, a few assess user attitudes, but longitudinal studies over periods of time have not been made.

In the United States ITV services are provided to schools using four major distribution systems: (1) open-air broadcasting over existing ETV stations; (2) Instructional Television Fixed Service (ITFS), a 2,500-megahertz system for short-distance, point-to-point systems within a school district; (3) closed-circuit systems (CCTV) over telephone lines; (4) portable videotape recorders (VTR) in the classroom.

Open-air broadcasts provide the largest class audiences and revenue bases, but have the least flexibility as far as classroom usage is concerned. The ITFS systems are not widely exploited at the present

time, but have the potential of school-district autonomy and some flexibility in scheduling. Closed-circuit systems are widely used and have good technical transmission capability and considerable scheduling flexibility. The VTR units have flexibility in terms of scheduling, multiple use by instructors for recording class activities, and playbacks of materials produced elsewhere for individual student use.

At this time in history, educational research indicates the best course of action may be to move away from entire courses taught via television. The lightweight VTR units in production and the future cartridge-TV systems seem to be the best means of integrating television with other media and teaching techniques in the classroom. The TV instructional experience can be based on individual needs and personalized learning.

Three kinds of people are needed to create a major ITV project—a content specialist, a media specialist, and a learning-theory specialist. The content specialist is responsible for *what* is taught. The learning-theory specialist is responsible for *how* it is taught. The media specialist is responsible for translating both the *how* and the *what* into television techniques. It is better when each man knows a little about the others' jobs so that the interaction can be more fruitful.

There are many advantages to the television medium: it can serve as content specialist, relieve teachers of repetitive tasks, provide supplementary data, improve close-up visual demonstrations, and record performances of children and teachers for evaluation.

The major disadvantages are lack of feedback and interaction, lack of integration of television into the total classroom experience, significant negativism toward it on the part of teachers, and inability to use the best techniques available because of high costs.

The future success of television instruction depends on intelligent use of the inherent characteristics of the medium. Too much ITV has been the "great talking face," which is an electric extension of the lecture method. Television is a tool to be exploited to solve educational problems, but an instructor must always consider carefully whether television is the best learning strategy to use in a given situation. Economic resources must be brought to bear on ITV, and it is absolutely essential that the classroom teacher be involved in such a project and receive in-service training. Considerable flexibility has to be built into the ITV system so that the teacher and students can use the material at their convenience.

CHAPTER **24**

Persuasion and Public Relations

What is the difference between education and propaganda? While men usually respond positively and enthusiastically to education, they often react negatively and reluctantly toward propaganda. Communication is essential to both, but a distinction needs to be made between these two concepts.

Education, traditionally, is the communication of facts, ideas, and opinions for their own sake, because they have an intrinsic value to the receiver of the message. The educator should be interested only in teaching Johnny to read because reading has some value to Johnny. The teacher should be interested in teaching the methods whereby Johnny can discover truth for himself and apply it to his

own needs; he should not be concerned with dictating the nature of that truth.

News media reporters and editors in providing news, information, interpretation, and analysis for their readers, serve more as educators than propagandists. That is, newsmen are educators in the sense that they usually attempt to provide in a balanced, fair, objective, and accurate manner a broad array of facts, ideas, and opinions from which the reader or listener can select those that serve his own needs.

Propaganda, on the other hand, is the communication of facts, ideas, and opinions, not for the audience's sake but for the benefit of the communicator, to further his purposes, whatever they might be. Propaganda has had many definitions; the word comes from the Latin *propagare*, meaning the gardener's practice of pinning fresh roots of a plant into the earth in order to reproduce new plants. The Roman Catholic Church took this meaning when it established its "ministry of propaganda," considering its missionary work a cultivation of pagans to Christian ideals.

Most students today have accepted the definition of propaganda given by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis and inspired by Harold Lasswell: "Propaganda is the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups for predetermined ends through psychological manipulation."

Carried to an extreme, any attempt to persuade another person is propagandistic, whereas any attempt to inform is educational. Of course, propaganda contains a good deal of information, and there is much persuasion in education. Men's minds are changed by both education and propaganda; the difference between the two often lies in the purpose of the communicator.

The Right to Persuade

Human beings are more often persuaders than teachers. Most communicate only when they want someone to do something for them. Early in life babies communicate to get their diapers changed or to have someone bring food or warmth. Most private communications are purposive. In most democratic societies it is a basic right of man freely to express himself so that he can get others to serve his needs or believe in his ideas. The right of each man to persuade others is certainly basic to the American political system.

The practice of public relations is based on the assumption that

each man has a right to his own point of view, and on the knowledge that there is no one, right point of view. As Walter Lippmann argued persuasively in his book *Public Opinion*, we all see the world as pictures in our heads, from our own frame of reference. Each one of us sees a slightly different version of the world, and only through a free exchange of views about our version of the world can human beings reach some consensus about truth.

Our own society has traditionally been libertarian in its attitudes toward public communication. We have sought a dynamic and progressive order. We have argued that growth can only come from the open marketplace of ideas. We have felt that stability could be achieved not by curbing public communication but by allowing each individual to express personal ideas and opinions. Laws to preserve freedom of expression should ideally provide the best means to balance power in society, to prevent authority from getting into the hands of only a few, who would then control public communication to extend and preserve their own powers.

Thomas Jefferson reasoned that a free press could be a fourth branch of government to check on and balance the powers of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. If the press were free, the truth would emerge in the open marketplace of ideas. And the truth would keep man free. But America grew to be a mass society, with industrial megalopolises in the place of pastoral villages and communication satellites in place of soapboxes in village squares.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, industrial power had become so strong that "big business" dominated public opinion at the polling places. It would have been difficult then to prove that each man was sharing in democracy by voting his own individual version of the truth.

Less than a decade after Jefferson's death, the development of the penny press gave rise to mass communications for the first time. By the end of the nineteenth century, the high cost of mass publishing, the beginning of newspaper chains, and the rise of communication empires made it difficult for the common man to use the press for personal expression.

The Dilemma of Mass Persuasion

In the twentieth century, the mass media have often been used for persuasion by the state, and in some societies propaganda is the chief function of media. Hitler used radio in Germany to arouse an

entire nation to his ideas. Franklin D. Roosevelt, too, used radio in his famous "fireside chats" to persuade America to approve of his solutions to the problems of economic depression. In the 1960s and 1970s television has become the chief means of political persuasion in America, and for a generation movies have been one of the most effective weapons of international persuasion.

The growth of mass media as powerful and complicated institutions has made it increasingly difficult for the individual outside the media to protect himself from massive propaganda and to raise his own voice to persuade others. Must those who do not have access to the mass media be denied the right to influence others? Must they content themselves with being victims of the persuasive force of those who do have such access? This question poses one of the basic dilemmas of modern democracy.

John Milton's ideas about truth emerging in the free marketplace of ideas, and Thomas Jefferson's ideas about the free press as the bulwark to check and balance the power of government, seem insufficient in our modern, complex society.

The Role of Public Relations

The function of public relations developed as a result of this insufficiency in modern society. The profession of public relations came into existence in the democracies of the West at the very time that the Industrial Revolution had caused the breakdown of the old agrarian democracy espoused by Thomas Jefferson. Public relations provided a way to adjust relationships in a mass society where power no longer seemed to be spread equally among all men.

Public relations professionalizes and systematizes the persuasive efforts of individuals and organizations that stand outside the media. These individuals and organizations seek ways to use the media for their persuasion. The practice is based on the simple proposition that in a democratic society it is essential for any man to win public acceptance, for nothing can succeed without the approval of the people.

The public relations man is thus an advocate of an idea or point of view, much as an attorney is an advocate of his client. The public relations man has a right and responsibility to defend his client's point of view before the court of public opinion as much as the attorney has a right and obligation to defend his client's action before a court of law.

Defining Public Relations

Public relations. This is a most difficult term to define because it has been so abused and misunderstood. Perhaps the most agreed upon definition is:

Public relations is the management function which evaluates public attitudes, identifies the policies and procedures of an individual or an organization with the public interest, and executes a program of action to earn public acceptance.

Organizationally, public relations is perhaps best conceived as the total public-communication effort of an operation, the overall umbrella under which would come advertising, marketing, promotion, publicity, and public relations counseling. Of course, not all organizations follow this formula.

Advertising. For our purposes, advertising should be defined as a very specific type of communication effort, one that is based on purchased time or space in the communications media in order to send out a message.

Publicity. This should also be defined in specific terms as free time or space in the communications media to send out a message. In order to get free space in the newspaper, for example, the message must contain some element of news or human interest. To get free time on radio, for instance, the message must contain some element of news or human interest, or some element of public service, because of FCC requirements for radio-TV stations.

The main difference between advertising and publicity is that, since the message sender pays for the time or space in advertising, he has more control over what he says. In publicity, since the message is free, the final shaping of it is left in the hands of the communications media gatekeepers. Publicity might be more effective, however, because it carries the tacit endorsement of the media.

Promotion. Generally, promotion means the use of both advertising and publicity over an extended period of time to communicate a specific point. We speak of "promotional campaigns," implying that a longer period of time is involved over which the message sender wages his efforts to get his views into the public consciousness.

Public. The term public has two meanings. There is, of course,

a general public, meaning all the human beings in the universe. But more often we use the term to mean some specific public, such as American citizens, for instance, or usually more specifically, employees, stockholders, customers, and so forth.

Growth of Public Relations

J. A. C. Brown, in his book *Techniques of Persuasion*, shows how the development of the printing press enhanced man's ability to persuade others. The first printed books, bibles and missals, were used not only to win souls but to reform and revolutionize the Church. Printed tracts were used to persuade Europeans to migrate to the New World. Early newspapers quickly became used as organs of propaganda for economic, religious, and political causes, persuading people of the New World to break with the old, to revolt, and to adopt a democratic form of government. When the mass magazine appeared in America in the nineteenth century, it was quickly put to use to persuade readers of the ills of society.

The forerunner of the modern public relations man was the individual who worked as a press agent, publicity stunt man, and promoter. He became a character common in nineteenth-century America associated with the penny press. He promoted ideas, gimmicks, schemes, gadgets from the assembly line, land-speculation deals, theater personalities, and carnival freaks. Men like P. T. Barnum, the circus entrepreneur who made Tom Thumb and the Swedish Nightingale into the sensations of the century, and Buffalo Bill, who made a hero out of the ruffians of the West, were essentially press agents and promoters who got newspaper headlines for their stunts.

The first professional public relations man was Ivy Lee, a former *New York Times* and *New York Journal* reporter. He opened a publicity firm in 1904, which was involved not in simply promoting his clients but in guiding their total public communications. He saw an analogy between the court of law and the role of public opinion, and saw himself as a new kind of lawyer, one who would represent his client before the court of public opinion by counseling the client on his public communications. He saw his job as one of "adjusting relationships between clients and their publics"; he spoke of "public relationships," and so the phrase "public relations" came into use.

Ivy Lee counseled such important men and groups in America as John D. Rockefeller, the Pennsylvania Railroad, Standard Oil,

Bethlehem Steel, Chrysler, the American Red Cross, Harvard, and Princeton.

Before long, many others were engaged in similar practice. During World War I the United States government officially recognized, for the first time, that it had to organize persuasive efforts in its behalf in winning the war. It had to use communication to advocate its position before the American public and the world. President Woodrow Wilson employed a Colorado newspaper editor, George Creel, to head a Committee on Public Information. Creel's committee advertised, publicized, and promoted America's role in the war through all the media.

Although Creel's committee was disbanded after the war, America's increasing role in international affairs led to the realization that the nation needed to defend itself before the world court of public opinion, to express its national views before the other countries of the world. Nothing of this sort was done, however, until World War II had been declared. The government then established an Office of War Information, headed by Elmer Davis, a radio-news commentator.

After World War II the Office of War Information evolved into the United States Information Agency, the official public relations organization for the United States government in its relationships with other nations and foreign peoples.

Between World War I and II, private public relations firms multiplied and grew to maturity in the United States. Chief among those who pioneered in the maturation of public relations during this period was Edward Bernays, a nephew of Sigmund Freud. Bernays attempted to take public relations out of the realm of art and make it systematic and scientific.

In 1922 Walter Lippmann, newspaper editor and political philosopher, aided that task. His book, *Public Opinion*, was a carefully reasoned philosophical statement of the role of public opinion and public persuasion in democratic society.

Systematic and scientific persuasion required accurate measurement of public opinion. In the 1930s and 1940s the practice of public opinion polling emerged, pioneered by such men as George Gallup, a former journalism professor, and Elmo Roper, a social scientist. Polling not only provided a mechanism for the media to obtain feedback from their messages, but it also became a necessary adjunct to communication efforts of those who used the media to persuade the public.

In the 1950s and 1960s, public relations professionals turned increasingly to social and behavioral scientists to help measure public

attitudes and test the effects of different ideas and messages on public opinion. Yet most public relations activities in the 1970s still centered on communication efforts and utilized basic communication skills, using the mass media to send messages to persuade millions.

In the 1970s it is estimated that more than one hundred thousand people directly engage in public relations activities. Several hundred independent public relations consulting firms provide advice and counsel to clients. Most of these are headquartered in New York, often with branch offices in the other large American and foreign cities. But almost every sizable organization in America has its own public relations representative, whether business corporation, labor union, political party, educational institution, or religious group; show-business personalities and other influential public figures also utilize the services of such representatives. Governments, too, at local and national levels, employ public relations experts to help get government facts and opinions expressed in the mass media, since in American society, the government does not own the mass media.

J. A. R. Pimlott, in his book *Public Relations and American Democracy*, says:

Public relations is not a peculiarly American phenomenon, but it has nowhere flourished as in the United States. Nowhere else is it so widely practiced, so lucrative, so pretentious, so respectable and disreputable, so widely suspected and so extravagantly extolled.¹

Public Relations and Politics

Nowhere is public relations more important than in American politics. The politician is most often a persuader of public opinion, and increasingly he employs the mass media to influence the electorate. He often uses the techniques of public relations, and he sometimes hires professional public relations men to help him win his election to public office and to guide his relationships with his constituents.

The process of legislation itself requires publicity and promotion

1. J. A. R. Pimlott, *Public Relations and American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 3.

through the mass media. Bills that cannot capture the attention of the public through mass communication rarely reach the floor of Congress or state legislatures. Former Senator Joseph Tydings of Maryland expressed a growing sentiment when he charged that congressmen who could win media publicity were more likely to get their bills signed into law than those who were ignored by the press.

Extensive use of public relations has also been made in the process of electing public officials. A growing group of consultants who specialize in political persuasion are trying to make election campaigning more sophisticated, systematic, and scientific. They use survey research and polling to determine voter interests, to gauge the popularity of issues, and to test the public image of their candidates. They use computers to analyze the research and to aid in targeting the audience for the candidate's message. They advise the candidate, on the basis of their research data, on the platforms he should adopt and the aspects of his personality which he should emphasize or conceal. And they prepare the messages—through speeches, television commercials, press conferences, news releases, and such—to reach the voter.

Interestingly, these new techniques of political persuasion can make the election process more democratic. The politician can take his candidacy directly to the people, through the mass media, particularly through television. He can bypass the traditional party structure, the political boss, and backroom politics. The public can be brought more directly into political decision making.

Unfortunately, however, the new public relations techniques in electioneering require money and a new kind of talent. The costs are enormous for public relations advice, polling, computers, advertising preparation, and media time and space. More than \$400 million was spent on such electioneering in the 1972 presidential campaign. Such costs could lead to a situation where only the wealthy few could afford to run for public office.

A new kind of political talent is often required, too. The politician who uses media to reach the voter—particularly the television medium—must have a new kind of charisma. He must be able to captivate an audience through media. This could lead to a situation in which the handsome, low-keyed, youthful, energetic candidate would have the edge over the mature statesman or political professional.

The Campaign Reform Act of 1972 has helped to mitigate some

of these dangers, however, by placing limits on the amount of money each candidate can spend on television campaigning. Other ways will no doubt be found to make public relations an increasingly useful aspect of the American political process.

The Organization of Public Relations

Today most large business concerns, corporations, associations, and institutions, with their own in-house public relations activities, have a person in charge of these activities at a high-level in the organization, often equivalent to that of a vice-president.

His job is to help his organization with its communication, making use of the mass media wherever possible. Communication with and between employees is an essential element, of course, so he might have a staff of people who specialize in internal communication, producing employee newspapers, magazines, or other house organs. He is also concerned with the owners or principals of his organization, for whom he might produce stockholders reports or annual reports. The larger the organization, the more publics he must deal with, and the more he must have specialists on his staff to deal with those publics or the special media needed to communicate with them.

Perhaps most important, he is concerned with the public at large, the customer, consumer, voter, and the person who makes up "public" opinion. To reach this audience, he must use publicity, institutional advertising (which seeks to promote the institution rather than its by-products), promotional materials, and special events to establish communication channels to the mass public. Here public relations makes greatest use of mass media.

To use the media, the public relations man must put his message into terms acceptable by the media—that is, he must make his message newsworthy, compellingly vital for human interest, or of public service for the broadcast media. The public relations man puts his message in the form of news releases, public service announcements, "plugs," or other means to get communications into the media.

The other side of public relations is the external public relations counsel. Counseling firms, like legal firms, exist to provide independent advice and counsel on public relations problems for clients. Some

of these firms undertake the entire public relations effort of their clients, producing their internal communications as well as providing direction for achieving their overall public image. Hundreds of such public relations counseling firms exist. Table 24-1 lists the 40 largest in the United States.

Table 24-1.
Net Incomes and Staff Size of the 40 Largest PR Organizations in the United States (includes both ad-agency affiliates and independent companies).

	<i>1973 Net Fee Income¹</i>	<i>Total Employees</i>
1. Hill and Knowlton	\$9,800,000	341
2. Burson-Marsteller [°]	\$7,601,000 ²	320
3. Carl Byoir & Associates	—	248
4. Ruder & Finn	\$6,600,000	235 ³
5. J. Walter Thompson PR (including Dialog) [°]	\$6,250,000	305
6. Infoplan International (Interpublic) [°]	\$4,600,000 ⁴	124
7. Harshe-Rotman & Druck	\$3,820,000 ⁴	143
8. Communications Board ⁵	\$2,981,000	122
9. Daniel J. Edelman	\$2,807,426	136
10. Booke and Co.	\$2,713,494	93
11. Ketchum, MacLeod & Grove PR Dept. [°]	\$2,500,000 ⁴	91
12. Doremus & Co. [°]	\$2,353,000	92
13. PPR International (Young & Rubicam) [°]	\$2,200,000	130
14. Manning, Selvage & Lee	\$2,121,909 ⁶	66
15. The Rowland Co.	\$1,834,000 ⁴	61
16. Georgeson & Co.	\$1,750,000	35
17. Rogers, Cowan & Brenner	\$1,700,000	67
18. Edward Gottlieb & Assocs.	\$1,200,000	46
19. Coordinated Communications [°]	\$1,200,000	39
20. N. W. Ayer & Son [°]	\$1,050,000	42
21. Bell & Stanton	\$1,026,042	34
22. Albert Frank-Guenther Law [°]	\$1,000,000	38
23. Underwood, Jordan Assocs.	\$900,400	30
24. Dudley-Anderson-Yutzky	\$896,344	48
25. Hank Meyer Assocs.	\$857,055	22
26. Gardner, Jones & Co.	\$766,000 ⁷	24
27. Fleishman-Hillard	\$750,000 ⁴	33
28. Bozell, Jacobs & Wallrapp [°]	\$741,000 ⁴	24
29. Robert Marston and Assocs.	\$718,000	25
30. Woody Kepner & Assocs.	\$711,755	30
31. Aaron D. Cushman & Assocs.	\$702,365	24
32. Barkin, Herman & Assocs.	\$700,000	30

Table 24-1 continued

	<i>1973 Net Fee Income¹</i>	<i>Total Employees</i>
33. Cunningham & Walsh*	\$614,000	23
34. Darcy Communications*	\$600,000 ⁴	26
35. Addison, Goldstein & Walsh	\$589,000	33
36. Anthony M. Franco	\$588,912	22
37. Cooper & Golin	\$580,000 ⁸	25
38. Edward Howard & Co.	\$562,457	19
39. Grey & Davis ⁶	\$577,000 ⁴	20
40. The Softness Group	\$519,422	21

*Ad agency PR Dept. or partner

¹Net fee income is for 12 months ended June 30, 1973, unless otherwise indicated

²Year ended Sept. 30, 1973

³Does not include 40 persons abroad in offices partially owned by R & F

⁴Year ended Dec. 31, 1973

⁵Includes Financial Relations Board and Public Relations Board

⁶MS & L and related companies for years ending Dec. 31, 1972 and March 31, 1973

⁷Year ended Feb. 28, 1973

⁸Year ended Jan. 31, 1973

The Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), an association of about 7,000 professional members, maintains a program of accrediting public relations practitioners through a series of written and oral examinations on the body of public relations theory and practice. The society also maintains a code of ethical and professional standards. Such programs have increased professionalism in the field.

The Work of Public Relations

In its occupational guide to public relations, PRSA outlines eight major job classifications for PR personnel, dispelling the common image of the PR man as nothing more than a loud-mouthed, hard-drinking, high-living, party-throwing, fact-manipulating promoter of bad causes.

The eight kinds of jobs that public relations must provide are: (1) writing; (2) editing; (3) placement, meaning knowledge of and work with mass media; (4) promotion, meaning planning and preparation of special events; (5) speaking; (6) production, meaning typography, layout, and the technical end of broadcasting and film; (7) programming, meaning the work of counseling and advising for



Buster Miller

"Jones, you're fired!"

Reproduced by special permission of Play-boy Magazine; © 1967 by Playboy.

long-range communicative effort and public image; and (8) institutional advertising, meaning the use of advertising for specific public relations purposes.

The public relations job includes other elements as well. The public relations man must be an expert on the subject about which he is relating. He must be the information center for his field, the central clearinghouse. He must also be versed in public affairs and current events, with a sensitivity to the forces that are shaping the world and public opinion, so that he can be the eyes and ears of his organization and respond with advice about goals and directions.



"Here's your share of the moon rocks. Study them and then justify their expense."

Editorial cartoon by Pat Oliphant. Copyright, The Denver Post. Reprinted with permission of Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

Therefore he must increasingly understand the social and behavioral sciences and be able to apply statistical analysis and the use of the computer to his work.

PRSA's occupational guide lists five attributes for public relations: imagination; verbalizing skills, for writing and speaking; extraversion, for contact with people; sensitivity to people and events; and organizing and planning skills, including leadership and administrative ability.

While writing and speaking skills are essential to public relations, more emphasis should also be given to seeing and listening abilities. Communication, as we have said throughout this book, is a mutual act, requiring a receiver as well as a sender. Communication is a two-way process. In fact, public relations pioneer Ivy Lee long ago spoke of public relations as a "two-way street." The message sender must be a message receiver to make communication effective. The best persuader is often the best listener.

A good example of this was the war in Vietnam. President Johnson believed he was doing the right thing in bombing Hanoi. But he could not persuade the majority of Americans to agree with him. A good public relations man, listening to the will of the people, could perhaps have saved the President by either advising a more accept-

able course of action or preparing a more persuasive argument for the final decision.

Rights in Conflict

Unfortunately, not all that is sent to the mass media from public relations offices is legitimate news or genuine human-interest material. Much of it is puffery, self-promotion, or a cover up of damaging facts. One cannot blame the public relations man for putting his client's best foot forward. That is not only a natural human tendency; it is a human right. We cannot expect the public relations man to have the objective judgment about his message that the newsman should have.

Even more unfortunately, however, the newsman often fails in his role as an objective judge of the competing messages of various vested interests. Too often, the public relations man's news release provides an easy way out for reporters or editors. It gives them a story for which they do not have to do extensive digging and research. The lazy journalist, the hurried journalist, the untrained journalist too often fall victim to the messages of public relations.

How much of today's news starts in a public relations office? No authoritative answer has been given to that question. Obviously, the answer depends upon the medium. Those newspapers and news broadcast offices that maintain large, well-trained, and well-paid staffs are less likely to depend upon the messages of outsiders than are small, economically weak and marginal news operations. Some studies of some media have shown that more than 50 percent of the editorial matter originated in press releases or promotional material.

Clearly, two rights are involved and are sometimes in conflict here. One is the right of each individual or group to express its point of view and tell its version of the truth. The other is the right to know, the right of individuals and groups to have access to accurate information about any subject of immediate concern. When these two rights are in conflict, it is difficult to know which has supremacy over the other, if at all. Perhaps the best that can be done in a democratic society is to maintain a balance between the two; the tension resulting from the effort to maintain such a balance should help preserve a healthy society.

The Future

Without doubt, the role of public relations will grow more important in the decade of the seventies and beyond. As the population of the world grows and as the size of the planet shrinks (with supersonic jets and instantaneous global electronic communication), the relationships between people will become more crucial.

Communication, indeed, is essential to world peace. Understanding is essential to satisfactory relationships. Increasingly, more people in the world will need expert advice and counsel on how they can make themselves understood, or how they can change their ways to make themselves acceptable. This can be, and should be, the work of public relations, making use of mass media for human persuasion, through two-way communication.

CHAPTER **25** Sales and Advertising

Consider the items the American family buys and uses—toothpaste, automobiles, canned goods, cigarettes, clothing, hardware, frozen foods, beer, tires, deodorant, watches, ready-to-eat cereal, paper products, cosmetics, patent medicines, and so on ad infinitum. Why does the consumer spend his money on these items? They must have some physical or social value, but how does the buyer distinguish between brands when there is a great deal of similarity?

What is it that makes McDonald's hamburgers preferable to those of another quick-service food chain? Part of the answer is Ronald McDonald and his flying hamburger. Adults and children alike know that hamburgers cannot fly, and that there really is no Ronald McDonald as he is depicted. Yet Ronald McDonald is an important

factor in the mass consumption of hamburgers, because he serves as a readily identifiable symbol. Ronald McDonald informs the consumer as to hamburger availability, convinces the buyer of the hamburger's value in satisfying his needs, and finally persuades the consumer to buy one hamburger in preference to another. All of these steps are a part of the advertising-communication process. Ronald McDonald is above all else a communicator in the sales use of the mass media.

*What Is Advertising?*²

Many individuals have very strong negative attitudes toward advertising as the result of some advertising campaigns and popular opinions concerning the power and influence of the ad industry. Advertising is neither the devil incarnate nor savior of our economic system.

In the past the overwhelming concern of American industry has been production. Nevertheless, since World War II, distribution—getting goods and services to the public—has become the dominant consideration of many consumer-oriented companies. One of the critical components of the marketing mix, or plan, is advertising.

In order for a message to be classified as advertising, it must have the following characteristics: (1) a medium must be used to transmit the message; (2) money must be paid by the advertiser to the medium for carrying the message; (3) the message must be directed at more than one person, preferably a large number of potential consumers; (4) the message must identify the goods-services and/or the sender of the message. These characteristics make advertising a different business-communication from personal selling, sales promotion, publicity, or public relations.

Advertising's increasing importance in the economy since the turn of the century can be easily demonstrated by noting that billings have grown from about \$500,000 in 1900 to about \$2.5 billion in 1935 to nearly \$25 billion today. Significantly, most of that growth has occurred since World War II.

Historical Perspectives

The ancient world was filled with the calls of street criers hawking their wares or praising the goods of their employers. The crier was

aided by hand-lettered, carved, chiseled signs, and guild emblems that identified the seller and encouraged the buyer. However, it was not until the seventeenth century that advertising found a truly efficient means of information dissemination—the mass media. By the eighteenth century, England established a tax designed to discourage advertising and protect the ignorant from being cheated.

With the rise of mass production, mass consumption, and new mass media systems, advertising grew to the extent that specialized functions were assigned to separate organizations in the second half of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s the first advertising agency had evolved to serve as a sales arm of the media. Eventually agency allegiances were transferred to advertisers, for whom they created advertisements as well as dealt with the media.

As the industry expanded, self-regulation became necessary to provide “truth in advertising.” *Printer’s Ink* successfully drafted an



Courtesy Publishers-Hall Syndicate.

“What a TV battle! . . . The politicians fighting for our minds and the cosmetic people battling for the rest of our bodies, faces and hair!”

advertising statute, adopted by nearly every state, designed to protect both the public and the consumer while upgrading the image of advertising.

By the 1920s, advertising was an essential factor in the marketing mix because distribution was becoming as important as production for the economic well-being of many corporations. During this same period radio evolved, and by the depression years was a dominant force in national advertising campaigns. Despite the hard times of the 1930s and the lack of consumer goods during World War II, advertising revenues continued to increase. By the end of the war, media selection, audience research, client relations, as well as creative departments, served important roles in complex advertising-agency operations.

The 1950s and 1960s saw increases in advertising expenditures—approximately 400 percent in 20 years. With the emergence of television, advertisers had an efficient new sales tool and possibly the most dynamic advertising medium of all time.

With the advent of the 1970s, new technological achievements are having their impact on advertising. The computer is radicalizing many facets of the business. The expectation is that new techniques, new media campaigns, and new message construction coupled with the anticipated population growth will create an unequaled advertising boom during this decade.

Factors That Influence Advertising Decisions

Some individuals assume that advertising operates in a vacuum, and they attribute greater power to advertising than is actually the case. Obviously, advertising is a significant form of communication, but a variety of conditions affect advertisers. The economic, social, and political forces outside the company affect not only advertising but that firm's internal production capability, financial flexibility, and channels of distribution as well. In addition, advertising campaigns are designed in terms of overall marketing considerations, which depend on the goods to be sold, the prices to be charged, as well as the availability of potential consumers.

Advertising is only one part of an extremely complex economic system. Advertising does have more public exposure, and because of this it has become a focal point for praise and criticism in our economic system.

Advertising Controls

In order to protect the consumer and counteract public criticism of advertising, a variety of controls have evolved. These controls over advertising come from three major sources: (1) governmental regulation, (2) industry codes of self-regulation, and (3) public pressure groups seeking specific changes from one or both of the above groups.

Governmental Regulation. The primary force in governmental regulation of advertising is the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), which was set up under the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914 and bolstered by the Wheeler-Lee amendments of 1938. Since that time a variety of laws have increased the FTC's role. Each new law has, in effect, been a compromise between the forces seeking stringent governmental controls and the industry, which feels any additional legislation is unnecessary. This kind of compromise is characteristic of our society, which is in a constant state of flux.

Although the Federal Communications Act of 1934 and subsequent broadcast legislation have never given the Federal Communications Commission direct control over advertisers, the FCC can and does exert some influence over the radio and television stations in advertising matters. In the case of cigarette ads, the commission had no jurisdiction over the tobacco companies. However, this agency forced the radio and TV stations, which it licenses, to refuse to accept cigarette advertising after January 1, 1971, but allowed them to accept ads for cigars and pipe tobacco.

In the end, however, it is the FTC that serves as the major federal watchdog over advertising practices. Most of the current laws and proposed legislation deal with seven basic problem areas:

1. Copyright laws protect original expressions of advertising ideas from being exploited by anyone other than the creator or his agents.

2. The Lanham Trade-Mark Act (1947) protects use of distinctive product names, identifying symbols, and advertising exclusively by the creator and his agents.

3. An individual's "right of privacy" is protected, since the advertiser must obtain written permission for any use of a person's name or his endorsement in an advertisement.

4. A lottery is an illegal interstate activity and is also outlawed in most individual states. Advertising contests must not contain all of

these three elements: prize; consideration; and chance. If they do they are defined as lotteries and are subject to gambling laws.

5. Obscenity and bad taste are difficult to identify because the morals of this country are in a constant state of flux. What is acceptable today would have been obscene ten years ago. Some ads in *Playboy* could be thought in bad taste by some people if seen in the context of some media like *Boy's Life*.

6. Truth in advertising is generally agreed to be an absolutely essential item of an advertisement. However, an exact definition of truth is hard to come by. The FTC attacks untruths in advertising because they are "unfair methods of competition."

7. Libel or defamation (the intent to harm a person's reputation is a legally punishable offense, and advertisers take every precaution against it.

Most of the cases handled by the Federal Trade Commission originate with a business competitor or a consumer. Some cases do originate from studies initiated by the FTC or another agency. After investigation a formal complaint may be issued; the advertiser is given an opportunity to respond in a hearing. If the advertiser is found guilty, a cease-and-desist order is issued, forcing the advertiser to end the practice.

Besides the FTC and FCC, the U.S. Post Office, Food and Drug Administration, Alcohol Tax Unit, Patent Office, and Securities and Exchange Commission exert pressures, if not actual control, over advertising at the federal level.

Industry Regulation. Public and governmental outcries over excessive amounts of advertising, special product advertising (liquor), labeling, and other problems have led the industry to devise self-regulations to avoid the passage of new, more stringent laws.

Industry self-regulation of advertising practices comes from three sources: (1) advertisers; (2) advertising agencies; (3) media. Although this form of regulation is not legally binding, it is effective because internal pressures are applied by the industry on offenders.

ADVERTISERS. Self-regulation occurs here on both the local-retailer and national-manufacturer levels. Retailers have organized Better Business Bureaus to investigate consumers' and competitors' advertising complaints before legal action becomes necessary. There are approximately 100 local bureaus associated with the National Better Business Bureau, which developed a "Fair Practice Code for Advertising and Selling." In addition, "The Advertising Code of

American Business" has been adopted by both Advertising Federation of America and the Association of National Advertisers.

AGENCY. Self-regulation functions here under the auspices of the American Association of Advertising Agencies. The "4As" endorses "The Advertising Code of American Businesses." This code's major concerns are truthfulness, responsibility, decency, and accuracy.

The Committee on Improvement of Advertising Content of the American Association of Advertising Agencies seeks to evaluate offensive ads and recommends changes in that campaign to its agency. The advertisers individually or through trade associations police advertising practices.

MEDIA. The media also review advertising and regulate the kinds of products and appeals that appear for public consumption. The stronger a given newspaper, magazine, radio, or TV station becomes financially, the less likely it is to permit marginally acceptable ads. The fleeting quality of the broadcast media makes radio-TV ads more difficult to review, but the National Association of Broadcasters has established a "code" for advertising and other member activities. Unfortunately, not all stations subscribe to the code.

The general purpose of self-regulation is twofold: It helps protect the public from false advertising; and it heads off further governmental restriction of advertising.

Public Pressure Groups. The individual's major form of advertising control—the refusal to buy the offending product—could be the most effective ad control, but generally is not because this form of protest is not organized.

The consumer's major success has been in group protests and information campaigns such as the Consumers Union, which publishes *Consumer Report*. Occasionally, crusaders arise to take up the consumer's cause. Under the leadership of Ralph Nader, an increasingly successful group of dedicated young people have committed themselves to consumer protection.

The Advertising Communicator. Four distinct industrial groups are involved in the process of advertising communication: (1) the advertiser or company that produces and/or sells the goods or services being advertised; (2) the advertising agency that represents the advertiser and creates advertisements; (3) the media representative who has three essential duties—to sell a given medium in preference to another; to sell a given market area in preference to another; and to sell on basic media unit in preference to another; (4) the medium that carries the advertisement.

In most cases the local advertiser deals directly with the local media. The ads are usually prepared in one of three ways. First, the local merchant's advertising department can design them. That is the case for most large department stores such as Marshall Field and Company in Chicago, which has an outstanding advertising department. Second, the local merchant can use advertisements provided by the national manufacturer of the goods he sells. Third, the medium can prepare the ad for the advertiser as a part of the total media service. In all these circumstances there is considerable interaction between the advertiser and the medium.

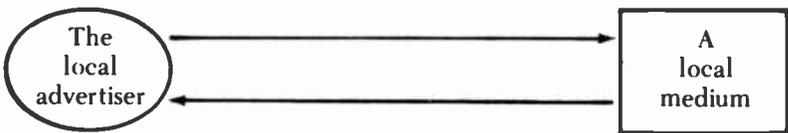


Figure 25-1.

Advertisers that use agencies to represent them seldom deal directly with the media. In this situation the agency, the company's advertising expert, prepares ads for, and recommends media to, the advertiser. If the advertiser approves, the agency then deals with the newspapers, magazines, or broadcasting stations involved in that ad campaign. In this case the agency initiates the action with both the advertiser and the medium.



Figure 25-2.

The advertising agency serves a variety of functions for its clients or advertisers. It develops the creative plans, including laying out the ads, doing the art work, writing the copy, and producing the materials for reproduction of print advertisements. For television commercials, the agency develops themes, creates storyboards, casts talent, and selects a production group. In addition, the agency develops the media

plans, does research on marketing and creative aspects of the campaign, and services other aspects of the total marketing mix.

A typical organizational structure of a large agency encourages specialization on the part of most of its employees.

There are five major ways in which the advertising department of a major corporation is normally organized:

1. It may be organized according to the media dealt with. Under this arrangement, advertising has a television-and-radio manager, a newspaper manager, and an outdoor manager. The emphasis of specialization in this case is based on the unique characteristics of each medium.

2. The department may be organized by product. At Proctor and Gamble, each of the company's brands has a complete team to service it, which leads to strong competition between brand teams as well as with other manufacturers.

3. The advertising director may have assistants for the South, Northeast, Midwest, and West. This geographical pattern of organization works well with companies that produce regional products or use specialized channels of distribution.

4. Some companies base their advertising operations on the kinds of users who buy their products and therefore have a farm manager, an industrial manager, an institutional manager, and a consumer manager.

5. The functional approach is used by many companies. This arrangement has an art manager, a copywriting manager, a media manager, and a production manager.

Each of these systems is designed to service company needs in the most efficient manner, depending on demands made on that corporation's advertising department.

Within each of the major categories a team of specialists normally serves a limited number of clients. So in addition to the vertical organization in figure 25-3, there is also a horizontal team servicing a given client.

In smaller agencies the degree of specialization is much less rigorous, and the same individual may well serve creative, media, and account functions.

Regardless of size, agencies are used by advertisers in order to reduce costs and improve the effectiveness of that company's ads.

At another level of complexity, the media may also have advertising representatives. In these instances the agency devises an advertis-

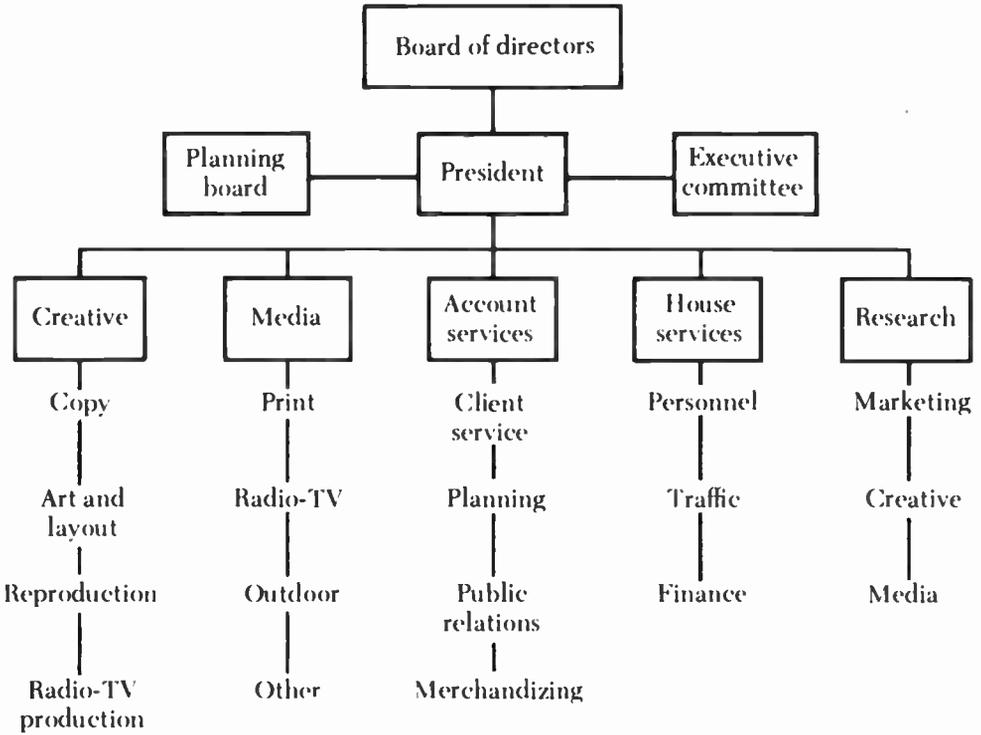


Figure 25-3.
Structure of major corporations' advertising departments.

ing campaign and secures the advertisers' approval. Then, the agency contacts the media representative, who makes the necessary arrangements with the media. Under this interaction pattern, the media and advertisers are still farther removed from one another, since the major negotiations are conducted between the advertising agency and the media representative.

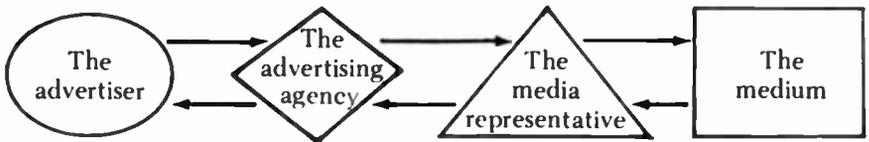


Figure 25-4.

As the advertising industry has grown more complex, the advertising agencies and media reps have become extremely important communication partners of advertisers and media in the sales-communication process.

The Target Audience. Advertisers seek out those persons who use or are likely to buy their products. We call these prospects the target audience. The consumer or target audience is the central focus of advertising communication. Advertising research seeks to specify the characteristics of the target audience, to identify the basic media units that reach the target audience most efficiently, and to develop advertisements that persuade that target audience to purchase the product being marketed.

The consumer must work to sort out the thousands of product advertisements that compete for his attention, time, and money. It is estimated that the average American sees or hears more than 1,600 ads each day, and the consumer has created psychological mechanisms that filter out those advertising communications that are of no value to him and increase his awareness of products for which he has an immediate need. That is why the advertiser must ensure that his ads reach more of the right people and are better communications than those of his competitors.

Advertising Classifications

Advertiser-communicators have developed labeling systems to clarify advertising processes. The four basic ways of classifying advertising are: (1) by type of advertiser; (2) by audience; (3) by message—content, placement, and approach; and (4) by medium.

These classification systems are important because they identify the who, what, where, when, and how in relation to advertisers' expenditures and media earnings.

Type of Advertiser. There are two major categories of advertisers: general and retail.

The general advertiser is usually a national or regional producer or distributor of a limited number of product classes. He does not normally sell directly to the consumer. Nearly every general advertiser's campaigns are developed and executed by an advertising agency. Some corporations that produce competing brands in the same product class utilize the services of several agencies. Most general adver-

tisers have come to use television heavily but also invest large sums in supplementary advertising in magazines, radio, and newspapers.

The retail advertiser, by contrast, is normally a local or limited regional operation that traditionally does not retain an advertising agency. The retailer's ads are prepared or supplied by the retailer's advertising department, the media in which the ads are placed, or the general advertiser whose products the retailer merchandises. The retail advertiser depends most heavily on local newspapers and radio stations.

Most retail and general advertisers maintain continuing ad campaigns to obtain the positive, cumulative effects of repetitive advertising. However, the most pressing concern of the retailer is immediate sales from specific ads, whereas the general advertiser is more concerned with the long-range effects and future sales of the total advertising campaign. The retailer must reach the consumers seeking immediate gratification of a specific need. The general advertiser is seeking to lay a foundation for purchasing decisions when the consumer need arises.

Type of Audience. There are two groups to whom advertisers seek to sell their goods and services: other businesses and consumers.

Advertisers who seek industrial buyers, including other manufacturers, distributors, and retailers, are involved in *business* advertising. Most business advertising appears in the industry or trade press and in very specialized direct-mail campaigns.

Advertisers who seek individuals or individual home units are involved in mass, *consumer* advertising. Consumer advertising uses all the available media to varying degrees, depending on the specific thrust of the products' campaign.

The target audiences of business and consumer advertising make significantly different demands on the advertiser, especially in the scope of the media plan and the number of buyers available. The business advertiser sells goods and services that are in turn converted into consumer goods and services. The advertiser of consumer goods is selling items that are used directly by the people that buy them.

By Message. The content, placement, and approach of advertisements are important because they designate the intent of the advertising communication.

The *content* of an advertisement-message may be either institutional or product oriented. Institutional ads refer to messages that develop the *image* of the advertiser. Institutional messages do not

seek the immediate sale of specific products but rather attempt to create a positive attitude of good will in the mind of the public toward that advertiser. Institutional advertising may also seek to correct a negative corporate image, align the company with specific national goals, or, more recently, place the company in the vanguard on a specific social issue, such as race relations. Many industries pool individual, corporate, and financial resources to improve the general image of industry as a whole. America's railroads recently invested great sums in this type of ad campaign. In effect, this type of advertising message serves a function generally assigned to public relations. However, it is hoped that the long-range effect of institutional ads may lead to future sales by creating this positive image.

Product advertising seeks to generate *sales* of a specific commodity. The sales may occur immediately or at a later date when the consumer needs to replace or replenish a specific item. In terms of total dollar volume spent, product advertising overwhelmingly exceeds institutional advertising.

The *placement* category identifies the advertiser placing the message in a given medium, and there are three designations of type of ad placement: national, spot, and local. National advertising refers to ads placed by general advertisers in national media (broadcast networks, magazines, and so on). Spot (or national spot) advertising identifies ads placed in local media by general advertisers. Local advertising specifies messages that retailers place in local media.

When the Chevrolet Division of General Motors advertises on the NBC radio network, that is national advertising. When Chevrolet places an ad directly with WSB-TV, an Atlanta TV station, that is spot advertising. When a Chevrolet dealer buys space in the *Milwaukee Journal*, that is local advertising.

In terms of television, national advertising accounts for nearly 45 percent of every TV dollar, spot 38 percent, and local 17 percent. For radio, local advertising accounts for 68 percent, spot 29 percent, and national only 3 percent.

A hybrid has also emerged in this category, cooperative (co-op) advertising. Co-op advertising refers to ads placed in local media by general advertisers and their retail outlets in combination. They share the costs and reap the benefits of the lower, local-media rates.

The *content* approach is another way of analyzing advertising messages. Advertisements may be *direct* and demand immediate action: "Sale, Today Only!" "Buy Now and Save!" The *indirect* ap-

proach is a "soft sell." It seeks action, but is calmer and more reserved or may use whimsy, humor, and informality in its approach. "Now" is replaced by "soon" or "at your convenience," or "when the need arises."

Both are effective, and when handled by experts, neither content approach is insensitive or offensive. But the indirect approach seems to be growing more dominant as time goes by.

Type of Medium. This classification system helps assess the relative strengths of the various media. Radio and television account for practically all advertising revenue for electric media, although a small amount is spent for consumer advertising in motion picture theaters. Five media account for most of the revenue earned by print advertisers: newspapers, magazines, billboards, transit, and direct mail.

Every company's media plan begins with an analysis of alternate classes of media. There is no universal rule as to which medium is best because each medium has advantages and drawbacks. More importantly, marketing objectives for most products require an advertising campaign that combines media to provide the greatest degree of flexibility.

The *newspaper* is the oldest mass advertising medium and annually accounts for almost 30 percent of all ad dollars, more than any other medium. It is without question the dominant and most flexible retail-advertising medium. The major values of advertising in newspapers are that nearly everyone reads a paper every day, and the reader is used to long, detailed copy in the ads. The major problem is that although newspapers are geographically selective, the advertiser must buy considerable waste readership that is not part of his desired target audience. In other words, everyone reads the paper, but many advertisers are seeking only a relatively small segment within that mass of people. Since newspaper rates are based on total circulation figures of the Audit Bureau of Circulation, the price may be too high for the very selective advertiser.

The rate is also influenced by the kind of advertising that is placed. General advertisers normally pay more than retail advertisers. There are different rates for classified ads and for display ads. Normally, political advertisers pay a premium price as do those placing legal notices.

Some papers charge a flat rate in which there are no discounts. The open rate is discounted on the volume of advertising placed

during a one-year period. Most newspaper rates are quoted in terms of agate lines (14 agate lines per column inch). If an agate line costs \$2, one column inch costs \$28, and the standard eight-column page costs about \$4,500. The comparative value of a newspaper is figured on the basis of milline rate. Using this computation:

$$\text{Milline rate} = \frac{1,000,000}{\text{circulation}} \times \text{Agate-line rate}$$

This method allows an advertiser to compare papers regardless of circulation, physical size of the ad, or geographical location. In addition to ads within the daily paper, the advertiser may use the Sunday supplement, the color comics, or spectacular inserts (four-color ads of more than one page).

The *magazine* has been used for advertising purposes for over 100 years, and earns 7 percent of the total annual advertising expenditure. The national-coverage patterns and high-quality reproduction of magazines make them a good carrier of a wide range of media plans. Their major disadvantage is that a specific ad has to compete with a number of similar products in a given issue.

The magazine is a much more selective advertising medium than the newspaper because the readership of magazines depends on a narrower editorial format or content. This means that if the proper magazine is selected, with the advertiser's target audience in mind, the readers should be receptive to ads that represent the general content thrust of that periodical. Products that appeal to young, affluent males should do well in *Playboy*. Farm magazines selectively provide excellent opportunities to reach rural audiences. Special professional groups can be best reached through trade papers. Even general-interest and news magazines are offering selective editions and spot-market ad plans in more than 20 different cities. *Time* has an edition that is mailed only to college students and another that is sent only to doctors.

Magazine-advertising rates are based on audited circulation figures; many magazines guarantee their circulation or the rate drops if the Audit Bureau of Circulation data indicate a loss of audience during the year. Rates are quoted in terms of pages, and premium rates are charged for two- and four-color ads as well as preferred positions, such as covers, bleeds, and gatefolds. Most contracts for major users of advertising space in a given magazine contract for a rate that cannot be increased during that contract year. Added value is provided by the

fact that individual copies of a magazine have long life and extensive pass-along readership, which is the process by which Americans share copies of a given issue over a considerable period of time.

Radio advertising began in the early 1920s, became a critical part of the national advertiser's media mix during the thirties and forties, and today is an important local medium that accounts for about 6 percent of all annual ad revenue. Radio's major advertising advantages are that the medium has excellent coverage, 99 percent of all homes are radio-equipped, and the new music-news-sports-talk formats develop highly selective and loyal audiences. The primary disadvantages are lack of visual stimulus, its transient quality, and clutter (too many messages per hour).

In the past, advertisers bought blocks of time. Today they buy commercial minutes or 30-second spots. The commercial's cost is based on the estimated audience size during that time segment, which is determined by audience-research reports by the American Research Bureau or Pulse, Inc. These rating reports describe the audience's characteristics and estimate total listenership. The two most expensive parts of the day are morning and evening "drive-time," when people are going to, or coming home from, work. Weekly low-cost packages are available, but the ads are placed in the program schedule at the discretion of the stations. The rates in these packages go down as the number of ads per week goes up.

The CBS, NBC, and Mutual Radio networks provide large national audiences at a low cost, with their limited programming operations, basically news. The ABC Radio Network offers four specialized services: (1) the American Contemporary Network, (2) the American FM Network, (3) the American Information Network, and (4) the American Entertainment Network. Each is designed to offer a news service that fits the station's basic format. In addition to these national services, the advertiser may use one of approximately 150 regional radio networks.

Television is the newest major advertising medium. It began officially on July 1, 1941, when commercial telecasting was authorized by the Federal Communications Commission. Today TV ads account for nearly 20 percent of all advertising dollars. The major assets of television are: (1) the medium's reach (over 95 percent of U.S. homes have televisions); (2) the medium's heavy use by American families (over six hours per day); (3) the dynamic impact of sight, sound, motion, color, and demonstration; (4) the ready-made interest in the pro-

grams—the viewer must act to avoid the advertisement. The major problems are that it requires a large financial outlay to sustain a lengthy campaign, and a number of products must compete for message retention during each commercial break.

Although most rates are quoted in terms of lengthy time units (hours, half hours), practically *no one* buys advertising this way. In the 1960s the commercial minute and later the 30-second spot became the dominant advertiser purchase. Few programs are sponsored by one advertiser. Today, the advertiser spreads his investment over large numbers of *network* programs in the form of spot buys, where the advertiser selects the program and pays the going rate; or selects “packages,” indicating the size of his budget. Then the networks select a group of program slots at a unit price. The general and retail advertiser also buy selectively on a market-by-market or station-by-station basis, seeking out the best available commercial spots.

The advertising rates charged by TV networks and stations are determined by the estimated size of the audience during a specific program in a given time slot. The most expensive commercial minutes occur during the prime-time hours (7:30–11:00 P.M.) when viewing is heaviest. Audience size is determined by using the TV rating services of the A. C. Nielson Company and the American Research Bureau (ARB). Discounts are built into the “buy”—the number of commercials placed on the station. Officially, there are no major discounts on the networks because they would work to the competitive disadvantage of the small advertiser—and would be considered a restraint of trade. However, large “package” buys do represent a savings.

In addition to the three national networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC), there are about a dozen regional networks, and there are more than 70 independent commercial stations available for advertiser use.

Creative Advertising Communication

Advertising creativity depends on the ability of the advertising encoder to develop advertisements that move the target audience to respond positively by buying the product advertised. With the ever-increasing political, social, and economic pressures of our complex mass society, creative advertisers need to do more than exercise creative freedom. They must constantly improve media plans, research skills, copywriting, and visual techniques. The competition for con-

sumer attention is growing fiercer, and the truly creative advertising campaign is being forced to assist in the consumer's handling of this information implosion. The target audience must *hear* as well as listen, and *see* as well as watch a given ad, if the ad is to be a creative sales tool.

The creative advertisement has to revolve around consumer needs and the ability of a given product to satisfy those needs. The target audience is not some unthinking mass; it is composed of individual, thinking beings. The few intellectuals who sneer at advertising as some sort of drivel are as foolish as the rare advertiser-communicator who believes that he can consistently mislead the public. David Ogilvy in *Confessions of an Advertising Man* argues most persuasively for intelligent, creative advertising when he states, "The consumer isn't a moron; she is your wife."

CHAPTER **26**

Entertainment

The mass media are perhaps used more for entertainment than anything else. The media are utilized to provide recreation and play for an ever-expanding audience with increasing hours of leisure time. It is essential that mass communicated messages used for information, analysis, persuasion, education, and promotion be entertaining as well. Without mass audiences, mass media could not survive and without entertainment, mass media could not attract mass audiences.

Three aspects are relevant to an understanding of the importance of entertainment in the mass media: (1) leisure, or free time from work or duty; (2) play, or nondirected, random, spontaneous amusement; and (3) recreation, or diverting pastime for relaxation and rejuvenation. Entertainment is a combination of these, a mental

or physical act that occurs during leisure time in the form of play for recreational purposes.

Mass Media and Play. Americans formerly had difficulty coping with play because our society was work oriented. Those who followed the Protestant ethic praised work and achievement and condemned play and idleness. Entertainment was often considered suspect, if not inherently bad, because it occupied time that could be better spent at work. For many Americans, work was the real business of life, and the periods between labor were times of guilt. Much criticism of the mass media has been inspired by this old work ethic, prompting the feeling that if the reader or listener or viewer is not being informed, enlightened, persuaded, or educated, his experience is a waste of time.

New Leisured Class. Traditionally, the leisured class was composed of the wealthy and well-educated elite who were expected to use their freedom from work to refine the culture and their money to encourage artists to improve life. For the rest of society, limited leisure was earned by working, and often that time had to be used to prepare for future labors.

Today, the industrial revolution has forced us to change our attitudes toward leisure. Machines have taken over much of our heavy labor, shortening our workweek and leaving us with more free time. In 1900 the average workweek was six days long, or 72 hours; by 1950 it had been reduced to five days and 44 hours; by 1970, less than 40 hours a week was an average work time, and the four-day week was becoming increasingly popular. One observer computed that the average worker in 1970 had 2,750 hours of free time each year, not counting work, sleep, eating, or commuting time. A large portion of those 2,750 hours each year was spent with attention focused on the media.

Mass Media and Recreation. Today we recognize more than before that recreation is vital to personal happiness and self-development. The human being needs to restore and rejuvenate himself through diversion and relaxation. The pressures of society, the pace of modern life, the intensity of competition, and the anxieties caused by increasing change and mobility have made recreation more important than ever before.

Much mass media fare has been designed specifically to provide recreation. Television situation comedies, newspaper lovelorn columns, romantic movies, comic strips, magazine features, radio soap



"I don't care how bad the news is—you promised to read them 'Winnie the Pooh'!"

Courtesy B. Tobey. Copyright © 1969 by Saturday Review, Inc. First appeared in Saturday Review July 8, 1967. Used with permission.

operas, and suspense novels have often been criticized by segments of the intellectual community, but they have an increasingly important recreational function. They help to provide emotional escape, create fantasy, and allow for physical catharsis necessary to renewal of the human spirit.

Scope of Entertainment in Media Content

Entertainment is an important element in almost all aspects of mass media. Artists, writers, journalists, teachers, and preachers have long known the value of drama, humor, and entertainment in the process of creating, reporting, educating, and promoting. We might speak of entertainment as an "overlaid" use of mass media, because it is an aspect of almost all media content.

News as Entertainment. Newspapers and news magazines often try to make the news as entertaining as possible. The layout of the page is designed to make information attractive and palatable. News content itself is often intermingled with humorous features, amusing sidebars, diverting human interest stories, and clever fillers.

Even writing style can add entertainment to news presentation. David Brinkley's wry, laconic style and Walter Cronkite's sense of humor made their evening news programs entertaining as well as newsworthy. CBS's Charles Kuralt did an amusing series of "on-the-road" reports, pieces that provided information about ordinary citizens and little-known events presented in a low-key, human interest manner that was packed with insight.

Sometimes news provides unexpected entertainment. One of the most interesting moments in news entertainment came during the NBC-TV broadcast of the 1964 Republican convention, when John Chancellor was carried off the convention floor in semiarrest. As he was being taken away he signed off with, "This is John Chancellor, somewhere in custody." It was news, and it said something about that convention; but it was also entertaining.

Often publications or productions designed primarily to be entertaining also provide news and information. "Marcus Welby, M.D." (ABC-TV), an entertainment series about a general practitioner, attempted to provide information about diseases and their treatments. The novel *The Godfather* entertained but also informed the reader about Mafia operations. Even the comic book provides certain types of information for many of its young readers.

Analysis as Entertainment. Much analysis contains entertainment. Editorial cartoons take positions on issues, analyze and interpret events, but also entertain audiences. The humor in such cartoons helps attract the reader's attention and becomes important in the analysis of the problems involved.

Columns and Editorials Often Entertain. Art Buchwald's syndicated column analyzed the American political, economic, and social system. He satirized our morals, manners, and politics. William F. Buckley, Jr., is perhaps not a great American entertainer, and his PBS television series, "Firing Line," was perhaps not primarily intended as entertainment. But nonetheless, the program was often diverting, interesting, and amusing as it analyzed and interpreted events. Regardless of one's political stripe, one has to admit that Mr. Buckley was often entertaining.

The *Peanuts* comic strips, paperback books, television specials, and feature motion pictures are all blatant, unadulterated, good-natured fun. For many fans, *Peanuts* is the ultimate entertainment, and Charlie Brown is a child's version of Everyman. The philosophy of Charles Schulz (creator of *Peanuts*) is that a comic strip that does

not say something is valueless. Mr. Schulz analyzes, interprets, and editorializes as he entertains. *Peanuts* has evaluated psychiatry (Lucy and her five-cent psychiatry booth), interpreted good sportsmanship (Charlie Brown and his baseball team), and analyzed commercialized religious holidays (the Great Pumpkin), among others.

Motion pictures, too, can combine entertainment with instruction. *In the Heat of the Night*, *Up Tight*, *Nothing But a Man*, *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter*, *A Patch of Blue*, *One Potato-Two Potato*, and *Purlie Victorious* are motion pictures designed primarily to entertain audiences, but all also teach us something about the condition of the black man in the United States.

Persuasion as Entertainment. Entertainment is an ingredient essential to persuasion and propaganda. One must attract and hold public attention in order to persuade, and entertainment is often more effective than information in gaining an audience. Sometimes the most subtle propaganda is that which contains the least information and most entertainment, for example a military concert to promote the Pentagon, or the programming of the Voice of America to promote U.S. interests.

In the brilliant propaganda film *The Triumph of the Will*, director Leni Riefenstahl glorified Adolph Hitler and the Nazi party. Despite our horror of Nazism, the film's ability to entertain still excites us and makes us forget our feelings about Nazism.

During World War II, Hollywood's entertainment factory went to war. Hundreds of feature films supporting the war effort were made, such as *Across the Pacific*, *Bataan*, *Guadalcanal Diary*, *Lifeboat*, *Master Race*, *Mrs. Miniver*, and *They Were Expendable*. In each of these films the enemy was depicted as evil and dehumanized; Americans and their allies, by contrast, were shown as pure, tough, and right. Interestingly, few major films have been made in direct support of America's military involvement in Vietnam. One exception is John Wayne's *The Green Berets*, which was entertainment that propagandized in a World War II fashion. It sought to persuade audiences that came to the theater to be entertained. It was not very popular, ironically, suggesting that factors other than entertainment are involved in effective propaganda.

Advertising as Entertainment. The primary purpose of advertising is to sell products, but to make sales requires audience attention. Entertainment is one way to get that attention. Thousands of entertaining ads also sell. One of the best ad campaigns of all time was

the Volkswagen series. They were good advertisements because they helped sell VWs. The same ads were good entertainment because they were interesting, diverting, and amusing. Another campaign entertainingly sold Benson & Hedges 100's in spite of a growing negative public attitude toward cigarette smoking. The best testimony for the entertainment value of commercials is the fact that small children watching television often pay more attention to the advertising than the program.

By the same token, the media often advertise as they entertain. All cars driven by the villains and the investigators in "The FBI" are Fords. Fords are used because that series is sponsored by the Ford Motor Company. An attempt is often made to link well-known entertainers with products. Bill Cosby plugged Crest because Proctor and Gamble sponsored "The Bill Cosby Show" on NBC-TV. Sometimes an attempt is made to link a program with the show's sponsor: "The Kraft Music Hall" (Kraft Foods) and "The Hallmark Hall of Fame" (Hallmark Greeting Cards) are examples of this entertainment-sales strategy.

Education as Entertainment. "Sesame Street" is an excellent example of an educational TV program that is also highly entertaining. The series was designed to teach preschoolers basic skills that would be helpful when they entered kindergarten and first grade. In order to maintain attention, the program used all of the most interesting qualities and techniques of film and television. For example, highly sophisticated TV commercial styles are used to teach the alphabet and numbers.

Films like *Easy Rider*, *The Graduate*, and *Bonnie and Clyde*, plus radio programming of rock music, are elements in the socialization of young people. Both media are primarily concerned with entertainment, but they play an educational role as well.

Textbooks are designed to attempt to keep the child's attention as they teach reading skills. Much English instruction in the United States is designed to teach youngsters to appreciate entertaining literature.

Few media experiences are purely entertaining. Entertainment that does not serve another function is rare. Many media productions that are designed primarily for entertainment serve other functions as well. For example, "Adam-12" was an NBC-TV entertainment series about two police officers in Los Angeles, but episodes of this television series provided six other forms of media content:

1. "Adam-12" 's ability to stay in the NBC-TV prime-time schedule attested to its popularity with entertainment-seeking American audiences (entertainment).
2. This series provided information about police work that was not common knowledge (news and information).
3. This program evaluated the problems of police work (analysis and interpretation).
4. This program was closely supervised by the Los Angeles Police Department and did *not* present detailed negative analysis of police actions; it presented the positive side of police activities only (persuasion and public relations).
5. Commercials were included in the program (sales and advertising).
6. This program sought to reinforce positive attitudes toward the police—in effect, it socialized the viewer (education).

Specific Media Roles in Entertainment

Each medium has technical, cultural, and economic limitations determining how much and what kinds of entertainment it can provide. Some media are essentially purveyors of mass culture and others of elite culture. The media and the audiences tend to be selective and seek each other out.

Television. Since more than 95 percent of all U.S. households are equipped with at least one television set that is used an average of six hours per day, we might safely say that watching television has become one of America's major leisure-time activities. People seem to want to use TV to be diverted, interested, amused, and entertained. This does *not* mean that television provides no service to specialized audiences. It does mean that mass culture dominates commercial TV content. In the future, cable TV operations may be able to remedy the situation by providing classical music, operas, and plays, as well as new, creative approaches to television programming such as the PBS program "The American Dream Machine."

Commercial television provides an array of escapist entertainment. It has been called a "vast wasteland" of programming determined by a "cultural vote" through ratings which are accurate only within specific statistical limits. Network television provides filmed dramas and videotaped variety shows in prime time (7:30 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. EST). Daytime television consists of situation comedies, soap operas, and quiz shows. Local stations provide little more than

Courtesy Publishers-Hall Syndicate.



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© Field Enterprises, Inc., 1971

"The children complain about the color depth . . . they say the blood looks too watery!"

a news block and syndicated series which were previously on the networks. The total impact of television seems to have been designed primarily to be a massive, pop-culture machine catering to the entertainment needs of its audiences.

Unlike the pages in books, the cuts in an album, or the footage of a film, broadcast media cannot increase the hours in a day. Television entertainment is time-bound. In addition, TV is a limited natural resource—only a specific number of channels are available. Our society seems to have charted a course for television; that course is popular, mass entertainment.

The Motion Picture. Unlike the situation in television, anyone willing to spend enough money can make a film, and with the technical advances being made in 16-mm. production equipment, the cost is coming down. The days of mass production of theatrical films are over, however—possibly forever. The masses who used to attend movie houses are now at home watching television. Because of this

loss of a general audience, the film medium has begun to turn to specialized entertainment films for special minority audiences.

America is in the midst of a period of rapidly changing social values. Motion pictures are often a reflection of this state of affairs. Two major trends in entertainment and social values are being exploited: (1) the market for films has become youth oriented because some two-thirds of all movie tickets are bought by people under 30—the people in this age group have been called a “film generation”; (2) the presentation of content has become much more explicit, especially in terms of violence and sex.

These two characteristics, youth market and sex-violence, exist because young people seem to prefer frank, explicit films. With the replacement of the old movie code with the new rating system, greater artistic freedom has been afforded film makers. As a result, we have low-budget “nudies,” sadistic motorcycle gang films, and horror “flicks.” But, this same freedom has produced *M°A°S°H*, *Midnight Cowboy*, and *The Last Picture Show*, which use nudity and sex as an integral part of the film. This same freedom has also enabled Sam Peckinpah to produce several entertaining and yet very violent films, including *Straw Dogs* and *The Getaway*.

Of all the electric media, the motion picture seems to serve specialized tastes most satisfactorily. It should—it has been around over 75 years. It has been discarded by most general audiences, and criteria to evaluate films have been institutionalized. However, although film is the most socially conscious of all the electric media, it is still *primarily* an entertainment medium.

The Phonograph and the Radio. These two media are closely linked in the entertainment function, because recorded music constitutes the bulk of most radio stations’ programming. A wide range of musical tastes is served, but most markets are dominated by a “Top 40” or rock music station.

The phonograph has great flexibility and provides almost any kind of music desired. Although classical music does not dominate, classical records continue to be produced, and most university towns and metropolitan areas are served by at least one FM radio classical station. The primary cultural thrust of these media, however, is to provide pop music for specialized audiences.

The Print Media. Of all the mass media, the newspapers provide the greatest amount of information and perhaps the smallest amount of pure entertainment. But even for newspapers, mass entertainment is

an essential part of the daily fare. The *Washington Post*, for example, which prides itself on being the equal of the *New York Times* as a national newspaper, for years published the largest number of comic strips of any newspaper in the country. It claimed that those comics helped build its circulation to make it the largest newspaper in the nation's capital. Almost every newspaper publishes comics and cartoons, as well as features and human interest stories to entertain as well as inform and instruct.

Magazines are able to provide a more specialized form of entertainment for special audiences. The comic book itself is a form of entertainment for a specific type of reader. The range of such entertainment in magazine form stretches as far as the imagination will allow, from the most mundane, such as comic books and titillating sex-violence magazines, to esoteric journals on jazz, poetry, folk art, or classical drama.

The book medium also appears on the surface to be a primary medium for an elite audience, useful more for education and art than entertainment. But books are increasingly being expanded into informational and entertainment uses as well. The paperback revolution has brought the book to the economic level of mass audiences, and this has allowed books to be used for popular entertainment ranging from best-selling novels such as *The Godfather* to such entertainment (thinly disguised as instruction) as *Everything You Always Wanted To Know About Sex, But Were Afraid to Ask*. Both of these successful books, by the way, were translated into motion-picture entertainment as well.

Effects of Mass Entertainment on American Society

Considerable debate has been aroused over the value and effects of mass media entertainment on our culture and society. Cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and cultural critics have tended to group cultural artifacts into three categories, and these have been given various terms. Van Wyck Brooks coined the phrases, "highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow," to describe these categories.

Highbrow, or high culture, is composed of the cultural artifacts that can be appreciated only by an educated and intellectual elite; for example, Shakespeare plays, T. S. Eliot's poetry, Schoenberg sonatas, Matisse paintings, the *Economist* (London), *Daedalus*, and Bergman movies.

Middlebrow culture has pretensions of being refined and intellectual, but also has wider human appeal; for example, *Horizon* magazine, the *Washington Post*, plays by Neil Simon, paintings by Modigliani, the poetry of Odgen Nash, and novels by Norman Mailer.

Lowbrow culture consists of those artifacts that have massive appeal to the largest possible audience, an appeal that is usually visceral rather than cerebral, emotional rather than rational, brutal rather than aesthetic; for example, radio soap operas, television situation comedies, true confession magazines, lovelorn newspaper columns, sex-violence movies, and pulp novels.

Criticism of Mass Culture. On one side of the debate are those who argue that the purveyors of entertainment through the mass media are little more than panderers, catering to the lowest common denominator in the mass audience. These critics maintain that most mass media entertainment has a degrading effect on our culture. The mass media, these critics say, by emphasizing that which is popular and saleable, ruin standards of style and taste, leading to a "cultural democracy" where "the good, the true, and the beautiful" are decided by the vote in the marketplace of mass media rather than by sensitive, refined, and knowledgeable authorities.

In *Mass Culture Revisited*, Bernard Rosenberg sums up the argument for the many critics on the side of an elite culture. He sees "the masses as victims of a merciless technological invasion that threatens to destroy their humanity. . . . Hardly anyone is unaware," he notes, "at least viscerally—that ninety-nine percent of the material conveyed to us by the mass communications media is aesthetically and intellectually trivial." He takes the position that "the only antidote to mass culture is high culture, that high culture means art and learning, and that these goods are potentially accessible to every person not suffering from severe brain damage."¹ If the mass media would only entertain us with Shakespeare, Stravinski, and Strudelheim, these critics maintain, the entire cultural level of society would be raised and mankind would be ennobled.

Another critic of mass culture, *New Yorker* writer Dwight Macdonald, showed the antagonism of the elite toward the mass even more caustically. He wrote in 1953:

There is slowly emerging a tepid, flaccid Middlebrow Culture

1. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, eds., *Mass Culture Revisited* (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold, 1971), pp. 3-12.

that threatens to engulf everything in its spreading ooze. Bauhaus modernism has at last trickled down, in a debased form of course, into our furniture, cafeterias, movie theaters, electric toasters, office buildings, drug stores, and railroad trains. . . . T. S. Eliot writes *The Cocktail Party* and it becomes a Broadway hit. . . . All this is not raising the level of Mass Culture, as might appear at first, but rather a corruption of High Culture. There is nothing more vulgar than sophisticated kitsch.²

Kitsch is the term most commonly used by such critics to describe the popular arts and entertainments of the mass media. The word comes from the German expression for scraping mud from the streets or slapping together products such as artistic or literary material produced to appeal only to popular taste and marked by sentimentalism, sensationalism, and slickness.

In Defense of Mass Culture. The crass statement of the mass position is that of the media entrepreneur who simply says, "Give the fools what they want. If people will pay for comic books but not poetry, give them comics. If the audience demands burlesque and will not attend tragedy, give them Gypsy Rose Lee and not Lady Macbeth." Most media owners are, first and foremost, businessmen who must sell a product to as many customers as are necessary to make a profit. From the businessman's point of view, if the customers buy the product, it is serving a vital and useful social function.

But there is an intellectual side to this argument, as well as an economic one, and it is perhaps best summed up by David Manning White in *Mass Culture Revisited*. He argues that the lowbrow culture of the mass media is important to the overall soothing and comforting of an anxious and complex society. "Throughout recorded history," White says, "most men have sought anodynes from the deepest anxieties about their existence. They did so before any aspects of mass culture pervaded society; they would continue to do so if every vestige of mass culture were to disintegrate and disappear tomorrow."

White proposes that the mass entertainment of the mass media makes news, information, and education digestible. "If I couldn't read Charles Schulz's *Peanuts* every morning in my newspaper," he writes, "I don't know if I could tolerate the grim tidings of the front

2. Dwight Macdonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," *Diogenes*, no. 3 (Summer 1953): 1-17.

page. But that doesn't mean that I read only comic books all day long."

Most people don't read comic books or listen to soap operas or watch situation comedies all day long, White argues, but even for those who do, their attention to the mass media helps to involve them in other uses of media. Thus, he says, "Slowly the level of our cultural life in the United States is rising. There are, naturally, many millions who will continue to extract from the media the least demanding aspects of artistic rewards." But, White maintains, the mass media are more influenced over the long run by "middle America"—the middlebrow—than they are by the lowbrow. "The emerging pattern of motion pictures, the paperback book revolution, the hundreds of cultural television programs (scores of them on network programming), all attest to the quality of this growing audience," he says.³

Mass and Class as Interdependent. Another argument, somewhat similar to White's but perhaps more meaningful, maintains that both good and bad exist in "class" culture, and good and bad exist in mass culture, and that class and mass do not only coexist in a society, but enrich and enliven each other. There are pretentious elements of class culture, just as there are products of genuine quality that emerge from mass culture. Eric Larrabee devised an interesting diagram, "Mass and Class on the American Grid," that graphically illustrates this point.

Because art forms, whether popular or elitist, enliven and enrich each other, Larrabee argues, it is as important for students to study the popular arts as it is for them to give serious attention to sculpture, sonnets, and sonatas. This broadening of the critical perspective to include mass culture also has a potentially beneficial effect on classical studies, Larrabee says, because it provides a continual test of relevance. Those artifacts that acquire no audience at all perhaps deserve their fate.

Those "class" products and artifacts that reach a mass audience through the mass media—Paddy Chayevsky's TV plays, Walter Lippmann's newspaper columns, or Leonard Bernstein's concerts—prove that a growing number of people have an increasing taste for quality at a price they can afford. By the same token, mass produced or communicated culture that acquires unexpected quality—Charlie

3. Rosenberg and White, *Mass Culture Revisited*, pp. 13–21.

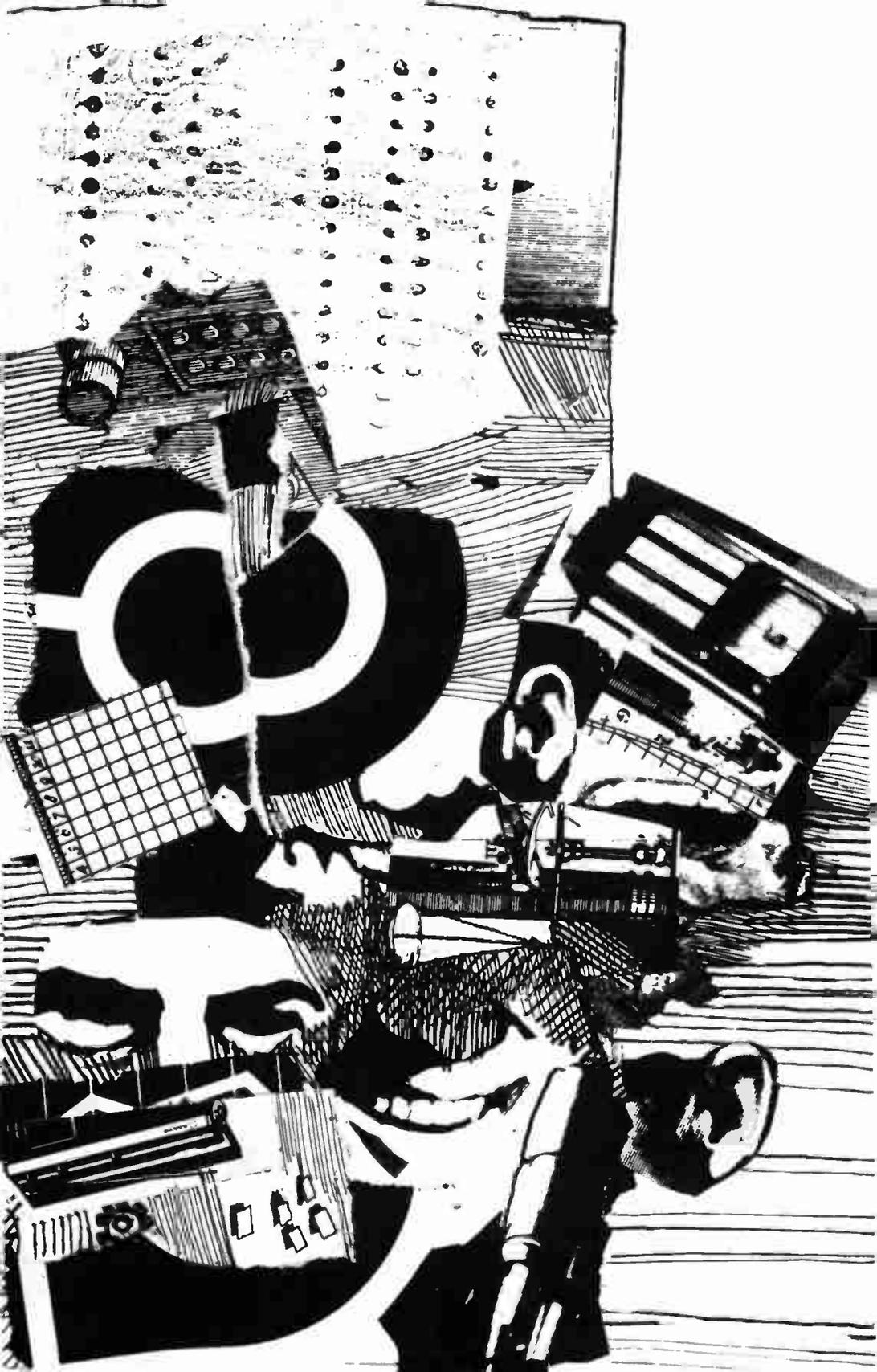
Chaplin's little tramp, Red Smith's sports columns, the Beatles' rock recordings, or Mahalia Jackson's gospel hymns—prove that what moves the masses often has genuine and long-lasting quality.

Larrabee best sums up the argument for mass entertainment that becomes class culture thus:

It has the unequaled advantage of being cheap. It is by far the least expensive of modern leisure activities, and it has the further virtue of being inexhaustible—the only condition is that you really care. If you really care about what is in books and paintings, there will be more than enough of them for you—and enough within them—to last at least this lifetime. The only condition is that you confront your own need for art, and find it genuine. Abundance asks only that you choose. The twentieth century has no doubt more than enough in it that is worth ignoring, but it is the only century we are going to get. Time passes; eras each have their weaknesses and strengths; and the only divine purpose evident in history—as Robert Frost once said—is that it shall always be equally difficult for a man to save his soul.⁴

The final decision about all mass media, whether they are used to inform, persuade, instruct, or entertain, rests with consumers. The more quality we demand of mass media, the more we will get. The mass media are not doomed to provide us with only base enjoyments and crass amusements.

4. Eric Larrabee, "The Cultural Class War," *Horizon* 2, no. 3 (January 1960): 4-11.



The FUTURE of MASS COMMUNI- CATION

PART **5**

Few fields are more important to our future than mass media. And few fields have a future that seems to be full of as much change as mass media. Yet too little has been done to tell students about mass media's future. Journalism and mass communications have often been taught by men who have worked in the media long ago and now show their students how it was done back in the good old days. Marshall McLuhan aptly described this as a way of driving through life by looking through a rear-view mirror.

In Part 5, we take a brief look at the future of mass media. In a sense, this concluding section should be the prelude to all further study of mass media. It is essential for students interested in careers in the media to look ahead at what the field might be like ten, twenty, or thirty years from now, as well as looking back to where it has been in the past.

CHAPTER **27** **The Future of Mass Communication**

In some ways, writing about the future of mass communication is like betting on a horse race. All sorts of possibilities and odds present themselves, and if you are not quick enough the race is over before you have placed your bet. The media potential outlined in this chapter may become reality before some readers use this work. Also, making predictions in print is hazardous, as many sportswriters can attest. Nevertheless, some fairly clear indications of the future of mass communication are apparent.

The most visible and dramatic changes will be in the “hardware” of the media. Leo Bogart, an authority on media research, has stated

that the technology of communication will be transformed in five areas: in assembling information, storing it, retrieving it, compressing it, and reacting to it. Dr. Bogart points to such innovations as computer typesetting and photocomposition, microphotography, lasers, and holograms, which are in the process of revolutionizing mass communication as we now know it. The direction much of this improved technology seems to be taking is toward better consumer selection of media content. Within a few years it will be possible to rent or purchase films and videotapes as easily as we now purchase books and records. No longer will the consumer be limited to what the television network, syndicator, or local station provide.

Technological Change

In the future, one method of increasing consumer choice will be the video cassette, already being marketed on a limited basis. CBS was the first to announce a breakthrough with its EVR system. Currently, three systems are vying for the market—RCA's holographic system, Super 8 systems, and videotape recorder-playback systems. All of these systems will make it possible for the consumer to purchase or record his own programs and, in the case of the VTR system, create them as well.

Cable television (CATV) should expand, and with it will be the expansion of traditional programming. This would mean subscription systems offering between 20 to 80 channels, with the content based on the special requests from subscribers. Gene Youngblood, in his book *Expanded Cinema*, states that by 1978 "demand TV" or "telecommand" systems will exist. These systems, according to Youngblood, will allow an individual to telephone regional video-library switchboards and order programs from among the thousands listed in the catalogues. The programs will be transmitted by cable and will either be viewed then or stored on a home VTR for future and/or repeated viewing. According to Youngblood, telecommand will replace some CATV systems, will limit the appeal of satellite-to-home direct TV, and will revolutionize the networks. Television will become a "two-way" medium used for shopping, paying bills, and even receiving medical diagnosis and advice; it will make possible a kind of house call for doctors. A two-way television system can measure audience reactions instantly by way of cable and computer.



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Soon we will be able to read newspapers, magazines, and perhaps even books via transmission systems similar to television. Book publishing may change its total form of distribution. The process involved is known as *facsimile*, a possible solution to future distribution problems. Although the process was demonstrated as early as the 1930s, "homefax" or "videofax" systems are just now becoming commercially feasible. One company (the "Unifor" system) promises to deliver a bound 64-page tabloid in several minutes by electronic cable.

Satellites, a phenomenon of the 1960s, will continue to revolutionize electric communication in the future. Many weather reports employ satellite surveillance for accurate up-to-date surveys of conditions. More than 100 new satellites are launched every year. These orbiting media relays allow man to view and monitor many more aspects of his world. This instant and constant flow of information may eventually create McLuhan's "global village." Of course,

domestic satellite television has been operating for some time on a limited basis. Direct satellite communication to the home rather than satellite-to-network-to-home television should become a reality shortly. Frank Stanton, former president of CBS, has proposed that the networks form their own satellite systems, thus doing away with the traditional telephone-wire, coaxial-cable and microwave-relay systems. In 1970 there were approximately 40 Comsat earth stations around the world. At the present time no geographical area of the world is without access to communication satellites.

The impact of miniaturization and microelectronics will notably change television receivers and cameras. It is predicted that by the end of the 1970s, billboard or wall-size television will be available as well as pocket-size television that can be viewed in broad daylight. Already working is a television camera so small that it can be worn like a miner's lamp and can give sight to the blind by transmitting signals directly to the optic nerve and the cortex of the brain. Motion pictures will also undergo major technological changes as a result of miniaturization. The traditional movie theater is now being replaced by the multihouse and the minitheater. These small theaters seat between 200 and 500 people and soon will be fully automated, without projectionists and ticket sellers. The moviegoer will insert money into a machine that will then trigger a door to let him in; refreshments will be provided by machine; and the film programs will start automatically. All that will be required is one manager-usher.

Even more dramatic changes will come about as a result of the newly developed holographic photography. The world's first successful holographic motion picture was shown in April 1969. Holography is essentially the capturing or "freezing" of an object's light waves, thus reconstructing a three-dimensional image exhibiting all the properties that one could see if he were looking at the object through a window. Gene Youngblood states:

The art of the holographic cinema *circa* 1970 is comparable to that of conventional cinema *circa* 1900. . . . Through the hologram window we peer into a future world that defies the imagination, a world in which the real and illusory are one. . . . It is certain that holographic cinema and television will be common by the year 2000, but more probably this will take place within fifteen years from now.¹

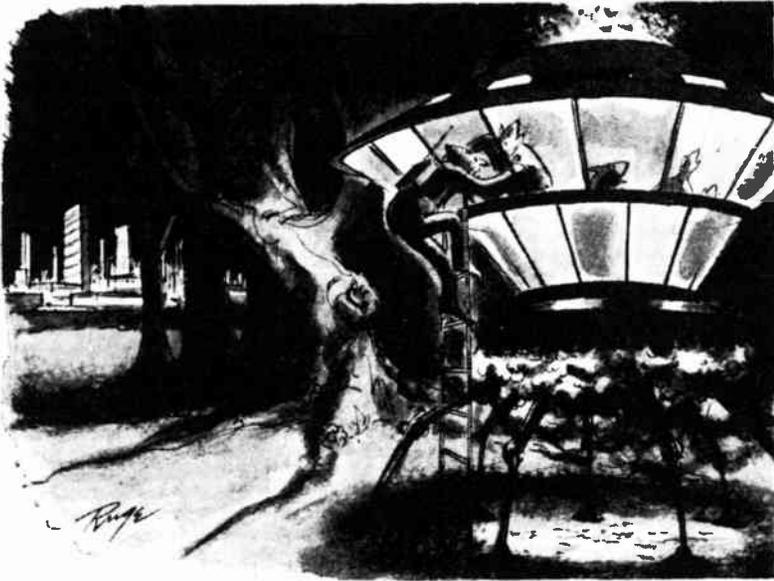
1. Gene Youngblood, *Expanded Cinema* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1970), p. 378.

Despite Marshall McLuhan's prediction that the printed word will become obsolete, it is all too apparent that there is a definite boom in print media. Paperback titles in print increased from 15,000 in 1960 to 117,000 in the 1970s. Paperbacks have significantly altered course planning at colleges and universities. To supplement the hard-cover textbook, teachers are assigning a number of paperbacks. This, of course, assumes that the type of material needed is available in paperback form. Students are accumulating paperback libraries of their own rather than fighting delays and long lines at the school library.

Even more important, however, may be microforms (microfilm, microcards, and microfiche), which when used with a portable or home reader could make the traditional book form obsolete. Most observers, however, do not see the death of the book format since they believe it to be one of the most organized, economical, and effective ways of transmitting factual data. Another major advance will be in print storage and preservation. Whole books are available on a few microcards, thus making it possible to create libraries without huge investments in money and space. Historical research involving print media will be greatly enhanced as more material becomes available and the uniform format makes mechanical retrieval possible.

In the future, computers will become part of every mass communication act, and this may well change the patterns of human intercourse. Automatic data-processing cards and plastic credit cards will alter our forms of financial communication; cash will not be necessary for most transactions, and even checks will be outmoded. Information about our financial resources, and the transfer of those resources from one account to another, will be handled with split-second speed and efficiency by machines, without human eyes, ears, hands, or interference. The machines will store, retrieve, and manufacture information about our credit, talking to one another and replacing much of our dialogue.

These are obviously not all the technical changes that will be taking place in the near future. Many of the advances that will have been made by 1980 would sound absurd today. However, we can be sure that as the base of our technology expands, the next decade will witness fantastic changes. As pointed out in this study of mass media history, technological change cannot take place in a vacuum. The change will not happen automatically but will be made possible by changes in society and will in turn have an effect upon society.



"Of the ten Earthmen I approached, three thought I was promoting a new TV series; two wanted to know what product I was advertising; two started to tell me what their President should do in Vietnam; two told me to get lost—and the last one gave me a quarter."

Courtesy John A. Ruge. Copyright © 1969 by Saturday Review, Inc. First appeared in Saturday Review, May 10, 1969. Used with permission.

This brings us to the second major focus of change—the functions and roles of the media and mass communication in general. The media are constantly assuming new roles or defining old ones. For example, the surveillance function of the media has grown tremendously in recent years as the result of advanced tools and many new demands on these tools. Small TV cameras, for example, can be used to monitor offices, stores, banks, and factories. We cannot hope to assess all future role changes, but several make themselves apparent.

First of all, whatever the roles of the media may be, they will be expanded. With increased leisure time available to a better-educated and more-informed audience, new demands will be made of the media—demands for more information, more cultural enrichment, more analysis, and more of anything that fills time.

The difference in roles of the various media is likely to be diminished. Print media can be skimmed and selectively read. As Leo Bogart has stated:

... the great advantage of having an open visual display ... is the opportunity for chance discovery of unanticipated treasures

which arouse interest and further investigation. The browser in a library finds books on subjects that he had not thought of reading about.²

In broadcasting and motion pictures this "browsing" has not been possible. However, with technological developments in video and audio recording, audiences will soon be able to skim and select from broadcast programs and motion pictures just as we skim magazines and newspapers today.

It must be clearly stated, however, that none of this will occur if society changes radically from the patterns in which it is now moving. For any future media role is dependent not only upon the possibilities of the media but on the possibilities of society as well.

Effects of Changes in Media Technology and Functions

These changes in media roles and technology will obviously have an effect on our society. Trying to measure existing effects is risky enough; trying to predict future ones borders on foolishness. However, several "educated guesses" are possible. As the media, through increased technology and consumer demand, expand their surveillance function, the world will be something to be explored every day rather than something to wonder about. Certainly, the mass media audiences will become better informed and more knowledgeable.

The effect on teaching is already being felt. However, as Walter Ong has stated:

To think of adapting to present trends by exploiting as gadgets the spectacularly evident new media—radio, television, tape recordings, intercom—is to a certain extent to miss the point. These new media are not just new gadgets to be employed for what we are already doing with other less efficient gadgets. They are part of a shift which is affecting our very notion of what communication is itself.³

Courses, as Ong and others have pointed out, may become obsolete.

2. Leo Bogart, "Mass Media in the Year 2000," in *Sight, Sound, and Society*, ed. David Manning White and Richard Averson (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 412-13.

3. Walter Ong, "Wired for Sound: Teaching, Communications, and Technological Culture," *College English* (1960): 248.

We may be able to teach so quickly and efficiently and/or on so wide a scale that the traditional concept of a course will no longer have any meaning.

Historian Daniel Boorstin, in his book *The Image*, suggests an effect that has already occurred but will become stronger in the future. Boorstin believes that our image-dominated culture has made for secondhandness. "The Grand Canyon itself becomes a disappointing reproduction of the Kodachrome original." He also says that we are very busy creating pseudo events.

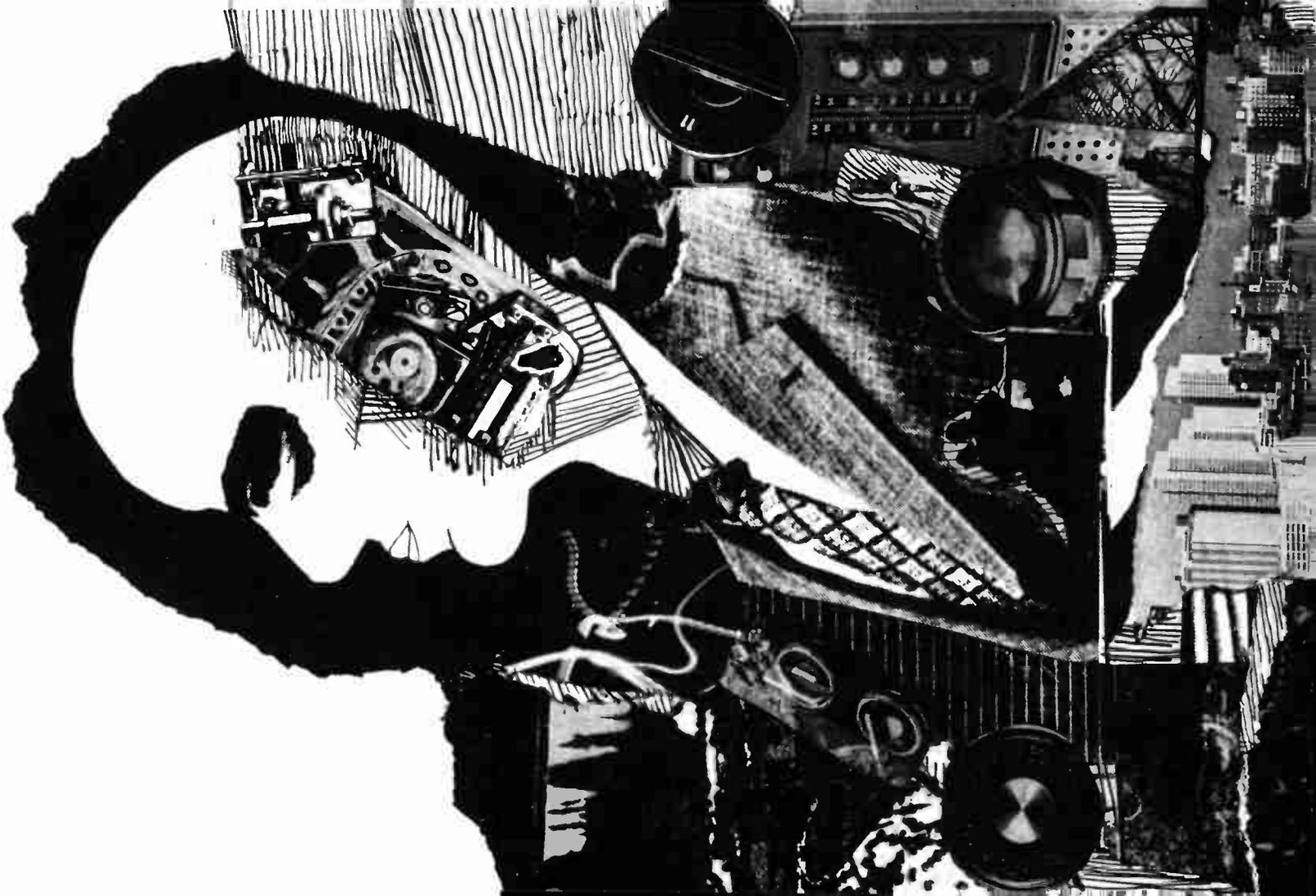
In mass persuasion, we are so dedicated to creating images, from cigarettes to presidents, that ideas are secondary, images primary. However, the ability to capture a political speech on tape and play it back will most certainly effect the future of traditional politics, which might run contrary to what Boorstin believes.

Finally, a basic effect might be that eventually the public will control the media and the old saw about "giving the public what it wants" will be a reality in every sense of the word.

Our society is becoming increasingly fragmented, especially in terms of life styles and values. This fragmentation demands a diversity of recreation, education, and information. Alvin Toffler, in his book *Future Shock*, says that this diversification is not simply a matter of more things—automobiles, detergents, and cigarettes. "The social thrust toward diversity and increased individual choice affects our mental as well as our material surroundings."

Mass communication should become increasingly "demassified." This trend is especially clear when one looks at the newspaper, magazine, and book industries. Whereas, once newspapers were becoming fewer in number and more similar in content, today, hundreds of underground newspapers are being published across the country. While some mass circulation magazines such as *Collier's* and the *Saturday Evening Post* have died, thousands of new, specialized magazines such as *Ramparts*, *People* and *Psychology Today* have been born and are flourishing. The paperback revolution is equally obvious. Motion pictures no longer cater exclusively to crowds, but rather to more select audiences. Film today is exploring a wide variety of themes and treatments. The recording and radio industries encompass practically every known sound made by man. There are literally dozens of individual "sounds" in radio, including hard rock, acid rock, country and western, all news, all advertising, soul, jazz, and blues. Even television, perhaps the last medium still homogenizing taste, will change with the introduction of the video cassette.

The future of mass communication seems bright, although it may not be mass communication as we now know it. Whatever it becomes, it must be recognized that new technology may ultimately be used to perform new services or improve old ones. If man does not know what to say or is unable to say it there is no need for mass communication, whatever its possibilities might be. The media have the potential, the question is whether you and I have the foresight and ability to use them in new and exciting ways.



Research Materials and a Selected Bibliography

This section is designed to provide a selected survey of materials used in the preparation of this book and sources of information for additional study in mass communication. Rather than provide the standard bibliographic list, an attempt has been made to annotate major works, describe important periodicals, and provide a list of organizations involved in various phases of media operations.

It is difficult to produce an up-to-date bibliography in a field that is changing as rapidly as mass communication. Therefore, this section attempts to provide teachers and students with the means to update themselves through independent study. This text is designed as one learning resource within a total course in the mass media, to be used in conjunction with lectures, videotapes, films, supplement-

tary readings, and a variety of other materials. One important, if not critical, means of learning about mass media is independent study and research.

Types of Independent Study and Research

For the beginning student three areas of research offer excellent opportunities to discover valuable information through independent study:

1. *Historical-Critical Research* involves the student in surveying and evaluating past events that help to explain current situations and may even suggest possible changes for the future.

2. *Survey, Field, or Descriptive Research* helps the student discover and evaluate public attitudes and opinions and answer the who, what, when, where, why, and how policy decisions of our media system. Surveys and opinion polls assess the way groups feel about and use the mass media.

3. *Experimental or Laboratory Research* provides students with experiences in observing and assessing individual responses and small-group reactions to media content and use patterns. Observation, psychological or attitude scales, and physiological measures can be used to obtain this type of data.

Research, by definition, is systematic, controlled, and critical investigation of hypotheses about presumed relationships. Historical, survey, and experimental methods of research seek answers to questions and evidence to support suppositions. Although there is no *one* way to design research investigations, the following procedure may prove helpful to those individuals new to independent study. These steps are essential for all types of independent study:

1. The student must select the idea or problem area he wishes to study.

2. The student must limit the scope of the topic area so that it can be accomplished in the allotted time period and based on the availability of source materials.

3. The student must initiate a literature search or in some way assess previous research in that subject area.

4. Once this is done, it should be possible to develop a problem statement or hypothesis that can be tested. This process intellectually establishes the scope, importance, and anticipated results of the project at hand.

5. The student must now specify the design of his hypothesis and operationalize it. Reliable indicators must be found to represent the more abstract concepts. More simply put, he needs to determine *how* he is going to collect and evaluate information. Obviously, observation, reading previous work, testing, experimenting, or another means of collecting data is the next logical step.

6. After the student has collected all the available information, he must describe and evaluate this body of data. However, it is important that the student do more than *report*—he needs the opportunity to assess the *meaning* of what he has collected. Certainly, all students may not reach the same conclusions, but this is a minor failure, when compared to the major success of the student actually attempting to make a creative assessment of what it is he has done. It is also important to remember that disproved hypotheses are often as important in advancing knowledge as those that are supported.

It is vital that Americans become critical consumers of the mass media so that the public can actively affect the media as well as being affected by the media. Independent study and research seeks to involve the student in controlled, reflective thinking, inquiry, and evaluation. This process involves the student, and it is this involvement that young people are seeking in their education.

Materials for Use in the Study of Mass Media

This section attempts to provide a variety of sources of information for research in mass communication. It is designed to assist the beginner, and in no way purports to be *the* final word in research possibilities.

Four divisions have been established to help speed up the source-selection process: (1) general reference materials, (2) organizations involved in mass-communication activities, (3) a selected bibliography of periodicals, and (4) a selected bibliography of books.

GENERAL REFERENCE SOURCES. Part of the beginner's horror of research derives from a lack of knowledge concerning where to start. The teacher can ease the situation by identifying the materials paramount to the successful completion of the project. If that information is not forthcoming, start with the available encyclopedias, almanacs, the library's card catalogue (subject headings) and then turn to this list.

Ayer Directory of Newspapers, Magazines, and Trade Publications edited by Leonard Bray for N. W. Ayer and Sons of New York on an annual basis provides excellent information on print media.

Bibliography Index (H. W. Wilson, New York) is an index of current bibliographies which are arranged in alphabetical order.

Books in Print is published by R. R. Bowker Co. of New York on an annual basis. This source, available in the libraries and the bookstores of most educational institutions, annually lists all available books from 1,600 publishers by author (in volume 1) and by title (in volume 2). The *Subject Guide to Books in Print* is also produced annually by R. R. Bowker and is the subject index to BIP; thus, it is most important to researchers. It uses the subject headings and cross references established by the Library of Congress. *Paperbound Books in Print*, another Bowker publication, is divided into three sections: (1) subject, (2) author, and (3) title, to facilitate access to paperbacks.

Business Periodical Index (H. W. Wilson, New York) provides a cumulative index of approximately 170 advertising, communication, marketing, public relations, and other business periodicals.

Dissertation Abstracts (University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106) lists all dissertations written in the fields of journalism, mass communication, and speech. Copies of dissertations of interest can be ordered by writing the company. Prices are listed for a copy of each citation.

Education Index (H. W. Wilson, New York) is a subject index to approximately 200 English-language periodicals, proceedings, yearbooks, bulletins, and series.

Facts on File (119 West 57 Street, New York, N.Y. 10018) provides a biweekly digest of events and is an excellent source for historical research.

Federal Communications Commission Orders, Opinions, Rules, and Statutes (Pike and Fisher, 1735 DeSales Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) is an expensive but invaluable source for research in broadcast law. Most law schools have this source in their libraries. It provides a complete set of *all* legal decisions made by the FCC, case by case.

International Literary Market Place (R. R. Bowker Co., 1180 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036) is a general, annual analysis of publishing internationally.

New York Times Index (New York Times Company, 229 West 43 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036) provides a cumulative index to all articles printed in that newspaper. The *Times* presents by far the best survey of media problems of any paper in the United States.

Public Affairs Information Service (11 West 40 Street, New

York, N.Y. 10018) provides a cumulative index to government-oriented periodicals.

Readers Guide to Periodical Literature (H. W. Wilson, 950 University Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10452) is the largest cumulative index of general-interest magazines.

Social Sciences and Humanities Index (H. W. Wilson) is a cumulative index of 204 periodicals that emphasize materials in the social science and humanities areas.

Standard Periodical Directory. Annual edited by Leon Garry for the Oxbridge Publishing Company of New York provides excellent data on all periodicals.

The Standard Rate and Data Service (5201 Old Orchard Road, Skokie, Ill. 60076) publishes directories for media advertising rates plus marketing data. Libraries can obtain the following volumes by writing SRDS: *Business Publications Rates and Data*; *Canadian Advertising Rates and Data*; *Daily Newspaper Rates and Data*; *Direct Mail Rates and Data*; *Network (TV and Radio) Rates and Data*; *Outdoor Advertising Circulation Rates and Data*; *Spot Radio Rates and Data*; *Spot Television Rates and Data*; *Transit Advertising Rates and Data*; and *Weekly Newspaper Rates and Data*.

Television Factbook (Television Digest, Inc., 2025 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.) is a major trade reference for the broadcasting industry and is published annually.

Topicator (Thompson Bureau, 5395 South Miller Street, Littleton, Colo. 80120) is a cumulative index of magazines in the advertising and broadcasting trade press.

ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN MASS COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES.

There are times during research when standard printed sources do not provide needed information, and the scholar may want to turn to professional or educational organizations for assistance. Most groups are willing to help, if the *specific* question asked does not require excessive work on their part. It is extremely important that persons seeking information be very clear as to what they are requesting.

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (9038 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. 90067) is the organization, which each year presents awards known as the "Oscar" for meritorious achievement in various areas of film work.

The A. C. Nielsen Company (2101 Howard Street, Chicago, Ill. 60645) is a major marketing- and audience-research organization. It provides industry measurements of local and national television audiences. Nielsen will furnish assistance upon request and supply special publications regarding broadcasting research.

The Advertising Research Foundation (3 East 54 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022) is designed to further scientific advertising and marketing research to improve the content of advertisements and media plans.

The American Association of Advertising Agencies (220 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017) is an association that promotes the interests of agency owners.

The American Broadcasting Company (1330 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019) is one of the three major TV networks and provides four network-radio services to affiliated stations.

The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (724 West Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10019) is the major union representing broadcast performers.

The American Film Institute (1815 H Street, N.W., Suite 600, Washington, D.C. 20006) is an important data source for researchers in film.

The American Marketing Association (222 S. Riverside Plaza, Chicago, Ill. 60606) is a very helpful organization of marketing and market-research executives for students of the mass media.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association (Sunrise Valley Drive, Reston, Va. 22070) is an organization representing newspaper management.

The American Research Bureau, Inc. (4320 Amundale Road, Beltsville, Md. 20705) provides measurement of local radio and television audiences. Special reports and copies of its research are available upon faculty request.

The American Society of Magazine Editors (575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) is an important source of data about current trends in that medium.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors (1350 Sullivan Trail, Box 551, Easton, Pa. 18042) is an organization representing working editors.

The Association of American Publishers (1 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016) speaks for all aspects of the publishing industry.

The Association of National Advertisers (155 East 44 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017) is an organization of regional and national manufacturers (general advertisers) concerned with company, rather than agency, problems.

The Association of the American Recording Industry (1 East 57 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022) compiles statistics and reports on the activities of record companies.

The Audit Bureau of Circulation (123 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60601) provides audited circulation figures for all member publications.

The Brand Names Foundation (477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) is an organization that works on behalf of manufacturers of advertised brands.

Broadcast Advertisers (500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036) provides members with a full-time monitoring service of all radio and television networks and estimates costs of advertising to broadcast sponsors.

The Broadcast Pioneers (589 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017) contains the important Broadcast Industry Reference Center for historical research.

The Bureau of Independent Publishers and Distributors (122 East 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017) represents the interests of the publishers of comic books.

The Cigarette Advertising Code, Inc. (51 Madison Avenue, Room 3000, New York, N.Y. 10010) is the self-regulation agency of the tobacco industry that polices cigarette-advertising campaigns.

The Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. (51 West 52 Street, New York, N.Y. 10019) is a national television and radio network and is most helpful in answering academic inquiries.

The Comics Magazine Association of America (300 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010) is the self-regulation agency of the comic-book industry.

The Congress of the United States holds hearings on a variety of media topics. If you write your congressman and specify the report you need, he will normally assist you in procuring it.

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (888 16 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006) is a major source of programming for educational radio and TV stations and is funded by the federal government. It may become the major force for change in ETV.

The Direct Mail Advertising Association (230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017) serves that industry as a public-relations and lobbying organization.

The Federal Communications Commission (1919 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20554) is the federal regulatory agency of broadcasting and is most helpful in providing specific data for researchers. Most of the FCC's reports and other publications are available through the Government Printing Office at a nominal charge.

The Foundation for Public Relations Research and Education (845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) sponsors and distributes basic research in that field.

The International Film Importers and Distributors of America (477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) deals with problems in obtaining the rights to foreign films for public consumption in the United States.

The International Radio and Television Society (420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017) is an organization of broadcast executives.

The Joint Media Committee on News Coverage Problems (c/o William Small, Executive Vice-president, CBS news, 524 West 57 St., New York, N.Y. 10019) is a committee concerned with problems facing newsmen.

The Magazine Advertising Bureau of the Magazine Publishers Association (575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) promotes consumer-magazine research and distributes the results of its efforts.

The Magazine Publishers Association (575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) is an organization representing magazine management.

The Motion Picture Association of America (522 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036) is one of the best sources of information on the American film industry.

The Motion Picture Export Association (522 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036) is concerned with quotas and other problems faced in distributing American films overseas.

The Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc. (135 West 50 Street, New York, N.Y. 10019) is a national radio network.

The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (54 West 40 Street, New York, N.Y. 10018) serves to promote improvements in television programming and awards the "Emmy" each year for meritorious achievement.

The National Association of Broadcasters (1771 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20554) is an organization representing commercial broadcasters in the United States. It is a powerful group and provides extensive types of information upon specific request.

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters (1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20002) is an affiliation of educational radio and television stations and teachers of broadcasting. The staff of this organization is most helpful in responding to inquiries.

The National Association of FM Broadcasters (c/o K11T, U. S. Grant Hotel, San Diego, Calif. 92112) is involved with the special problems facing FM stations in the United States, and is especially concerned with economic and programming problems.

The National Association of Record Merchandisers (Trianon Building, Suite 703, Bala Cynwyd, Pa. 17004) is an organization representing wholesalers and rack-jobbers.

The National Association of Record Retail Dealers (99 Chauncy

Street, Boston, Mass. 02111) is involved with the concerns of both large and small record-dealer operations.

The National Association of Theater Owners (1501 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036) is concerned with chain and local movie-theater operations.

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) (30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10022), a subsidiary of RCA, is one of the three major networks and can assist with research.

The National CATV Association (918 16 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006) is an organization that promotes the interests of community-antenna operations in the United States.

The National Center for Film Study (c/o The Catholic Adult Education Center, 1307 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60605) is the information center of the Catholic Church and was formerly affiliated with the Legion of Decency.

The National Negro Press Association (4011 Ames Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20019) is an organization of blacks involved in journalism.

The National Newspaper Association (491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004) is an organization of publishers and has source materials available to researchers.

The Newspaper Comics Council, (260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016) deals with the problems of newspaper comic strips.

The Newspaper Information Service (American Newspaper Publishers Association, Sunrise Valley Drive, Reston, Va. 22070) is the public relations service of the newspaper industry and is very helpful to researchers.

The Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ (289 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010) is one of the most active religious organizations in the field of mass communication, especially broadcasting. This organization is extremely helpful to beginning students in the mass media.

The Outdoor Advertisers Association of America (625 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) deals with the special interests of billboard advertisers and space renters.

The Public Relations Society of America (845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) is a professional association of public relations practitioners.

The Publishers Information Bureau (575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) provides data on magazines for consumers and the public as well as researchers.

The Radio Advertising Bureau (555 Madison Avenue, New York,

N.Y. 10022) is involved in research as to the effectiveness of radio in ad campaigns.

Radio Free Europe (2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016) is a broadcasting service beamed into Eastern Europe.

The Radio-Television News Directors Association (c/o WKAR, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823) is an organization of broadcast news directors.

The Television Bureau of Advertising (1 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10022) provides excellent service for students analyzing TV programming and advertising.

The Television Information Office (745 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022) is sponsored by local television stations and is a good source of TV data.

The Transit Advertising Association (500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10036) is concerned with the problems of advertising in mass-transit systems.

Two published sources of information related to mass media organizations are extremely helpful to researchers:

1. Johnson, Nicholas. *How to Talk Back to Your Television Set*. New York: Bantam Books, 1970. This source provides an excellent list of public and private organizations involved in broadcasting as well as public pressure groups seeking changes in TV content.

2. Fisk, Margaret, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Associations*. 8th ed. Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research Corporation, 1973. This source provides a complete list of organizations with their addresses as well as now-defunct groups. The groups are listed alphabetically and by categories of interest.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICALS. This list of magazines has been developed as a selected core for a library used for research in mass communication. Only those magazines primarily concerned with the media or media-related activities have been included. It is assumed that standard consumer and general-interest magazines are available.

Current prices have been included so that persons interested in subscribing to selected magazines can do so easily and with some idea of the cost. Important sources have been noted in the annotations.

Advertising Age (1930, \$10) is a national weekly newspaper of advertising and marketing. Advertising Publications Inc., 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill. 60611.

- Advertising and Sales Promotion* (1953, \$7) contains case histories, background articles, and new product and service information. Advertising Publications Inc., 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill. 60611.
- ASNE Bulletin* (1923, \$6) deals with problems of editing a newspaper. American Society of Newspaper Editors, Box 551, 1350 Sullivan Trail, Easton, Pa. 18042.
- Audio-Visual Communications* (1961, \$3) provides a selection of articles on all phases of media use in education. United Business Publishing, Inc., 200 Madison Avenue, New York 10016.
- AV Communications Review* (1953, \$13) analyzes all aspects of media in education. 1201 16 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
- Billboard* (1894, \$35) is the music industry's major trade paper which also provides an analysis of the practices of the recording industry. 9000 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90069.
- Book Production Industry* (1925, \$10) provides information on the book-publishing industry. Box 696, 125 Elm St., New Canaan, Conn. 06840.
- Boxoffice* (1920, \$10) contains complete, up-to-date news on the film industry and also includes film reviews from the viewpoint of industry management. Associated Publications, Inc., 825 Van Brunt Blvd., Kansas City, Mo. 64124.
- Broadcasting* (1931, \$20) is the radio and television industry's trade journal and is an important source for anyone doing research in the broadcasting industry. Broadcasting Publications, Inc., 1735 DeSales Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
- Business Screen* (1938, \$6) provides news and analysis of films made for educational and instructional purposes. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publications, 757 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.
- Cahiers Du Cinema* (1952, \$1.25 per copy) is the French film "bible" that came to be closely associated with the "new wave" filmmakers. 635 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.
- Cashbox* (1942, \$25) is a recording-industry trade journal. 1780 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019.
- CATV* (1966, \$20) is a journal of the community-antenna television industry. Publications Management Company, Minneapolis, Minn. 55405.
- CTVD: Cinema-Television Digest* (1961, \$3) provides a current analysis of the foreign TV and film industries. Hampton Books, Rte. 1, Box 76, Newberry, S.C. 29108.

- Columbia Journalism Review* (1962, \$9) is a scholarly and professional review of opinion and research. Columbia University, 700 Journalism Building, New York, N.Y. 10027.
- Editor and Publisher* (1894, \$10) provides information on the newspaper business. 850 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.
- Educational Broadcasting Review* (1967, \$10) is a scholarly journal concerned with educational television. National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
- Film Comment* (1963, \$9) provides critical analysis of the medium's artistic and social influence on our society. 214 E. 11 St., New York, N.Y. 10003.
- Film Culture* (1955, \$4) covers aesthetics, criticism, and history of the motion picture. G.P.O. Box 1449, New York, N.Y. 10001.
- Film Heritage* (1965, \$2.50) is a journal providing historical and critical analysis of major films and personalities plus selected reviews of current books in film. Box 652, University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio 54509.
- Film Quarterly* (1945, \$5) provides criticism of the American and foreign film industries. University of California Press, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, Calif. 94720.
- Films in Review* (1950, \$8.50) is a more popular review of the film industry and major personalities. 210 E. 68 St., New York, N.Y. 10021.
- Gazette: International Journal for Mass Communication Studies* (1955, \$19) deals with press, radio, television, public opinion, public relations and propaganda on a comparative level. Box 23, Deventer, The Netherlands 74411.
- High Fidelity* (1951, \$14) deals with music, musicians, and sound-recording systems, but is more classical than pop. Billboard Publications, 165 West 46 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.
- International Advertiser* (1960, \$7.50) provides foreign advertising news and case studies. International Advertising Association, 475 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.
- Journal of Advertising Research* (1960, price varies) publishes original research on advertising and marketing which emphasizes practical applications of these findings. Advertising Research Foundation, 3 East 54 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.
- Journal of Broadcasting* (1956, \$8) is a scholarly journal that pub-

lishes a wide variety of articles on various kinds of research in radio, television, and related industries. Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 19122.

Journal of Communication (1952, \$12) is published by the Annenberg School of Communication Press in cooperation with the International Communication Association. Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania, 3620 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19174.

Journal of Marketing (1936, \$14) provides a survey of marketing and advertising articles for business and education. American Marketing Association, 222 S. Riverside Plaza, Chicago, Ill. 60606.

Journal of Marketing Research (1964, \$7) is a professional and scholarly journal that reports findings in market research. American Marketing Association, 222 S. Riverside Plaza, Chicago, Ill. 60606.

Journalism Educator (1945, \$6) provides articles on journalism education and new developments in professional journalism. American Society of Journalism School Administrators, Department of Journalism, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 89507.

Journalism Quarterly (1924, \$10) provides reports of the latest research in journalism and other areas of mass communication. Association for Education in Journalism, 111 Murphy Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 55455.

Madison Avenue Magazine, Inc. (1958, \$6) includes articles on the latest developments in advertising and media. 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Media Decisions (1966, \$5) deals with concepts and trends in all media involved in advertising. Norman Glenn Publications, Inc. 4 E. 53 St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Media Industry Newsletter (1948, \$35) analyzes and evaluates developments in all phases of magazine publication. Business Magazines, Inc., 150 E. 52 St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Media/Scope (1957, \$5) is a professional magazine designed to help businessmen purchase time and space more efficiently. Standard Rate and Data Service, Inc., 5201 Old Orchard Road, Skokie, Ill. 60076.

[*More*] (1971, \$10) is an example of the new genre of critical reviews of the news media. Rosebud Associates, Inc., 750 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Motion Picture Daily (1918, \$25) provides news and information

about film on a daily basis. 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020.

Public Opinion Quarterly (\$7.50) provides articles on survey research and public attitudes toward mass media and other topics related to mass communication. Columbia University Press, 136 South Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10533.

Public Relations Journal (1945, \$9.50) is the monthly magazine of the Public Relations Society of America, 845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

Public Relations Quarterly (1953, \$10) provides articles by leading practitioners, psychologists, and sociologists related to public relations activities. 305 East 45 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Publishers Weekly (1872, \$20) reports and analyzes trends and problems in the book-publishing industry. R. R. Bowker Co., 1180 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036.

The Quill Magazine (1912, \$5) is the monthly magazine of Sigma Delta Chi, the national society of journalists. 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60601.

Rolling Stone has been called the *New York Times* of the counter-culture and reports on contemporary trends in the recording industry. Straight Arrow Publishers, 625 Third St., San Francisco, Calif. 94107.

RTNDA Communicator (1971, \$6) is the monthly newsletter of the Radio Television News Directors Association, dealing with the problems of radio-television news. Radio Television News Directors Association, 1735 De Sales Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Sales Management (1918, \$15) carries current information on marketing strategies and media plans. Bill Publications, 630 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Sight and Sound (1932, \$5) serves as a source of educational and artistic analysis of film. British Film Institute, 155 West 15 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Television Age (1953, \$7) is designed for commercial broadcasters and advertisers and is an excellent source for student research. Television Editorial Corporation, 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020.

Television Digest (\$158-\$258) is a good statistical source on all phases of the industry and offers data on the CATV operations in the United States. 2025 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

- TV Guide* (1953, \$9.50) is the best source of information on TV programming. Triangle Publications, Inc., Radnor, Pa. 19088.
- The Writer* (1887, \$7) carries information and advice for individuals interested in writing for publication. 8 Arlington Street, Boston, Mass. 02116.
- Variety* (1905, \$25) is the entertainment industry's trade paper and provides current information regarding business and artistic aspects of the electric media. 154 West 46 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.
- Writer's Digest* (1919, \$4) is a guide for free-lance writers. F & W Publishing Corporation, 9933 Alliance Rd., Cincinnati, Ohio 45242.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS. Among the numerous annotated bibliographies that are extremely helpful in the initial stages of a literature search, four have been singled out for special attention because of their importance to beginning students in mass communication.

- Blum, Eleanor. *Basic Books in the Mass Media*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1972. This volume is an exceptionally detailed source of information, which is broken up into categories covering all the media.
- Brockett, Oscar G.; Becker, Samuel L.; and Bryant, Donald C. *A Bibliographical Guide to Research in Speech and Dramatic Art*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1963. An older, but still useful source of materials related to the speech field, which contains a section on radio-television-film.
- Hansen, Donald A., and Parsons, J. Herschel. *Mass Communication: A Research Bibliography*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Glendessary Press, 1968. Although this bibliography is *not* annotated, it is one of the most complete volumes available that surveys journals in a wide variety of disciplines.
- Sherry, Eugene P. *Guide to Reference Books*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1968. A general listing of reference materials useful in the investigation of any mass communication problem.

The books in the following list have been selected to provide the student with a useful survey of materials available in the field of mass communication. Obviously this list will not contain all the materials necessary for every study undertaken, but if the bibliographies

in each of the books listed are carefully examined, the student will be well on the way with his literature search.

- Advertising Age. *Magazines: A Focus on the Seventies*. New York: Magazine Publishers Association, 1969. Develops the role of magazines in the United States, with special emphasis on advertising.
- Agee, Warren K. *Mass Media in a Free Society*. Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Press, 1969. Contains a good series of articles by media professionals on the freedom and responsibilities of the press.
- Ainslie, Rosalynde. *The Press in Africa*. New York: Walker, 1966. Surveys press institutions of emerging nations in Africa.
- ANPA Research Institute. *The Structure and Layout of Editorial-News Departments*. New York: American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1970. Analyzes newspaper news operations.
- Arlen, Michael J. *Living-room War*. New York: Viking Press, 1969. Examines the effects of TV news reports on society's attitudes toward the war in Vietnam.
- Ashmore, Harry S. *Fear in the Air: Broadcasting and the First Amendment: The Anatomy of a Constitutional Crisis*. New York: Norton, 1973. Contends that the dangers to freedom of the press caused by technological and social change are greater than presidential anger against them. He proceeds to analyze these changes, especially in relation to the Watergate crisis.
- Baddeley, Walter H. *The Technique of Documentary Film Production*. London: Focal Press, 1969. Analyzes visual communication theory and coding processes in the film-TV documentary.
- Bagdikian, Ben H. *The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and the Media*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971. Provides the first full-scale projection of the technological explosion in communications and conveys both the challenge about the future and apprehension about its dangers.
- Baker, Robert K., and Ball, Sandra I. *Violence and the Media*. Washington, D.C.: Government Documents, 1969. Provides the proceedings of the National Committee on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.
- Barnouw, Erik. *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966 (vol. 1), 1968 (vol. 2), 1970 (vol. 3). Surveys the history of radio and television and is essential for anyone who plans to do historical research in broadcasting.

- Barrett, Marvin, ed. *Survey of Broadcast Journalism 1968-1969*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1969. Analyzes how TV reports the news and the various forces that influence broadcast newsmen.
- Barsam, Richard. *Nonfiction Film*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1973. An up-to-date history and analysis of the various forms of nonfiction film.
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- Belz, Carl. *The Story of Rock*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. Traces the history of rock music and the personalities involved in its development.
- Benton, Charles. *Television in Urban Education*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. Studies the current uses and future potential of educational uses of television.
- Berelson, Bernard, and Janowitz, Morris. *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*. New York: Free Press, 1966. Provides a wide selection of sociological material helpful to students of the media.
- Berlo, David K. *The Process of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1960. Analyzes the interpersonal communication process.
- Bernays, Edward L. *Biography of an Idea: Memoirs of a Public Relations Counsel*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1965. Presents a revealing and insightful account of the development of systematic public relations by one of the pioneers of the profession.
- Bernstein, Carl and Woodward, Bob. *All the President's Men*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974. The inside story on Watergate by the Pulitzer-Prize-winning team of reporters for the *Washington Post*.
- Bleum, A. William. *Documentary in American Television*. New York: Hastings House, 1964. Analyzes and evaluates the documentary's achievement in television.
- , and Squire, Jason, eds. *The Movie Business*. New York: Hastings House, 1972. An anthology of articles on the motion-picture industry by leading professionals.
- Bliss, Edward, Jr., and Patterson, John M. *Writing News for Broadcast*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971. Introduces the student to the essential techniques of writing news for radio and television.
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- growing complexity and sophistication of the “new politics” and the “new professionals” who have run elections for 20 years—from Eisenhower in 1952 to Nixon in 1972.
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- Bogart, Leo. *Strategy in Advertising*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967. Analyzes advertising-media plans and audience research evaluation.
- Bogdanovich, Peter. *Pieces of Time*. New York: Arbor House, 1973. One of the most important and talented young directors on the scene today speaks out on his and America’s favorite art form.
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- Brown, J. A. C. *Techniques of Persuasion*. New York: Penguin Books, 1963. Serves as a good short primer in persuasive communication in a modern society.
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