To
Tom, Susan, Lee, Jim, and Jack—my very special students
—D.A.G.

To
Pace, the best child anyone could hope to have
—J.D.

Mass Media and American Politics

Ninth Edition

Doris A. Graber
University of Illinois at Chicago

Johanna Dunaway
Louisiana State University

SAGE | CQPRESS
Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC

37. Jeffres, *Mass Media Effects*, presents an excellent overview of the media effects literature.
38. The discussion is modeled on Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm's foundational book, *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963). For a critique of the model, see Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
39. David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, *The American Journalist in the 21st Century* (Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 2005). Public journalism embodies most of the principles of social responsibility journalism. See Edmund D. Lambeth, Philip E. Meyers, and Esther Thorson, eds., *Assessing Public Journalism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998); and Theodore L. Glasser, ed., *The Idea of Public Journalism* (New York: Guilford Press, 1999).
40. See, for example, Dean Alger, *Megamedia: How Giant Corporations Dominate Mass Media, Distort Competition, and Endanger Democracy* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998). Also see the annual reports of "The Goldsmith Prize Investigative Reporting Finalists," issued by the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, Harvard University.
41. Lambeth, Meyers, and Thorson, *Assessing Public Journalism*.
42. Hallin and Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems*.
43. John Anthony Maltese, *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communication and the Management of Presidential News*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 232–233.

chapter 2

Ownership, Regulation, and Guidance of Media

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1989, Americans expected that the Soviets' Iron Curtain of information control would be lifted and a free press would emerge in Russia and its component states. And so it did, briefly. Soviet leaders pledged that the government would relinquish control over the nation's news media and would allow opposition voices to be heard. More than twenty years later, however, nearly everything that was gained initially has been lost. Aside from the Baltic States and the Central European satellites, the press in Russia and most of the countries on its periphery is government owned and controlled and serves to perpetuate authoritarian governance. As recently as 2012, the annual Freedom House report rates media freedom in Russia as "extremely poor" and describes Russia as "one of the most dangerous countries in the world for media."[1]

The reversion to a captive press began in 2000 when Vladimir Putin, a former top-level official of the KGB secret police, became president of Russia and "cleansed" the media of all elements deemed hostile to the Putin regime. Most of the rulers of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) followed suit. Putin's strenuous effort to regain control over all independent media enterprises is a typical, contemporary version of the battles fought by governments for control over their countries' information supply to ensure that it supports the reigning government and damages the opposition. Concern about who will wield media power has been a central issue in U.S. politics since colonial days. In this chapter we will weigh the pros and cons of various forms of government and private sector control of the mass media, as well as the implications of changing patterns. We will also assess the impact of various pressures on the mass media industry, such as economic constraints and lobbies. The policy issues involved in media control are so complex, so intertwined with political preferences, that no ownership and control system stands out clearly as "best." All have advantages and drawbacks. It is no wonder that attempts in the United States to legislate about media ownership and control have produced little agreement on what the laws should be.

CONTROL AND OWNERSHIP: PUBLIC AND SEMIPUBLIC

The different forms of control and ownership of the media affect not only media economics but also the substance of media output, in line with the old adage "He who pays the piper calls the tune." People concerned about self-serving politicians are likely to oppose government ownership and operation of the media. They also are apt to be leery about extensive government regulation of privately owned and operated media. By contrast, people who believe that for-profit media enterprises cater to low-level mass tastes or who distrust the business ethics of corporations, especially huge ones, do not want a media system in which private ownership and control dominate.

The Crux of the Debate

Opponents of public ownership and control of news media fear that it leads to programming that uncritically supports government policies, even in democratic countries. The fear is well-founded. However, the programs that the British government's nonpartisan British Broadcasting Corporation offers show that governments can avoid direct political interference.[2]

Private control of television, if divided among many owners, is likely to bring more conflicting interests into play than government control does. Even within large corporations, business interests are apt to be diverse and often incompatible, so company leaders support diverse policies. Overall, when business enterprises control broadcasting, the prevailing political values reflected in the choice of programs are likely to be mainstream and middle class. Aside from the mainstream orientations of most owners, the pressures springing from profit considerations lead to offerings with mass appeal, rather than controversial social or cultural crusades. Advertisers generate the largest share of the media's income. They pay for the privilege of reaching large numbers of potential customers, particularly 18- to 49-year-olds who are the most active shoppers. Government-owned and controlled media are free from commercial pressures because they can use tax money to finance whatever programs they believe to be in the public interest. They must consider intragovernment power struggles, but they do not need to consider the economic consequences of the size of their audience.

When most Americans distrust government more than business, private ownership and control of the mass media are the preferred option. Consequently, the bulk of news media fare, especially on television, is geared to simple, emotion-laden programming that attracts large, diverse audiences. Controversial or troublesome issues that may antagonize or deplete media audiences and diminish advertising revenues are largely shunned.

Popular, "lightweight" programming draws the wrath of many people, particularly intellectual elites who scorn the mass public's tastes even when they themselves flock to fluff programs. Some critics argue that people would choose highbrow, intellectual programs over lightweight entertainment if they had the chance, even though proof is plentiful that the public prefers

shallow entertainment to more serious programs.[3] In 1998, for example, President Bill Clinton's State of the Union message attracted 53 million viewers. Some months later, a broadcast in which he promised to discuss an inappropriate sexual relationship with a White House intern attracted 68 million. Later that year, the finale of the popular *Seinfeld* show on NBC drew 76 million viewers, topping the audience for the president's yearly report by more than 40 percent. In print news, magazines featuring sex or violence far outsell journals that treat political and social issues seriously. In fact, scholarly political journals frequently require subsidies to remain in print. Huge crowds are willing to pay heavily in time and money to see movies featuring heinous crimes and explicit sex. The most popular pay television channels show what is euphemistically called "adult entertainment," whereas channels devoted to highbrow culture languish and often perish. On the Internet, one-fourth of daily search engine requests and one-third of all downloads involve sexually explicit content.[4]

Related to concerns about news media domination by powerful public or private interests is the fear of undue influence if only a small number of organizations share media control. Diversity of media ownership presumably encourages the expression of diverse views, which to many Americans is the essence of democracy. The marketplace where ideas and opinions are debated must be wide open. But there is no agreement on exactly how many owners are required for sufficient diversity.[5] Americans appear to be more concerned about the concentration of media ownership in comparatively few hands than about control of the media by business. Social reformers, however, are more concerned about business control, claiming that it fosters tabloid journalism and suppresses discussion of pressing social problems.

How the Public and Semipublic System Works

In the United States, outright government ownership and control over media has been limited. However, it is growing as more local governments own cable television systems or operate channels on privately owned systems. Government ownership raises serious unresolved questions about the limitations, if any, to be placed on the government's right to use these outlets to further partisan political purposes.

The federal government is most heavily involved in broadcasting, with local governments in second place. The federal government controls broadcasts to U.S. military posts throughout the world through the American Forces Radio and Television Service in the Department of Defense. It also owns foreign media outlets, which often relay U.S. government policy, though not exclusively. The Voice of America (VOA) broadcast system, for example, broadcasts more than 1,500 hours of programs weekly to a foreign audience of 141 million through radio, television, and the Internet. VOA has more than 1,200 affiliate stations and communicates in 43 languages.[6]

Broadcasting by semipublic institutions is another control option. The public broadcasting system, created through the Public Broadcasting Act of

1967, represents a mixture of public and private financing and programming and public and private operation of radio and television stations. The public broadcasting system supports educational and public service television stations whose programs generally do not attract large audiences. Those stations need subsidies because they usually cannot find enough commercial sponsors to pay for their shows.

In 2009 members of the public broadcasting system included 356 noncommercial television stations, primarily operated by community organizations and colleges and universities, and more than 860 noncommercial radio stations linked together as the independently financed National Public Radio (NPR).[7] The administrative arrangements for the public broadcasting system have been complex. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), staffed by political appointees, has handled the general administration, but it has been kept separate from the programming side of the operation to insulate public broadcasting from political pressures. A separate Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) has produced television programs, often in collaboration with state-supported foreign broadcast systems, such as Britain's BBC or France 2 or Japan's NHK. The Independent Television Service, created by Congress in 1991, has awarded grants to independent producers for "programming that involves creative risks and addresses the needs of underserved audiences." [8]

The attempt to keep the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) from influencing programming has failed. The corporation does not tell public television stations what programs they should feature. Instead, it has guided programming by paying for some types of programs and refusing to pay for others. This has constituted purse-string control of programming by government. The results have earned praise along with scorn. In radio, NPR was created to both produce and distribute programs. Because cost considerations made it impossible to include all noncommercial radio stations, only the largest, best-organized ones were included and are eligible for CPB funding grants and participation in NPR programs.

Private foundations and big business enterprises have subsidized 22 percent of the public broadcasting system income (Table 2-1). The Reagan administration authorized PBS to engage in some commercial broadcasting of economic news and to accept a limited amount of advertising. All of these changes have enhanced corporate influence over programming. The general public also has influenced public broadcasting through donations that constitute 27 percent of the income of public broadcasting systems and through community advisory boards. Nevertheless, securing adequate financing is an enduring problem. Dependence on federal funds, even when those funds constitute less than 20 percent of total funding, entails some subservience to federal control, despite barriers to direct government influence.

An emphasis on experimental programs—cultural offerings such as plays, classical music, and ballet—and a stress on high-quality news and public affairs programs distinguishes public television broadcasts from commercial television.[9] The nature and quality of programming vary widely because public television represents a decentralized bevy of local stations. The audience for public television, except for its children's programs, has been small, rarely more than 2 percent of television viewers. Even minority groups, to whom a number of public broadcast programs are targeted, prefer commercial entertainment. Still, PBS serves nearly 65 million people weekly, and more than 26 million listen off and on to NPR programs. Because of the limited appeal of public broadcasting and the need to reduce public expenditures, there has been some pressure to disband the system completely and reallocate its frequencies to commercial channels. In 2010 and in 2011 Republicans put forward budget proposals to cut funding for CPB—in 2011 the legislation passed in the House, but funding was restored in a budget compromise.[10] During the 2012 presidential election Republican nominee Mitt Romney made funding cuts to public radio and television a part of his campaign. With continuing pressure to reduce deficits, CPB will likely remain a target of budget cuts and not just from Republicans; even President Obama's bi-partisan deficit reduction committee proposed to eliminate funding for CPB. If CPB does eventually lose federal finding, the impact will be variable across affiliates, and some of its programs then might be shown on commercial cable stations, possibly with federal subsidies.[11]

TABLE 2-1 **Public Broadcasting Revenue by Source, 2011**

Income source	*Millions of dollars*	*Percentage of budget*
Subscribers	778	27
Business	409	14
CPB Appropriation	429	15
All Other	307	11
State Governments	248	9
Foundations	217	8
State Colleges/Universities	204	7
Local Governments	94	3
Federal Grants/Contracts	82	3
Private Colleges/Universities	48	2
Other Colleges/Universities	19	1
Total income	**2,835**	**100**

Source: "Public Broadcasting Revenue, Fiscal Year 2011," www.cpb.org/stations/reports/revenue/2011PublicBroadcastingRevenue.pdf.

Note: The 2011 Public Broadcasting System included 818 Corporation for Public Broadcasting–qualified public radio stations and 354 public television stations.

Supporters of the system contend that it provides special services that commercial television neglects because they lack mass appeal. Innovations pioneered by public broadcasting have spread to commercial broadcasting, these supporters say. For example, public broadcasting played a leading role in developing captions for individuals with hearing impairments. At the turn of the century, it led in pioneering digital television, including interactive news and feature programs. Public radio and public television also were among the first to move to satellite distribution, which made it possible to deliver multiple national programs to communities. Nonetheless, the future of public broadcasting seems precarious.

PATTERNS OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

The overarching feature of media ownership in the United States is that it is predominantly in private hands. Arrangements vary from individual ownership, where one person owns a newspaper or radio or television station, to ownership by corporate conglomerates. Owners include small and large business enterprises, labor groups, religious and ethnic organizations, and many other types of interests in society. Explaining private media control patterns is relatively simple; agreeing on their consequences is not.

Business Configurations

"Independents"—individuals or corporations that run a single media venture and nothing else—are a vanishing breed in the media business. The most important exceptions are wire services, such as the Associated Press (AP). The organization supplies a huge share of the news stories printed and broadcast in the United States. Its roots go back to 1848, when six New York newspapers formed a cooperative association to share the cost of collecting foreign news. Out of this initial effort grew a handful of other wire service organizations, such as those operated by the *New York Times, Chicago Tribune,* and CNN to serve their own organizations along with an array of subscribers. Wire service companies employ reporters scattered throughout the world to collect and report news for sale to news distributing entities. Wire service news stories and bulletins are transmitted electronically to subscriber newspapers and radio and television stations. Service clients either rewrite wire news stories and bulletins or use them verbatim. The proportion of wire service stories used, directly or in rewritten form, may vary from less than 10 percent to 80 percent or more of all stories, depending on each media outlet's resources for carrying its own news. Wire service stories tend to predominate for foreign news, and even for national news for smaller papers and broadcast stations that cannot afford their own correspondents. This means that a small number of wire service companies dominate a large share of news production in the United States. It is the most concentrated form of control within the American media system.

Aside from developments on the Internet, various forms of multiple ownership have become the norm. Media chains are an example. In the chains, individuals or corporations own several media outlets—mostly radio or television stations or cable channels or newspapers. For example, in 2008 the Gannett Company published 85 daily newspapers in the United States, including the giant *USA Today* and nearly 900 nondaily publications. It also published 17 daily newspapers in the United Kingdom and roughly 300 weekly newspapers and magazines.[12] The predictable consequence of chain ownership has been a large degree of homogeneity in news offerings.[13]

National and regional chains control more than 80 percent of daily papers in the United States.[14] Like the Gannett Corporation, most of these newspaper groups also own papers published less frequently. The proportion of circulation controlled by chain-owned papers has been relatively stable, as Table 2-2 shows, using examples drawn from an array of circulation leaders. Although individual papers within chains generally enjoy editorial page autonomy, they tend to be more uniform in making political endorsements than is true for independently owned papers.[15]

In addition to newspaper chains, Gannett also owns chains of other media channels. The company operated 23 television stations in the United States in 2008, reaching more than 20 million households. Its online audience in the United States was estimated at 25.8 million unique visitors, which is almost 16 percent of the total Internet news audience. When media enterprises own different types of media, it is called "cross-media ownership." Although the arrangement carries the usual advantages of giant enterprises—ample resources for good performance and economies of scale—it is worrisome when one company controls all the news media in a market. It diminishes the chance for democratic dialog. Efforts to use the government's regulatory powers to curb cross-media ownership in the United States have been stymied by powerful lobbying by large media enterprises.[16] In fact, under a series of Republican presidents, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has favored loosening constraints on cross-media ownership, allowing this form of ownership to thrive. The FCC has actually encouraged mergers of multiple media platforms, even when they have involved the same market.

A market is the geographic area in which a medium attracts a substantial audience. For instance, each television station has a signal that can be received clearly by people living within a certain radius of the station. All of the people within that radius who can receive the signal are considered within the market. This means that they are exposed to the same programming and can be expected to respond to advertising for products and services provided by program sponsors. Large owners may supply news for more than a hundred markets. Advertisers who want to reach as many potential customers as possible favor owners with access to large markets and are willing to pay them premium fees.

A fourth type of ownership encompasses conglomerates—individuals or corporations that own media enterprises along with other types of businesses. CBS Corporation, General Electric, and the Walt Disney Company are examples. They own the CBS, NBC, and ABC networks. Along with Fox,

TABLE 2-2 U.S. Daily Newspaper Circulation: 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012

	2004	*2006*	*2008*	*2010*	*2012*
USA Today[a]	2,192,098	2,272,815	2,284,219	1,830,594	1,713,833
Wall Street Journal	2,101,017	2,049,786	2,069,463	2,061,142	2,293,798
New York Times	1,133,763	1,142,464	1,077,256	876,638	1,613,865
Los Angeles Times	983,727	851,832	773,884	600,449	606,075
New York Daily News	747,053	708,477	703,137	512,520	530,440
New York Post	....	673,379	702,488	501,501	522,868
Washington Post	772,553	724,242	673,180	545,345	462,228
Chicago Tribune[b]	693,978	579,079	541,663	441,506	411,960
Houston Chronicle	549,300	513,387	494,131	343,952	325,814
Arizona Republic	466,926	438,722	413,332	308,973	275,622

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation, 2004–2010 figures. Alliance for Audited Media (formerly known as the Audit Bureau of Circulation), 2012 figures.

Note: Change based on difference in circulation from 2004 to 2008 except in the case of the *New York Post*, for which 2006 data were used.

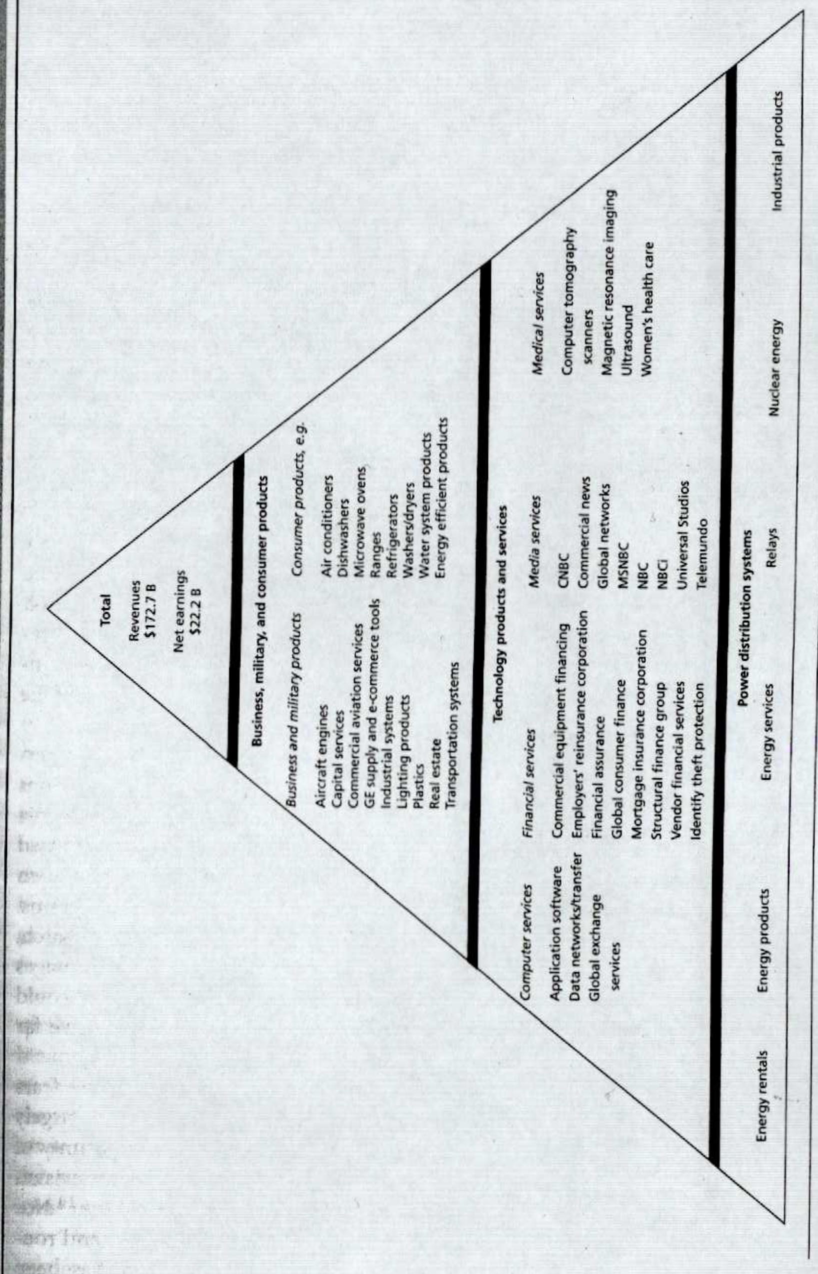
[a] Numbers are based on best days only: Monday–Thursday.

[b] Numbers are based on best days only: Wednesday–Friday.

these four major television networks supply most of the content broadcast by U.S. television stations. Conglomerate ownership raises fears that the companies' nonmedia business interests may color their news policies. If, for instance, there is a need to reduce the size of the military or to oppose construction of a missile system, the management of a conglomerate such as General Electric, which holds many defense contracts, may examine these questions from a biased perspective in the media outlets that it controls (see Figure 2-1).

In major urban centers, most media fall into the multiple-owner, cross-media, and conglomerate classifications. For instance, the Tribune Company owns the *Chicago Tribune* as well as television and radio stations in Chicago and the Chicago Cubs baseball team. In 2008 Tribune media holdings included 12 daily newspapers throughout the country, 24 television stations in 19 markets, one radio station, and one national cable outlet, along with the Web sites associated with these enterprises. Its subsidiary Tribune Media Services operated as a major syndicator of news, features, and entertainment content sold to news outlets throughout the world.[17] All major television and radio stations in Chicago are owned by the national television networks and conglomerates or members of conglomerates.

FIGURE 2-1 The Diverse Holdings of the General Electric Company



Source: General Electric, Annual Report, 2008.

Radio and television stations that remain under single ownership for the most part are small with comparatively weak signals. The number of media outlets controlled by various entrepreneurs ranges widely and fluctuates considerably, especially in an era of widespread consolidation. Since the turn of the century, many news media companies have added multiple Web sites to their holdings, as well as online versions of their newspapers and television programs and newspapers serving special groups such as Hispanics or young readers.

Research suggests that the various ownership structures of media outlets' parent companies can influence the tone and substance of political news coverage. Specifically, news outlets with parent company ownership structures that are most suited for profit maximization are those most likely to offer political coverage that is less substantive, more sensational, and more negative in tone. When news organizations are concerned about profit at the expense of all else, they are more likely to offer political news content that is appealing to mass audiences—who tend to prefer more sensational, negative, and less substantive news.[18]

THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF BIG BUSINESS CONTROL

Strong trends toward consolidation in the media industry have given a few very large organizations a great deal of control over the news that reaches the American public. Is it sound public policy to allow such consolidation? Does it bring undesirable uniformity and lead to neglect of local needs? Does it prevent diverse viewpoints from reaching the public? In short, what are the advantages and disadvantages of big business control over substantial portions of the public's news supply?

On the plus side of the ledger, producing television programs and gathering news worldwide are expensive. Only large, well-financed organizations able to spread their costs over many customers can provide the lavish media fare that attracts ample audiences. Compared to small, individually owned enterprises, large enterprises can more readily absorb the losses that are often incurred in producing expensive documentaries and public service programs. Large enterprises also can spend more money on talented people, research, investigations, and costly entertainment shows. Nonetheless, these advantages are bought at a high price. The brilliant, full spectrum of viewpoints that could be available has been contracted and grayed, and fresh new talents have far fewer opportunities to come to the fore.

Although there have been troubling incidents, many of the worst fears about the consequences of big business dominance have proved largely groundless. Media mergers have generated little change in the uniformity of news; the simultaneous multiplication of cable, satellite, and Internet television actually diversified the media marketplace to some extent everywhere.[19] Nor is there solid evidence that media giants squelch antibusiness news and routinely favor conservative political orientations.[20] In fact, there has been ample antibusiness news that has tarnished such business giants as Microsoft, Nike, WalMart, Merck, and the major tobacco companies.[21] However, it is quite evident that serious news has been increasingly replaced by "infotainment" in the wake of mergers of news enterprises with entertainment giants, especially when the public prefers such shows to hard news offerings. Further, studies suggest that the various business configurations of for-profit media outlets do shape their profit orientations, the degree to which they focus on local issues, and the amount of hard news they offer. The jury is still out on whether an ample supply of hard news or an adequate diversity of viewpoints remains available when also taking into account news available on cable stations, on news radio, and on the Internet.[22]

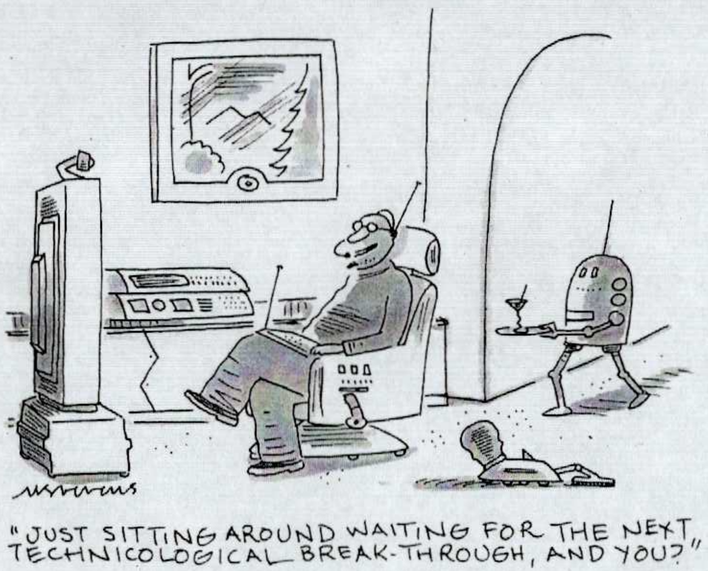
Obviously, current policies designed to reduce media concentration and encourage local programming have failed to meet their objectives. The merits of these policies must be reconsidered, keeping in mind the media's mandate to serve the public interests of a democratic society. It has also become clear over many decades that most efforts to put broadcast media into a regulatory harness are doomed to fail because owners with major stakes in this business sector maintain close ties with high-level politicians, who need their support for winning public office and promoting policies.

The Impact of New Media on the Media Marketplace

The "new media" are having a marked impact on the structure and behavior of news media enterprises, providing alternative avenues for both news consumers and political elites. These avenues not only provide emerging sources of news for the public but outlets for public officials to circumvent mainstream media. According to Pew's 2013 State of the News Media, "newsmakers and others with information they want to put into the public arena have become more adept at using digital technology and social media to do so on their own, without any filter by the traditional media. They are also seeing more success in getting their message into the traditional media narrative." [23] The term "new media" refers to the growing number of electronic forms of communication made possible through computer technologies. The term includes microblogging (or blogging), content sharing, and social networking Web sites such as Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook, which dabble in presenting news while fostering social networking.[24]

The most profound effect of the new media on the news media business springs from the multiplication of outlets that distribute news. In fact, in combination, there are far more providers of digital news than potential consumers of their services. This imbalance between supply and demand has created a chaotic marketplace where news suppliers compete for audiences and advertisers in many novel ways. Most "old media" institutions have been weakened by the struggle, and some have succumbed. But there are many survivors, and some of them, such as cable television news, are thriving.

The vast majority of new media news providers produce very few, if any, original stories. They largely feed off news collected by the traditional media,



Conde Nast.

who use their shrinking corps of journalists to report ongoing events. New media news distributors elaborate stories gathered by old media, often interpreting them from unique perspectives. They have captured fragments of old media audiences. The three original networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC—which once supplied news to three-quarters of the nightly audience, now serve only 40 percent.[25] However, most digital news consumers continue to use old-style news sources alongside the new media.

As a consequence of sharpening competition in the news media marketplace, owning media enterprises has become less profitable and even unprofitable in many instances. To cope with tough economic conditions, some media empires have divested themselves of large chunks of their holdings, adding a movement toward deconcentration to the more common movement toward excessive concentration in the media business sector. Clear Channel, for example, has divested itself of nearly 40 percent of its small-market radio stations, a total of 448 stations, as well as all of its local television stations. It retained an empire of more than 600 radio stations, demonstrating that even after massive divestments, concentration remains alive and well on the radio scene. Sixty percent of online news offerings come from providers owned by twenty media titans such as Time Warner and General Electric. Hundreds of smaller companies share the remainder.

Strained economic conditions have forced some old media into bankruptcy, and some have shut down operations in the face of impending financial collapse. Still others have sharply cut costs by sharing resources, trimming

staffs and the scope of news gathering, and shutting down bureaus, especially abroad. The upshot has been a reduction in the scope and quality of coverage of serious news and an increase in human interest stories that are inexpensive to produce.

The growth of the new media has thinned out old media, but only marginally. As in previous communications revolutions, newcomers—such as the telephone or radio or television in earlier ages—have forced old-timers to adjust; they have not wiped them out.[26] In line with the old adage, "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em," the old-timers have adapted the new technologies to their own needs. Newspapers, for example, along with some television and cable stations, have created their own Web sites. The news collected for the traditional enterprise now does double duty by serving the needs of the Web site as well. In fact, much of the information collected by reporters that the traditional media could not publish in the past because of space and time constraints is now available on the Web and is often distributed via links through the organizations' or journalists' Twitter feeds. It enriches the old-style media because they can refer audience members to the expanded offerings. In addition, the ability to publish breaking news on the Web when it happens, rather than waiting for scheduled editions and broadcasts, restores the traditional media's scooping ability. They can once again be the first to break a story.

Privatization has been another major consequence of new media proliferation. When media properties are owned by publicly traded corporations, bottom-line concerns are paramount. If their published reports show that the media segments of the business are not as profitable as expected, management feels pressured to change the situation, often at the expense of the quality of media offerings. Such unwelcome pressures have produced a trend to privatize major media. The *Chicago Tribune* and the Clear Channel radio operations are examples. While privatized media ultimately need to be economically viable so they can pay their operating costs, they are not forced to show the large profit margins to which media owners have been accustomed in the past. They also are less subject to public scrutiny, making media operations less transparent.

Further loosening of the economic constraints that currently hobble news media operations may be in the offing. Wealthy philanthropists have indicated their willingness to operate high-quality media on a break-even basis or to subsidize their operations. One subsidy example is ProPublica, a nonprofit investigative service that develops news stories and then offers them free to existing news organizations or assists news organizations in developing their own stories.[27] That is an exciting development because it points to a move away from news media as profit-making businesses to a system of media focused on public service that deserves support from private philanthropies. Yet we must remember that any major change in the system of media financing will not change the age-old fact that whoever pays the piper, controls the tune. We can only guess what the new tune would be.

Media Influence Variables: Prestige, Market Size, and Competition

One cannot judge the sweep of control exercised by any group of news media owners merely by looking at number of outlets. Three additional factors need to be considered: prestige of each media institution, market size, and competition within the market. The prestige a media enterprise enjoys is an important component of its political influence. Journalism has widely accepted standards of professionalism, just as do law, medicine, and engineering. As part of this system of norms, certain members and products are accepted widely as models for the profession. Other news professionals watch what information the high-prestige news organizations present, how they present it, and what interpretations they give to it; they then adjust their own presentations accordingly. Critics derisively call this the "jackal syndrome" or "pack journalism." For political news, the *New York Times* is the lion whom the jackals follow. In television, major networks are models for the profession, strengthening the trend toward news uniformity. The many voices in the media marketplace sing in unison much of the time. Newcomers quickly join the chorus and hum the tunes orchestrated by the prestige leadership.

Media enterprises also gain influence based on the size of their market rather than the total number of markets accessible. The hundreds of newspaper and broadcast markets in the United States vary widely in audience size. In such major metropolitan areas as New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles, a market with a fifty-mile radius may have a population of several million. The same radius for a station in Wyoming might cover more cows than people.

Competition within most media markets used to be quite limited. A single newspaper and a handful of radio and television stations were the rule. That picture has changed dramatically in the wake of technology advances. Nonetheless, most Americans still get the bulk of their political news from mainstream television, although digital news consumption has surpassed newspapers as a source of public affairs news, and news websites saw the most audience growth in 2011 at a rate of 17.2 percent, which more than tripled the growth of news audiences in any television sector, including the networks, local, and cable.[28] Ninety-eight percent of all U.S. cities have only one daily newspaper.[29] Suburban dailies, which flourish in a few major cities, do not alter the situation substantially because their coverage of major news stories usually is limited. However, even in one-newspaper towns, the news supply is not monopolized as long as there is competition from television, cable, and radio outlets.

Another factor to consider in gauging the influence of various media enterprises is the composition of their audiences in terms of age, education, and income (see Box 2-1 for an examination of news audience demographics). However, numbers may be deceptive because the fragmentation of news channels and the multiplication of news content on entertainment programs make it hard to judge people's news sources. Evidence shows that most Americans watch the news when something exciting occurs, although that inclination has been declining.[30] In 2012, when asked about attention to news on the previous day, 48 percent of poll respondents had used television and 29 percent had read a newspaper.

When asked to name their most important sources of news, people usually rank television first, then newspapers, radio, and the Internet.[31] Much of the Internet consumption is web versions of mainstream newspapers and television.

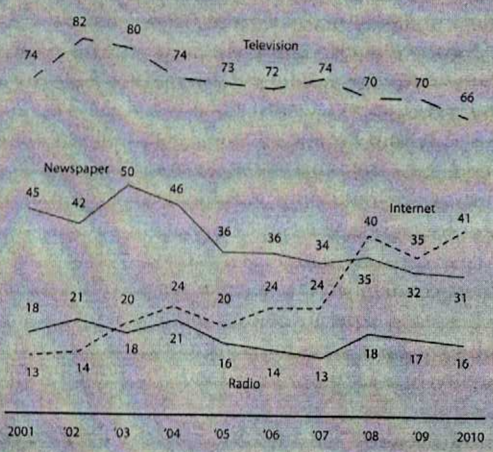
BOX 2-1 Audiences under the Microscope

Demographic differences matter hugely when it comes to audiences for various types of media. The maturing young—midtwenties to midthirties—are most prized by news organizations. That age group is likely to have a reasonably good income within various job categories and likely to spend a good portion of it on big-ticket purchases such as furniture, appliances, electronics, and cars. Garnering young families as audience members equates to attracting advertisers who are willing to pay high rates for the chance to reach as many young eyeballs and readily opened, full wallets as possible.

Of course, not all media venues cater to the young. There are venues that cater to older audiences, to partisan audiences, to the prosperous, to the politically sophisticated, and many others. Given that preferences for news varies to some degree along demographic lines, targeted offerings that cater to specific needs and likes are a good thing. It also makes it essential to be knowledgeable about the range of tastes for news among Americans.

The graph below is illustrative. In 2010, for the first time, the Internet surpassed television for the main source of news for people under 30, and overall the Internet is gaining on television as the public's major source for news and political information.

Where Do You Get Most of Your News About National and International Issues?



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec 1-5, 2010. Figures add to more than 100% because respondents could volunteer up to two main sources. If asked more than once in a calendar year, trend shows final datapoint from each year.

1. The data are adapted from the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, "Internet Gains on Television as Public's Main News Source," http://www.people-press.org/2011/01/04/internet-gains-on-television-as-publics-main-news-source/

THE REGULATION/DEREGULATION DEBATE

When the FCC compared the number of broadcast news outlets available to Americans living in communities of various sizes at the dawn of the twenty-first century, it found that, on average, the number of outlets had more than tripled since 1960. Congress had ordered the research to ascertain whether it was time to scrap rules restricting companies from owning multiple news enterprises in the same market. The rules were designed to ensure that the limited number of broadcast frequencies would represent a wide spectrum of interests. The conclusion of majorities in Congress, hotly disputed by the minority, was that a substantial loosening of restrictions was in order because advancing technology has multiplied available channels. Besides, companies eager to increase their holdings claimed that economies of scale would allow them to improve their offerings. They would also be better able to compete with unregulated cable and satellite television and the Internet.

Opponents of deregulation have pointed out that large conglomerates, such as the Tribune Company, Viacom, and News Corporation, already control the most popular stations and often share programs and content across media holdings within the larger media parent company, contrary to the government's communication diversity goals. They also claim that loosening the existing restrictions encourages replacing local programming with bland, generic coverage suitable for large, diverse markets. The competition between giant corporations and smaller enterprises, like the fight between supermarkets and Ma and Pa grocery shops, invariably ends with the giants garnering most of the rights to exclusive stories and most of the advertising revenues while the dwarfs' economic base crumbles.

Opponents of deregulation point out that deregulation of radio in 1996 led to a frenzy of mergers that ended with a handful of giant corporations, led by Clear Channel and Infiniti Broadcasting Corporation, dominating the industry. Clear Channel grew from forty-three to more than 1,200 stations nationwide. Altogether, twenty-one companies had each acquired more than forty stations.[32] Some observers hailed this development as beneficial to consumers because larger companies have more resources to produce sophisticated programming. Others condemned it as a major disaster that shrank the diversity of offerings and reduced experimentation and creativity.

Despite the strong pressures for deregulation in the United States at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the federal government continues to regulate private electronic media to ensure that they "serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity" as mandated by the Communications Act of 1934 and its 1996 counterpart. The FCC, a bipartisan body appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, handles most regulation.[33] The FCC was a seven-member body until the summer of 1984 when, for financial reasons, Congress downsized it to five commissioners. In 1986 the appointment term was shortened from seven to five years, ensuring faster turnover of commission personnel and greater control by the government. In theory, the commission is an independent regulatory body. In practice, congressional purse strings, public and industry pressures, and presidential control over appointment of new members, including naming the chair, have greatly curtailed the FCC's freedom of operation. The commission's independence is weakened also because its rulings can be appealed to the courts, which frequently overturn them. Conflicting political pressures from outside the agency as well as internal political pressures further limit FCC policy making, so it tends to be "a reactive rather than an innovative system sluggish to respond to change in its environment, particularly to technological change. . . . Clearly there are problems with this kind of policy making system."[34] On balance, the FCC's record of setting goals and enforcing its rules has earned it the reputation of being at best an ineffective watchdog over the public interest and at worst an industry-kept, pressure-group-dominated lapdog.

The FCC controls only over-the-air television. Cable television and the Internet have been excluded because they are considered "common carriers"—channels that carry information compiled by others rather than originating their own information. U.S. print media are also beyond the FCC's reach thanks to the press clause of the First Amendment. However, like cable and the Internet, they are subject to general laws such as those limiting monopolies and trusts. These regulations become operative when the eight largest firms in a particular type of business control more than half of the market and the twenty largest firms control three-quarters or more. Concentration in the news media business has remained substantially below these levels. The Justice Department does permit economically weak newspapers to combine their business and production facilities free from antitrust and monopoly restraints, as long as their news and editorial operations are kept separate.

FCC control takes four forms: rules limiting the number of stations owned or controlled by a single organization, examination of the goals and performance of stations as part of periodic licensing, rules mandating public service and local interest programs, and rules to protect individuals from damage caused by unfair media coverage. Although none of these rules prescribes specific content, all of them were designed to increase the chances that content would be diverse and of civic importance.

In practice, none of the rules has been effective enough to overcome the pull of political and market forces, including the dawning of the Internet age. Despite the mushrooming of broadcast enterprises, the news diet that most Americans consume is surprisingly uniform, politically lightweight, and dominated by oligopolies. Licensing has become almost automatic with minimal quality controls. When processing licenses, the FCC usually looks at the mix of programs, the proportion of public service offerings, and the inclusion of programs geared to selected minorities and interests. It does not scrutinize the subject matter of broadcasts in detail.

Compared with regulatory agencies in other countries, even in western Europe, Canada, and Australia, the FCC controls the electronic media with a very light hand. The members of the FCC could, if they wished, rigorously define what constitutes "programming in the public interest." They could enforce FCC rulings more strictly and verify that stations are meeting their public service and local programming obligations before renewing their licenses. The threat of license withdrawal for rule violations could be used as a powerful deterrent to misbehavior and a strong guide to programming. That does not happen because political cross-pressures are strong, including the fear that FCC enforcement could impair press freedom. Besides, the FCC staff is much too small to cope with all their assigned duties. The FCC's performance in protecting individuals from unfair publicity has been somewhat stronger, as discussed in chapter 3.

PRESSURES BY MEDIA ASSOCIATIONS AND ADVERTISERS

Media lobbies are another means of controlling mass media policies. Radio and television interests, especially the networks and their affiliated stations, are active lobbyists. Most belong to the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), a powerful Washington, D.C., lobby despite the diversity and often clashing interests of its members. A number of trade associations and publications, such as *Broadcasting* magazine, also lobby, often at cross-purposes. For newspapers the American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA), now merged with several other press associations, has been one of the most prominent groups. These organizations try to influence appointments to the FCC and to guide public policies affecting new technologies that may threaten established systems or practices. For instance, the network lobbies for many years tried to stifle cable television and to acquire control over domestic satellites. The National Cable Television Association and the National Association of Broadcasters have used members' stations to urge support for their policy recommendations. On other occasions, such as the passage of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, they have tried to downplay coverage that might arouse unwanted opposition.

To forestall regulation by outside bodies, the media industry has developed mechanisms for self-control. The NAB has had a radio code since 1929 and a television code since 1952 that set rules on program content and form. The NAB modernizes both codes periodically. Individual codes in major broadcast enterprises and codes adopted by the Council of Better Business Bureaus have supplemented or superseded industrywide codes. Print press self-policing has developed along similar lines. Scholars, too, have set forth codes of journalism ethics.

Most codes are quite vague, mandating honesty, fairness, independence, and concern for the public interest. Media outlets then decide what these principles mean in practice. Overall, the impact of industrywide codes has been limited. Typically they apply only to organization members that explicitly subscribe to them. Penalties for code violations have been minimal. The codes

have been useful in blunting demands by pressure groups for government intervention to set and enforce standards. For instance, congressional leaders lifted a threat to pass laws limiting excessively violent and sexually explicit shows on programs available to children in return for industry promises to develop a rating system to guide parents.

In the 1970s advertisers began to influence program content by withdrawing their commercials from programs they considered obscene or excessively violent. Sears Roebuck was one of the earliest and largest advertisers to do so. McDonald's, American Express, and AT&T refused to place commercials on such shows. Other large advertisers, such as Procter and Gamble, retained consultants to seek out acceptable programs for their advertisements and avoid unacceptable ones. With advertisements on such top-rated shows as the Super Bowl yielding more than $3 million for a thirty-second spot, threats of withdrawal have had some impact on programming.[35]

While reductions in programs featuring sex and violence have been welcome, other changes have been problematic. There is deep concern that advertisers, spurred by pressure groups, may become unofficial censors. For instance, General Motors canceled its sponsorship of an Easter-time program on the life of Jesus because evangelical groups objected to the content. A CBS documentary on gun control, opposed by the gun control lobby, suffered crippling withdrawals of advertising. Fearing similar punishments from fundamentalist religious groups, the networks have refused advertising designed to instruct viewers about the use of condoms for protection against unwanted pregnancies and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). Such unofficial censorship at the behest of advertisers impairs press freedom.

CITIZEN LOBBY CONTROL

Citizens' efforts to affect the quality of broadcasting began in earnest in 1966, when the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ, a public interest lobby, challenged the license renewal of WLBT-TV in Jackson, Mississippi, accusing the station of discriminating against African American viewers.[36] At the time, 45 percent of Jackson's population was African American. The challenge failed, but it was the beginning of efforts by many other citizens groups to challenge license renewals.

Citizen groups won a major victory in 1975 when the FCC refused to renew the licenses of eight educational television stations in Alabama and denied a construction permit for a ninth because citizen lobbies had charged racial discrimination in employment at the stations. There also had been complaints that the stations unduly excluded programs dealing with affairs of the African American community.[37] Since then numerous stations have yielded to pressure for increased minority employment and programming rather than face legal action. It is one of many examples that demonstrate that the threat of legal action is a powerful stimulant of social behavior.

During the 1980s many citizens groups formed to lobby for better programming and tighter government controls. They represented a broad array of ideological viewpoints as well as a variety of demographic groups. Despite the substantial impact of such groups on FCC rule-making and licensing procedures, citizen lobbying efforts at the national level declined somewhat since the 1980s and have never regained their original vigor. One reason has been the difficulty of sustaining citizen interest over time; others were lack of financial support and loss of leadership. The broadcast lobby defeated efforts to obtain public funding for citizens' lobby groups, and foundation support has dried up. Many groups also were discouraged when the appeals courts reversed substantial victories won in the lower courts and when the U.S. Supreme Court voided the 1996 Communications Decency Act.[38] Some citizens' groups have redirected their energy into local lobbying to ensure that cable systems in their locality serve the interests of various publics at reasonable prices to consumers.

In addition to the more than sixty organizations concerned exclusively with media reform, other organizations, such as the Parent Teacher Association (PTA), the National Organization for Women, and the American Medical Association, have lobbied intermittently on a variety of media issues. They have shown concern about stereotyping, access to media coverage and to media employment and ownership, advertising on children's programs, and enforcement of FCC program regulations. The groups' tactics include monitoring media content, publicizing their findings, and pressuring broadcasters, advertisers, media audiences, and government control agencies. PTA members have pressured advertisers, who in turn have succeeded in reducing the number of violent programs shown in the early evening. Legal maneuvers have ranged from challenges of license renewals to damage suits for the harmful effects of media content.

Assessing the precise influence of these organizations is difficult because many of their goals overlap with other forces that affect media policy. Some of the causes for which they have worked, such as measures fostering good programming for children, have prospered over the years, however, and part of the credit undoubtedly belongs to them. Yet these groups have a long road to travel before they can match the influence enjoyed by the broadcast lobby in protecting its interests even when they run counter to the concerns of many citizens.

SUMMARY

We have examined the most common types of ownership and control of the news media in this chapter. While most of the media establishment is in private sector hands, the federal government plays an important role as well. It owns and operates vast overseas radio and television enterprises, as well as partially controls a far-flung system of domestic public television and radio broadcasting that provides an alternative to commercial programming. For the average American, the government-controlled systems are peripheral, and privately owned print and electronic media enterprises are the focus of concern.

The major political problems in the private sector are concentration of ownership of media in the hands of large business conglomerates and concentrated control over the production of news and entertainment programs. Scrutiny of the impact of the existing system on the quality of the news showed that business ownership has enhanced the focus on soft news and entertainment at the expense of serious political news that citizens need to perform their political roles. But it has not led to programming dominated by business perspectives, as many observers feared. Nor has coverage of local news withered in the wake of media mergers. Large enterprises, rather than small ones, have excelled in providing news and entertainment.

In this chapter we have also outlined the major changes in the news media system spawned by the mushrooming of novice news providers who populate and crowd the Internet. We found that as yet, the newcomers have remained a limited influence. The traditional media, thanks to creating their own digital content and by strategically acquiring some of the more popular newcomers, are retaining their market dominance. In addition, we examined the regulatory structures created by the federal government to ensure a diverse supply of information. We found that enforcement of regulations has been weak, primarily because it is a political football kept in play by multiple powerful stakeholders.

The multiplicity of influences at work in making news and entertainment programs makes it impossible to assess the precise impact of those influences on media content in general or even on a particular story. In the next chapter we will focus on major legal aspects of news production for additional clues to the mystery of what shapes the news.

READINGS

Aufderheide, Patricia. *Communications Policy and the Public Interest: The Telecommunications Act of 1996*. New York: Guilford Press, 1999.

Bagdikian, Ben H. *The New Media Monopoly*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2004.

Campbell, Richard, Christopher R. Martin, and Bettina Fabos. *Media and Culture: An Introduction to Mass Communication*. 9th ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2014.

Croteau, David, and William Hoynes. *The Business of Media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press, 2006.

Graber, Doris, Denis McQuail, and Pippa Norris, eds. *The Politics of News, the News of Politics*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2008.

Hamilton, James T. *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Krasnow, Erwin G., Lawrence D. Longley, and Herbert A. Terry. *The Politics of Broadcast Regulation*. 3rd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

Napoli, Philip M. *Audience Evolution: New Technologies and the Transformation of Media Audiences*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Napoli, Philip M. *Media Diversity and Localism: Meaning and Metrics*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007.

Price, Monroe E., and Stefaan G. Verhulst. *Self-regulation and the Internet*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2005.

Zarkin, Kimberly, and Michael J. Larkin. *The Federal Communications Commission: Front Line in the Culture and Regulation Wars*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2006.

NOTES

1. Christopher Walker, "Muzzling the Media: The Return of Censorship in the Commonwealth of Independent States," 2008,] www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/specialreports/54pdf and http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2012/russia.
2. Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004). This book describes different government control styles in selected Western democracies.
3. See www.nielsenmedia.com/nc/portal/site/Public/menuitem. Examples of the types of shows that attracted more than 12 million viewers in 2009 are *Desperate Housewives* (16,200,000); *Grey's Anatomy* (16,000,000); *House* (15,700,000); and *Lost* (13,400,000). In addition, there are the ever-popular sports events, such as *NBC Sunday Night Football* (14,847,000); competitions such as *Wheel of Fortune* (12,379,000); and newsmagazine shows such as *Sixty Minutes* (14,110,000). Also see James T. Hamilton, *All the News* That's *Fit to Sell* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
4. Seehttp://internet-filter-review.toptenreviews.com/internet-pornography-statistics.html#anchor4.
5. Ben H. Bagdikian, *The New Media Monopoly* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); Robert Picard, "The Challenges of Public Functions and Commercialized Media," in *The Politics of News, the News of Politics*, 2nd ed., ed. Doris Graber, Denis McQuail, and Pippa Norris (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2008). For a negative view of the "marketplace of ideas" concept, see Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Captive Public: How Mass Opinion Promotes State Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 98–148.
6. See www.bbg.gov/broadcasters/voa/.
7. See www.pbs.org 2009; www.npr.org 2009.
8. Ibid.
9. A content analysis of political discourse on PBS led to the conclusion that stories focused primarily on the strategic aspects of domestic politics and the economy and featured the views of political elites, especially insiders drawn from government and the business world. William Hoynes, "Political Discourse and the 'New PBS,'" *Press/Politics* 7, no. 4 (2002): 34–56.
10. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/2011/03/us-house-votes-to-cut-npr-funding.html; http://www.forbes.com/sites/kellyphillipserb/2012/10/04/romney-promises-to-cut-taxpayer-funding-for-pbs-but-says-he-still-loves-big-bird/; http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/npr-public-television-wont-get-budget-ax/2011/04/12/AF5CtwSD_story.html
11. For an impassioned analysis of the trials and tribulations of U.S. public television, see James Ledbetter, *Made Possible By . . . The Death of Public Broadcasting in the United States* (London: Verso, 1997).
12. See www.gannett.com/about/company_profile.com.
13. Project for Excellence in Journalism, "The State of the News Media 2008," www.stateofthenewsmedia.org.
14. Ibid.
15. Media critic Dean Alger claims that quality deteriorates when papers are acquired by a chain. *Megamedia: How Giant Corporations Dominate Mass Media, Distort Competition, and Endanger Democracy* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 180–182.
16. Federal Communications Commission, www.fcc.gov. See also Jeff Chester, "Strict Scrutiny: Why Journalists Should Be Concerned about New Federal and Industry Deregulation Proposals," Press/Politics 7, no. 2 (2002): 105–115.

17. Tribune Company's Web site, 2008, www.tribune.com.
18. James T. Hamilton, *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information Into News* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Johanna Dunaway, "Media Ownership and Story Tone in Campaign News Coverage." *American Politics Research* 41:24–53, 2013. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X12454564; Johanna Dunaway" Markets, Ownership, and the Quality of Campaign News Coverage." *Journal of Politics* 70(4): 1193-1202, 2008.
19. David Pearce Demers, *The Menace of the Corporate Newspaper: Fact or Fiction?* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996); W. Lance Bennett and Timothy E. Cook, "Journalism Norms and News Construction: Rules for Representing Politics," *Political Communication*, special issue, Winter 1996. For contrary views, see Alger, *Megamedia*, 153–194; and Robert W. McChesney, *Rich Media, Poor Democracy* (New York: New Press, 1999).
20. Bennett and Cook, "Journalism Norms and News Construction."
21. Jerol B. Manheim, *The Death of a Thousand Cuts: Corporate Campaigns and the Attack on the Corporation* (Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 2001).
22. Johanna Dunaway, "Media Ownership and Story Tone in Campaign News Coverage." *American Politics Research* 41:24–53, 2013. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X12454564.; Matthew Hindman, *The Myth of Digital Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
23. Project for Excellence in Journalism, "The State of the News Media 2012."
24. Facebook had roughly 167 million active U.S. users by 2012 while Twitter had 59 million active U.S. users by 2012; YouTube, the most popular video-sharing site, had 128 million U.S. users in 2011, according to Google. Like the other Web sites, YouTube was viewed as an attractive property, well supported by advertisers, and Google bought it in 2006. Project for Excellence in Journalism, "The State of the News Media 2012."
25. Ibid.
26. Bruce Bimber, *Information and American Democracy: Technology and the Evolution of Political Power* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
27. Project for Excellence in Journalism, "The State of the News Media 2008."
28. Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, "State of the News Media Report 2012," http://stateofthemedia.org/2012/overview-4/key-findings/
29. Alger, *Megamedia*, 31, 130–134.
30. Ibid.
31. Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, "In Changing Media Landscape, Even Television is Vulnerable," 2012, http://people-press.org/.
32. Ibid.
33. 47 U.S.C.A. §307(a), 1934.
34. Erwin G. Krasnow, Lawrence D. Longley, and Herbert A. Terry, *The Politics of Broadcast Regulation*, 3rd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 284.
35. "GM Won't Advertise during Super Bowl," MSNBC, September 22, 2008, www.msnbc.msn.com/id/26842347/.
36. Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ v. FCC, 359 F.2d 994 (D.C. Cir. 1966).
37. Krasnow, Longley, and Terry, *The Politics of Broadcast Regulation*, 54–62.
38. *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union*, 521 U.S. 844 (1997).