Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly

Winter 1998 ♦ 75/4

Celebrating the 75th

This issue concludes our celebration of the 75th year of Journalism Quarterly *and* Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly. *Four scholars discuss the impact of the* Quarterly *on the field of mass communication research.*

Observing 75 years of Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly

75th

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

Devoted to Research and Commentary in Journalism and Mass Communication

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly

Published by the
ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

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POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, c/o AEJMC, USC, LeConte College, Room 121, Columbia, SC 29208-0251.

Subscription rates per year: U.S. Individual $50, Institution $60; Foreign Individual $60, Institution $75; Air Mail Surcharge $50, Single Copy $20. All sales final.

Editorial Office
SCHOOL OF MEDIA
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC 20052-0001
PHONE: 202/994-6226
FAX: 202/994-5806
BITNET: JFOLK@GWUVM
Internet: jfolk@gwis2.circ.gwu.edu.

Vol. 75, No. 4, Winter 1998

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly (ISSN 1077-6990) is published quarterly (spring, summer, autumn, winter) by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208. Periodicals postage paid at Columbia, SC.

Information for Contributors

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly strives to be the flagship journal of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication and to be a premier journal in the field. The journal should provide leadership in developing theory and introducing new concepts to its readership. Because communications is a diverse field, articles should address questions using a variety of methods and theoretical perspectives. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* should challenge the boundaries of communication research, guiding its readers to new questions, new evidence, and new conclusions. Articles should be written in a style that is accessible to all communication scholars.

1. **Submissions.** Submit four typed or computer-processed double-spaced copies of your manuscript. We try to make decisions within three months. Manuscripts should be no longer than 5,000 words.

2. **Abstract and author information.** Write an abstract of *no more than* 100 words. Include author information: academic or professional title and university and departmental affiliation (if any).

3. **Style.** Use *Chicago Manual of Style* (14th. ed.) guidelines for all manuscripts. For law manuscripts, *Chicago* refers you elsewhere for certain citations. Do not use in-text references, i.e., (Weston, 1972). Do not use *op. cit.*, *ibid.*, or *loc. cit.* In ordinary text, whole numbers from one through ninety-nine are spelled out. However, when normally spelled numbers cluster in a sentence or paragraph, use figures. Use % instead of percent in reference to statistics; for rounded percentages write the word. Underline or italicize names of cities when using newspaper names, i.e., *New York Times*. In endnotes and in book review headings, use postal code abbreviations for states; in regular copy, use traditional abbreviations.

4. **Heading Styles.** First-level headings are typed in bold italic and justified left. Second-level headings are indented and typed in bold italic. Third-level headings are indented and typed in italic. Note this example:

Method

Sample. A random sample ...

Sampling Techniques. These techniques are useful when ...

5. **Tables.** When creating tables, use the WordPerfect table feature, MacIntosh Word using the "Insert Table" command, or PageMaker with tabs. Do not duplicate material in text and tables. Tables and figures should be used only when they substantially aid the reader, not merely because computers make tables easy to create.

6. **Disks.** If your manuscript is accepted, you will be asked to submit the final copy on a 3 1/2" disk in WordPerfect or Microsoft Word for the IBM/Compatible *or* in Microsoft Word for the MacIntosh.

Basic Endnote Style:

1. Todd Gitlin, *Inside Prime Time* (NY: Pantheon, 1985), 82. [Note that page numbers do not carry the pp. or p. prefix.]

2. Joseph R. Dominick, "Children's Viewing of Crime Shows and Attitudes on Law Enforcement," *Journalism Quarterly* 51 (spring 1974): 5-12.

3. Robert K. Manoff and Michael Schudson, eds., *Reading the News* (NY: Pantheon Books, 1986), 8.

4. Leon V. Sigal, "Sources Make the News," in *Reading the News*, ed. Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (NY: Pantheon Books, 1986), 9-37.

5. "Nicaragua's Bitter Harvest: War in Coffee Fields," *New York Times*, 23 December 1983, sec. A, p. 2, col. 4.

6. E.W. Caspari and R.E. Marshak, "The Rise and Fall of Lysenko," *Science*, 16 July 1965, 275-278.

7. Jean Folkerts, "William Allen White: Press, Power and Party Politics" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1981), 182-184.

8. George A. Donohue, Clarice N. Olien, and Phillip J. Tichenor, "Knowledge Gaps and Smoking Behavior" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Lancaster, PA, 1990). [When association is AEJMC, use initials only.]

9. "Currents in the News," *U.S. News and World Report*, 11 February 1980, 5.

Shortened, or Second References:

1. Gitlin, *Inside Prime Time*, 2.
2. Dominick, "Children's Viewing," 8.
3. Sigal, "Sources Make the News," 22.

Send submissions to *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* Editorial Office, School of Media and Public Affairs, The George Washington University, Washington, DC 20052, Phone: 202/994-6226, FAX: 202/994-5806, BITNET: JFOLK@GWUVM, Internet: jfolk@gwis2.circ.gwu.edu.

Celebrating the 75th Anniversary

By Jean Folkerts, editor

At the August 1998 annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, we were privileged to gather together to celebrate the 75th anniversary of *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. We did this in two ways—one, with a party, and two, with reminiscences by scholars and former and current editors. Most of us in that audience, as well as those who will read this issue of the *Quarterly*, have been involved with the journal in one way or another. Many of us read it as graduate students, tried to get published in the great move toward tenure, served as reviewers, included its content in the literature reviews of our own research, or served as members of the editorial board or as editors.

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly dates to January of 1924 when it began as *Journalism Bulletin*. It was sponsored by the American Association of Teachers in Journalism and replaced a rough mimeographed newsletter initially produced by the organization in 1912. Lawrence Murphy, the first editor, persuaded a second organization, The Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, to join the effort.

The relationship of social science to journalism was recognized early, and in volume 4, number 1 of the *Bulletin*, later to be named the *Quarterly*, Eric Allen, dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Oregon (1927), wrote that "Schools of Journalism will utterly fail of their deepest purpose if they do not attempt and succeed in producing a graduate who is thoroughly grounded not only in the separate social sciences. . . but also in the habit of keeping up with the authentic progress of the best current thought and actually applying the most enlightened conception of social science to his work as a reporter and as an editor."

Allen added, "If journalism means anything more than a mere trade and a technique, it must be based upon some depth of understanding. If it is, or is to become, a real profession—one of the learned professions—the thing the competent journalist must understand is the scientific basis of current life, the complex of established principles that underlies any modern objective, civilized discussion of politics, government, economics, psychology—in general, the art of living."

Topics in early issues often dealt with teaching—with what should be included in the curriculum. Articles stressed law the reporter should know, agricultural news and comment, how to "keep the teachers on their toes," and interviews to determine whether students were good candidates for journalism school. One author suggested an interview that would test the personality of the students, their physical condition, and evidence of the "urge to write." There was, in fact, quite an obsession with "weeding out the unfit." Schools of journalism were challenged to "lead," rather than "tag," the newspapers.

In volume 4, number 3, Dr. Perly Isaac Reed from West Virginia wrote about research being undertaken at a number of the journalism schools. He suggested that a good topic for a doctoral dissertation might be, "The relationship between the American Press and American Politics from 1812 to 1860." He argued that an effort should be made to show whether the growing nation shaped news content or whether the press shaped the development of the political system. He categorized university journalism research into ten categories that spanned study of styles of expression, news policies, ethics, business concerns, history and politics, the press and the American social condition, American industry and commerce, the legal system, and research having to do with American thought and ideals. He discussed the ideal merging of research and teaching by describing a course titled "The Newspaper as a Force in Human Progress."

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly has, through the years, been the site of significant research. David H. Weaver, Roy W. Howard Research Professor at Indiana, kindly listed a few of these landmark pieces. He included George Gallup's article, "A Scientific Method for Determining Reader-Interest," (vol. 7, 1930, pp. 1-13), because it began a long stream of readership research based on random sampling rather than on purposive or quota sampling. Wilbur Schramm's article, "The Nature of News," (volume 26, 1949, pp. 259-69) provided the basis for the discussion of news values in many reporting texts. David Manning White's "The 'Gate Keeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News," (vol. 27, 1950, pp. 383-96) is still used in many theory classes because it began a long tradition of gatekeeping studies, as noted in Pamela J. Shoemaker's book, *Gatekeeping*.

Weaver also lists Raymond Nixon's first systematic, quantitative look at correlates of press freedom in various countries as a *Quarterly* classic, along with Allan Nevins' "American Journalism and Its Historical Treatment," (vol. 36, 1959).

These classic articles represent the commitment of scholars to the *Quarterly*. At the annual meeting in Baltimore in August 1998, Wayne Danielson, Guido Stempel, and Donald Shaw shared their experiences with and thoughts about *Journalism Quarterly* and its successor, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*:

Talking with a Dinosaur

—Wayne Danielson, University of Texas, Austin. Wayne Danielson is one of the champions of research in journalism and mass communication and is, despite his dinosaur status, an adventurer and explorer. Wayne is one of those rare scholars who shares his mind with others and encourages the best out of everyone he meets. When I went to the University of Texas, along with Stephen Reese and Pamela Shoemaker, as a young scholar, it was Wayne who shepherded us through bureaucratic thickets and conceptual dilemmas. He found computers for us in the far corners of computer science laboratories and made our research lives at Texas exciting and enjoyable.

A student came to see me a few weeks ago.

"Your theories class is so interesting," she said.

"Your name is in our book. And you seem to know all these people our book talks about.

"It's wonderful to hear your stories. It makes those people seem so real."

I thanked her and I assured her that all those people really were real. And I did know them, and I loved them all—the ones who are gone, and the ones who are still here—I still see a few out there.

But as she left, I realized I had become a dinosaur.

She meant well, but she was speaking to a creature from another age. Her feelings toward me were like those guys in Jurassic Park when they first see those incredible creatures from the distant past. To her, I was awe-inspiring.

I didn't feel like a dinosaur inside, but let's face it. Do creatures ever really realize that they are going extinct? I was a dinosaur, all right.

"Somebody ought to come over and take a sample of my DNA," I thought. "It might be valuable to science."

So, when Jean Folkerts called about this panel I kind of had that dinosaur feeling again. I felt like one of the last living members of the AEJMC, one who was actually there with all the historical figures. Yes, I personally knew many of the people who thought up the theories and the methods that we refer to so casually today.

You know the theories—Bullet theory, information gap, gatekeepers, cultivation, diffusion of information, two stage flow that sounds like something you might call a plumber about. And worst of all "uses and grats." That sounds like something you might order in a truckstop down south. "I'll have a helping of 'uses and grats,' if you don't mind."

But I accepted anyway. Who could refuse Jean Folkerts? And, after all, I think I rather like being a dinosaur. And I am pleased to be here to celebrate this wonderful occasion for *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. Seventy-five years. That's a long time, but I think it's only the beginning.

In my teaching this summer I'm using PowerPoint for the first time. I bring my computer to class. I plug it in, and my slides are projected automatically. Within half an hour after the lecture, Koji Fuse, my TA, puts my notes up on the class web site. I invite you to drop in and take a look sometime. I'm feeling up to date for a dinosaur.

At the same time, I'm feeling strangely nostalgic, intrigued, interested. I have decided that the distinction between being alive and being dead has been greatly exaggerated. Some of the people who are unquestionably alive are actually dead, and some of the people who are unquestionably dead are very much alive—at least to me.

And in my mind, a kind of magical realism exists. And as I teach the theories course, I visit again my friends from the past alive or dead, it doesn't really matter. I think often of the early days and the struggles we had to get quantitative research papers accepted at the annual conference.

Nobody was hostile, really, but they wondered why we would want to present research papers. It just wasn't done all that much. It wasn't the tradition. It wasn't what conferences were for. *We thought this idea was wrong.* Dissatisfied,we decided to have a RUMP session in 1955 after the Boulder convention.

Getting to Boulder was difficult. I was still at Stanford in the newly formed doctoral program in mass communication research. I would be the fourth graduate. I had no money to go to Boulder. Paul Deutschmann found someone who wanted a car driven to Denver, and we agreed to do it so we could attend the Boulder meeting.

We had troubles. Paul had bad eyesight, and he ran the car into a road sign in Sacramento and damaged the radiator. We packed the back seat of the car and the trunk with jugs of water and drove on, filling the radiator every fifty miles or so all across the American West.

To save gasoline and to keep the radiator from overheating, we turned the engine off and coasted down the high passes. We got the man's car to Denver, in terrible condition, but his family accepted it. At Boulder, we couldn't afford to register at the convention, so we slept on the floor in the rooms of kindly delegates. It was all worth it.

Because, at the rump session we heard Charles Osgood and Percy Tannenbaum talk about the semantic differential. We heard Wilson Taylor talk about his new readability method, CLOZE procedure. We heard Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean talk about their new model for mass communication.

We heard Wilbur Schramm discussing the importance of information theory. We heard many others. We talked, questioned, debated. It seemed wonderful to me then, and it still does. Good ideas like good people live on and on.

It seems to me that even Paul and I got to talk about the surveys we hoped to organize to find out how long it took for people to learn about important news. It was interesting and exciting, and with the other convention delegates gone, we felt like revolutionaries.

In some ways we were. Under the benign and helpful editorships of Raymond B. Nixon and Edwin Emery, *Journalism Quarterly* published our studies. On our own, we organized committees of correspondence and exchanged copies of our research papers.

We organized MURUMP, the midwest RUMP session, and we held the first of what later became the famous midwinter meetings of the AEJMC. We met at the Sheraton Hotel in Chicago and talked and talked. And along the way, we thought of ways to nudge the organization into offering more research sessions.

It all seems a long time ago now. We had an opportunity—an organization ready for change and an eclectic publication that was willing to help. We took advantage of the opportunity, as did others with different research orientations. I think we did some good. We changed journalism education—broadened it—improved its research.

We made a better place for it in the American university. We emphasized graduate education. We added some excellent doctoral programs. We helped clear the path for all the new divisions and academic specialties we now celebrate in this organization. I think none of this would have happened without *Journalism Quarterly.*

Journalism Quarterly welcomed us. It published our articles without all that much review. It provided a forum where ideas could be considered quickly. It took a chance on some young scholars, and in doing so, it enabled beneficial change to happen.

After a few years the rump sessions disappeared. They were no longer needed. The organization had become something quite different from what it had been. Times have changed and new interests have emerged, but I think there's a lesson here that's worth remembering.

It seems to me that a distinguished journal has to mirror the intellectual life of the organization it serves. If it distorts that intellectual life, if it tries to control and shape it and manage it, it won't survive. It has to take a chance on young scholars and give them the opportunity to be heard. It has to support and encourage new ideas.

Our journal has done all these things, and it has done them even at times when the organization itself seemed to be slow to change. Our journal has survived and prospered, a continuing tribute to its editors over many years and to the scholars who sent it their best work.

It has proved its worth, its right to stand among the distinguished academic journals of the country. From two of its later editors, Guido H. Stempel and Donald L. Shaw, we'll learn about other ways the *Quarterly* changed.

And from Jean Folkerts perhaps we'll hear more about how the *Quarterly* is still changing. In particular, I would like to know what its presence on the Internet will be. I may be a dinosaur and due to go extinct any time now, but I can assure you I'm still interested in the *Quarterly* and its bright future.

And if you'd like to share in my imaginary talks with friends please visit the web page for my summer theories course at Texas. I have sixteen lectures published so far. You can find them on my resume page on the departmental web site. Or just send me some e-mail.

Establishment of the Quarterly

—Guido Stempel, Ohio University. Guido Stempel has, like Wayne, shepherded many graduate students and young faculty members through the thickets toward tenure. When I visited with Guido shortly before I took over as editor, he said something to me that I have not forgotten. He said it is the job of the Quarterly *editor*

to help young faculty members succeed in research and in gaining tenure at their institutions. I remember this comment every time I write a letter of acceptance or rejection or try to spell out criticisms. I encourage editorial board members to regard their evaluations as critiques—but as critiques that will help a young author make progress in research—not discourage him or her.

It has been said that a continuing magazine is a series of different magazines under the same title. That clearly is the case with *Journalism Quarterly.* I have known many Journalism Quarterlies over the years. My first experience with *Journalism Quarterly* was when I was in a graduate seminar under Ralph Nafziger at Wisconsin in the spring semester of 1952. My term project was an experiment with sampling in content analysis. When I reported on it in class and turned it in, Professor Nafziger told me I should send it to Ray Nixon, the editor of *Journalism Quarterly.*

That was not a casual, off-hand comment. It will help you to understand the history of *Journalism Quarterly* and research in journalism to know that in 1935, Nafziger, Nixon, Chilton Bush, and Ralph Casey were all doctoral students at Wisconsin.

Casey was editor of *Journalism Quarterly* from 1935 to 1945. Nixon succeeded him and was editor for eighteen years. Casey at Minnesota, Nafziger at Wisconsin, and Bush at Stanford started doctoral programs in mass communication in the late 1940s, and the impact of those programs and their graduates on research in mass communication was considerable.

I sent the article to Nixon in mid-June of 1952. Slightly more than two months later, the Summer issue of *Journalism Quarterly* came out, and my article was included. That clearly was a different *Journalism Quarterly* from the one we know today. There are these differences:

(1) My article was a research-in-brief, and *Journalism Quarterly* no longer uses them. Parenthetically, I should note that this research-in-brief has been widely cited, most recently in the Winter 1994 issue of *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*!

(2) *Journalism Quarterly,* like most publications at that time, was hot type. That meant flexibility that makes additions to the publication much easier than is the case with cold type production.

(3) That issue of *Journalism Quarterly* had ten articles and 120 pages.

(4) That in turn reflected the fact that mass communication research was a limited field. Wayne Danielson mentions the difficulty researchers had getting on the AEJ program in those years. I first attended an AEJ convention in 1956, and there was the quantitative or rump session with several papers and two sessions of four papers each in the regular program. Those two sessions were scheduled at the same time, presumably to prevent AEJ members from overdosing on research. Now we have more than 400 papers presented at the convention. Furthermore, there are another 400 not accepted for the convention. That is one indication that our research not only expanded, but seems to have outrun the publication options. As an aside, that is one reason that Bob Stewart and I have started the Web Journal of Mass

Communication Research at Ohio University. (www.scripps.ohiou.edu/wjmcr.)

(5) *Journalism Quarterly* was not refereed at that time. That may have shortened the time between submission and publication.

Much of this changed in the years I was editor of *Journalism Quarterly*. We did move to cold type production. We did expand the number of pages and articles. In the years I was editor, *Journalism Quarterly* averaged more than twenty-five articles and 221 pages an issue. I did an index for Volumes 51 through 60 (1974-1983). The unduplicated total number of authors in that index is 987. That's considerably more than half the AEJMC membership at that time.

The last productivity study in our field was done by John Schweitzer for the years 1980 through 1985. It appeared in the Summer 1988 issue of *JQ*. Analyzing nine journals, he found 1,003 articles by journalism and mass communication faculty. More than 600 of those would have been in *Journalism Quarterly*. Clearly it was the major player in our field.

Now a decade later, there are more journals, but still more research. The *Index to Journals in Mass Communication* is showing more than 600 articles a year in journalism and mass communication.

Another change during my time as editor was that *Journalism Quarterly* became a fully refereed publication. Bruce Westley led the push in that direction. He was associate editor with responsibility for theory and methodology articles from 1964 to 1973, and that part of the *Quarterly* became fully refereed.

Bruce influenced me in another way. He was an excellent copy editor. You may recall that his editing textbook was the leader in our field for a quarter of a century. He edited research articles, too. I remember one article by a well-known author that ended up being one third Bruce's words pencilled in. I followed his example, and one of my fondest memories was receiving a letter from an author whose article I had cut by one third. He told me it was greatly improved as a result of my editing.

Although these were significant changes, perhaps the most important one that occurred during my editorship was the result of an action by the Publications Committee. I believe it was at Hillier Krieghbaum's suggestion that they established an institutional subscription rate—a higher rate for libraries and the like. That increased our revenue substantially, and that money became two-thirds of the revenue for *Journalism Quarterly*. That made it possible for us to push to issues of 250 pages in the latter part of the 1980s.

A lesser change initiated by the committee was that selection of the editor was put in the hands of the committee. Previously the editor had been elected for a three-year term, but only once had there been competing candidates. That was in 1963 when Ed Emery defeated Bruce Westley. Never again was there a competing candidate, and Ed Emery used to refer to it as a "Russian election."

While a lot has changed, I suspect that one thing that I can remember from forty years ago remains the same. It is people asking the editor, "Why doesn't *Journalism Quarterly* run articles on...?" The answer always has been that *Journalism Quarterly* is a reflection of the field. It cannot run the article that is not written. There are fads in mass communication research. I remember telling Ralph Izard of our faculty, who did research in ethics, that I found when I did the ten-year index in 1984 that the number of articles on ethics was 50 percent more than in the previous decade. That cheered him up until I told him that the increase was from two articles between 1964 and 1973 to three articles between 1974 and 1983. Yet in the next five years there were fifteen.

So the *Quarterly* has changed because our field has changed, and the *Quarterly* has always been a reflection of our field. It moves in the mainstream, resisting the siren songs of the Lorelei who would lure it to one shore or the other.

Transition and Change

—Donald Shaw, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Donald Shaw is known as one of the two scholars who established agenda setting as a research concept. A preeminent scholar, he took the Quarterly *through a difficult period of geographic and technological transition. He made the first steps toward the smooth flowing production process that we now enjoy.*

I am happy to have a chance to talk about *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* at this important anniversary. My own period of editing was from 1989 to 1992, but before that I served five years as associate editor for history and for about a decade before that as co-book review editor with Richard Cole of North Carolina. I am proud of *JMCQ*, a journal that has been strongly supported by the membership and by the Publications Committee and the AEJMC central office. Certainly I was given strong support when I was editor.

JMCQ has highlighted different aspects of our field for a long time, a picture window of major developments and a showcase for scholars present and past. The journal also publishes material—for example in legal or audience analysis—that is useful for those doing daily print or broadcast journalism. Over the years, the research and writing have become stronger, more sophisticated, more focused. *JMCQ* research compares favorably with any scholarly communication journal and certainly justifies its position as the leading journal in our field. Recently some of our scholars have made more of an attempt to relate research findings to those doing daily reporting.

There are trends in *JMCQ*. In the topics and methods used over time one can find a history of our field, in substance and tone. As our field has evolved, the journal has reflected that change and has served in a position of leadership. In 1989-1992, for example, *JMCQ* shifted from hot to cold type, changed the format from two columns to one, added editorials and essays, and expanded the abstract portions of articles. We also fixed appointment periods for associate editors to give future editors the flexibility to match associate editors with changing communication research trends. On reflection, some experiments with the colors of the journal—my personal mistake, evident on the rows of scholarly shelves—did not work out and the change in printing techniques required some difficult adjustments before the journal could catch up with a brief period of lagging publication. Also I dropped the research-in-brief section in order to expand space for more longer articles (as most submissions were) but with a plan to publish research-in-brief articles of fixed lengths (four pages, including illustrations) in the future, a plan that I was not able to implement because my term as editor ran out. I have encouraged Jean Folkerts to consider this change and even volunteered to help as an unpaid editorial assistant with the creation of such a redefined research-in-brief section, if such a decision is made by the editor and Publications Committee in the future.

Certainly I received strong support from Guido Stempel, the long-term editor before me, when I took over and from Jean Folkerts, the present editor, who served as one of my associate editors. Both are outstanding editors who fit well with the long tradition of *JMCQ* editors who have served our field well. Jean Folkerts specifically asked that I comment today on the role of the Publications Committee during my term and I would say that the committee was supportive, and represents AEJMC very well. Because the term of editor, three years, is very short, and because it takes a year or so to learn the basics of editorship, one has very little time to deal with changes that result from changes in printing techniques or editorial approaches. Many decisions have to be made rapidly, perhaps too much so at times. At any rate, it was not always possible to seek approval in advance for all the changes that were done during my editorship, although the committee certainly provided views during the regular and midwinter meetings, twice a year, in addition to any letters or telephone calls at other times. Of course, the responsibility for changes falls ultimately on the editor and that was as true of my editorship as for any others. Periods of change, such as that represented by the journal in 1989-1992, create many demands on all involved—editor, associate editors, Publications Committee members, authors, printers, AEJMC officers and staff, and others—and certainly I am appreciative of all the support that I received. I also received strong support from the University of North Carolina where Dean Richard Cole proved a friend to *JMCQ* and to me personally. David Arant and Stan North Martin were my editorial assistants. To all these people, and to the many reviewers, my book review and associate editors, then managing editors Bill Click and Leara Rhodes, and to the AEJMC central staff, I would like to give public thanks. A successful journal involves many people, of which the editor is only one. I am very proud of my association with *JMCQ*, and the experience broadened my appreciation of the wide scope of our dynamic field. AEJMC gave me a great opportunity for service, and I appreciate it deeply. If I were to do it again, given experience, I would do some things the same, some differently. That is what one learns during challenging assignments and being editor of *JMCQ* is a challenging assignment that can absorb up to twenty hours or more a week. No editor in the past, and none in the future, could or will be able to edit *JMCQ* without significant impact on his or her time available for personal research or teaching or even personal life.

JMCQ demonstrates a democratization of our field. Many universities are represented where a few dominated thirty years ago. There will always be challenges. In the future we will need to find ways to speed up the publication of scholarship—right now the journal has a commendably short space between acceptance and publication—because the Internet has influenced the dynamic connections between author and audience. We may need to use the Internet for short versions of articles in press, or even the longer versions. Planning for some of this already is under way. We may eventually want an Internet version of *JMCQ*, an area where Guido Stempel is pioneering with an excellent Internet journal.

There are challenges beyond the journal that will influence *JMCQ*. In our graduate programs we need to encourage students to be bold because our field, like all fields, benefits from fresh conceptual and methodological approaches. I read all the manuscripts submitted during my term as editor, about 1,400 of them. Most submissions were very competent from the point of view of method, literature review, hypotheses, and research questions, but only a handful stick out as innovative or risk taking, a factor that is usually evident within the first three pages. Collectively we need to be bolder. Of course editors have to be careful to assign such manuscripts to reviewers who are open to innovation because we sometimes tend to reject a survey that has a small N, or a research question that is unusual or which questions established wisdom.

At an AEJMC meeting I always remember that the first paper on the agenda-setting function of the press that Max McCombs and I wrote was sharply rejected as a convention paper. Max and I are grateful that a reviewer for a journal was willing to forgive the obvious weaknesses of a panel study of a very small number of undecided voters in a tiny southern town. This study, conducted by undergraduate students, helped find a very simple agreement between what was published in the press and what people cited as important. Max McCombs and I are very humble about the success of this line of research that tested or extended observations by Walter Lippmann and others. We knew then; we know now it was only a mustard seed. The point I make is that *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* reflects our field, but all of us should strive for more than the predictable because modern journalism and communication is rapidly changing and we need to be agile as scholars to keep up. Generals too often fight the last war (for a while) and we as scholars need to use the conceptual frameworks we inherited as platforms rather than fences, lest our own students doing daily journalism after graduation, often on the Internet, leave us behind. *JMCQ* can publish only what we submit.

Still, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* remains an exciting journal to read. Our field is expanding and we stand at the edge of a new century with a strong editor and commitment from AEJMC and from all the membership to maintain our leading position as a journal of scholarly reflection. That has been true for seventy-five years.

Epilogue

—Jean Folkerts

The above comments from former editors and distinguished scholars convey to us not only information but a cultural map that describes the history of AEJMC and *JQ* and the subsequent *JMCQ* . In reading the above notes we learn a great deal. We learn that the editors of *JQ* were interested not merely in the reading and accepting and rejecting of manuscripts, but in the development of a field of inquiry. We learn that important people in the field were and are kind, that they cared about young academics, and they wanted to form a community of scholars. We learn that everyone didn't succeed on the first try. Don Shaw, for example, was kind enough not to mention that the journal reviewer who saw the value in the agenda-setting article by McCombs and Shaw that has established an entire new line of research was not a reviewer for the *Quarterly*. Otherwise, that article would be listed by David Weaver as one of the classics. Instead, McCombs and Shaw had to try another journal! Still, McCombs and Shaw remain devoted to the *Quarterly*.

We learn that the tension between research and practice has been a constant in journalism education. Most of us argue that there is room for both, but pressures from the industry and funding sources can be persuasive. We need to educate industry leaders, to show them the importance of our research that they sometimes deem obtuse and esoteric.

We also learn that *Journalism Quarterly* has not remained static. Each writer has talked about change. Reflecting changes in the field, the AEJMC membership voted to change the name of the *Quarterly* to *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* in 1995. Other changes have taken place under my editorship. We capitalized on the efforts made by Donald Shaw to update the production of the journal. Now all final manuscripts are submitted and edited on disk, imported into a desktop publishing program, and sent to the printer on disk. This innovation reduces the possibility for introducing errors, speeds the process, and provides a flexible format.

We have tried to make the *Quarterly* as accessible as possible. I am indebted to former associate editors, as well as to the current ones. Margaret Blanchard, Dan Riffe, Michael Salwen, and Theodore Glasser have expanded our list of reviewers and recommended new members for the editorial board. We answer e-mail inquiries, try to provide thoughtful reviews, encourage innovative research approaches, and have expanded the editorial board. At the encouragement of the AEJMC Committee on Outreach, we have begun writing press releases for at least one article of every issue of the *Quarterly*. Most of all, we try to adhere to Wayne Danielson's gentle suggestion that the *Quarterly* must always be open to new ideas by young scholars.

The *Quarterly* must now grapple with the online world. Wayne Danielson and Guido Stempel both mention the importance of the Internet. Other associations are publishing their journals on CD-ROM. The Publications Committee is investigating different possibilities for making the journal electronically accessible, an activity which I heartily support.

Through the writings of these scholars we learn that *JMCQ* relies on many for its quality and its contributions. We thank the writers of the articles, who labor over research data and struggle for interpretations. We thank the many senior scholars who have encouraged graduate students, who have reviewed articles and who have submitted their own work to *JQ*. Associate editors and editorial assistants carry a huge workload that enables editors to appear more accomplished than they really are. Our book review editors, Paula Poindexter and Lisa Romero, introduce us to books that are new and exciting in the field. We thank the staff of AEJMC, who help us every day. Jennifer McGill gives us her tireless support, Fred Williams organizes the graduate advertising section, Richard Burke makes sure the honorariums are sent, Lillian Coleman not only masters desktop publishing programs, but she checks our spelling and catches our little and our big errors. Felicia Greenlee Brown generally supports us when we get into computer production trouble, but this year she contributed to the publication as a designer as well. Felicia is responsible for the 75th Anniversary logo, the design that has elegantly graced our covers this year. Kyshia Brown and Pamella Price watch over our membership and assist us even when we're impatient and crabby. At The George Washington University, Katharine Huang, my editorial assistant extraordinaire, has won the admiration and respect of myself, the editorial board, and the journal's authors. Maria George and Tessa Rottiers provide secretarial assistance, and Suzanne Clarke, director of external relations, writes the press releases that help interpret research to professionals. The university relations staff, with the encouragement of director Sandy Holland, support the mailing and faxing of the releases.

Perhaps what all of this tells us is that the *Quarterly* is more than a collection of research on paper. It is a dynamic institution that has subtly altered its course, while preserving the best of the old and of the mainstream, for seventy-five years. It is a human endeavor to be proud of.

Communication and Age in Childhood Political Socialization: An Interactive Model of Political Development

By William P. Eveland Jr., Jack M. McLeod, and Edward M. Horowitz

The proposed interactive model of political development predicts that the socialization effects of communication will be moderated by age, such that younger children will be influenced less than older children by the same communication source. Using data collected from a sample of 290 children from San Jose, California, in grades five through twelve, this model was tested using political knowledge as the socialization criterion. The data provided strong support for the model, and the implications for future socialization research were discussed.[1]

Introduction

The role of communication in political socialization has been recognized for several decades. Early research on political socialization was implicitly founded on a transmission model of communication of knowledge, partisanship, and attitudes from parents to children. Research then began to examine the role of different patterns of communication within the family in political socialization, and revealed significant effects.[2] Other research, conducted primarily in the 1970s, posited a role for mass communication, particularly television news, in the socialization of young adults.[3]

Another paradigm in political socialization research focused on the role of age as a developmental factor determining political socialization. Much of the research in the 1960s attempted to describe differences in socialization criteria (e.g., political knowledge and attitudes) based on the age of the child being observed. It became clear that attitudes and knowledge varied with age.[4] Much of the early research seemed to be based on the implicit assumption that age was a measure of cognitive capacity in the Piagetian sense. However, in the past decade the strict stages of development proposed by Piaget have been questioned and significantly modified to conform to more recent theories of development that do not propose distinct stages occurring at specific ages.[5]

The study of political socialization waned between the early 1970s and the mid-1990s,[6] and much of the recent work has focused on adults instead of children.[7] There has been little work published that takes advantage of developments in the study of children's cognitive capacities, or in improvements in the study of media effects. However, in the past few years there has been renewed enthusiasm in political socialization research.[8] The purpose of the present study was to build upon the two traditional paradigms of political

William P. Eveland Jr. is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication at the University of California-Santa Barbara. Jack M. McLeod is Maier Bascom Professor and chair, Mass Communications Research Center in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Edward M. Horowitz is a doctoral student in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
699-718

socialization research described above and to elucidate a revised model, the "interactive model of political development." Specifically, we focused on the acquisition of political knowledge by middle and high school students. Although research on political socialization has used countless criteria, the present study focuses on political knowledge as the primary criterion to represent political socialization. We have done this because research has shown that there are high levels of instability in attitude measures for children[9] as well as other serious problems,[10] leading to current concerns about the reliability and validity of measurement of attitudes in pre-adults.[11]

Literature Review and Theoretical Development

Communication and Political Socialization. Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, research on political socialization began to emerge in the field of communication. Early work examined the role of family communication patterns in influencing the knowledge and attitudes of children.[12] Later research began to evaluate the use and influence of news media among children and adolescents, finding that news use (especially television news) was relatively prevalent among children[13] and that it had some impact on their political knowledge.[14]

Early in the study of mass communication and political socialization, Chaffee and his associates found that high school students from Wisconsin rated mass media higher than teachers, parents, and friends as sources of information about current affairs.[15] Then, using cross-lagged correlation to analyze their panel data, they found that attention to media public affairs was positively related to political knowledge, implying a causal relationship.

A sample of third- through sixth-graders from Michigan were shown to have high levels of exposure to both political advertisements and viewing of television news.[16] There were relationships between political knowledge and advertisement exposure, campaign news viewing, and general news viewing, with the strongest relationship being for campaign news viewing. Similarly, a sample of 9-year-olds, 13-year-olds, and 17-year-olds interviewed by Rubin demonstrated a significant relationship between television public affairs viewing and two different measures of knowledge.[17]

More sophisticated analyses of the effects of news media use on political knowledge have revealed reciprocal effects of news media use and political knowledge for children in fifth and sixth grades.[18] The primary causal link, however, was from news media use to political knowledge, not from political knowledge to news media use. This finding bolsters the initial Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton finding of causal effects among Wisconsin students.[19] The literature thus supports the conclusion that, even across disparate age groups, media use has some causal influence on political knowledge.

Other research has also demonstrated that news media use (particularly television news) can lead to some form of knowledge for pre-adults. Evidence has been based on both cross-sectional and panel survey data[20] as well as experimental studies comparing recall of experimental news stories or broadcasts across groups.[21]

Interpersonal discussion is also important in childhood political socialization. McLeod and Chaffee[22] have repeatedly demonstrated the importance of family communication patterns for many dependent variables, including political socialization. Other research has also demonstrated effects of interpersonal discussion on the political knowledge of children, although sometimes it has been found to be less important than mass mediated communication.[23] Based on the communication literature, then, the following hypothesis was offered:

> H1: High levels of political communication (both mass mediated and interpersonal) will be positively related to political knowledge.

Age and Political Socialization. Much of the initial research on political socialization was primarily descriptive—it focused on determining the knowledge level and attitudes of children at different ages. However, it is important to focus on exactly what age means in this particular program of research. Wartella points out that simply describing changes in a dependent variable across age groups is not an explanation in itself.[24] In the early political socialization research there seems to be an implicit assumption that age (or grade in school) is a measure of cognitive development and that as children develop cognitively there will be qualitative changes as well as quantitative increases in their political knowledge. Indeed, Sigel states that "the ability to reason logically, to think abstractly, and to apply such thought to concrete situations—all prerequisites for meaningful political thought—are age-dependent."[25]

The notion that cognitive development is a function of age is based on studies conducted during the early years of socialization research. This early research generally followed Piaget's claim that children progressed through two major distinct stages of cognitive development during their primary school years: concrete operations (from about ages 7–11) and formal operations (from about 12 years of age on).[26] Since it is not until the stage of formal operations that children are able to (mentally) manipulate abstract concepts and ideas that serve as the fundamental bases of politics, their ability to think about political matters as "adults" should begin at about this time.

Unfortunately for research on socialization, however, "age is only a rough locator for these concepts"[27]and "is confounded with temporal sequence concepts of all kinds, both personal (developmental or life cycle) and historical."[28] Other prominent scholars of political socialization agree to a greater or lesser extent with the inherent limitations of age as a precise measure.[29] The difficulty of discerning what age measures is highlighted by Bar-Tal and Saxe's argument that changes in political knowledge are the result of both cognitive developmental changes *and* a continuous build-up of political information over time—two effects inexorably combined in a measure of age.[30] Even Piaget himself was not certain about the actual validity of the age norms specified for the different stages of cognitive development because of large individual differences.[31]

In socialization research, age has been viewed as a primary determinant of levels of political knowledge. Most recent research has been able to demonstrate that older children score higher on political knowledge quizzes or provide better answers to open-ended questions about the political environment than do younger children.[32] However, the relative dearth of research on childhood political socialization in the late 1980s and 1990s[33] has meant that the early descriptive studies have rarely been elaborated on and examined within a modern theoretical foundation. Thus, if anything, much of the research continues to use the traditional Piagetian stages of development framework. It is rare when these studies address the fundamental question of where the knowledge comes from, since it seems obvious that the capacity to process information, *not the content of knowledge itself*, is the real product of cognitive development.

Based on the conceptualization of age as a rough indicator of increased cognitive capacity *and* a greater store of general information (which serves to facilitate integration of new information into an overall cognitive framework), but not as a measure of qualitative shifts in mental ability (as Piaget has proposed), the following hypothesis is offered:

H2: Age will be positively and linearly related to political knowledge.

An Interactive Model of Political Development. The literature clearly demonstrates that levels of political knowledge vary by age. In addition to traditional direct effects models of how age impacts political knowledge, two additional, more complex models of the role of age in political socialization are also important: mediating models and moderating models.[34] A mediating model would examine the relationship of chronological age with some other variable that may be what directly causes greater knowledge. For example, age may bring with it higher verbal functioning, which would encourage greater levels of discussion of politics between parents and children. This discussion in turn could lead to the greater knowledge of politics found in older children. In this example, then, the effect of age (as a measure of verbal functioning) is indirect, through political discussion. McLeod, Eveland, and Horowitz tested a mediating relationship between age and political knowledge through the primary agents of political socialization (that is, family, peers, schools, and media) and found that age did indeed influence political knowledge both directly and indirectly through newspaper reading and television news use.[35]

Another possibility is a moderating model, what we will here call an *interactive model of political development*. Scarr-Salapatek and Salapatek see socialization as "an interaction between socio-cultural and organismic factors."[36] Political socialization researchers have also noted the importance of moderating variables: "It would appear that innate characteristics such as levels of basic intelligence and rates of cognitive maturation set the broad parameters within which political learning takes place. As these inner forces develop they permit more fruitful interaction with environmental stimuli provided by parents, teachers, peers, and the public media."[37]

O'Keefe and Reid-Nash similarly note that socialization occurs at each level of analysis from individual through societal, pointing to the importance of studying the process at each level.[38] Taking this notion quite literally, socialization may occur through biological characteristics of the individual (e.g., cognitive capacity as represented by a measure of age) and social factors such as the level of information available in the child's environment (e.g., communication via mass media or interpersonal sources). That is, the level of information available through the social-level process of communication has some impact on knowledge levels, but the child's cognitive capacity to deal with this information moderates the effect. Thus, socialization is a process that is dependent on the interaction of several factors, including cognitive capacity and information levels in the environment. Although this model seems quite obvious, and many political science and communication theorists have stated it implicitly or explicitly,[39] few studies have directly tested this model, and even fewer have tested it using the appropriate statistical methods.

This perspective on political socialization predicts that when the capacity is clearly present (such as in later adolescence and adulthood) but information unavailable, there will be low levels of knowledge. As Bar-Tal and Saxe argue, the study of knowledge must be connected to the information that is available in the environment.[40] Similarly, if the cognitive capacity is not present (such as in early childhood), even great amounts of information may lead to only slight gains in knowledge.[41] This effect is similar to that predicted by the knowledge gap hypothesis, albeit research on the knowledge gap typically uses the education level of adults as the indicator of capacity to deal with mediated information.[42] Statistically speaking, cognitive capacity is a moderator of political communication (either interpersonal or mass-mediated) effects on knowledge.[43] This formulation of socialization effects can explain the finding[44] that during adolescence media use is more important than age for political socialization; that is, once the cognitive capacity has been developed, it is the level of information available in the environment that will lead to knowledge gain.

There is some evidence for this hypothesis in the literature on the socializing effects of mass communication. For example, Rubin found that the relationship between public affairs television use and issue specificity (one of his measures of knowledge) was significant only for the oldest age group in his sample, 17-year-olds.[45] Atkin demonstrated that the effects of both television news use and campaign advertising on knowledge were greater for fifth- and sixth-graders than for third- and fourth-graders.[46] Similarly, Atkin and Gantz detected a correlation between national news exposure (as well as exposure to Saturday morning kids' news programs) and political knowledge for fifth- and sixth-graders but not for kindergarten through third-graders.[47] However, direct comparisons could not be made in this case because knowledge was measured differently for the two age groups.

Not all of the evidence in the literature has supported this hypothesis, however. Garramone and Atkin expected greater effects of newspaper reading on knowledge for older children than younger children, but hypothesized no difference by age for television news viewing.[48] Using data from 149 seventh- and tenth-grade students, they found no support for their expectation of different effects of newspaper use by age. The main effect of television news was greater than for newspapers for current events knowledge, however, which was consistent with their hypotheses. Despite this limited contradictory evidence, the logic of the interactive model of political development and the bulk of the literature suggest the following hypothesis:

> H3: The impact of political communication on political knowledge will be greater for older children than for younger children.

Methods

Sample. The data for the present study were collected by telephone interview from San Jose, California, during the two weeks directly after the 1994 midterm election. The 290 children in this sample were in grades five through twelve of both public and private schools, and ranged in age from 9 to 18 years. One parent of each child was also interviewed separately to provide additional information.

The data were collected as part of an evaluation study of *Kids Voting San Jose*.[49] Initially, 457 sampled parent-child pairs were separately interviewed in order to evaluate a school-based program called *Kids Voting* designed to encourage political socialization and parental voting turnout. Of these 457 parent-child pairs, those who served as the experimental group for the evaluation (that is, those who received the *Kids Voting* stimulus) were excluded from this analysis, leaving the sample size for the present analysis at 290. Although it would have been possible to use the full sample and include a variable for experimental vs. control group as an initial covariate in the analysis, possible interactions between this covariate and the other control and independent variables would make this approach cumbersome and potentially statistically inappropriate.

Measures. Twenty-three questionnaire items were used to measure communication in the present study. From these twenty-three items, six indices were built—four pertaining to media use, one to interpersonal discussion, and one to a form of media information processing. News media use was measured using twelve indicators to represent both general and campaign specific media use. These items were factor analyzed (principal components with oblique rotation) and produced four distinct factors with Eigenvalues greater than one (total variance accounted for = 53.6%) which were used to compute factor score variables.[50] The first factor represents *campaign media attention* (Eigenvalue = 2.93) and has three items as primary loaders—attention to news about candidates for office, attention to news about ballot propositions, and attention to news about the national government in Washington, D.C. The second factor represents *general newspaper exposure* (Eigenvalue = 1.32) and has four primary loaders—days per week reading the newspaper, reading the front page of the newspaper, reading letters to the editor, and reading opinion columns and the editorial page. The third factor was *general television news use* (Eigenvalue = 1.14), on which days per week watching a television news program and agreement that news is something the child tries to watch on television were primary loaders. The fourth and final factor was *non-traditional media use* (Eigenvalue = 1.05), with three primary loaders— listening to talk radio, attention to candidate advertisements on television, and watching the candidate debates on television.

Interpersonal *political discussion* was measured using a seven-item additive index (α = .75). This index combined items included in both the parent and child questionnaires. Children were asked about their political discussions with their friends, who initiated these discussions, the level of discussion of the campaign in their school classes, the level of discussion of the campaign and election in their family, and the level of this type of discussion between the child and the parent that was interviewed. The parent interviewed was asked only about the level of campaign and election discussion in the family and the level of discussion between themselves and the child interviewed.

The final communication variable is actually a hybrid measure which is at once linked to media use and cognitive processes. Research has demonstrated that the way people cognitively use the information they are exposed to in the mass media has important implications for the effects of that information.[51] Specifically, those who think about, elaborate on, question, and make use of information they encounter in the media (both print and broadcast) are more likely to learn from the media content they encounter.[52] *Active reflection* is a four-item factor that represents this form of information processing.[53]

The criterion used for political socialization in the present study was current *political knowledge*, an additive index (*KR20* = .80) of fourteen multiple choice questions (coded as either correct or incorrect, with "don't know" responses coded as incorrect). Among these were questions asking the child to identify the winners of the gubernatorial and U.S. Senate races in the child's state, along with other highly publicized national races, such as the race for Ted Kennedy's U.S. Senate seat and the race for the Texas governorship. Other questions asked the child to identify candidates from the child's own state based on well-publicized information about their campaigns, accomplishments, or personal background.

Results

Stage models of development (e.g., Piagetian models) suggest that qualitative changes in a child's thinking would occur when he or she shifted from one stage of development to the next. The only stage shift that would occur on average in the age group in the present study (according to Piagetian theory) would be between the concrete operational and formal operational stages, which is believed to occur around age 11 or 12. The nature of a qualitative shift (as opposed to a quantitative shift) is inherently non-linear; that is, if children truly go through stages and these stages are similar for most children, we should expect that the relationship between age and political knowledge should change dramatically around the age of the stage shift. Although the knowledge measure used in the present study is not designed to be sensitive to such a qualitative shift, it is important to verify that no such shift took place for our measure in order to satisfy the statistical assumptions of our later regression analyses. In order to do so, quadratic and cubic functions were fitted to the data in order to see if they provided a better fit to the data than a linear regression line.[54] However, in no case did these non-linear functions significantly improve on the linear prediction.

Once we established that linear regression analyses were appropriate, we could proceed to test the hypotheses of the study. Table 1 displays the results of simple zero-order correlations between the independent variables and political knowledge. Age and all forms of communication except non-traditional media use seem to have substantial influence on political knowledge, providing general support for Hypotheses 1 and 2.

TABLE 1

Zero-order and Partial Correlations between Political Knowledge, Age, and Communication Variables

Variables	Zero-order	1st-Order (controlling age)	6th-Order (controlling comm.)
Age	.37**	—	.28**
TV News Exposure	.27**	.20**	—
Newspaper Exposure	.32**	.29**	—
Non-Trad. Media Use	.10#	.18**	—
Campaign Media Attn.	.44**	.43**	—
Active Reflection	.52**	.48**	—
Political Discussion	.41**	.39**	—

N = 290

= $p \leq .10$; * = $p \leq .05$; ** = $p \leq .01$

Research on political socialization using communication as a dependent variable has demonstrated that in many cases communication itself is a function of age—that is, as children age, they become more likely to use mass media news and to engage in political discussions.[55] To test whether or not the relationship between communication or age and knowledge is spurious, the unique contribution of age controlling for communication, and conversely the unique contribution of communication controlling for age, were computed via partial correlations.

Table 1 reveals that in many cases the relationship between the communication variables and knowledge was reduced by the introduction of a control for age. However, these reductions were in no case large enough to be considered significant. There was an interesting *increase* in the strength of relationship between non-traditional media use and knowledge after age controls, indicating that age had a weak suppressing effect on the relationship between non-traditional media use and political knowledge, in part due to a negative relationship between age and non-traditional media use. The implications of controlling for communication (all six communication variables simultaneously) when examining age effects are similar—although there was some reduction in the size of the correlation between age and political knowledge, the change is not significant. Clearly there were substantial unique contributions of both age and communication to political knowledge. The shared variance, on the other hand, is minimal. Hypotheses 1 and 2 seem to have received strong support. The zero-order relationship between each variable (except non-traditional media use) and knowledge was substantial, and the contribution of each was sustained after control for the other.

Table 2 reveals a more stringent test of the effects of communication. This table presents a hierarchical multiple regression analysis of the antecedents of political knowledge. Age was entered alone in the first block and accounted for about 13% of variance. In the second block, the six communication variables were entered simultaneously. The first column of betas in the table represents controls for only the first block variable, age, and as such resembles closely Table 1's report of first-order partial correlations. The second column, however, reports the coefficients with simultaneous control for all variables in the model.

Here, the multicollinearity of the communication variables is revealed—three of the six variables dropped to non-significance, while the impact of the other three was substantially reduced. However, as a block the six communication variables accounted for over a quarter of the variance in political knowledge, indicating that there was certainly a strong relationship between political communication and political knowledge. The variables accounting for the most unique variance—newspaper exposure, campaign media attention, and active reflection—remained significant predictors of political knowledge.

O'Keefe and Reid-Nash note that "A socialization perspective entails rather sophisticated multivariate designs incorporating indicators of life cycle position, source of influence, type of learning process, and structural variables."[56] To address concerns about the need for incorporation of stringent controls, additional models were run simultaneously controlling for parental education, household income, child's gender, and child's performance in school as a first block in the regression before age and the communication variables were entered into the equation. These controls did not change the model in any significant way and were theoretically unimportant

TABLE 2

Multiple Regression Analyses: Additive Effects of Age and Communication Variables on Political Knowledge

	Independent Variables	Beta with Block 1 Controls	Beta with Block 1 and 2 Controls
Block 1	Age	.37**	.25**
	R^2%	**13.4****	—
Block 2	TV News Exposure	.20**	.05
	Newspaper Exposure	.28**	.16**
	Non-Traditional Media Use	.17**	.01
	Campaign Media Attention	.40**	.17**
	Active Reflection	.46**	.27**
	Political Discussion	.36**	.04
	R^2 % Change	—	**25.3****

N = 290

= $p \leq .10$; * = $p \leq .05$; ** = $p \leq .01$

for the present study, so they were left out of the final model to maintain simplicity.

Hypothesis 3 stated that there would be an interaction between communication variables and age when predicting political knowledge. Specifically, the interactions were expected to take the form of a contingent or contributory condition—communication should have the greatest (or possibly only) effects for older children who have developed cognitive structures to deal with the information to which they are exposed. Based on recent discussions in both mass communication and psychology noting the substantial likelihood of Type II errors in interaction tests using survey data,[57] we chose to follow a suggested approach and relax our alpha level for the interaction tests to $p \leq .10$. Table 3 reveals substantial support for the hypothesis considering the difficulty in detecting interaction effects in small sample survey research—four of six interactions reached significance, and all six were in the hypothesized direction. It may be noted that the variance accounted for by the multiplicative terms was quite modest—however, statisticians have noted that interactions are more useful for interpreting relationships than in accounting for variance in criterion measures.[58]

In general, the interactions were significant for those communication variables that had the greatest effect on political knowledge at the bivariate level. All of the interactions were of a similar form—the contributory condition expected (for plots of the significant interactions, see Figures 1 through 4). Contrary to the findings (but consistent with the prediction of) Garramone and Atkin,[59] the strongest interaction (Figure 1) was between general newspaper exposure and age—older children learned more from newspapers than younger children, as expected. Similarly, attention to the campaign also produced greater effects for older than younger children (Figure 2). Active reflection, which is more cognitive than behavioral (unlike the other communication measures), was still moderated by age level. Younger children were less able to make thinking about and questioning

TABLE 3

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses: Main Effects and Interactions between Age and Communication Variables on Political Knowledge

	Independent Variables	Beta Coefficient	R^2 % Change
Block 1	Age	.32**	
	TV News Exposure	.20**	17.0**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.01	0.0
Block 1	Age	.33**	
	Newspaper Exposure	.28**	20.8**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.12*	1.5*
Block 1	Age	.40**	
	Non-traditional Media Use	.17**	16.2**
Block 2	Interaction Term	-.01	0.0
Block 1	Age	.31**	
	Campaign Media Attention	.40**	29.1**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.09#	0.8#
Block 1	Age	.27**	
	Active Reflection	.46**	33.4**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.10*	1.0*
Block 1	Age	.31**	
	Political Discussion	.36**	26.3**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.11*	1.1*

$N = 290$
= $p \leq .10$; * = $p \leq .05$; ** = $p \leq .01$

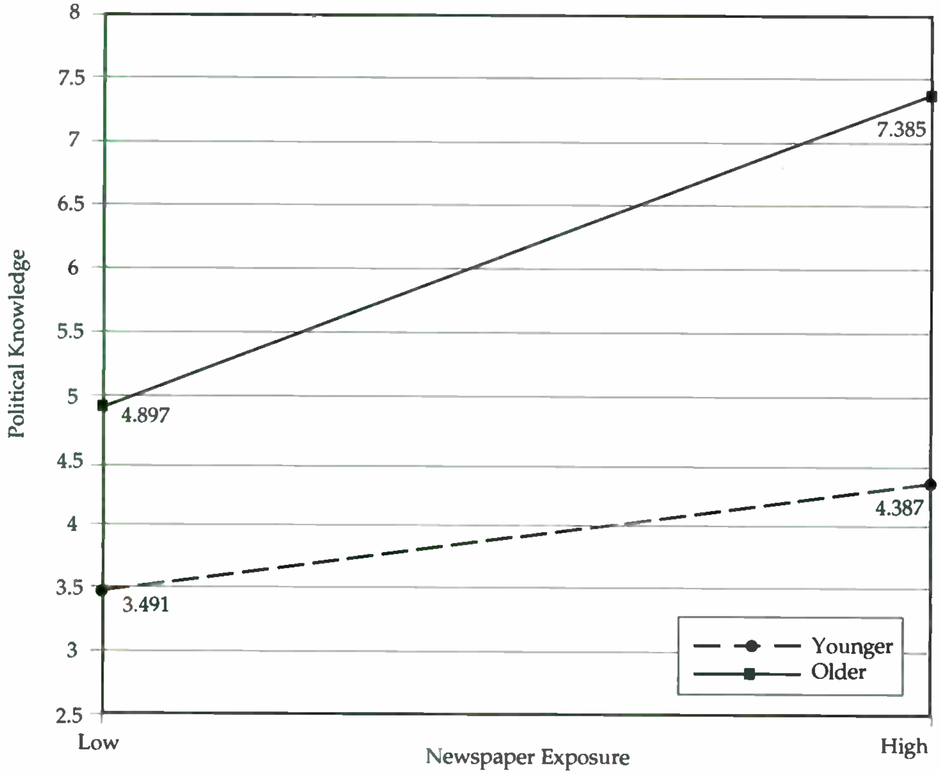
media information translate into greater knowledge of politics (Figure 3). Finally, older children obtained more information from political discussions with family and friends than did younger children (Figure 4). Television news use and non-traditional media use effects were not significantly moderated by age, however. In both of these tests the effects of communication and age were clearly additive, not multiplicative. As with the results presented in Table 2, additional controls were added to all these interactive models. Again, simultaneous controls for parental education, household income, child's gender, and child's performance in school did not alter the models substantially, and so were left out to maintain simplicity.

Discussion

These findings provide many clues about childhood political socialization that can be used to advance and possibly revive a field that has gone through more than a decade of decline,[60] and to inform researchers with more practical interests. First, as a preponderance of past research has shown, age does have an effect on political socialization, at least when political knowledge is the criterion. The results of this study also indicate that communication plays an important role in political socialization. Six communication variables, including both mass and interpersonal communication and a

FIGURE 1

Political Knowledge by Age and Newspaper Exposure

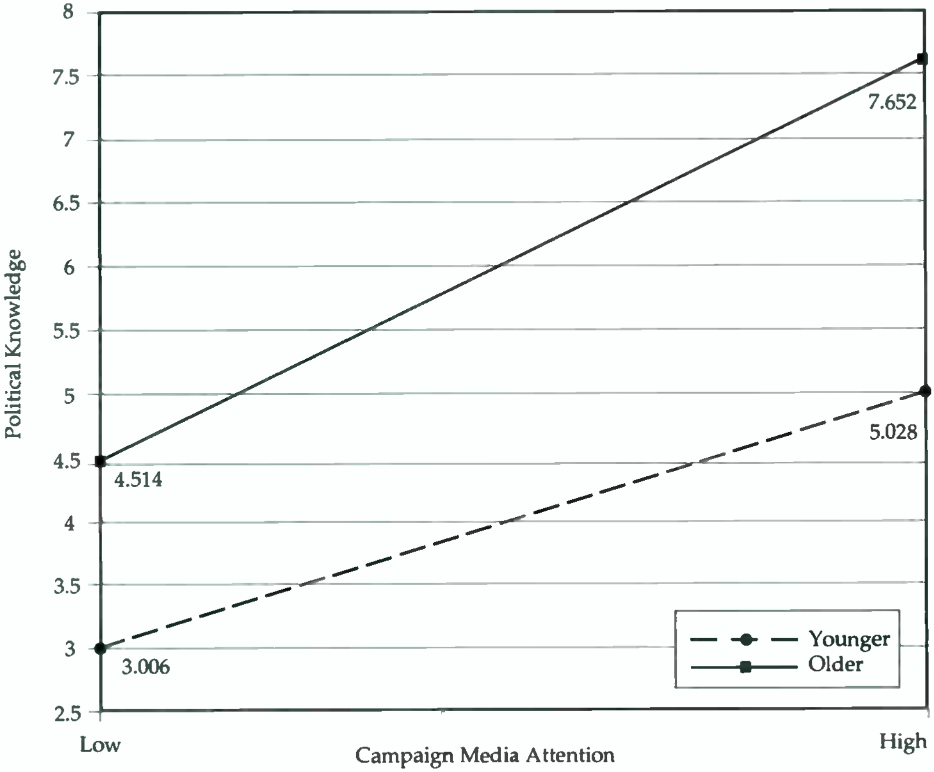


variable measuring processing of mediated information, were found to be significantly related to knowledge either at the bivariate level or after some degree of control. Although controlling for age did reduce the relationships between communication and knowledge in some cases (and increased it in one case), these changes were not large, and therefore we can reject the notion that the effects of communication are spurious due to the relationship between age and communication.

The primary intention of the present study was to offer an alternative model of political development that can be applied across many socialization contexts. The interactive model as proposed here suggests that political socialization is dependent on both cognitive capacity and available information, that is, on characteristics of the individual and characteristics of the environment.[61] Using age as a rough indicator of cognitive capacity and life experience and communication variables as measures of information available in the environment of the child, it was proposed that effects of the presence of socializing information would be dependent on at least some minimal level of cognitive capacity. In essence, the model proposes a simple, intuitive condition—for children to learn the political information presented to them either interpersonally or through mass media, they must have the cognitive capacity to process and understand this information. Empirically, this relationship would be observed as an interaction between communica-

FIGURE 2

Political Knowledge by Age and Campaign Media Attention



tion and age when predicting knowledge. Few researchers in the field of political communication have explicitly tested for this moderating effect of age.

The results indicated strong support for the interactive model of political development. Evidence for four of six hypothesized interactions was found, and each of these interactions was in the expected direction. The effects of political discussions, general newspaper readership, attention to news about the campaign, and active reflection on campaign information obtained from the media on political knowledge were all dependent on the age of the child, such that the relationships were greater for older children than for younger children. Not only are the effects of communication *not* spurious due to age, they are also *not* additive with respect to age.

It might be questioned, if the interactive model of political development is valid, why was there no interaction observed between age and either television news use or non-traditional media use? Although we are unable to settle this question sufficiently with the present data, Salomon's research on differences in learning from different symbol systems provides one possible explanation.[62] It may be that communication via television is easier for children in our sample (ages 9 through 18) to learn from because they had already developed the requisite skills for dealing with the visual information from this symbol system. That is, it may be necessary to examine younger

TABLE 2

Multiple Regression Analyses: Additive Effects of Age and Communication Variables on Political Knowledge

	Independent Variables	Beta with Block 1 Controls	Beta with Block 1 and 2 Controls
Block 1	Age	.37**	.25**
	R^2%	**13.4****	—
Block 2	TV News Exposure	.20**	.05
	Newspaper Exposure	.28**	.16**
	Non-Traditional Media Use	.17**	.01
	Campaign Media Attention	.40**	.17**
	Active Reflection	.46**	.27**
	Political Discussion	.36**	.04
	R^2 % Change	—	**25.3****

N = 290

= $p \leq .10$; * = $p \leq .05$; ** = $p \leq .01$

for the present study, so they were left out of the final model to maintain simplicity.

Hypothesis 3 stated that there would be an interaction between communication variables and age when predicting political knowledge. Specifically, the interactions were expected to take the form of a contingent or contributory condition—communication should have the greatest (or possibly only) effects for older children who have developed cognitive structures to deal with the information to which they are exposed. Based on recent discussions in both mass communication and psychology noting the substantial likelihood of Type II errors in interaction tests using survey data,[57] we chose to follow a suggested approach and relax our alpha level for the interaction tests to $p \leq .10$. Table 3 reveals substantial support for the hypothesis considering the difficulty in detecting interaction effects in small sample survey research—four of six interactions reached significance, and all six were in the hypothesized direction. It may be noted that the variance accounted for by the multiplicative terms was quite modest—however, statisticians have noted that interactions are more useful for interpreting relationships than in accounting for variance in criterion measures.[58]

In general, the interactions were significant for those communication variables that had the greatest effect on political knowledge at the bivariate level. All of the interactions were of a similar form—the contributory condition expected (for plots of the significant interactions, see Figures 1 through 4). Contrary to the findings (but consistent with the prediction of) Garramone and Atkin,[59] the strongest interaction (Figure 1) was between general newspaper exposure and age—older children learned more from newspapers than younger children, as expected. Similarly, attention to the campaign also produced greater effects for older than younger children (Figure 2). Active reflection, which is more cognitive than behavioral (unlike the other communication measures), was still moderated by age level. Younger children were less able to make thinking about and questioning

TABLE 3

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses: Main Effects and Interactions between Age and Communication Variables on Political Knowledge

	Independent Variables	Beta Coefficient	R^2 % Change
Block 1	Age	.32**	
	TV News Exposure	.20**	17.0**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.01	0.0
Block 1	Age	.33**	
	Newspaper Exposure	.28**	20.8**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.12*	1.5*
Block 1	Age	.40**	
	Non-traditional Media Use	.17**	16.2**
Block 2	Interaction Term	-.01	0.0
Block 1	Age	.31**	
	Campaign Media Attention	.40**	29.1**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.09#	0.8#
Block 1	Age	.27**	
	Active Reflection	.46**	33.4**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.10*	1.0*
Block 1	Age	.31**	
	Political Discussion	.36**	26.3**
Block 2	Interaction Term	.11*	1.1*

$N = 290$
= $p \leq .10$; * = $p \leq .05$; ** = $p \leq .01$

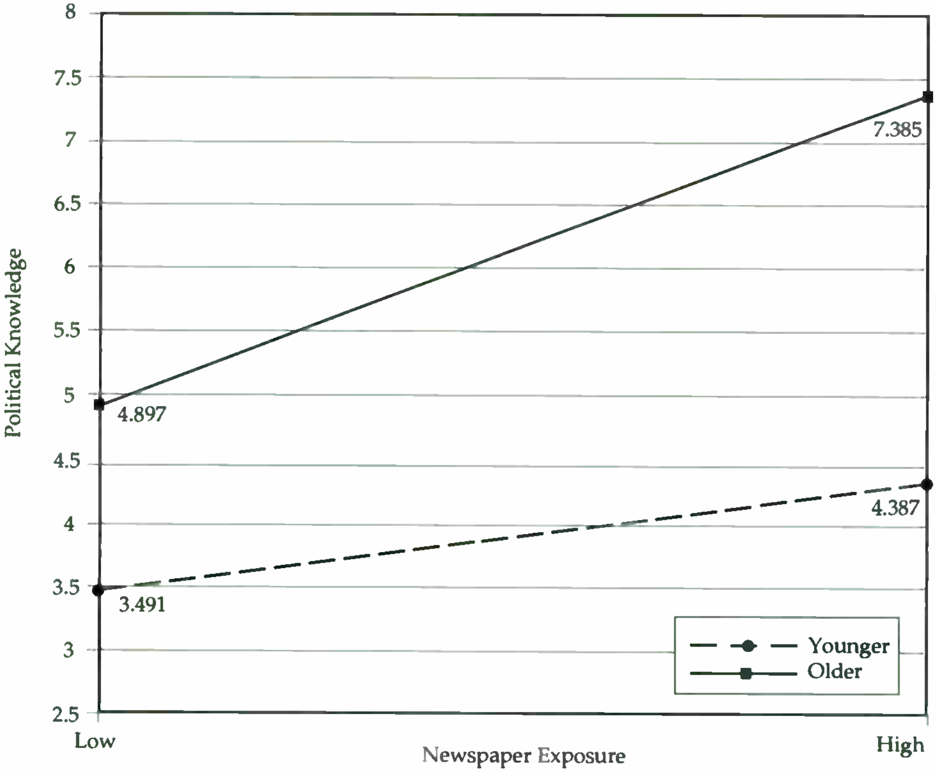
media information translate into greater knowledge of politics (Figure 3). Finally, older children obtained more information from political discussions with family and friends than did younger children (Figure 4). Television news use and non-traditional media use effects were not significantly moderated by age, however. In both of these tests the effects of communication and age were clearly additive, not multiplicative. As with the results presented in Table 2, additional controls were added to all these interactive models. Again, simultaneous controls for parental education, household income, child's gender, and child's performance in school did not alter the models substantially, and so were left out to maintain simplicity.

Discussion

These findings provide many clues about childhood political socialization that can be used to advance and possibly revive a field that has gone through more than a decade of decline,[60] and to inform researchers with more practical interests. First, as a preponderance of past research has shown, age does have an effect on political socialization, at least when political knowledge is the criterion. The results of this study also indicate that communication plays an important role in political socialization. Six communication variables, including both mass and interpersonal communication and a

FIGURE 1

Political Knowledge by Age and Newspaper Exposure

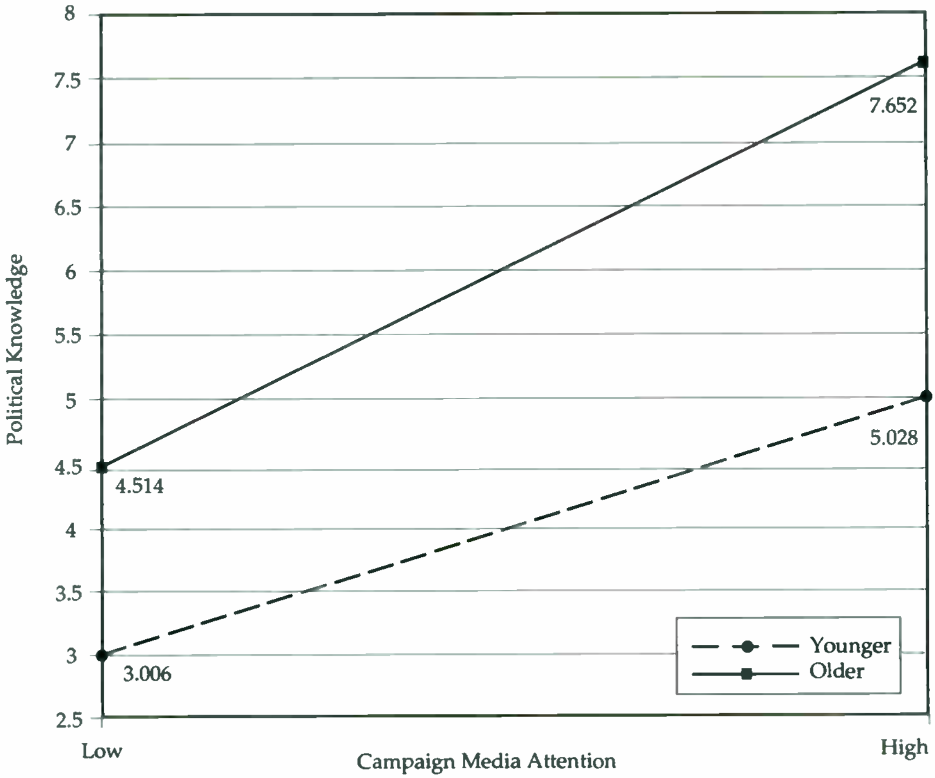


variable measuring processing of mediated information, were found to be significantly related to knowledge either at the bivariate level or after some degree of control. Although controlling for age did reduce the relationships between communication and knowledge in some cases (and increased it in one case), these changes were not large, and therefore we can reject the notion that the effects of communication are spurious due to the relationship between age and communication.

The primary intention of the present study was to offer an alternative model of political development that can be applied across many socialization contexts. The interactive model as proposed here suggests that political socialization is dependent on both cognitive capacity and available information, that is, on characteristics of the individual and characteristics of the environment.[61] Using age as a rough indicator of cognitive capacity and life experience and communication variables as measures of information available in the environment of the child, it was proposed that effects of the presence of socializing information would be dependent on at least some minimal level of cognitive capacity. In essence, the model proposes a simple, intuitive condition—for children to learn the political information presented to them either interpersonally or through mass media, they must have the cognitive capacity to process and understand this information. Empirically, this relationship would be observed as an interaction between communica-

FIGURE 2

Political Knowledge by Age and Campaign Media Attention



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The results indicated strong support for the interactive model of political development. Evidence for four of six hypothesized interactions was found, and each of these interactions was in the expected direction. The effects of political discussions, general newspaper readership, attention to news about the campaign, and active reflection on campaign information obtained from the media on political knowledge were all dependent on the age of the child, such that the relationships were greater for older children than for younger children. Not only are the effects of communication *not* spurious due to age, they are also *not* additive with respect to age.

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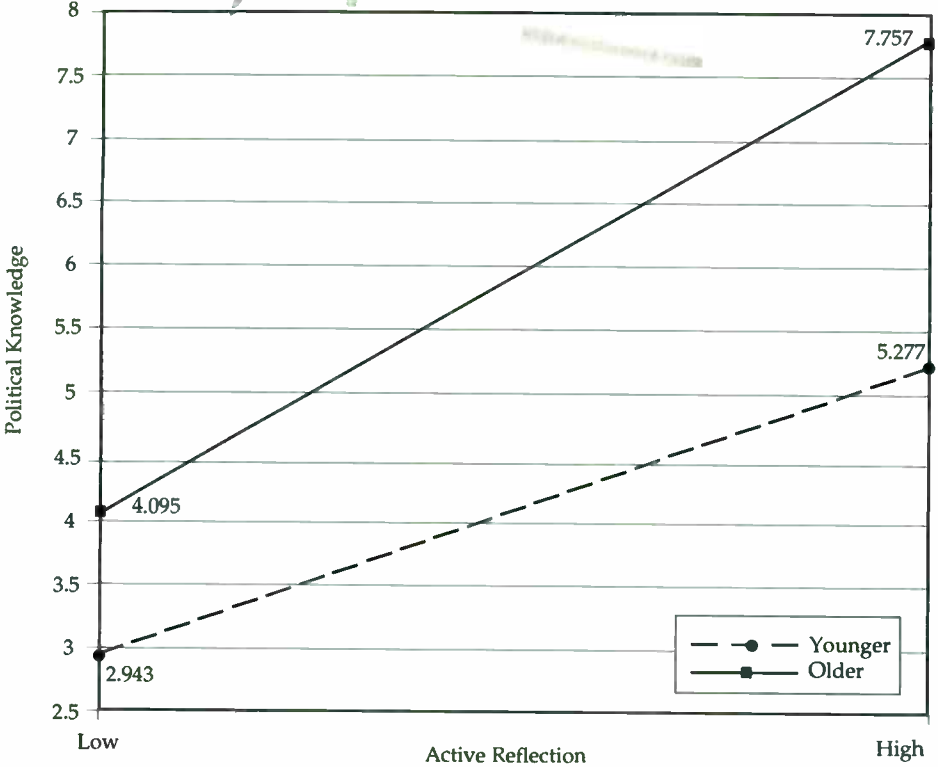
FIGURE 3

Political Knowledge by Age and Active Reflection



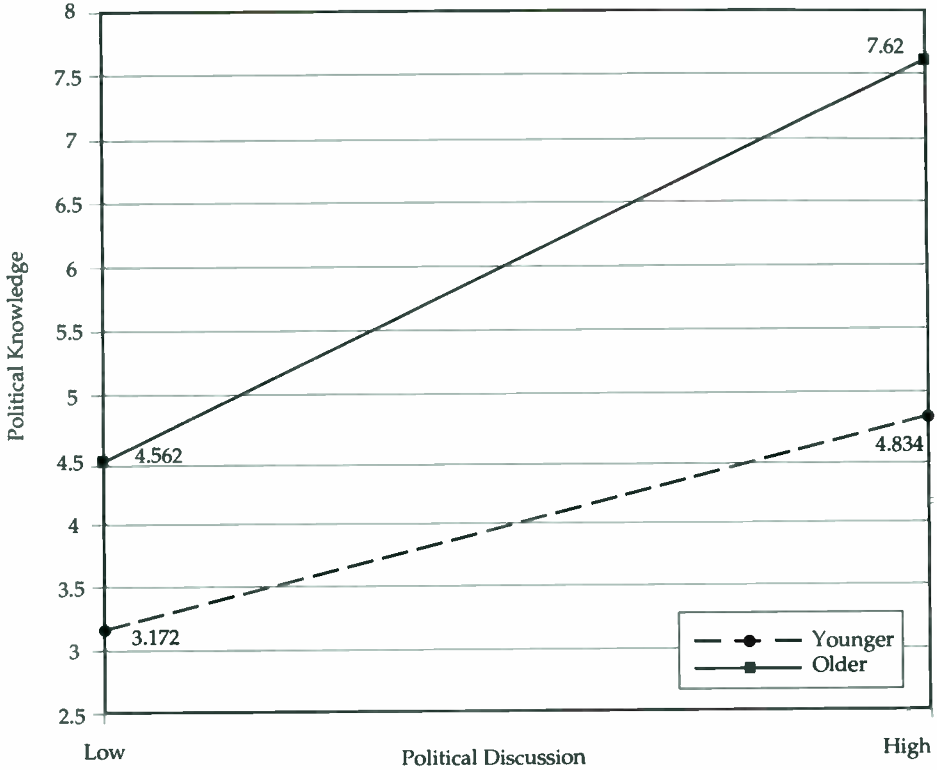
children who do not have as much experience with television news, possibly from preschool to middle school, to find the expected interaction. By the time they move into high school (about half of our sample), most children may be able to deal with the symbols (not to mention the level of information provided) in television news.

Similarly, Neuman, Just, and Crigler found that television news provides context through exciting visuals that is typically unavailable in newspapers.[63] Their results indicate that television was also able to make abstract issues easier to understand for their adult sample. These findings support the notion that television news (and the debates and advertisements that made up most of our non-traditional media variable) may have been easier to use for our younger respondents and therefore did not require the greater cognitive development and life experience that other communication sources necessitated. The fact that the strongest interaction found in the present study was for the only print media variable, newspaper exposure, while the weakest significant interaction was found for campaign media attention (which is content but not medium specific), seems to support this explanation.

Despite the theoretically interesting findings produced by this study, it does have some limitations. First, the small, local sample limits direct generalizability to larger populations. However, it is unlikely that the

FIGURE 4

Political Knowledge by Age and Political Discussion



relationships found here are unique to our sample of San Jose, California. Childhood development is unlikely to vary much from locale to locale, and even if development occurs more quickly among certain subsets of the population than others, it is unlikely that the order of developmental effects vary across subsets of the population.

Second, the criteria for political socialization in the present study was limited to a single variable, political knowledge. Socialization research has focused on countless criteria over the years, and many have *not* used knowledge as the primary criterion. Often used measures include internalization of norms, attitudes toward political leaders, partisan affiliation, and political participation. Future research should be conducted to discover whether the interactive model applies only to knowledge or whether it applies to attitudes and behaviors as well.

A final potential flaw in this test of the interactive model of political development is one that haunts all research using self-reports by children. Since reliability of measurement is generally lower for younger children than older children[64] and low reliability tends to reduce the size of correlations,[65] there is some possibility that the weaker relationship between communication and political knowledge found for the younger members of our sample was due to greater measurement error among this group. To examine this possibility we divided our sample into three roughly equally sized groups (9-

12 year olds, 13-15 year olds, and 16-18 year olds) and found that our dependent variable was indeed less reliable among the younger group (*KR20* = .58) than among the middle and oldest groups (*KR20* of .81 and .82, respectively). However, if this was the sole cause of our interactions, the unreliability of the criterion measure should have affected the relationship between the dependent variable and all independent variables equally. In fact, it did not since, as we have already reported, the interactions did not appear for television news and non-traditional media use independent variables. Thus, the differential measurement error by age is a possible, but unlikely, competing explanation for our results.

The findings supporting our theoretical model can provide valuable information for those interested in media intervention programs designed to actively socialize middle and high school students. Although our data cannot confirm it, since our approach is based on general principles of development there is little reason to suspect that our findings would not apply across socialization content domains (such as health or environmental protection information) and therefore have wide applicability for professional journalists and social action campaigners.

The implications of an interactive model suggest that those who intend to use the mass media to deliver socialization messages must take into account the age or expected level of development of the target audience in order to produce the desired effects and avoid an inducement of the knowledge gap. That is, those who target children in their preteen years (even if these are only a subset of the total target audience) should likely make use of the entertaining visual or auditory media of television and radio, because both younger and older children are able to learn equally well from these media.

If preadolescents are not part of the target audience, newspapers are likely to be more effective tools for socialization. Although both older and younger children seem to learn equally well from television and non-traditional media, this learning is not as substantial as the learning older children do using newspapers. Therefore, when the target audience has developed enough cognitively to make use of the print media, then print seems to be the most effective media agent of socialization. Further, if program designers are not concerned with knowledge gaps based on age, they should use print media to reach older children while simultaneously using television to reach younger children. The choice made will depend on the relative importance placed on equal distribution of knowledge across age groups versus maximal learning for a particular age group.

It should be noted, however, that the present study could not separate the difference between medium effects and content effects. That is, while it may be that younger children inherently have greater difficulty with print media than with television, it may also be that the content carried in newspapers is simply more difficult to understand. That is, if the content of the newspaper was transferred to television, younger children would still have difficulty understanding it. Therefore, we caution that media differ on at least two dimensions, form and content, and it may be either dimension that leads to the differences in learning between age groups.

Overall, this study has successfully demonstrated support for the proposed interactive model of political development. If the study of political socialization is to again become an important subfield of the larger study of political communication, the current lack of interest and research must be replaced by alternative ideas and new methodological approaches. The interactive model of political development provides one possible alternative approach to the study of communication in socialization processes, and now there is some initial evidence supporting this model. Future studies of political socialization should attempt to replicate and expand on the findings presented here.

NOTES

1. The original data on which this paper is based were collected in collaboration with Zhongdang Pan, Steven H. Chaffee, Michael McDevitt, and Youngme Moon. The research was supported by the Program in Media and Democracy, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, where Zhongdang Pan was an assistant professor at the time the data were collected.

2. Steven Chaffee, Jack McLeod, and Daniel Wackman, "Family Communication Patterns and Adolescent Political Participation," in *Socialization to Politics: A Reader*, ed. Jack Dennis (NY: John Wiley, 1973), 349-64; Jack McLeod and Steven Chaffee, "The Construction of Social Reality," in *The Social Influence Processes*, ed. James T. Tedeschi (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972), 50-99.

3. Charles Atkin, "Effects of Campaign Advertising and Newscasts on Children," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (autumn 1977): 503-508; M. Margaret Conway, Mikel L. Wyckoff, Eleanor Feldbaum, and David Ahern, "The News Media in Children's Political Socialization," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45 (summer 1981): 164-78; Alan Rubin, "Child and Adolescent Television Use and Political Socialization," *Journalism Quarterly* 55 (spring 1978): 125-29.

4. For example, M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974).

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6. Yali Peng, "Intellectual Fads in Political Science: The Cases of Political Socialization and Community Power Studies," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 27 (March 1994): 100-108; David O. Sears, "Whither Political Socialization Research? The Question of Persistence," in *Political Socialization*, ed. Ichilov, 69-97.

7. For example, Roberta S. Sigel, *Political Learning in Adulthood: A Sourcebook of Theory and Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

8. Richard G. Niemi and Mary A. Hepburn, "The Rebirth of Political Socialization," *Perspectives on Political Science* 24 (winter 1995): 7-16.

9. Steven H. Chaffee, L. Scott Ward, and Leonard P. Tipton, "Mass Communication and Political Socialization," *Journalism Quarterly* 47 (winter 1970): 647-59,666; Pauline Marie Vaillancourt, "Stability of Children's Survey Responses," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 37 (fall 1973): 373-87.

10. See Kenneth L. Kolson and Justin J. Green, "Response Set Bias and Political Socialization Research," *Social Science Quarterly* 51 (December 1970): 527-38.

11. Niemi and Hepburn, "Rebirth of Political Socialization"; Roberta S. Sigel, "New Directions for Political Socialization Research: Thoughts and Suggestions," *Perspectives on Political Science* 24 (winter 1995): 17-22.

12. Chaffee, McLeod, and Wackman, "Family Communication Patterns"; McLeod and Chaffee, "Construction of Social Reality."

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14. Paul Allen Beck, "The Role of Agents in Political Socialization," in *Handbook of Political Socialization*, ed. Stanley Allen Renshon (New York: Free Press, 1977), 115-41; Chaffee and Tims, "News Media Use"; Conway et al., "The News Media"; Howard Tolley Jr., *Children and War: Political Socialization to International Conflict* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973).

15. Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton, "Mass Communication."

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17. Rubin, "Child and Adolescent."

18. Conway et al., "The News Media."

19. Chaffee, Ward, and Tipton, "Mass Communication."

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21. Dan Drew and Byron Reeves, "Learning From a Television News Story," *Communication Research* 7 (January 1980): 121-35; Dan G. Drew and Steven D. Reese, "Children's Learning From a Television Newscast," *Journalism Quarterly* 61 (spring 1984): 83-88.

22. Chaffee, McLeod, and Wackman, "Family Communication Patterns"; McLeod and Chaffee, "Construction of Social Reality"; Jack M. McLeod and Jane D. Brown, "Family Environment and Adolescent TV Use," in *Children and Television*, ed. Ray Brown (London: Collier MacMillian, 1976), 199-233.

23. For example, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, "Interpersonal and Mass Communication in Children's Political Socialization," *Journalism Quarterly* 56 (spring 1979): 48-53.

24. Ellen Wartella, "The Developmental Perspective," in *Children Communicating: Media and Development of Thought, Speech, and Understanding*, ed. Ellen Wartella (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979), 7-20.

25. Sigel, *Political Learning*, 1.

26. Charles J. Brainerd, *Piaget's Theory of Intelligence* (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1978).

27. Steven H. Chaffee, *Explication* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991), 64.

28. Chaffee, *Explication*, 66.

29. For example, see Sigel, *Political Learning*.

30. Daniel Bar-Tal and Leonard Saxe, "Acquisition of Political Knowledge: A Social-Psychological Approach," in *Political Socialization*, ed. Ichilov, 116-33.

31. Brainerd, *Piaget's Theory*.

32. Anna Emilia Berti, "The Development of Political Understanding in Children Between 6-15 Years Old," *Human Relations* 41 (June 1988): 437-46; Stanley Moore, James Lare, and Kenneth Wagner, *The Child's Political World:*

A Longitudinal Perspective (Westport, CN: Praeger, 1985).

33. Peng, "Intellectual Fads"; Sears, "Whither Political Socialization."

34. It is important to distinguish between moderator and mediator variables. A mediating variable is often the process through which one variable influences another in an "indirect effect." The difference between a mediated relationship and a spurious relationship is theoretical. Alternatively, a moderator variable "partitions a focal independent variable into subgroups that establish its domains of maximal effectiveness in regard to a given dependent variable." Reuben M. Baron and David A. Kenny, "The Moderator-Mediator Variable Distinction in Social Psychological Research: Conceptual, Strategic, and Statistical Considerations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51 (December 1986): 1173-1182, see 1173.

35. Jack M. McLeod, William P. Eveland Jr., and Edward M. Horowitz, "Learning to Live in a Democracy: The Interdependence of Family, Schools, and Media" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Washington, DC, 1995).

36. Sandra Scarr-Salapatek and Philip Salapatek, *Socialization* (Columbus, OH: C.E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1973), see vii.

37. Moore, Lare, and Wagner, *The Child's Political*, 224.

38. Garrett J. O'Keefe and Kathaleen Reid-Nash, "Socializing Functions," in *Handbook of Communication Science*, ed. Charles R. Berger and Steven H. Chaffee (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987), 419-45.

39. Bar-Tal and Saxe, "Acquisition of Political Knowledge,"; Gavriel Salomon, *Interaction of Media, Cognition, and Learning* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979).

40. Bar-Tal and Saxe, "Acquisition of Political Knowledge."

41. Salomon, *Interaction of Media.*

42. Cecile Gaziano, "Forecast 2000: Widening Knowledge Gaps," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 74 (summer 1997): 237-64; P. J. Tichenor, G. A. Donohue, and C. N. Olien, "Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth in Knowledge," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 34 (summer 1970): 159-70; K. Viswanath and John R. Finnegan Jr., "The Knowledge Gap Hypothesis: Twenty-Five Years Later," in *Communication Yearbook 19*, ed. Brant R. Burleson (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 187-227.

43. It could also be argued that political communication is a moderator of cognitive capacity effects, such that cognitive capacity only has an impact when there is political communication. Statistically, the test is the same. The distinction is at the theoretical level. At present there seems to be no reason that either, or both, could not be true. Therefore, it should be noted that either variable may moderate the effects of the other. For simplicity's sake, the study will be framed as if cognitive capacity is the moderator and political communication is the independent variable.

44. Steven H. Chaffee and Seung-Mock Yang, "Communication and Political Socialization," in *Political Socialization*, ed. Ichilov, 137-57.

45. Rubin, "Child and Adolescent."

46. Atkin, "Effects of Campaign."

47. Charles K. Atkin and Walter Gantz, "Television News and Political Socialization," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 42 (summer 1978): 183-98.

48. Gina M. Garramone and Charles K. Atkin, "Mass Communication and Political Socialization: Specifying the Effects," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 50 (spring 1986): 76-86.

49. The *Kids Voting* program and the larger study from which this paper draws its data have been described elsewhere. See Jack M. McLeod, William

P. Eveland Jr., and Edward M. Horowitz, "Going Beyond Adults and Voter Turnout: Evaluating a Socialization Program Involving Schools, Family, and Media," in *Engaging the Public: How Government and the Media Can Reinvigorate American Democracy*, ed. Thomas J. Johnson, Carol E. Hays, and Scott P. Hays (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 195-205.

50. For a description of and justification for the use of factor scores, see David J. Armor, "Theta Reliability and Factor Scaling," in *Sociological Methodology 1973-1974*, ed. Herbert L. Costner (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974), 17-50.

51. Gerald M. Kosicki and Jack M. McLeod, "Learning From Political News: Effects of Media Images and Information-Processing Strategies," in *Mass Communication and Political Information Processing*, ed. Sidney Kraus (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990), 69-83.

52. William P. Eveland Jr., "Motivation, Information Processing, and Learning From the News: Toward a Synthesis of Paradigms" (paper presented to the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec, 1997); William P. Eveland Jr., "The Process of Political Learning From the News: The Roles of Motivation, Attention, and Elaboration" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1997); William P. Eveland Jr. and Jack M. McLeod, "The Informational Role of Processing Strategies for Campaign News: Beyond Simple Exposure and Attention" (paper presented to the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Albuquerque, NM, 1995); Elizabeth M. Perse, "Media Involvement and Local News Effects," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 34 (spring 1990): 17-36.

53. Factor analytic research by Jack McLeod and his students including the current authors, making use of data collected from adults in several contexts and over several data sets during the past decade, has identified three factors from a pool of nine to fifteen items—active processing, reflective integration, and selective scanning. The present study used six new items developed for use with children, and a principal components factor analysis with oblique rotation of these items revealed just two factors. The first factor clearly represented the active processing and reflective integration factors from past research, while the second factor represented selective scanning. Since selective scanning typically produces null or negative effects on political socialization criteria such as knowledge, only the active reflection factor was used in the present analysis.

54. For a description of the appropriate methodology, see William P. Eveland Jr., "Interactions and Nonlinearity in Mass Communication: Connecting Theory and Methodology," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 74 (summer 1997): 400-416.

55. Atkin and Gantz, "Television News"; Robert H. Prisuta, "The Adolescent and Television News: A Viewer Profile," *Journalism Quarterly* 56 (summer 1979): 277-82; Rubin, "Child and Adolescent."

56. O'Keefe and Reid-Nash, "Socializing Functions," see 436.

57. Eveland, "Interactions and Nonlinearity"; Gary H. McClelland and Charles M. Judd, "Statistical Difficulties of Detecting Interactions and Moderator Effects," *Psychological Bulletin* 114 (September 1993): 376-90.

58. McClelland and Judd, "Statistical Difficulties."

59. Garramone and Atkin, "Mass Communication."

60. Peng, "Intellectual Fads."

61. Moore, Lare, and Wagner, *The Child's Political*; Scarr-Salapatek and Salapatek, *Socialization*.

62. Salomon, *Interaction of Media.*

63. W. Russell Neuman, Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

64. Vaillancourt, "Stability of Children's."

65. Frederic M. Lord and Melvin R. Novick, *Statistical Theories of Mental Test Scores* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1968); Jum C. Nunnally, *Psychometric Theory,* 2d ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1978).

The Sound Bites, the Biters, and the Bitten: A Two-Campaign Test of the Anti-Incumbent Bias Hypothesis in Network TV News

By Dennis T. Lowry and Jon A. Shidler

This study is the first longitudinal study to address two separate lines of research—sound bite research and news bias research—within a single network TV news study. Presidential and vice presidential campaign stories from Campaign '92 (ninety-nine newscasts) and Campaign '96 (100 newscasts) were analyzed to test the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis. The overall conclusions of this study were that (a) the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis received only minimal support, and (b) in both campaigns, Republicans tended to be negatively bitten more often than Democrats. In this respect, the networks were not equal-opportunity biters.

J&MC Q

Network TV news coverage of presidential campaigns in the 1990s has existed between two seemingly contradictory love/hate trends. On one hand, network TV is the news source from which the majority of the voters received most of their news about the candidates and campaigns—84 percent in Campaign '92 and 57 percent (still a majority) in Campaign '96.[1] On the other hand, public perceptions of network TV news believability have been declining.[2] Audience shares have also been declining. Kurtz states that, "The Big Three newscasts, which a decade ago drew three-quarters of the audience during their time period, now attract just over half."[3]

The present study pulls together two separate lines of research—sound bite research and news bias research—within a single longitudinal study involving Campaigns '92 and '96. There is a small, but growing, body of scholarly literature produced mostly in the 1980s and 1990s indicating that the length of individual sound bites on network TV news has been shrinking. Hallin, for example, found that the mean length of sound bites declined from 43.1 seconds in Campaign '68 to 8.9 seconds in Campaign '88.[4] Smith studied the same twenty-year period and found similar results.[5] Lowry and Shidler's content analysis of network TV news in Campaign '92 found an overall mean of 8.2 seconds for all sound bites, and almost identical means of 9.7 and 9.8 seconds for Bush and Clinton, respectively.[6]

Why is it important to analyze sound bites on network TV news? Sigal provides part of the justification: "Sources *make* the news."[7] And, ". . . who makes news . . . helps determine the direction of political life in the American republic."[8] A second reason it is important to analyze sound bites is that, at least in Campaign '92, they constituted about 30 percent of the total network TV campaign coverage. Therefore, analyzing only what the anchors and

75th

Dennis T. Lowry is professor and Jon A. Shidler is associate professor of journalism in the School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. *The authors are grateful to doctoral students Cindy Price and Josephine Nio for assistance with coding, and to Lyombe Eko and J.J. Lee for assistance with computer analysis.*

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
719-729

correspondents said about the candidates and campaign would exclude almost one-third of the total coverage.[9]

A third justification for analyzing sound bites is that they are particularly susceptible to ideological news bias—whether intentional or unintentional. Stocking and Gross state: ". . . it is not unreasonable to suppose that reporters may adopt theory-confirming strategies *when they select their sources*. That is, reporters may quite unconsciously seek out sources whose answers will *confirm their theories*."[10] In the context of how network TV journalists select and use expert sources, Steele refers to ". . . television's 'operational bias,' an emphasis on players, policies, and predictions of what will happen next."[11] Likewise, Soley has written extensively about how the TV networks politically or ideologically shape the news based upon the small group of elite sources who are most frequently given air time.[12]

Another line of scholarly network TV news research has dealt with the networks' alleged liberal news bias. This line of research goes back at least a quarter of a century.[13] Results of these scholarly studies have been mixed. Some have found liberal news bias and some have not. In addition to the scholarly studies, there have been several recent "confessions" by prominent journalists acknowledging the liberal bias of the press. For example, then CBS-TV correspondent Bernard Goldberg wrote in 1996: "The old argument that the networks and other 'media elites' have a liberal bias is so blatantly true that it's hardly worth discussing anymore. No, we don't sit around in dark corners and plan strategies on how we're going to slant the news. We don't have to. It comes naturally to most reporters."[14] Concerning Campaign '92, then ABC-TV news correspondent Brit Hume wrote: "But during critical periods in this one, anti-Bush media sentiment was obvious and dominant. . . . The media's defenders argue that, after the rough treatment Bill Clinton got on the Gennifer Flowers case and his draft record, no one can say he was treated favorably. But he was."[15] Even the president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors has stated, "I have finally been persuaded that the issue of bias is probably real."[16]

A 1996 Roper Poll of journalists themselves found that 61 percent rated themselves as "liberal" or "liberal to moderate," while 9 percent rated themselves as "conservative" or "moderate to conservative." In addition, 89 percent said they voted for Bill Clinton in 1992, and 7 percent voted for George Bush.[17]

One could question, however, whether the personal views of journalists actually influence their work. Political scientist Larry Sabato says that they do: ". . . this liberal press bias does indeed show up frequently on screen and in print."[18]

What does the public believe? Whether or not this alleged liberal bias is true in objective reality, the public definitely believes it is true. A 1996 Louis Harris and Associates poll reported that 43 percent of the public, including many who identified themselves as liberals, described the news media as politically liberal, while 18 percent described the media as conservative. Furthermore, 74 percent of the public believed that the political bias of the media did show up in news coverage.[19]

Does what the public believes about reporters' biases make any difference? Ognianova and Endersby say it does: "Just as a perceived conflict of interest may have the same implications as an actual one, what matters for credibility and market success is the ideology journalists and news organizations are *perceived to have*. Audience members respond to their own perceptions, regardless of the actual attitudes of news reporters."[20]

Content analysis studies alone can never "prove" political bias on the part of the media, but they can measure whether the media content is consistent with a bias hypothesis. Lowry and Shidler's study of Campaign '92 found that the networks were "... scrupulously fair in giving equal time to the Republican and Democratic tickets," but that the net sound bites (positive minus negative bites) of noncandidates ". . . revealed a pattern consistent with a hypothesis of liberal news bias."[21]

Political scientist Doris Graber sets forth a simple argument against the alleged liberal bias of the news media: "Incumbents typically receive harsher treatment than challengers because their records in office always provide targets for criticism."[22] In other words, it is not a question of liberal vs. conservative political bias on the part of the journalists but, instead, an aspect of structural bias—with the net result being an anti-incumbent bias. If Graber's anti-incumbent bias hypothesis is correct, this would provide a different interpretation of the results obtained in Lowry and Shidler's analysis of Campaign '92, as well as in some earlier studies. That is, perhaps their results, which seemed consistent with a pro-liberal/anti-conservative political bias hypothesis, were instead simply the natural outcome of an anti-incumbent bias on the part of the networks.

Campaign '92, involving a Republican incumbent, and Campaign '96, involving a Democrat incumbent, presented an opportunity to put the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis to a straightforward test. If the hypothesis is correct, then the sound bites in Campaign '96 should have been anti-Clinton.

Therefore, the overall purposes of this study were to (1) replicate the Lowry and Shidler sound bite study of Campaign '92 to look for changes in how the networks used sound bites in campaign stories, and (2) test the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis that there would be more anti-Democrat sound bites in this campaign, given that the 1996 incumbent was a Democrat. These purposes led to five specific research questions:

1. Overall, did the *combined mean length* of the sound bites for all candidates significantly increase or decrease in Campaign '96, as compared with Campaign '92? This is a longitudinal tracking question. The networks, apparently aware of the criticism directed at them in past campaigns because of the shrinking candidate sound bites, began giving occasional longer, uninterrupted bites. NBC called its segments "In Their Own Words," and CBS called its segments "Where I Stand." The extent to which these occasional longer sound bites increased the mean length is an open question, however.

2. Did incumbents receive significantly lower *mean lengths of sound bites* than challengers did in the two campaigns? If the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis is correct, and if a reporter had a conscious or subconscious desire to favor challengers over incumbents, one possible way to show favoritism would be to give challengers more free air time to state their cases to the public. In terms of this study, one indicator could be a shorter mean length for Bush-Quayle in Campaign '92 and for Clinton-Gore in Campaign '96.

3. Did incumbents receive significantly lower *proportions of offensive campaign bites* than challengers did in the two cam-

paigns? As pointed out below, not all candidate bites are created equal. It is reasonable to assume that a candidate would prefer to be seen and heard in an offensive campaign mode—attacking the opposition and presenting his own accomplishments to the voters—rather than in some other mode. And, if the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis is correct, Clinton should have received a higher proportion of offensive bites in Campaign '92, and Dole should have in Campaign '96.

4. In terms of sound bites spoken by noncandidates, did incumbents receive significantly lower *proportions of positive bites* than challengers did in the two campaigns? Network correspondents and their field producers have an almost unlimited number of potential biters each day—i.e., people who would like to be shown and heard on TV praising or criticizing a given candidate. Therefore, as Stocking and Gross suggest, it would be easy for the journalists to "unconsciously seek out sources whose answers will confirm their theories,"[23] or, in the context of this study, confirm their anti-incumbent biases.

5. In terms of bites spoken by noncandidates, did incumbents receive significantly lower *net bite scores* (positive bites minus negative bites) than challengers did in the two campaigns? The rational here is the same as for question 4.

Method

Sample. The content universe for this study consisted of all weeknights from 24 August through 30 October 1992, and from 1 September through 1 November 1996. For each campaign, we drew a simple random sample of 25 network newscasts from ABC, CBS, CNN, and NBC.

The 199 newscasts (one was lost from Campaign '92 due to a recording error) were viewed in entirety in two screenings. The purpose of the first screening was to locate every presidential and vice presidential campaign story. A campaign story was defined as being primarily about the national campaign. A sentence or two from one of the presidential/vice presidential candidates, or even brief camera shots, did not necessarily constitute a campaign story. This was especially the case with regard to stories about President Bush or President Clinton, many of which simply dealt with their normal duties as president, not with campaigning.

Content Categories. The purpose of the second screening of the video tapes was to transcribe, word for word, all of the campaign stories, indicating the speaker of each statement. For purposes of this study, sound bites were defined as all statements made on the air by news sources. Statements made by network employees—e.g., anchors, correspondents, and polling staff members—were transcribed and included in the story lengths but not analyzed in this study, since the focus was not on what the network employees were saying but on what others in the news were allowed to say on the air. In almost all cases sound bites were accompanied by corresponding video images of the biters, but there were a few exceptions; however, these exceptions were nevertheless included in our data base.

Categories of Biters. There were five categories of biters: (1) the candidates themselves; (2) aides of the candidates—press secretaries and all others working in paid or unpaid positions on the candidates' campaign staffs; (3) family members of the candidates; (4) party representatives—members of Congress, designated party pollsters and all others identified as Republicans, Democrats, or members of Perot's party (excluded here were aides of the candidates); (5) all others—anyone not included in the above four categories.[24]

Types of Candidate Bites. As pointed out above, not all sound bites are created equal, and it is important that content categories be tailored to the purposes of a study. The present study employed five different types of bites or, more specifically, five different environments in which the original bites occurred.

> (1) *Campaign bites* included all campaign stump speeches, other prepared campaign speeches (e.g., to groups such as the VFW or union workers), and all informal chatting with voters on the campaign trail. Campaign bites were originally spoken to voters and, by definition, were assumed to be both offensive in intent and almost totally controlled by the candidates as to content and style.[25]
>
> (2) *Commercial bites* consisted of statements lifted from the candidates' commercials. While political commercials are certainly offensive in intent and are totally controlled in terms of content and style, in practice the networks tended to present commercial bites primarily for the purpose of pointing out the inaccuracies or misrepresentations in them. Therefore, commercial bites were not considered to be offensive bites for purposes of this study.
>
> (3) *News bites* consisted primarily of statements made to members of the press—whether answering a single reporter's question on the campaign trail, or in a large press conference, or in a private one-on-one news interview. Bites from talk show interviews were included in this category because such shows are at least quasi-journalistic in nature and because news was indeed made on such shows, especially in Campaign '92.
>
> (4) *Debate bites* included all bites lifted from the presidential and vice presidential debates.
>
> (5) *Other bites* consisted simply of all other bites by the six candidates which did not fit in the above four categories, including historical bites (defined as 1991 and before, for Campaign '92, and 1995 and before, for Campaign '96).

Types of Noncandidate Bites. The bites of all other biters were placed into four separate categories.

> (1) *Predominantly positive bites* were defined as those in which the biter was saying favorable or supportive things about a candidate.
>
> (2) *Predominantly negative bites* were defined as those in which the biter was saying unfavorable or critical things about

a candidate. In the case of both positive and negative bites, only statements that referred to a candidate by name or personal pronoun were counted. Positive or negative statements about "the White House" or "the administration" or "the campaign" were excluded from these two categories.

(3) *Predominantly balanced bites* consisted of those in which the biter's positive statements were equally balanced by negative statements, or those in which the biter was praising or criticizing the candidates equally—e.g., "I don't like any of them."

(4) *Neutral bites* were defined as those in which the biter was saying neither favorable nor unfavorable things about the candidates themselves.

All campaign stories and individual bites within stories were timed to the nearest second. Coding was done independently by the authors. A random subsample of ten evenings from each network and each campaign was coded by the authors and two trained graduate students to determine intercoder reliability. For Campaign '92 the proportion of agreement on types of biters was .98, and the proportion of agreement on types of bites was .91. For Campaign '96 the respective figures were .94 and .92.

Results

The 99 newscasts in Campaign '92 produced a total of 36,482 seconds (10 hours, 7 minutes, and 8 seconds) of campaign news stories, and these stories contained 10,901 seconds of sound bites (1,324 different bites). The 100 newscasts in Campaign '96 produced a total of 15,304 seconds (4 hours, 15 minutes, and 4 seconds) of campaign news stories, less than half the coverage given by the networks to the '92 campaign. These stories in turn resulted in 4,035 seconds of sound bites (490 different bites). The importance of studying sound bites in network TV news can be seen in the proportions of total sound bite time to total story time in these two campaigns—29.8% in Campaign '92 and 26.4% in Campaign '96.

Research question no. 1 asked whether the combined mean length of the sound bites for all candidates increased or decreased in Campaign '96, as compared with Campaign '92. The 1992 mean was 9.6 seconds and the comparable 1996 mean was significantly higher ($F = 2.36$, $p < .001$) at 10.3 seconds per sound bite. Therefore, it appears that the two-decade trend of shrinking sound bites referred to above has bottomed out and shows a slight indication of increasing.

Research question no. 2 asked whether the incumbents in the two campaigns received significantly lower mean lengths of sound bites than the challengers. The results of both campaigns failed to support the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis. In Campaign '92, the mean sound bite for incumbents Bush-Quayle was 10.1 seconds, and for challengers Clinton-Gore was 9.9 seconds ($F = 1.90$, $p < .001$). In Campaign '96, the mean sound bite for incumbents Clinton-Gore was 12.7 seconds, and for challengers Dole-Kemp was 9.7 ($F = 2.92$, $p < .001$). In both campaigns, therefore, incumbents received longer sound bites, on average, than did the challengers.

Research question no. 3 asked whether the incumbents received significantly lower percentages of *offensive* campaign bites than the challeng-

TABLE 1

Percentage of Positive/Negative Sound Bites Spoken by Noncandidates in Campaigns '92 and '96

	1992 Total		1996 Total
Positive Bush-Quayle (I)	5.4%	Positive Clinton-Gore (I)	10.4%
Positive Clinton-Gore (C)	5.4	Positive Dole-Kemp (C)	4.0
Positive Perot-Stockdale (C)	6.4	Positive Perot-Choate (C)	1.8
Negative Bush-Quayle (I)	15.7	Negative Clinton-Gore (I)	12.0
Negative Clinton-Gore (C)	8.1	Negative Dole-Kemp (C)	14.1
Negative Perot-Stockdale (C)	5.1	Negative Perot-Choate (C)	0.3
Balanced	5.6	Balanced	8.3
Neutral	48.3	Neutral	49.2
Total	100.0%	Total	100.1%*
N (in seconds)	5,351	*N* (in seconds)	1,466

I = Incumbents, C = Challengers
*Does not total 100% due to normal rounding error.

ers did in the two campaigns. The results for the two campaigns provided partial support for the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis. In Campaign '92, Bush-Quayle (the incumbents) received a significantly higher ($Z = 8.08$, $p < .001$) percentage (56.5%) of offensive bites than did Clinton-Gore (46.0%); therefore, the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis was not supported. In Campaign '96, the hypothesis was supported. Clinton-Gore (the incumbents) received a significantly lower ($Z = 8.90$, $p < .001$) percentage (66.8%) of offensive bites than did Dole-Kemp (81.4%).

Research question no. 4 asked whether incumbents received significantly lower percentages of *positive* bites from noncandidates than challengers did in the two campaigns. In Campaign '92, the Republican incumbents and Democrat challengers received identical percentages of positive bites (5.4%), and therefore the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis was not supported. The comparable scores for Campaign '96 were significantly different ($Z = 6.01$, $p < .01$), and in the opposite direction predicted by the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis. As Table 1 indicates, the Republican challengers (Dole-Kemp) received 4.0% positive sound bites from noncandidate biters, and the Democrat incumbents (Clinton-Gore) received 10.4%.

Research question no. 5 asked whether incumbents received significantly lower net bite scores (positive minus negative bites) from noncandidates than did the challengers. The first thing to be noted in Table 2 is that both the Republicans and Democrats received negative net bite scores from noncandidate biters in both campaigns. In other words, sound bites from noncandidates are more likely to receive air time if they are negative. This

TABLE 2

Percentage of Net Sound Bite Scores (Positive Minus Negative) Spoken by Noncandidates on Four Networks in Campaigns '92 and '96

Campaign '92

	ABC	CBS	CNN	NBC	Total
Net Bush-Quayle (I)	-11.4%	-9.9%	-7.5%	-12.8%	-10.3%
Net Clinton-Gore (C)	-5.7%	-2.5%	+0.7%	-3.6%	-2.7%
Net Perot-Stockdale (C)	-3.2%	-2.0%	+6.9%	+4.5%	+1.3%

Campaign '96

	ABC	CBS	CNN	NBC	Total
Net Clinton-Gore (I)	-0.9%	+2.4%	-2.4%	-10.8%	-1.6%
Net Dole-Kemp (C)	-20.4%	0.0%	-4.2%	-17.1%	-10.1%
Net Perot-Choate (C)	—	-0.7%	+10.9%	+2.9%	+1.5%

I = Incumbents, C = Challengers

finding applied to both major parties, but not to Perot-Stockdale in Campaign '92 or to Perot-Choat in Campaign '96.

The second thing to be noted is that the Republicans received significantly higher negative net bite scores than the Democrats did in both campaigns. In Campaign '92, therefore, the results for Bush-Quayle vs. Clinton-Gore clearly supported the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis ($Z = 11.0$, $p < .001$). However, in Campaign '96 the results for Clinton-Gore and Dole-Kemp are exactly the opposite of what would be expected ($Z = 8.28$, $p < .001$). Instead of supporting the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis, the results are consistent with a hypothesis of liberal news bias.

Discussion and Conclusions

The present study is the first that we are aware of to conduct a longitudinal analysis of sound bites of candidates and noncandidates on network TV news, and to do so within the context of testing Graber's anti-incumbent bias hypothesis. Among other things, this study found that the two-decade slide in the length of sound bites in network TV campaign coverage has ended and been reversed. It must be said, however, that the reversal, while statistically significant, was less than one second longer and would not be discernible to the typical viewer. This reversal seemed to be caused by the occasional long, uninterrupted sound bites (e.g., "In Their Own Words" or "Where I Stand" segments) carried by some of the networks.

There are many ways to measure news bias, of course, and certainly more ways than used in this study. Nevertheless, this study did use multiple measures of bias pertaining to sound bites, and the overall finding is that the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis was definitely *not* supported as an across-the-board generalization, as it was stated by Graber. In fact, it was supported in less than half of the relevant comparisons.

More specifically, research questions 2 through 5 provided a total of eight opportunities (4 questions X 2 campaigns) for the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis to be supported or not supported by the data. The hypothesis was supported in only two of the eight tests. Likewise, there was a total of eight opportunities where the data could be interpreted from a liberal news bias perspective. Four of the eight opportunities would support such an interpretation—one from Campaign '92 and three from Campaign '96. Therefore, the overall conclusion of this study is that (a) the long trend of the shrinking sound bite has been reversed, but only slightly; (b) sound bites continue to be a major proportion of network TV coverage of presidential campaigns; (c) it is important to analyze the sound bites spoken by noncandidates as well as candidates, something not done in most previous studies; (d) the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis received only minimal support; and (e) Republicans tend to be negatively bitten more often than Democrats. In this last respect, the networks were not equal-opportunity biters. Although we certainly cannot make any judgments about whether the network journalists were influenced by conscious or subconscious biases, what we can legitimately do is analyze their stories and then make inferences as to whether the results support a bias hypothesis.

Nevertheless, several assumptions and limitations of this study must be acknowledged. Even though this was a longitudinal study comparing two campaigns, two time points do not a meaningful series make. No two campaigns can fully represent the broader domain of campaigns; therefore, studies involving more campaigns and perhaps state-wide campaigns for governor or the U.S. Senate might provide different results. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that the opposing candidates in any given race might not be equally adept at making news, or generating good sound bites.

Obviously, there is more to network TV news coverage than just sound bites, and therefore this study provides only a partial test of the anti-incumbent bias hypothesis. Future research must be conducted to analyze in detail what the anchors and correspondents said about the candidates.[26] An even more challenging area of future research would be to conduct a content analysis of the video bites of the candidates. Since television is often thought to be primarily a visual medium, perhaps a considerable amount of the research agenda in this area should address Schudson's provocative question: "In American politics today, do the eyes have it?"[27] In fact, a recent experimental study of audio bites vs. video bites indicated that how candidates from Campaign '92 looked was indeed more important than what they said.[28] Another possible topic for future research would be to conduct cross-media comparisons—e.g., sound bites in TV and radio newscasts, compared with direct quotes in news magazines and major newspapers.

If, as Sigal has argued, sources *make* the news; and if who makes the news influences the future of our democracy; and if, as this study has found, sound bites constitute from 26 percent to almost 30 percent of the network campaign stories; then certainly more research is justified in this area.

NOTES

1. Network TV in this article is defined as ABC, CBS, CNN, and NBC. Data from "Campaign '96 Gets Lower Grade from Voters" (Washington, DC: The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 15 November 1996), 20.

2. "Public Opinions 1996: A Second Look" (Washington, DC: The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, n.d.), 8.

3. Howard Kurtz, "Does the Evening News Still Matter?" *TV Guide*, 12

October 1996, 20.

4. Daniel C. Hallin, "Sound Bite News: Television Coverage of Elections, 1968-1988," *Journal of Communication* 42 (spring 1992): 6.

5. William Edward Smith, "The Shrinking Sound Bite: Two Decades of Stylistic Evolution in Television News" (paper delivered at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Washington, DC, August 1989). For a study which suggests that length of sound bites is not the most important variable, but that the perceived impact of the sound bites is, see Joseph A. Russomanno and Stephen E. Everett, "Candidate Sound Bites: Too Much Concern Over Length?" *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 39 (1995): 408-415. For examples of scholarly studies dealing with network sound bites or interviews in *other* types of contexts, see: K. Tim Wulfemeyer and Lori L. McFadden, "The Unknown Expert: Anonymous Attribution on Network Television Newscasts" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Memphis, TN, August 1985); Tony Atwater and Norma F. Green, "Televised News Sources in Network Coverage of International Terrorism" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Portland, OR, July 1988); Conrad Smith, "Brave Firefighters, Endangered National Icons and Bumbling Land Managers: Network TV Myths about the 1988 Yellowstone Wildfires" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Washington, DC, August 1989); David L. Womack, "Status of News Sources Interviewed During Presidential Conventions," *Journalism Quarterly* 63 (summer 1986): 331-36; David L. Womack, "Live Interviews Conducted at the 1988 GOP Convention by ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Washington, DC, August 1989).

6. Dennis T. Lowry and Jon A. Shidler, "The Sound Bites, the Biters, and the Bitten: An Analysis of Network TV News Bias in Campaign '92," *Journalism Quarterly* 72 (spring 1995): 37.

7. Leon V. Sigal, "Sources Make the News," in *Reading the News*, ed. Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (NY: Pantheon Books, 1986), 9-37, italics added.

8. Sigal, "Sources Make the News," 37.

9. Lowry and Shidler, "The Sound Bites, the Biters, and the Bitten," 37.

10. S. Holly Stocking and Paget H. Gross, *How Do Journalists Think? A Proposal for the Study of Cognitive Bias in Newsmaking* (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills, 1989), 28, italics added.

11. Janet E. Steele, "Experts and the Operational Bias of Television News: The Case of the Persian Gulf War," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72 (winter 1995): 799.

12. Lawrence C. Soley, *The News Shapers: The Sources Who Shape the News* (New York: Praeger, 1992).

13. Cf. C. Richard Hofstetter, *Bias in the News: Network Television News Coverage of the 1972 Election Campaign* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976); Michael J. Robinson and Margaret A. Sheehan, *Over the Wire and on TV: CBS and UPI in Campaign '80* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1983); Dennis T. Lowry, "Measures of Network TV News Bias in Campaign '84" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Memphis, TN, August 1985); James H. Kuklinski and Lee Sigelman, "When Objectivity Is Not Objective: Network Television News Coverage of U.S. Senators and the 'Paradox of Objectivity'," *The Journal of Politics* 54 (August 1992): 810-33.

14. Bernard Goldberg, "Networks Need a Reality Check," *Wall Street Journal*, 13 February 1996, sec. A, p. 14.

15. Brit Hume, "The Bush Crack-Up," *The American Spectator*, January 1993, 26.

16. John Corry, "No More Big Shots: Ten Suggestions on How to Save Journalism from Itself," *American Spectator*, October 1977, 50.

17. Elaine S. Povich, *Partners & Adversaries: The Contentious Connection Between Congress & the Media* (Arlington, VA: The Freedom Forum, 1996), 137.

18. Larry J. Sabato, *Feeding Frenzy: How Attack Journalism Has Transformed American Politics* (NY: The Free Press, 1994), 87.

19. Louis Harris and Associates, "The Public's Perceptions of the Media," n.d., E2. (Polling was conducted 8-30 November 1996.)

20. Ekaterina Ognianova and James W. Endersby, *Objectivity Revisited: A Spatial Model of Political Ideology and Mass Communication*, Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs, no. 159 (Columbia, SC: AEJMC, October 1996), 6, italics added.

21. Lowry and Shidler, "The Sound Bites, the Biters, and the Bitten," 42.

22. Doris A. Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics*, 5th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1997), 249.

23. Stocking and Gross, *How Do Journalists Think?*

24. A similar category system was independently developed by Womack. See Womack, "Status of News Sources Interviewed" and Womack, "Live Interviews Conducted."

25. For a continuum of most controlled to least controlled presidential message types, see Fredric T. Smoller, *The Six O'Clock Presidency: A Theory of Presidential Press Relations in the Age of Television* (NY: Praeger, 1990), 98.

26. For a recent example of research on the reporting of network TV news anchors and correspondents, see Catherine A. Steele and Kevin G. Barnhurst, "The Journalism of Opinion: Network News Coverage of U.S. Presidential Campaigns, 1968-1988," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 13 (September 1996): 187.

27. Michael Schudson, *The Power of News* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 113.

28. Dennis T. Lowry, "Political Candidate Sound Bites vs. Video Bites in Network TV News: Is How They Look More Important Than What They Say?" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Chicago, July 1997). See also, Jon A. Shidler, Dennis T. Lowry, and Charles Kingsley, "They'd Rather Be in Pictures, or Would They?: A Content Analysis of Video Bite Bias During TV Network News Coverage of the 1992 and 1996 Presidential Campaigns" (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Baltimore, August 1998).

The Influence of Political Talk Radio on Confidence in Democratic Institutions

By Michael Pfau, Patricia Moy, R. Lance Holbert, Erin A. Szabo, Wei-Kuo Lin, and Weiwu Zhang

This study compares people's use of political talk radio to that of other mass communication sources and to their confidence in democratic institutions. The paper argues that communication modalities (e.g., political talk radio) serve as important sources of secondary socialization: negative depictions of democratic institutions by specific sources cultivate negative perceptions of those institutions among users of these modalities. In order to test this position, the investigation employs a broad interconnected approach, combining a content analysis of references to specific democratic institutions across mass communication sources with a survey of people's media use patterns and their confidence in institutions. The results indicate that political talk radio depicts most institutions negatively, and that listeners manifest reduced confidence in those institutions. The implications of these findings for this nation's "crisis of confidence" in political institutions are explored.

Public opinion polls suggest a serious problem of reduced public confidence in democratic institutions.[1] Luntz and Dermer refer to the pattern of deepening cynicism as "a long-term national mindset."[2] The pattern commenced in the 1960s, accelerated during the 1970s, abated somewhat in the early 1980s, and then resumed its downward spiral.[3] Greenberg describes the climate of opinion as one of "continuing and certainly deepening cynicism."[4] The problem appears to be pervasive, affecting all democratic institutions.[5] A synthesis of Harris/NORC polls from 1966 to 1986 and Gallup surveys from 1973 to 1995 documents a pattern of declining public confidence in the Presidency, Congress, the court system, the news media, state government, public education, and other institutions. Craig concludes that, "it is unlikely that any level, any branch, or any major institution of government has managed to escape the wrath of citizens during this tumultuous period."[6] Cappella and Jamieson observe that, "Healthy skepticism about politics has become pervasive cynicism."[7]

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
730-745

Michael Pfau is professor and director of graduate studies in the School of Journalism & Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Patricia Moy is an assistant professor in the School of Communications at the University of Washington. R. Lance Holbert, Erin A. Szabo, Wei-Kuo Lin, and Weiwu Zhang are graduate students in the School of Journalism & Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. *The authors thank undergraduate students in the Fall 1996 "Communication and Public Opinion" class, especially senior Debbie Levy, for their contributions to this study, and the following graduate students in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication for their efforts in the content analysis phase of the study: Satoko Adachi, Sirathorn Balakula, Qiujing Bu, Martha Cusick, Shannon Payette, Gemma Tarlach, Gi Woong Yun, and Stephen Zubric.*

Various explanations have been offered for the erosion in public confidence. One accepted explanation among public opinion scholars is that declining confidence is the result of the substantive failings of the institutions themselves, and of the people who occupy leadership positions in them.[8] As Lipset and Schneider explain, "The problem is not primarily attitudinal. It is essentially substantive."[9] They view the public's disaffection with democratic institutions as a rational response to what are "real events."

Another popular explanation is that the negative tone of the mass media undermines public confidence in institutions. Michael Robinson, who initially championed this position, maintained that the media's hostile tone fosters "videomalaise," consisting of a sense of doubt and hostility, resulting in a deepening cynicism.[10] Sabato characterizes the post-1974 era of journalism as "junkyard dog": "harsh, regressive, and intrusive."[11] It fixates on the foibles, follies, and failings of public figures and institutions. This critical tone has become a normative feature of news reporting.

Both the substantive and media explanations are based on a common underlying assumption: that public *perceptions* of the performance of institutions are the underlying cause of people's dissatisfaction. They differ as to whether these perceptions are primarily the result of people's direct experience or mediated experience.

This study assesses people's use of political talk radio in comparison to other mass communication sources and their confidence in specific democratic institutions. The paper offers a broad theoretical rationale, consisting of a modification of the Cultural Indicators perspective, to explain the relationship between use of specific modalities and public confidence, and then provides a robust test of the proposed explanation.

The Case for Mediated Perceptions of Institutions

How do most people form perceptions about the performance of democratic institutions? Some people form *informed* judgments based on considerable knowledge about institutions.[12] Past research indicates that people's knowledge of political objects (e.g., persons, issues, or institutions) exerts more influence on their perceptions than their sociodemographic status or media use.[13]

However, most people have no direct contact with and little knowledge about democratic institutions. Rather, they base their perceptions of institutions on bits of information which they glean from media reports. Moreover, such people lack a frame of reference with which to assess the probity of mediated claims. As a result, they are likely to view institutions in much the same way as they are depicted in media reports.

A modified version of the cultivation paradigm provides a useful explanatory for how communication influences perceptions. This theoretical posits that the mass media, through repetition of themes, "cultivates" common images or perceptions of "the ways of the world" among heavier users of mass communication sources.[14] Its impact is most pronounced in those circumstances where people have limited direct experience and, therefore, are unable to confirm or deny these depictions firsthand.[15]

Despite its heuristic appeal, cultivation has been the focus of considerable criticism, both on theoretical and methodological grounds. The most serious theoretical criticism is that cultivation offers no explanation for how mass communication sources distort perceptions.[16] However, recent studies argue that concepts of internalization and secondary socialization offer a viable explanatory.[17] Secondary socialization provides people with a frame of reference for evaluating institutions. As Berger and Luckmann note, secondary socialization involves "internalization of semantic fields structuring routine interpretations and conduct within an institutional area."[18] Together, these concepts enrich cultivation theory, and explain how mass media communication influences people's perceptions of democratic institutions.

Both direct and mediated experiences promote secondary socialization. Direct experience provides a frame of reference for aware, interested, and knowledgeable individuals. Direct experience increases the likelihood that people will seek out media to further enhance their expertise, and that they will selectively evaluate media claims. As a result, direct and mediated experiences of individuals higher in institutional expertise are likely to converge. They "resonate and amplify" each other, producing a reinforcing effect. However, for less aware, interested and knowledgeable people, mass media depictions exert much greater impact. Such individuals tend to accept mediated depictions as reality, and if media depictions are inaccurate, develop distorted perceptions.[19]

Graber argues that most people are heavily dependent on mass media depictions of public affairs content. "We rarely have enough information and understanding to form our own views about many complex issues...This puts us at the mercy of the media."[20] The likelihood of accepting media depictions as reality is most pronounced among heavier users of specific mass communication sources. This process of media influence is termed "mainstreaming." Mainstreaming implies that heavier communication use "may reduce or override differences in perspectives and behavior which stem from other social, cultural, and demographic influences" such that people who share common media experiences come to view the world much as mass communications sources depict it.[21]

People's Use of Political Talk Radio and Confidence in Democratic Institutions

This investigation examines people's use of political talk radio in relation to other mass communication sources and their confidence in democratic institutions. The study is concerned with the role that political talk radio plays in the present "crisis of confidence" in democratic institutions. Past research about the causes of public disaffection toward democratic institutions has examined the effects of one or two mass communication sources in isolation from others, usually employing single data points (typically surveys).[22] The focus of most of this research has been traditional news media: either television news and/or newspapers.

Of the "new" media, political talk radio has generated considerable scrutiny.[23] For this reason, it is the medium of greatest interest in this study. Political talk radio grew in scope and clout during the past decade. The number of radio stations employing a talk format has grown dramatically, standing at more than 1,000.[24] Listenership has increased with the growth in programming. A nationwide survey conducted by the Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press found that nearly half of adults tune in talk radio relatively frequently, and "one in six listen regularly."[25] "The Rush Limbaugh Show" typifies the new format, and is carried on approximately 650 stations, with a reach of nearly 20 million listeners.[26] Cappella, Turow, and Jamieson indicate that, although talk radio is "not monolithic," "...in both number of shows and size of audience most talk radio is conservative."[27]

There is little question concerning the tone of political talk radio: it is decidedly negative toward most institutions. Woodward reports that, "Most [political talk radio programs]...feature conservative hosts railing against 'liberal' policies and policy makers."[28] According to Rehm, talk radio is "a haven for many who are unhappy... [and] has become a tool with which critics of government lash out, poisoning the dialogue...."[29] "Political figures...are the main targets of abuse" on talk radio, according to Katz.[30] Jamieson, who monitored 150 hours a week of talk radio during a nine-month period, concludes that, "Talk radio licenses forms of speech that we have not previously heard in public space, over the air waves...."[31] Talk radio is described by Levin as "a delegitimizing voice," which "leaves an impression of widespread distress."[32] In the wake of the Oklahoma City terrorist bombing, President Clinton characterized political talk radio as "a constant unremitting drumbeat of negativism and cynicism."[33]

Despite the negative tone of political talk radio, experts are divided concerning its impact on public confidence. Vatz maintains that talk radio is now "a significant force in creating and molding public opinion."[34] The Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press concludes that, "American public opinion is being distorted and exaggerated by the voices that dominate the airwaves of talk radio."[35] Two recent studies conducted following the Republican sweep of both houses of the Congress in 1994 reported a link between heavier use of political talk radio and reduced confidence in news media and the public schools, but more confidence in the Congress, especially among Republicans.[36]

However, other studies dispute this link. Crittenden's study of Terre Haute talk show listeners indicated that use of talk radio was associated with greater discussion of political affairs and activism. However, his research was conducted prior to the rise of more strident conservative talk radio formats.[37] The findings of more recent studies are similar, although much less enthusiastic. Hofstetter and colleagues found little evidence to link political talk radio with increased alienation, cynicism, or withdrawal among San Diego listeners.[38] Recent studies have concluded that talk radio enhances participation, and that although use of talk radio is associated with higher levels of cynicism, it also is related to greater political activism.[39] Finally, others, while acknowledging the negative tone of talk radio, dispute a link between political talk radio use and deepening alienation.[40]

Conflicting findings concerning the influence of political talk radio may stem from an emphasis on content as opposed to format. Mayer and Gross argue that, whereas the message of political talk radio is "overwhelmingly negative," its format invites participation and, thus, may serve to empower listeners.[41] However, this investigation does not attempt to distinguish content and format effects. The conflicting findings may also stem from the fact that political talk radio's tone, and therefore its influence, is not uniform across all institutions. This study acknowledges this possibility and specifies the linkage between political talk radio and specific institutions. Given the overwhelmingly negative tone of political talk radio concerning most institutions, and two recent studies linking tone and reduced confidence, this study posits the following predictions.

> H1: Given political talk radio's negative depictions of the Presidency, the court system, the news media, and the public schools, use of this modality is associated negatively with confidence in these institutions among listeners.

> H2: Given political talk radio's positive depictions of Congress, use of this modality is associated positively with confidence in Congress among listeners.

Methods

This investigation involved two phases, both administered during October and early November 1996. First, a content analysis assessed the quantity and tone of references (defined as trustworthiness, global attitude, and confidence) to democratic institutions provided by mass communication sources. Twelve graduate students conducted content analysis of specific communication media. Two trained coders were assigned to each modality. They examined traditional television news, comprising network television news (ABC, CBS, and NBC) and local television news (three network affiliates); traditional print news, consisting of national newspapers (*New York Times* and *USA Today*), two local newspapers (*Wisconsin State Journal* and *Capital Times*), and national news magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*); nontraditional television news, comprising television news magazines (*60 Minutes*, *20/20*, and *Dateline*) and entertainment talk shows (*Oprah Winfrey*, *David Letterman*, and *The Tonight Show*); and political talk radio (the *Rush Limbaugh* and *Ken Hamblin* shows). In all cases, *the most widely used exemplars* in the sample region were selected to represent the specific mass communication sources. All content analyses were conducted between 21 October and 10 November 1996. Intercoder reliabilities for each of the coder pairs were computed using Rosenthal's effective reliability method, a much more sensitive measure for the coding of interval data. The measure is sensitive to differences between coders as well as the relative magnitude of those differences.[42] In this study, effective reliability ratings ranged from .65 to .99.

The other phase featured a telephone survey of a random sample of households which was intended to gather relevant sociodemographic data, examine media use patterns, and assess the public's confidence in democratic institutions.

Content Analysis Phase. In all cases, the assessment of tone of coverage was done using identical scales as employed in the telephone survey. The content analysis measured the tone of coverage referencing the Presidency, Congress, the court system, the news media, and the public schools. Specific scales featured measures used in numerous past studies of public confidence. Sample frames and units of analysis are described below.

Traditional Television News.

Prime Time Network Television News. Because audience data from Nielsen Media Research indicated that *CBS Evening News* enjoyed nearly twice the viewing audience of either *ABC World News Tonight* or *NBC Nightly News* in the sample area, the *CBS Evening News* was weighted proportionately in the content analysis.[43] A random sample of 17 weekday news programs was selected: 8 of *CBS Evening News* and 4 each for *ABC World News* and *NBC Nightly News*. The unit of analysis was each news story contained in the newscasts ($n = 65$).

Local Television News. A total of 12 local television news programs was selected for analysis. Morning, noon, and weekend local news programs were excluded in the study because of a paucity of public affairs content in these time slots[44] and significantly lower ratings.[45] In the 10 PM time slot, Nielsen ratings for local news shows of the three major stations in the viewing area indicated that the CBS affiliate had nearly twice the audience share of either the NBC or ABC affiliate.[46] A random sample of 12 weekday news programs was selected, with distribution of programs across stations reflecting their audience shares. The unit of analysis was each news story, excluding weather, sports, and commercials ($n = 59$).

Nontraditional Television News.

Television Entertainment Talk Shows. The three most viewed television entertainment talk shows,[47] "Oprah Winfrey," "The Late Show with David Letterman," and "The Tonight Show," were selected for content analysis. Five installments of each of the three shows, operating on a rotating schedule, were analyzed during the three-week period. The unit of analysis was each 5-minute segment, excluding program openings and commercials breaks, which aired during the first 20 minutes of each show (n = 45). Viewership falls off following the first quarter of each show.[48]

Television News Magazines. The three most watched television news magazines, *60-Minutes*, *20/20*, and *Dateline NBC*, were selected for analysis.[49] The first two shows air weekly; the latter, four times a week. One edition of each of the three shows was analyzed in its entirety each week for three weeks. Selection of *Dateline* was rotated so that one Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday edition was included. The unit of analysis for television news magazines was each individual story (n = 30).

Traditional Print News.

Local and National Newspapers. There are two dominant local newspapers in the community with combined circulations exceeding 120,000 on Monday through Saturday, and only one of them publishes a Sunday edition with a circulation of 163,096.[50] Two national newspapers with sizable and similar circulations in the area are the *New York Times* and *USA Today*.[51] Based on circulation proportions, the largest local paper was coded seven days a week, the smaller local paper four days a week, and the two national papers one day each week, during the three weeks of the study. The unit of analysis was each article (n=140). The four most prominent articles, based on column inches, were selected: from the front page of the two national and two local newspapers; from the next two pages dealing with national news in the two national newspapers; from the next single page dealing with national news in the two local newspapers; and from the first page dealing with state and local news in the two local newspapers. This sampling procedure was based on the premise that the most prominent articles would be most representative of each newspaper's treatment of public affairs content.

National News Magazines. The three news magazines with the most readership, *Newsweek*, with an area circulation of 10,705, *Time*, area circulation 9,666, and *U.S. News & World Report*, area circulation 4,858, were included in the analysis.[52] They are published and were analyzed weekly. Eight articles dealing with national news with the most column inches were included in the content analysis (four for *U.S. News & World Report*, reflecting its smaller circulation), operating on the assumption the most prominent articles would be representative of a publication's coverage. The unit of analysis was each article (n = 89).

Political Talk Radio. The two most highly rated political talk radio programs, "The Rush Limbaugh Show," with a 7.3 audience share in this market, and "The Ken Hamblin Show," with a 4.6 share, were included in the content analysis.[53] No other political talk radio program had an audience share more than 1.0, suggesting that the two selected programs were representative of this genre within this market. Both shows run Monday through Friday. To reflect the disparity in audience share, "The Rush Limbaugh Show" was analyzed on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and "The Ken Hamblin Show" on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The first hour of each show was analyzed. The unit of analysis was each six-minute block of programming, minus commercial breaks, for a total of 10 units per hour (n = 126).

Public Survey Phase. A telephone survey was conducted by the University Survey Center from 21 October to 10 November 1996, on a probability sample of households using the Center's Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system. The sample was drawn from Dane County, Wisconsin, telephone numbers. Dane County contains Wisconsin's second largest city and the state's capital. One adult from each eligible household was chosen as a respondent. A total of 357 interviews was completed.

The telephone survey attempted to examine the relationship involving people's use of communication media and their perceptions of confidence in specific democratic institutions. We posit the caveat, however, that an association between media use and confidence does not prove causation: that media use causes audience members to hold certain perceptions.

Variables and Instruments.

Media Depictions. Media depictions of specific democratic institutions—Presidency, Congress, the court system, the news media, and the public schools—were operationalized as the tone of coverage provided by mass communication sources: traditional television news, nontraditional television news, traditional print news, and political talk radio. The media depictions were revealed by the results of the content analysis.

Respondent Sociodemographics. Respondent sociodemographic variables, as indicated in the telephone survey of the study, served as control variables in multiple regression analysis of the influence of various factors on public confidence in democratic institutions. The sociodemographic variables included respondents' gender, age, education, and household income. A measure of political party affiliation was included in the survey, from which two dummy variables (Democrat and Republican identification) were created.

Institutional Expertise. Respondent institutional expertise, as measured in the telephone survey, was operationalized as awareness of, interest in, and knowledge about individual institutions. Expertise was assessed using three 7-interval bi-polar scales, employed in past research by Fiske et al.[54] and Price and Zaller.[55] The scale items included: interest, knowledge, and awareness. Recent research suggests that self-report measures provide a valid and meaningful gauge of political awareness.[56] Reliability ratings of the institutional expertise measure, as measured by Cronbach's alpha, were: Presidency, .79; Congress, .86; the court system, .85; the news media, .78; and the public schools, .91.

Respondent Media Use. Media use measures have proven to be very controversial. Exposure measures alone are deemed inadequate, especially in studies like this one which seek to compare different mass communication sources. Chaffee and Schleuder recommend "measurement of attention in addition to simple exposure...."[57] Thus, this study operationalized media use as exposure and attention to various communication media, employing two 10-point scales.[58] Correlations between exposure and attention ranged from .64 to .84 across the media.

Public Perceptions. Perceptions of specific democratic institutions—the office of the Presidency, Congress, the court system, the news media, and the public schools—served as the dependent variables in the study, and were measured by items included in the telephone survey. Measures used in the telephone survey were identical to those employed in the content analysis.

Since different conceptualizations of confidence in institutions can produce distinct outcomes,[59] this investigation employed multiple measures.

A single semantic differential scale, untrustworthy/trustworthy, was employed to assess perceptions of trustworthiness. Measures of trust have been a staple in assessments of confidence in institutions.[60] Global attitude toward each institution was evaluated using six 7-interval scales: foolish/wise, wrong/right, unfavorable/favorable, unacceptable/acceptable, bad/good, and negative/positive.[61] Confidence in each institution was assessed with a 0-100 point confidence scale, patterned after an item used in Harris, Gallup, and NORC surveys.[62] Reliabilities for these various measures ranged from .90 to .95 across democratic institutions.

Analytic Procedures. Researchers have argued that direct documentation of mass communication sources' contribution to reduced public confidence requires two distinct levels of proof: evidence that a specific media source's coverage of individual institutions is negative coupled with evidence that attitudes of users of that media source perceive the same institutions negatively. Therefore, data analyses in this study proceeded in two stages.

First, to assess the nature of mass media coverage of institutions, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) using Wilk's lambda, and subsequent univariate tests, were computed across the content about specific institutions for all sources. Second, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to assess the influence of various mass communication sources on perceptions of confidence.

Results

This study was concerned with the relationships involving communication media coverage of institutions and public perceptions of those institutions. Specifically, Hypotheses 1 and 2 posited that given political talk radio depictions of various institutions, listening to political talk radio would influence confidence in these institutions.

An omnibus MANOVA run on the content analysis data indicated a main effect for tone of coverage about the institutions. Planned comparisons examined the coverage of political talk radio against all other mass communication sources. The results revealed a decidedly negative pattern of coverage (Table 1).

Political talk radio was more negative than all other mass communication sources in its depictions of the President, court system, news media, and public schools, and more positive in depictions of the Congress. Political talk radio's mean confidence depiction was lowest for the Office of the Presidency, at 27.29, and highest for Congress, at 56. Despite these depictions, regression results indicated that use of political talk radio did not affect perceptions of the Presidency and Congress (Table 2).

With the office of the Presidency (first column of coefficients in Table 2), being older and more educated led to higher levels of confidence. Republicans tended to report lower levels of confidence, and the only media effect that emerged was a positive one for traditional television news. Watching local and network television news, as well as awareness, knowledge, and interest in the Presidency, enhanced confidence in this democratic institution.

These effects differ markedly from those found for Congress, where only Republican affiliation and expertise about Congress were associated positively with confidence. No media effects were discernible (second column of Table 2).

Confidence in the criminal court system (third column of Table 2) was predicted by demographics, expertise, and use of particular media. Specifi-

TABLE 1

Media Coverage of Specific Democratic Institutions

	Mass Communication Sources			
	Traditional Television News	Nontraditional Television	Print	Political Talk Radio
PRESIDENCY				
n	114	48	206	143
Attitude	3.86	3.56	3.74	2.48[a]
Trust	3.72	3.65	3.71	2.13[a]
Confidence	48.48	43.02	47.00	27.29[a]
CONGRESS				
n	61	18	93	10
Attitude	3.58	3.71	3.72	4.30[a]
Trust	3.52	4.11	3.92	4.40[a]
Confidence	43.95	45.56	47.17	56.00[a]
COURT SYSTEM				
n	84	36	58	4
Attitude	3.93	4.10	4.04	3.04[a]
Trust	3.86	4.03	4.16	4.00
Confidence	48.81	51.39	50.98	42.50
NEWS MEDIA				
n	23	38	39	94
Attitude	3.04	3.89	3.63	3.05[a]
Trust	3.04	3.97	3.74	2.95[a]
Confidence	37.17	47.89	45.00	36.18[a]
PUBLIC SCHOOLS				
n	61	10	90	5
Attitude	3.90	3.15	3.94	3.23[a]
Trust	3.95	3.70	4.10	3.60
Confidence	49.10	39.00	49.43	40.00

All entries are means. Given our theoretical interests, planned comparisons were conducted between political talk radio and other media, but not among the other three media categories.

[a] Depictions differ from the average for all other communication sources.

cally, age, education, and expertise enhanced confidence. Reading newspapers and news magazines increased levels of confidence as well, but listening to political talk radio served to undermine confidence in the court system.

Demographic and political party identification variables failed to predict confidence in the public school system, though being female and more educated were marginally significant predictors ($p < .10$, fourth column of Table 2). Again, knowing more about the school system, and being more aware and interested in it, led to higher levels of confidence. Use of traditional news sources (newspapers, television news, and news magazines), as well as watching programming such as entertainment talk shows and television news magazines, enhanced confidence in the school system. The only negative association found was for political talk radio.

TABLE 2

Confidence in Democratic Institutions

	Presidency	Congress	Courts	Schools	News Media
Controls					
Sex (Male)	-.05	-.06	.01	-.09#	-.11*
Age	.13*	-.04	.10*	.03	.06
Education	.12*	.04	.23**	.09#	-.02
Income	.06	.01	.01	-.06	-.03
Democrat	.01	-.01	.09	.08	.09#
Republican	-.13*	.12*	-.01	.04	-.02
Expertise	.23**	.30**	.10*	.33**	.27**
R^2 (%)	13.70**	11.47**	9.18**	14.43**	11.01**
Media Use					
Traditional TV news	.12*	.03	.03	.14**	.20**
Nontrad. TV news	.08	-.03	.04	.13*	.22**
Traditional print	.06	.02	.14**	.14**	.12*
Political talk radio	-.08	.07	-.16**	-.13**	-.10#
Incr. R^2 (%)	2.09#	.82	4.24**	4.58**	6.37**
Final R^2 (%)	15.79**	12.29**	13.41**	19.00**	17.38**

Notes:

(1) All entries are standardized OLS regression coefficients. Betas for media use control only for the block above.

(2) # $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Listening to political talk radio had a similar negative effect for confidence in the news media (last column of Table 2). However, this effect did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance. Again, use of all other types of media and expertise in the news media enhanced confidence in this particular democratic institution. Of the demographic predictors, only gender (being female) predicted to trust in the news media.

Discussion

America is experiencing a crisis of confidence which some argue threatens the very survival of these institutions.[63] In this environment, the media's contribution to dissatisfaction, or conversely to satisfaction, toward democratic institutions is a critical issue in communication and public opinion. This investigation examined the relationship involving people's use of political talk radio in relation to other mass communication sources and their confidence in democratic institutions.

On a macro level, the results advance an understanding of factors that affect public confidence in democratic institutions. Institutional expertise and respondent sociodemographic variables (e.g., political party affiliation) play important mediating roles in perceptions of confidence. Consistent with previous studies, the impact of institutional expertise exerted considerable influence on perceptions.[64] In all cases, betas were positive, indicating that people possessing more awareness of, knowledge about, and interest in institutions manifest greater confidence levels.

There are two implications of this finding for public confidence. First, it indicates that greater knowledge may serve as the antidote to declining public confidence levels. Second, media effects in this study may be limited because control variables account for a considerable amount of variance of the dependent variables.

On a micro level, results inform the pattern of influence of mass communication sources on public confidence in specific democratic institutions.

The content analyses results revealed that political talk radio casts the President, court system, news media, and the public schools more negatively, and the Congress more positively, than other mass communication sources. Further, the regression results provided moderate support for Hypothesis 1, which posited that political talk radio use was associated with reduced perceptions of confidence in all institutions except the Congress. Listening to political talk radio exerted a significant negative impact on confidence in the court system and schools, and the news media (at marginal levels of significance); there was no impact of talk radio on confidence in the Presidency. Hypothesis 2, which posited that political talk radio use was associated with increased perceptions of confidence in the Congress, was not supported.

The results revealing the negative tone of political talk radio are not surprising, with several studies having documented its negative tone toward institutions.[65] However, research is mixed as to political talk radio's influence on confidence. The results of this study provide further support for the findings of other studies that political talk radio is associated with more negative perceptions of democratic institutions.[66] Further, the results help clarify the inconsistency in past findings. Political talk radio's tone, and therefore its influence, varies across specific institutions. For instance, the results of this study revealed that political talk radio was very positive in its treatment of Congress, but negative toward the other institutions examined. Not surprisingly, its contribution to reduced perceptions of confidence did not extend to the Congress. This suggests that generalizations about the influence of talk radio should be limited to individual institutions at specific points in time.

Prior to the Republican sweep of both houses of Congress in 1994, the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press revealed that political talk radio was particularly hostile toward this institution. Two years later, the results of this study indicate that political talk radio is more positive than all other mass communication sources in its depiction of Congress. In this manner, the results of this study reinforce the position advanced earlier by Miller and colleagues that *only* an interconnected approach, which combines content analysis of the quantity and tone of specific mass communication source coverage with survey data that documents people's media use patterns and perceptions of confidence in specific institutions, can determine the influence of media on public confidence.[67]

Two caveats qualify the results of this study. First, effect sizes for the influence of individual mass communication sources were small. This outcome is disappointing, but must be viewed in the context of this study, which attempted to isolate the impact of specific mass communication sources. However, most people rely on multiple communication media for their information on public affairs, and therefore, there may be a cumulative effect of media on confidence levels. In this vein, the finding that cumulative media depictions are consistently more negative than public perceptions is troubling. Further, given the importance of the issue of declining public confidence, even small effect sizes may be meaningful. Eagly and Chaiken note that, "...effects that account for relatively small proportions of variance can still be consequential, and often are regarded as extremely important in applied areas,"[68] and Morgan and Signorielli note that in media effects research, "...[W]e should not dismiss what appear to be small effects, because small effects may have profound consequences."[69] The problem of eroding confidence in democratic institutions carries serious consequences.

The second caveat is that the direction of causality is unclear. The results of this study indicate an association between the tone of media coverage and perceptions of confidence. However, as Robinson warns, any inference of causation requires a specification of antecedent and consequent.[70] Does negative media coverage undermine public confidence, or are cynical people drawn to those mass communication sources that reflect their attitudes? Probably both, but the results of this study make no attempt to sort out this causality conundrum.

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Latino Media Use for Cultural Maintenance

By Diana I. Ríos and Stanley O. Gaines Jr.

We investigated whether three ethnic subgroups described as predominant Latino heritage, bicultural, and low Latino heritage previously identified in the research literature would emerge from data collected in New Mexico. We also tested the impact of gender on audience subgroup membership. The results of this Latino media use research indicate that three subgroups differed significantly in their use of general market (English-language) and ethnic media (Spanish-language) for cultural maintenance. Gender, however, was not significant as a main predictor of media use for cultural maintenance. Rather, subgroup membership moderated the impact of gender upon media use for cultural goals.

The mass media are widespread cultural agencies which develop cultural perspectives for majority and minority ethnic groups in the United States. General market media and ethnic minority media have roles both in immigrant and U.S.-born ethnics' cultural maintenance and assimilation.[1] Several studies examining the relationship that ethnic audiences, such as Latinos, have with mass media have revealed audience heterogeneity. That is, unique subgroups exist among Latinos.[2] Further contributing to research on audiences are content-oriented media criticism projects and audience ethnographies that focus on gender and women.[3] This latter body of research indicates that women have experiences with media that are unique from that of men. With research on Latino heritage audiences and women in mind, we argue that ethnic audience heterogeneity and gender differences exist. Ethnic heterogeneity and gender differences are based on unique socio-historical pressures that temper cultural-based media uses for general market (English-language) and Spanish-language television, newspapers, and radio.

Latino Media Use for "Culturally Significant Goals"

Several studies on ethnics and communication have implications for a media uses and gratifications approach for Latino heritage audiences.[4] Latinos may seek media that satisfy special ethnic group-based, cultural needs or goals. Ethnic-oriented and general market media may then provide specific cultural functions, or uses, for Latino audiences.[5] Jeffres found support for the proposition that ethnic media use is linked to strengthening ethnic identification.[6] Research by Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon, and

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
746-761

Diana I. Ríos is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication Sciences and is associate director of the Institute for Puerto Rican and Latino Studies, University of Connecticut. Stanley O. Gaines Jr. is an assistant professor in the Department of Psychology, Pomona College, and in the Intercollegiate Department of Black Studies, The Claremont Colleges. *Preparation of this manuscript was facilitated by a grant from the Southwest Hispanic Research Institute and Center for Regional Studies at the University of New Mexico. Ofelia Barrios and Patricia González were research assistants for this research. Thanks to Jian-Hua Zhu, Diane Furno-Lamude, and Everett Rogers for comments and suggestions.*

Korzenny found that Mexican Americans and Anglos rate newspapers and television functions similarly, but Mexican Americans derive less satisfaction and fulfillment than Anglos with regard to magazines.[7] Two recent studies by Albarran and Umphrey looked at television viewing motivations of Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites. Results from one of these studies indicate that Hispanic viewing motivations and program preferences are more varied compared to those of Blacks or Whites, indicating that specific cultural and language needs could not be met by general market television fare.[8]

Research has discussed Latino mass media uses and the processes of assimilation and pluralism.[9] Subervi-Vélez shows that Latinos' print and broadcast media (English and Spanish) use is part of dual cultural processes for social integration and for sustained ethnic differentiation. The processes of assimilation and pluralism are different among Latinos of Cuban, Mexican, and Puerto Rican heritage.[10] Subervi-Velez's literature review illustrates that the role of media in cultural change and persistence is contingent upon several variables such as language of medium, type of medium, exposure and content, ethnic group affiliation, and other group characteristics.[11]

Dunn,[12] Ríos,[13] and Ríos and Gaines[14] promote the idea of heterogeneity among Latino audiences. This research shows how audience clusters can be defined by media use and cultural attributes. Dunn examines how communication habits are part of internal cultural dynamics of Mexican Americans which manifest as audience heterogeneity. He identifies five audience clusters, two of which have distinct cultural orientations; one appears more "Mexican" in culture and use of mass media (more Spanish-language) while the other appears more acculturated or "Anglo" in culture and media use habits (more English-language). These two particular audience clusters can be understood with cultural maintenance and acculturation processes in mind. Ríos finds three audience subgroups with unique cultural orientations: "low Mexican heritage," "bicultural heritage" and "predominant Mexican heritage" clusters. Each subgroup finds general market and Spanish-language media useful, in varying degrees, for cultural maintenance purposes. Ríos and Gaines extend the research by examining the role of gender among audience subgroups. They find that the three subgroups differ in their use of media for cultural maintenance, but gender was not significant alone as a predictor for use of the media for cultural maintenance. Overall, research supports that distinctive audience subgroups can be defined by culture and communication patterns and that Latinos use mass media for culturally significant goals.

Gendered Audiences and Media

Beginning in the 1980s, with the readership ethnography by Radway, several gender studies focusing on women and media appeared.[15] Projects and critical writings including women of color have also dotted the gender and communication landscape.[16] Among many important contributions of this research is that woman's gender identity is placed in the forefront of analysis. Though textually defined spectators are the predominant form in feminist film criticism, projects by Bobo and Press examine real-life women with compelling results.[17]

Bobo examines textual subjects (Black women readers implied by the film) and the oppositional stance of social subjects (real Black women audiences) with regard to the 1985 film *The Color Purple.* Women in the Black community found their voice in the experiences of female characters and decoded the film in a positive manner, while their Black brothers decoded the film as a racist attack on Black men. Women and men interpreted the film based on their different gender histories and experiences.[18] Bobo's findings about reception practices can be extended to other women and men of color. That is, Latina women may have ways of receiving and interpreting mass media that is distinctive from their Latino counterparts.

Press's ethnographic study of Anglo women shows how younger and older women and working and middle-class women actively receive entertainment television. Press finds that women who came of age in the 1950s tended to indicate less identification between themselves and television characters than women who came of age in later decades. Also middle-class and working-class women responded to television characters and the idea of television realism in different ways. Press's research is an excellent model for future audience studies focusing on gender, media reception, and women and men of color.

The purpose of the present research is to investigate the influence of gender and ethnic subgroup membership on Latino audiences' use of English- and Spanish-language mass media for cultural maintenance. This study expects to find results similar to those in previous research by Ríos and Gaines[19] using a sample from another southwestern city–Albuquerque.[20]

Research Hypotheses

Three related hypotheses tested individual difference variables on cluster membership. Based on previous research, it was hypothesized that (H1a) low Latino heritage persons will express relatively unfavorable attitudes regarding Spanish, low knowledge-information regarding bilingual education, low ability in reading and aural understanding of Spanish (but not English), lack of identification with Latinos as a cultural group, and low exposure to media overall; (H1b) bicultural persons will express relatively favorable attitudes toward Spanish, high knowledge-information concerning bilingual education, high ability in reading and aural understanding of Spanish and English languages, strong identification with Latinos and high exposure to newspapers and general market television (but not necessarily Spanish-language television); and (H1c) predominant Latino heritage persons will express relatively high knowledge-information concerning bilingual education (though not necessarily favorable attitudes toward Spanish per se), high ability in reading and aural understanding of Spanish (but not necessarily favorable attitudes regarding Spanish per se), high ability in reading and understanding of Spanish (but not necessarily English), strong identification with Latinos, and high exposure to radio and Spanish-language television (though not necessarily newspapers or general market television).

Two hypotheses tested the impact of cluster membership on individuals' use of media for cultural maintenance. Based on previous research, it was hypothesized that a significant effect of cluster membership in individuals' use of media for cultural maintenance purposes, such that (H2a) low Latino heritage persons will derive significantly less use from Spanish-language media for cultural maintenance than will predominant Latino heritage persons or bicultural persons; and (H2b) bicultural persons will derive significantly less use from Spanish-language television for cultural maintenance than will predominant Latino heritage persons.

Method

Respondents. Respondents were 223 adult volunteers who lived in greater Albuquerque.[21] More women (61%) than men (39%) participated in the survey. A majority of the participants answered the bilingual questionnaires in English (88%). The average educational level was at least some college or trade school.[22] Most (85.2%) were born in the United States, while a smaller portion (9.0%) were born in Mexico and the rest were born elsewhere. Most participants (37%) indicated clerical, sales or skilled trades as occupations. Other participants were in occupations such as professional or managerial (30%); services or unskilled labor (9%); homemaker (2%); full-time student (3%) retired, job seeking or unemployed (16%). A small number of questionnaires had missing data (3%).

Instrument. The self-administered questionnaire solicited responses for questions categorized as (1) individual difference characteristics and (2) media-related purposes for use.[23] Individual difference characteristics included attitudes toward English and Spanish languages,[24] self-assessed language abilities in English and Spanish,[25] degree of knowledge-information regarding bilingual education,[26] identification with Latino culture[27] and time spent with general market and Spanish-language television, radio and newspapers.[28] Media-related purpose variables indicated participants' ratings of the utility of general market and Spanish-language television, newspapers, and radio for cultural maintenance.[29] Items were scored according to five-point Likert-type scales, unless otherwise indicated. All scales except identification with Latino culture (standardized item alpha = .5) and exposure to newspapers (standardized item alpha = .36) achieved reliability coefficients of .6 or higher.[30]

Results

Classification of Participants into Individual-Difference Clusters. We conducted a cluster analysis on data for the following standardized individual difference factors: (1) attitudes toward Spanish, (2) Spanish-language ability in reading and aural understanding, (3) English-language ability in reading and aural understanding, (4) knowledge-information regarding bilingual education, (5) degree of identification with the Latino culture group, (6) exposure to Spanish-language television, (7) exposure to general market television, (8) exposure to newspapers (Spanish or general market), and (9) exposure to radio (Spanish or general market).

Data from 23 of the participants were excluded due to one or more missing values, leaving a total of 200 participants allocated among the three clusters. Means and standard deviations for the nine individual difference factors among the three clusters (shown in Table 1) indicated that cluster 1 (n = 117) was composed of "low Latino heritage" individuals, cluster 2 (n = 73) was composed of "bicultural heritage" individuals, and cluster 3 (n = 10) was composed of "predominant Latino heritage" individuals.[31]

The cluster 1 low heritage individuals held significantly less favorable attitudes toward the Spanish language than individuals from the other two clusters (p's < .01); were significantly lower on knowledge-information regarding bilingual education (p's < .05); were significantly lower in Spanish-language abilities (p's < .01); were significantly higher in English-language abilities than predominant heritage individuals (p < .01) but were slightly lower in English abilities than bicultural individuals (NS); identified with the Latino culture group significantly less strongly than either of the other two groups (p's < .01). Also, low heritage individuals received significantly less exposure to Spanish-language television than the other two groups (p's < .01) though not significantly less than predominant Latino heritage individuals (NS); received significantly less exposure to radio (English or Spanish) than did the other two groups (p's < .01); and received significantly more exposure to general market television than did the other two groups (p's < .01). The low

TABLE 1

*Means and Standard Deviations for Individual Difference Factors among Low Latino Heritage, Bicultural Heritage, and Predominant Latino Heritage Clusters**

Cluster	M	SD
Attitudes toward Spanish (F = 26.42, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	-.35	1.06
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.60	.57
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	.44	.76
Spanish-Language Ability (F=30.96, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	-.40	1.03
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.54	.62
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	.88	.34
English-Language Ability (F=138.40, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	.14	.68
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.24	.49
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	-3.37	1.31
Knowledge-Information Regarding Bilingual Education (F=33.19, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	-.37	.76
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.54	1.02
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	1.13	.82
Identification with Latino Culture (F=39.95, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	-.46	1.00
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.61	.62
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	.84	.46
Exposure to Spanish-Language Television (F=120.80, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	-.34	.62
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.22	.76
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	3.07	.70
Exposure to General Market Television (F=1.72, NS)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	.08	.96
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.04	.99
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	-.51	.96
Exposure to English or Spanish Newspapers (F=31.23, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	-.40	.99
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.64	.64
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	-.02	.96
Exposure to English or Spanish Radio (F=32.28, p<.01)		
1 (Low Latino heritage)	-.38	.77
2 (Bicultural heritage)	.56	.93
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	.97	1.31

*For all analyses F values were computed with (2, 197) degrees of freedom.

Note: All means and standard deviations are based on z scores (i.e., for the sample as a whole, mean = 0 and standard deviation = 1).

heritage cluster's mean education achievement level indicated some college or trade school.[32] Most individuals from this cluster were found within clerical, sales, and skilled trade occupations.

The cluster 2 bicultural cluster held relatively favorable attitudes toward Spanish, and indicated relatively moderate knowledge-information on bilingual education. They indicated moderate skill in Spanish and high in English-language abilities. The biculturals identified moderately with the Latino cultural group. They were highly exposed to newspapers and moderately exposed to general market and Spanish-language television and radio. The bicultural cluster's mean education level indicated some college or trade school.[33] Post-hoc Scheffé tests indicated that the mean education levels between the low heritage cluster and the biculturals were not significantly different. Individuals in this cluster tended to be located within clerical, sales, and skilled trades.

The cluster 3 predominant Latino heritage indicated highest knowledge-information on bilingual education. These respondents were high in Spanish-language abilities, identified highly with the Latino cultural group, and were exposed to radio and Spanish-language television at high levels. They also indicated moderate exposure to newspapers (whether general market or Spanish) and lowest exposure to general market television. The predominant heritage mean educational level indicated achieving some high school.[34] Post-hoc Scheffé tests indicated that the predominant Latino heritage cluster's level of education was significantly different from those of the bicultural and low heritage clusters (p's $< .05$). Individuals from the predominant cluster tended to be found in clerical, sales, and skilled trade occupations.

Univariate F tests revealed that with the exception of exposure to general market television, the individual difference factors contributed significantly to the overall cluster solution. The F statistics and corresponding significance levels associated with each of the individual difference factors are presented in Table 1. A discriminant analysis revealed that grand centroids for each of the three groups could be plotted along two orthogonal second-order functions or axes, namely (1) *orientation toward Anglo culture* and (2) *orientation toward Latino heritage culture*.[35] In particular, Axis 1 served to distinguish predominant Latino heritage persons from bicultural and low Latino heritage persons, whereas Axis 2 served to distinguish low Latino heritage persons from bicultural and predominant Latino heritage persons.[36]

Impact of Gender and Cluster Membership on Latino Cultural Maintenance with Mass Media. Correlations among the six media use factors are presented in Table 2. Means and standard deviations for the six media use factors as a function of gender and cluster membership are presented in Table 2. Multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) indicated that participants' gender was not reflected significantly in their use of the media for cultural maintenance (Pillai's trace=.02, approximate F (6, 179 df) = .51; NS. Other tests also indicated lack of significance: Hostelling's T statistic = .02, approximate F (6, 179 df) = .51; NS; and Wilk's Lambda=.98, approximate F (6, 179 df) =.51; NS). Furthermore, none of the subsequent univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) revealed significant gender differences in participants' use of media for cultural maintenance. Thus, it was concluded that gender was nonsignificant in itself as a predictor of individuals' use of mass media for cultural maintenance.

In contrast to gender, MANOVA results suggested that participants' cluster membership exerted a significant impact upon their use of media for

TABLE 2
Pearson Correlations among Media Use Factors
(n = 205)

	1	2	3	4	5
2	.13				
3	.80*	.06			
4	.07	.60*	.06		
5	.69*	.13	.73*	.10	
6	.12	.56*	.12	.66*	.24

* For correlations with asterisks, $p < .01$.

1 = Cultural maintenance using Spanish-language television.
2 = Cultural maintenance using general market television.
3 = Cultural maintenance using Spanish-language newspapers.
4 = Cultural maintenance using general market newspapers.
5 = Cultural maintenance using Spanish-language radio.
6 = Cultural maintenance using general market radio.

cultural maintenance (Pillai's trace = .40, approximate F (12, 360 df) = 7.54, $p < .01$; Hotelling's T statistic = .60, approximate F (12,356 df) = 8.90, $p < .01$; and Wilk's lambda = .61, approximate F (12,358 df) = 8.22, $p < .01$). ANOVAs revealed that the influence of cluster membership upon individuals' use of the media for cultural maintenance was manifested in utility gained from all forms of Spanish-language media (for Spanish -language television, F (2, 184 df) = 40.32; for Spanish language newspapers, F (2, 184 df)= 41.98, $p < .01$; and for Spanish-language radio, (F (2, 184 *df*) = 29.07, $p < .01$). In addition, the three groups differed significantly in general market television use for cultural maintenance (F (2, 184 *df*) = 3.09, $p < .05$). Post-hoc Scheffé tests indicated that low Latino heritage participants found significantly lower utility for Spanish-language media for cultural maintenance than did bicultural or predominant heritage participants at the .01 level (predominant heritage participants found Spanish-language television significantly more useful than did bicultural participants). Moreover, predominant Latino heritage individuals found general market television somewhat more useful for cultural maintenance than did bicultural heritage individuals, with the difference ($p < .10$) approaching, but not reaching, conventional levels of statistical significance (i.e., $p < .05$)

Finally, MANOVAs for the interaction between gender and cluster membership proved to be marginally influential on participants' use of the media for cultural maintenance (Pillai's trace = .10, approximate F (12, 360 df) = 1.64, $p < .08$; Hostelling's T statistic = .11, approximate F (12,356 df) = 1.62, $p < .09$; Wilk's lambda = .90, approximate F (12, 358 df) = 1.63, $p < .08$. Univariate ANOVAs revealed that differences among the three clusters were significant for general market television ($p < .05$) and marginally significant for Spanish-language television ($p < .07$). In particular, among women,

TABLE 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Media Use Factors among Low Latino Heritage, Bicultural Heritage, and Predominant Latino Heritage Clusters

	Women		Men	
Cultural Maintenance using Spanish-Language Television				
Cluster	M	SD	M	SD
1 (Low Latino heritage)	2.18	.96	1.94	.97
2 (Bicultural heritage)	2.93	.94	3.42	1.02
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	4.16	.70	4.12	.66
Cultural Maintenance using General Market Television				
Cluster				
1 (Low Latino heritage)	1.97	.72	2.25	.96
2 (Bicultural heritage)	1.87	.61	1.92	.89
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	3.00	.91	2.00	.78
Cultural Maintenance using Spanish-Language Newspapers				
Cluster				
1 (Low Latino heritage)	1.81	.93	1.63	.78
2 (Bicultural heritage)	2.83	1.06	3.14	1.27
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	3.44	1.07	3.88	1.08
Cultural Maintenance using General Market Newspapers				
Cluster				
1 (Low Latino heritage)	2.24	.75	2.30	.94
2 (Bicultural heritage)	2.21	.71	2.03	.96
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	2.60	1.16	2.33	1.03
Cultural Maintenance using Spanish-Language Radio				
Cluster				
1 (Low Latino heritage)	2.10	1.03	1.98	1.02
2 (Bicultural heritage)	3.24	1.14	3.17	1.30
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	3.60	1.52	4.16	.83
Cultural Maintenance using General Market Radio				
Cluster				
1 (Low Latino heritage)	1.96	.81	2.10	1.04
2 (Bicultural heritage)	2.01	.89	1.80	.80
3 (Predominant Latino heritage)	2.87	1.22	2.20	.90

Note: All means and standard deviations are based on a 1 to 5 Likert scale.

predominant Latino heritage individuals found general market television especially useful. Among men, low Latino heritage individuals found general market television most useful.

Overall, the above results suggested that cluster membership (both by itself and in combination with gender) was a reliable predictor of individuals' use of mass media for cultural maintenance. Given that the three clusters were not equal in levels of education, however, we also conducted multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs) in which education was added as a potential predictor. Results of the MANCOVAs revealed that education was not significant as a predictor (Pillai's trace = .05, approximate F [6,178 df] = 1.71, NS; Hotelling's T = .06, approximate F [6,178 df] = 1.71, NS; and Wilk's lambda = .94, approximate F [6,178 df] = 1.71, NS). Furthermore, even after accounting for level of education, (1) the impact of cluster membership remained significant; (2) the impact of gender remained nonsignificant; and (3) the impact of the cluster by gender interaction achieved significance as an additional predictor of individuals' use of mass media for cultural maintenance. Therefore, it was concluded that the results for cluster membership, by itself as well as in combination with gender, were not due to corresponding differences in level of education.

Below results are summarized according to hypotheses. Consistent with previous research by Rios and Gaines,[37] a significant effect of individual difference variables on cluster membership were obtained.

Regarding H1a, low Latino heritage persons expressed relatively unfavorable attitudes regarding Spanish, low knowledge-information regarding bilingual education, low ability in reading and aural understanding of Spanish (but not English), lack of identification with Latinos as a cultural group, and low exposure to media overall (with the exception of English-language television, which had not been predicted). This hypothesis was supported with partial exception.

Regarding H1b, bicultural persons expressed relatively favorable attitudes regarding Spanish, high exposure to newspapers and English-language television (along with radio and Spanish-language television, which had not been predicted). This hypothesis was partially supported.

Regarding H1c, predominant Latino heritage persons expressed relatively high knowledge-information concerning bilingual education (though not necessary favorable attitudes regarding Spanish per se) high ability in reading and understanding Spanish (but not necessarily English), strong identification with Latinos as a cultural group, and high exposure to radio and Spanish-language television (though not necessarily newspapers or general market television). The hypothesis was supported.

The impact of cluster membership on individuals' use of media for cultural maintenance purposes was mostly consistent with previous research.

Regarding H2a, low Latino heritage persons derived significantly less use from Spanish-language media for cultural maintenance purposes that did predominant Latino heritage persons. The hypothesis was supported.

Unlike previous research regarding H2b, bicultural heritage persons derived less use from general market television for cultural maintenance purposes than did predominant Latino heritage persons; this latter result was marginally significant. The hypothesis was not supported.

Regarding interaction effects between gender and cluster membership on individuals' use of media for cultural maintenance—although a priori hypotheses regarding two-way interaction effects between gender and cluster membership were not formulated, a significant effect was obtained such that (a) among women, predominant Latino heritage persons found general market television particularly useful for cultural maintenance purposes; whereas (b) among men, low Latino-heritage persons found general market television particularly useful for cultural maintenance.

At first glance, it might seem that these interaction effects run counter to results previously reported by Ríos and Gaines. They did not find a significant two-way interaction effect between gender and cluster membership. However, these researchers did find that after adding type of medium and language of medium as within-subject independent variables of media use, a three-way interaction effect resulted among gender, type of medium, and language of medium, such that (a) among women, predominant heritage persons found general market broadcast media particularly useful for cultural maintenance. Thus, the primary difference between the present results and those reported by Ríos and Gaines was that in the present study, interaction effects involving gender were manifested primarily in individuals' use of general market television (but not necessarily radio); whereas in the earlier study by Ríos and Gaines, interaction effects involving gender were manifested in individuals' use of general market broadcast media in general (i.e., television *and* radio).

Discussion and Conclusions

The results of the present study indicate that the three-cluster typology originally identified in the research literature as a predictor of Latino's use of English and Spanish-language mass media for cultural maintenance in a Texas sample emerged as a predictor of Latino use of mass media for cultural maintenance in a New Mexico sample. Interestingly, low Latino heritage individuals comprised a majority of the present sample (compared with Ríos' sample, in which bicultural heritage persons comprised a majority). Nevertheless, the same main effect for cluster membership obtained by Ríos—that is, bicultural heritage individuals were exposed to Spanish-language newspapers and all general market media, whereas predominant heritage individuals indicated Spanish-language broadcast media to be especially useful—was repeated in the present study.

Consistent with Ríos and Gaines, gender did not account for significant variance beyond that explained by cluster membership. Furthermore, any impact of gender upon individuals' use of media for cultural maintenance was moderated by cluster membership (unlike Ríos and Gaines, in which no significant interaction between cluster membership and gender was found). Overall, cluster membership proved to be a significant predictor of individuals' use of mass media for cultural maintenance in the present study (as was true for Ríos, and Ríos and Gaines).

How are we to account for the cluster by gender interaction effect in this study? The effect appears to be depend primarily upon women's and men's differing utilitarian behaviors with regard to general market television as a potential source for cultural maintenance. Specifically, the three clusters of women utilized general market television much the same way as they did other Spanish-language media (i.e., predominant Latino heritage women considered general market television more useful for cultural maintenance than did either low Latino heritage or bicultural heritage women). In contrast, men gained a different level of utility from general market television than Spanish-language media (i.e., low Latino heritage men saw general market television as more useful than did either predominant Latino heritage or bicultural heritage men). Perhaps men in the low Latino heritage cluster limited their search for sources of cultural maintenance to one medium (i.e., general market television) that required the least attention as well as the least knowledge of Spanish. Future research will be required to test such a *post hoc* explanation.

The results regarding the typology of clusters is consistent with previous research on heterogeneity among Mexican heritage populations. The "predominant Latino heritage" cluster corresponds to the "Mexican ethnics" group identified by Keefe and Padilla[38]; the "bicultural heritage" cluster corresponds to the "cultural blends" group identified by Keefe and Padilla; and the "low Latino heritage" cluster corresponds to the "Americans—set apart" cluster identified by Keefe and Padilla. An important contribution of the present study (along with Ríos, and Ríos and Gaines) is that the typology was used as a means toward the end of predicting heterogeneity in individuals' use of the mass media for cultural goals, whereas

Keefe and Padilla apparently viewed their typology as an end in itself (to identify patterns of cultural change and persistence in the Mexican heritage community).

A weakness in the present research is the lack of a representative sample and the overall sample size. Each of these are inherent limitations of the sampling method chosen for this replication research. Generalizability of the results to other Latinos in the United States are constrained by the lack of representativeness and sample size. Research on Latino audiences that uses random sampling methods and obtains larger samples are encouraged for the future.

The phenomenon of audience heterogeneity within the Latino heritage population and unique gender uses of the mass media are phenomenon to consider for many Latino groups across the United States. For Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans, Subervi-Vélez's research has indicated that cultural processes are linked with mass media exposure. Subervi-Vélez's research focuses more on differences and similarities across Latino populations; however, looking at the basic tendencies of ethnics to hold an array of cultural orientations and demographic characteristics within one Latino co-culture, it is safe to speculate that Latino audience subgroups and cultural uses for media certainly exist in other communities. With regard to the lack of main effect for gender and cluster membership in this empirical research, perhaps these potential differences may be better revealed in ethnographic field research among several Latino communities.[39]

NOTES

1. Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (NY: Harper and Brothers, 1922); Young Yun Kim, *Communication and Cross-cultural Adaptation* (Philadelphia, PA: Multilingual Matters, 1988); Federico A. Subervi-Vélez, "Hispanics, the Mass Media, and Politics: Assimilation versus Pluralism," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1984); Federico A. Subervi-Vélez, "The Mass Media and Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism: A Review and Research Proposal with a Special Focus on Hispanics" *Communication Research* 13 (January 1986): 71-96; Wallin S. McCardell, "Socialization factors in *El Diario-La Prensa*, the Spanish-language Newspaper with the Largest Daily Circulation in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1976); Leo W. Jeffres, "Media Use for Personal Identification: Linking Uses and Gratifications to Culturally Significant Goals," *Mass Communication Review* 10 (fall 1983): 6-12, 22.

2. Edward Dunn, "Mexican American Media Behavior: A Factor Analysis," *Journal of Broadcasting* 19 (winter 1975): 3-10; Diana I. Ríos, "Mexican American Audiences: A Quantitative and Qualitative Study of Ethnic Subgroup Uses for Mass Media (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1993); Diana I. Ríos and Stanley O. Gaines, "Impact of Gender and Ethnic Subgroup Membership on Mexican Americans' Use of Mass Media for Cultural Maintenance," *Howard Journal of Communications* 8 (April-June 1997): 197-216.

3. Jeanine Basinger, *A Woman's View: How Hollywood Spoke to Women 1930-1960* (NY: Knopf, 1993); Mary Ellen Brown, ed., *Television and Women's Culture: The Politics of the Popular* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990); Mary Ellen Brown, *Soap Opera and Women's Talk: The Pleasure of Resistance* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1994); Charlotte Brunsdon, ed., *Films for Women* (London,

England: British Film Institute, 1987); Jackie Byars, *All that Hollywood Allows: Rereading Gender in 1950s Melodrama* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1991); Rosa Linda Fregoso, *The Bronze Screen: Chicana and Chicano Film Culture* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1993); Lorraine Gamman and Margaret Marshment, eds., *The Female Gaze: Women Viewers of Popular Culture* (Seattle, WA: The Real Comet Press, 1989); Christine Gledhill, ed., *Home is Where the Heart is: Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film* (London, England: British Film Institute, 1990); Andrea L. Press, *Women Watching Television: Gender, Class, and Generation in the American Television Experience* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1991); E. Diedre Pribram, ed., *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television* (NY: Verso, 1988); Jackie Stacey, *Star Gazing* (NY: Routledge, 1994); Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann, eds., *Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

4. Leo W. Jeffres, "Media Use for Personal Identification"; Bradley S. Greenberg, Michael Burgoon, Judee K. Burgoon, and Felipe Korzenny, *Mexican Americans and the Mass Media* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1986); Allan B. Albarran and Don Umphrey, "An Examination of Television Motivations and Program Preferences by Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 37 (winter 1993): 95-103; Allan B. Albarran and Don Umphrey, "Television Viewing Motivations and Program Preferences Among Ethnic Adults: Results of a Longitudinal Study," *Southwestern Mass Communication Journal* 10 (1994): 65-75.

5. According to the uses and gratifications position on audience activity, audiences may "bend the media" to suit needs (Alexis S. Tan, *Mass Communication Theories and Research*, 2d ed. [NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1985], 233). Media functions are thereby understood from the perspectives, uses, needs, and goals of the audience, rather than solely on the role or function media have as a channel of communication in society.

6. Jeffres, "Media Use for Personal Identification."

7. Greenberg, Burgoon, Burgoon, and Korzenny, *Mexican Americans*. People of Mexican heritage composed the vast majority of the Spanish-speaking populations sampled. The term "Mexican American" is used for facility, though sometimes other terms such as "Spanish" and "Hispanic" were used by the authors to refer to the same population or with regard to a broader U.S. Spanish-speaking population. Researchers have hotly debated the standardization of ethnic-identifiers for the U.S. Spanish-speaking for decades. The term "Anglo" refers to European Americans or U.S. Whites.

8. Albarran and Umphrey, "Television Viewing Motivations and Program Preferences."

9. Several terms such as socialization, assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, and others have been used to describe cultural change, in whole or part, toward a dominant societal norm. Pluralism, cultural maintenance, and several other terms have been used to examine similar cultural phenomena with regard to keeping ethnic group cultural distinctiveness. Some media research which has addressed these processes in whole or part include Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*; McCardell, "Socialization factors in *El Diario-La Prensa*; Daniel F. Duran, *Latino Communication Patterns: An Investigation of Media Use and Organizational Activity among Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican Residents of Chicago* (NY: Arno, 1980); Subervi-Vélez, "The Mass Media and Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism"; Ríos, "Mexican American

Audiences"; Ríos and Gaines, "Impact of Gender and Ethnic Subgroup."

10. Subervi-Vélez, "Hispanics, the Mass Media, and Politics."

11. Subervi-Vélez, "The Mass Media and Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism."

12. Dunn, "Mexican American Media Behavior."

13. Ríos, "Mexican American Audiences."

14. Ríos and Gaines, "Impact of Gender and Ethnic Subgroup."

15. Basinger, *A Woman's View*; Brown, *Television and Women's Culture*; Brown, *Soap Opera and Women's Talk*; Brunsdon, *Films for Women*; Byars, *All that Hollywood Allows*; Gamman and Marshment, *The Female Gaze*; Gledhill, ed., *Home is Where the Heart is*; Press, *Women Watching Television*; Radway, *Reading the Romance*; Spigel and Mann, *Private Screenings*; Stacey, *Star Gazing*; Pribram, *Female Spectators*.

16. Jaqueline Bobo, "The Color Purple: Black Women as Cultural Readers," in *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television*, ed. Pribram, 90-109; Fregoso, *The Bronze Screen*.

17. Bobo, "The Color Purple"; Press, *Women Watching Television*.

18. Bobo, "The Color Purple."

19. Ríos and Gaines, "Impact of Gender and Ethnic Subgroup."

20. Albuquerque is an old settlement founded in 1706 on the banks of the Río Grande as one of several Spanish and Mexican colonial sites in North America. Given the complex ethno-politics of self-naming in this region, the term "Latino" will be used to refer to the sample population for the sake of facility. In previous audience research by the first author, Mexican American, Chicana or Chicano is used as the term best suited for clearly articulated persons of Mexican heritage.

21. Adult volunteers were recruited through a nonrandom sampling method called snowball sampling in which respondents are gained through interpersonal network references. This field technique is useful for gaining special populations such as ethnic minorities, but does not yield large sample sizes; see Gary T. Henry, *Practical Sampling* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990). A bilingual Spanish and English call for respondents was made through flyers and personal announcements at the University of New Mexico and in surrounding areas of high Latino concentration. Community contacts had been previously established during related qualitative field research by the first author, not presented here. The primary requirement for participation was that potential respondents self-identify as either "Mexican" or "Spanish" heritage. The first author and two research assistants made telephone calls to potential respondents who had either answered the call for participation or had been referred by friends, relatives, or co-workers. Those consenting to participate received a questionnaire through the mail or had a questionnaire personally delivered to them at their place of work, home, or other convenient location. Respondents received no payment or reward except in one neighborhood area where adults received a small package of plastic toys for children.

22. The mean education was 7.66 (SD = 1.64), where 7 indicates some college or trade school and 8 indicates completion of college.

23. The instrument used in the present study was the same one used in Ríos, "Mexican American Audiences" and in Ríos and Gaines, "Impact of Gender and Ethnic Subgroup." The entire instrument was composed of over 100 question items. Selected items are described.

24. In your opinion, how important is it for people of Spanish/Mexican background to know Spanish?; In your opinion, how important is it for most

others in New Mexico to know Spanish?; There are various opinions about English as the *only* language that should be spoken in New Mexico. How much do you agree that English should be the only language spoken in New Mexico?

25. In your opinion, how well can you read in Spanish?; In your opinion, how well can you understand spoken Spanish?; In your opinion, how well do you believe you can read in English?; In your opinion, how well do you understand spoken English?

26. How much do you know about bilingual education in New Mexico?; How strong is your support for bilingual education in New Mexico?; How useful has Spanish-language TV been for you getting information about bilingual education?; How useful has English-language TV been for you getting information about bilingual education?; How useful have English-language newspapers been for you getting information about bilingual education?; How useful have Spanish/Mexican newspapers been for you getting information about bilingual education?; How useful have friends and relatives been for getting information about bilingual education?; How many good things have you heard or read about bilingual education on TV, radio or in newspapers?

27. The term "Latino" is used here for the sake of facility and consistency. The actual question items used the terms "Mexican" and "Spanish" together as in the following: How close do you feel to other people of Spanish/ Mexican background?; In your opinion, how "Spanish" or "Mexican" do you feel you are?; In your opinion, how different are people of Spanish/Mexican background from other people living in the U.S.?

28. For example, the following questions were asked about general market and Spanish-language television exposure using an eight-point Likert-type scale (scale choices: 0, never to 7 nights): How many nights a week do you watch the local or national evening news on English-language TV?; How many days a week do you watch daytime entertainment shows on English-language TV?; How many nights a week do you watch evening entertainment shows on English-language TV? How many days a week do you watch daytime entertainment shows in Spanish? How many nights a week do you watch evening entertainment shows on Spanish-language TV? How many nights a week do you watch the TV evening news in Spanish?

The following were asked about general market and Spanish-language radio exposure using the specified Lickert-type scales: How many hours a day do you listen to the radio? [nine-point scale 0, none to 8 or more hours]; About how many days a week do you hear *newscasts* on the radio? [eight-point scale 0, never to 7 days]; How much of the *newscasts* you listen to on the radio are in Spanish? [five-point scale, none of it to all of it]. About how many days a week do you listen to *music* on the radio? [scale choices 0, never to 7 days]; How much of the *music* you listen to on the radio, is in Spanish? [5 pt, none of it all of it]. The following were asked about general market and Spanish-language newspaper exposure using the specified scales: How many days a week do you read a major daily newspaper? [eight-point Lickert-type scale 0, never to 7 days]; Please mark all the major daily newspapers that you read regularly: none, *The Albuquerque Journal*, *The Albuquerque Tribune*, *The New Mexican*, Others? [coded as dichotomous where none was given a value of one and reading any major daily newspaper was given a value of two]; Please mark all the Spanish/Mexican newspapers that you read regularly: none, *El Hispano*, *Las Fronteras*, *Arellano*, others?[coded as dichotomous where none was given a value of one and reading any Spanish/

Mexican newspaper was given a value of two].

29. For example: How useful has Spanish-language TV been for you improving your Spanish?; How useful has Spanish-language TV been for you keeping up with your Spanish/Mexican cultural traditions and holidays?; How useful has TV in Spanish been for you learning more Spanish/Mexican cultural values?; How useful has English-language TV been for you knowing what's going on in the Spanish/Mexican community in the Albuquerque area? How useful has Spanish-language TV been for you knowing what's going on in the Spanish/Mexican community in the Albuquerque area?; How useful has TV in Spanish been for your entertainment?; How useful has English-language TV been for you learning more Spanish/Mexican cultural values?; How useful has English-language TV been for you keeping up with Spanish/Mexican traditions and holidays?; Scale choices typically read: (1) not at all useful, (2) a little useful, (3) moderately useful, (4) useful, (5) very useful. The same questions and scales are repeated for each language and medium.

30. Both of the scales with low reliabilities were short (i.e., three items), and two of the three items measuring exposure to newspapers were dichotomous; the use of few (and, especially dichotomous) items can dramatically lower scale reliabilities; see Edward G. Carmines and Richard A. Zeller, *Reliability and Validity Assessment* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1979).

31. With regard to small sample size and the use of multivariate statistics the following were consulted: James Stevens, *Applied Multivariate Statistics for the Social Sciences* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 1996), and Barbara G. Tabachnick and Linda S. Fidell, *Using Multivariate Statistics* (NY: Harper Collins, 1989); The cluster types are consistent with clusters previously identified by Ríos, "Mexican American Audiences"; Ríos and Gaines "Impact of Gender and Ethnic Subgroup"; and Susan E. Keefe and Amado M. Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1987); Regarding cluster size in the analyses, Ward's method retained the cluster of predominant Latino heritage individuals despite the tendency of this method not to retain clusters of this small size. The fact that this cluster was retained suggests that predominant Latino heritage individuals are qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from individuals in the other two clusters. The following were consulted for the uses of cluster analysis: Mark S. Aldenderfer and Roger K. Blashfield, *Cluster Analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1984); H. Charles Romesberg, *Cluster Analysis* (Belmont, CA: Lifetime Learning, 1984); Michael R. Anderberg, *Cluster Analysis for Applications* (NY: Academic Press, 1973); The following was used with regard to statistical procedures: Marija J. Norusis, *SPSS/PC+: Advanced Statistics*, version 5.0 (Chicago, IL: SPSS Inc., 1992); Marija J. Norusis, *SPSS/PC+: Professional Statistics*, version 5.0 (Chicago, IL: SPSS Inc. 1992).

32. The low heritage cluster's mean education level was 7.68 (SD = 1.36), whereas 7 indicates some college or trade school and 8 indicates completion of college.

33. The bicultural cluster's level was 7.93 (SD = 1.64), where 7 indicates some college or trade school and 8 indicates completion of college.

34. The predominant Latino cluster's level of education was 5.50 (SD = 2.95) where 5 indicates some high school and 6 indicates completion of high school.

35. For overview of discriminant analysis, see William R. Klecka, *Discriminant Analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1980); for similar findings of heterogeneity among Latinos, see John W. Berry, Ype H. Poortinga, Marshall

H. Segall, and T. R. Dasen, *Cross-cultural Psychology: Research and Applications* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University, 1992); Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity* ; Manuel Ramirez, *Psychology of the Americas: Mestizo Perspectives on Personality and Mental Health* (NY: Pergamon, 1983).

36. Furthermore, we intended to utilize gender as well as cluster membership in predicting individuals' use of the mass media for cultural maintenance, and therefore conducted a chi-square test in order to eliminate the possibility that either women (comprising 59% of the bicultural individuals, 68% of the low Latino heritage individuals, and 50% of the predominant Latino heritage individuals) or men were over-represented in any of the clusters. Chi-square results indicated that the proportion of women and men did not vary significantly across the three clusters (Pearson chi-square [2 df] = 2.37, NS; likelihood-ratio chi-square [2 df] = 2.38, NS; Mantel-Haenszel test for linear association [1 df] = .33, NS). It must be said that part of the lack of significance may be due to the relatively small number of persons in the predominant Latino heritage cluster. In summary, gender and cluster membership could be viewed as independent predictors of individuals' use of the mass media for cultural maintenance.

37. Ríos and Gaines, "Impact of Gender and Ethnic Subgroup."

38. Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*.

39. In field research in Texas, the first author observed different ways women and men use and think about general market and Spanish-language mass media. See Diana I. Ríos, "Chicano Cultural Resistance with Mass Media," in *Chicanas and Chicanos in Contemporary Society*, ed. Roberto M. De Anda (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996), 127-14.

Women Making News: Gender as a Variable in Source Selection and Use

By Lynn M. Zoch and Judy VanSlyke Turk

J&MC Q

An important dimension of agenda setting is the way in which the media frame the issues and events they present to the public. This article focuses on one of the most important dimensions of framing: choice of information source—the selections journalists make from among the many possible and potential holders of information of those sources whose information and viewpoints will actually be included in the news. In particular, this content analysis of ten years of three southern newspapers focuses on the inclusion of female sources in newspaper stories and analyzes whether the gender of the reporter affects that inclusion.

The media of mass communication are among our most powerful social institutions, with the capacity to set the public agenda by attaching salience to particular issues and events they cover. An important dimension of agenda setting is the way in which the media frame the issues and events they present to the public.[1] This article focuses on one of the most important dimensions of framing: choice of information source, that is, the selections journalists make from among the many possible and potential holders of information of those sources whose information and viewpoints will actually be included in the news. In particular, this article focuses on the inclusion of female sources in newspaper stories.

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A recent study by the Freedom Forum indicates that women are seldom used as sources for stories of national or international importance, but rather are quoted as victims or because of their relationship with a male who is central to the story. The study also found that female reporters were no more likely than their male colleagues to quote other women.[2] Thus, this research focuses on gender as a primary variable not only of source but of reporter. Finally, the article explores the connection between the holder of information and power: the absence of women as sources would reflect their powerlessness, their symbolic annihilation by the media.[3]

Review of the Literature

Agenda Setting. The media clearly are more than a mirror of or conduit for the concerns and issues of others. There is significant research support for an agenda-setting model: that the public learns both facts and the salience of those facts from the media. The literature supports the belief that public perceptions and opinions toward issues/topics and the individuals who espouse those issues are shaped by the media, leading the public to view certain issues/topics as more important than others.[4]

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
762-775

Lynn M. Zoch is an assistant professor and Judy VanSlyke Turk is professor and dean in the College of Journalism and Mass Communications, the University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

The media, "in the process of transmitting others' concerns and issues . . . reworks and translates them to focus attention and structure cognitions."[5] From the array of available information, the media select for dissemination those pieces of information reporters and editors think are important, the *media's* agenda of salient information.[6]

While the media are not the only influence upon our sense of what's important in our environment, the media do play a central role.[7] But the world the public sees through the media's eyes is not an objective account of events, people, places, and issues. "While news may be viewed as a window on the world through which Americans learn of their institutions and their leaders, it is a window that reflects largely the media's own construction of reality."[8]

If the media do indeed pass along their construction of reality, their own agenda of what is important, the question then becomes, who sets the media's agenda? Turk writes: "The sources of the raw material of information upon which journalists rely and from which they choose what to use may ultimately have as much to do with the media's agenda as the selection processes of the journalists themselves. News is not necessarily what happens but what a news source says has happened because the news doesn't 'happen' until there is an exchange of information" between journalists and their sources.[9]

Framing the Media Agenda. A frame is defined as a "schemata of interpretation" which allows an individual to make sense of information or an occurence.[10] The media give their audiences frames to organize and facilitate understanding. "(F)rames select and call attention to particular aspects of the reality described, which logically means that frames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects."[11]

In an article that focuses on political campaigns, Williams, Shapiro, and Cutbirth point out both the importance and the dangers to news consumers of this framing the news. They also note the importance of various other message variables in addition to content—such as source attribution and placement of stories—in the framing of a story.[12]

Kosicki and Pan add to that list of framing variables when they suggest that "media also have effects on the way issues are framed through the choices of journalists, institutional traditions and workways, occupational norms and values, and actions of policymakers who may be chosen as sources."[13]

In the context of this article, the main variable of concern in the way the media frame a story is the choice of sources. When a source is a woman, the interaction of topic and status of source also are of concern in identifying the role of the female source within the context of the story. It should also be remembered that it is individual reporters who pick sources, decide what questions to ask, which quotations to use and which to ignore, and what tone the story should take.[14] Thus how the gender of the writer affects the choice of source and how much information is attributed to the source also are considered important in this study.

Preference in Use of News Sources. Official sources, such as government officials or police, are often preferred by journalists.[15] This may be especially true at small- or medium-circulation papers where the relationship between reporters and their sources can be part of the power structure of the community.[16]

Shoemaker and Reese write that "(s)ources have a tremendous effect on mass media content, because journalists can't include in their news reports what they don't know... (sources) may also influence the news in subtle ways by providing the context within which all other information is evaluated... and by monopolizing the journalists' time so that they don't have an opportunity to seek out sources with alternative views."[17]

Research shows that reporters repeatedly go to sources who are like themselves. And journalists tend not to select or to quote sources who refute their own ideas.[18] Stempel and Culbertson suggest that a source's assertiveness, credibility (as determined by the journalist), accessibility, and quotability can affect both a source's prominence (frequency of mention) and dominance (tendency to be quoted rather than paraphrased or just written about) in news coverage.[19]

Of course journalists "not only talk with those who are directly involved (in news events), but they may also get information from sources only indirectly associated with the event or reactions and opinions from 'people on the street.' But not all sources are equally likely to be contacted by journalists—those with economic or political power are more likely to influence news reports than those who lack power."[20]

Gans argues that heavy reliance by media on officials representing both government and private-sector entities presents a very specific (official) picture of society and its institutions.[21] How reporters gather news and the types of sources they use are important because in framing that picture journalists determine not only what information is presented to the public but what images of society are presented.[22]

Women and the Power of News Sources. It is an unreal image of society that is presented when women, who represent 52 percent of our population, are relatively absent as news sources. And it is an unreal image presented when women are rarely quoted on issues of national or international importance, or are seldom quoted on the front page of a newspaper like the *New York Times*.[23] The issue of women as news sources, and the media-presented image of power and legitimacy associated with those sources, is another area of examination in this study.

A number of studies conducted over the last several decades have found women badly underrepresented as sources in newspapers and on televisions newscasts. The emphasis continues to be on male authorities and officials.[24]

Reporters often give time pressure as a reason for lack of diversity in news sources. They contend that the availability of a source is sometimes the most important criterion to choice of that source.[25] Other research has shown that newsgathering routines and peer group pressure within a news organization can affect a reporter's use of sources.[26]

Critical theorists, on the other hand, blame gender inequality in the media on power relations and the way they are embedded in the political and social order in this country.[27] Bybee, for example, argues that power is connected to knowledge in studying the social construction of women in news. He sees what he calls power/knowledge as "an integrated, mutually reinforcing discourse of truth" that both keeps the media consumer from seeing and hearing women's voices presented in the news, and women from presenting the news.[28]

One reason "elites" are used so often as sources, is that "(D)ue to their centrality in power systems, they can supply a great deal of information without unduly taxing their organizations or the resources of journalists. They also are more likely to meet standard definitions of reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness."[29]

The reporter's use of sources creates a representation to the reader of who has information important enough to cite in the news story. In this way news is a representation of power and authority within the society.[30] Feminist researchers believe that the inequitable distribution of power between men and women creates a system where women "lose their voices" and become, in effect, "invisible."[31] Perhaps they are invisible, too, to reporters searching for sources.

Within the context of the media, information or "news" indicates to the reader who is in possession of knowledge that is important enough to report. "At the same time that it informs about who are the authorized knowers, it suggests, by relegation to a minor role and by omission, who is excluded from having a say in important matters."[32]

Development of Research Questions

From the review of the literature, several research questions emerged that linked framing, source role in framing, and gender of both journalist and source.

The research questions examined in this study were:

> (1) Do journalists still favor official sources of information in their reporting of the news, as the literature indicates has traditionally been the case?[33]
>
> (2) Are the sources, and especially the official sources, upon whom journalists rely still predominantly male, as has been the finding in past studies?
>
> (3) Does the gender of the reporter make a difference in this tendency to rely upon official sources? Are male and female journalists equally likely to rely on official sources?
>
> (4) Does the gender of the reporter make a difference in the extent to which women are used as sources? Are male and female journalists equally likely to use women as sources?
>
> (5) If journalists are, indeed, heavily dependent upon official sources, how does this affect the media's construction of reality, the "worldview" presented to media audiences and consumers?

Methodology

This study analyzed a sample of stories published between 1986 and 1996 on the front pages of the "A" (first section) and "B" (metro/local) sections of three daily newspapers in the southeastern United States: the *Charlotte Observer* in Charlotte, North Carolina; the *State* in Columbia, South Carolina; and the *Augusta Chronicle* in Augusta, Georgia. These particular newspapers were selected because they provided representation of different circulation sizes—large, medium, and small, respectively[34]—as well as different states.

Alternate years were sampled, and the sample alternated between even-numbered and odd-numbered months. The newspaper published on the first day of the selected month was chosen, and all stories on the front pages of the "A" and "B" sections of those issues, including the jumps of those stories continued onto a subsequent page, were analyzed. Selecting the first day of the month provided a sample that represented all seven days of the week.

This sampling method yielded a total of 1,126 stories. The stories were quite evenly divided among the three newspapers: 341 (30.3%) of the stories were published in the [Charlotte] *Observer*, 398 (35.3%) in the [Columbia] *State*, and 387 (34.4%) in the [Augusta] *Chronicle*.

The unit of analysis was the news story. Information coded for each story included:

(1) date and year of publication;

(2) placement variables (page, column width of headline, location on the page, length of story, and use of photo or other illustration);

(3) topic covered and its scope (international, national, state, or local). Topics were selected based on a review of the newspaper content analysis literature;[35]

(4) variables on the source of the story (whether the story was generated by staff or wire service, if it was bylined or not, and gender of the byline if one was used);

(5) number and identification of sources to whom information in the story was attributed. For each attribution, coders recorded whether the source was identified by name, the gender of the source, any organizational or official title used for the source, any identification of the source's employer or the organization the source represented, and the length of the material attributed to the source. Length was measured in picas because that is currently the dominant measure used in the newspaper industry.

The coding manual was pretested extensively and revised several times before coding began to increase intercoder and intracoder reliability. Intercoder reliability also was enhanced by limiting the coding to only four individuals, the two researchers and two graduate students trained by the researchers.[36]

Findings and Discussion

Data on the Stories. Almost three quarters of the stories (72.4%) were news, while 27.6% were features.[37] The *Chronicle* used proportionately more news stories (78.3%) than the *State* (71.3%) or the *Observer* (66.9%).

The largest number of stories—465, or 41.4%—were local stories, dealing with city, town, village, or county topics and issues. Given the tradition in the United States of local, "home town" newspapering, with most newspapers clearly identified with and circulating within a particular community, that local emphasis was not surprising. That pattern held across all three newspapers, although the *Chronicle*, the smallest paper, was more local than the other two papers: 46.6% of its stories were local, compared to 40.0% in the *Observer* and only 37.4% in the *State*.

Neither was it surprising that the smallest number of stories—104, or only 9.3%—dealt with international topics and issues. U.S. newspapers carry much less news about events in other countries and on other continents than do newspapers elsewhere, a phenomenon U.S. journalists sometimes explain by noting that the U.S. is less dependent upon actions and events beyond its national boundaries than most other countries in the world.

Almost half of the stories—551, or 49.6%—were short: fewer than 90 lines of type. "Shorter is better" seemed particularly true in the Augusta paper: 42.2% of the stories analyzed from the *Chronicle* were shorter than 60 lines of type, and it ran the smallest number of long stories.

Data on Reporters. More stories came from the newspapers' own staffs (815, or 73.2%) than from wire services or syndicates (295, or 26.5%). The *Chronicle* used proportionately more wire service or syndicated stories than the other two papers: 34.7% compared to only 23.1% in the *State* and 21.3% in the *Observer*.[38]

Bylines were common: 84.8% of the stories carried the byline of the reporter or reporters who wrote the story. Of the 954 stories that had bylines, more than half—592, or 55.6%—carried the byline of a male, while only 26.3% (280) had female bylines. The gender of the reporter in the remainder of stories with bylines (192, or 18.0%) could not be determined from the reporter's name or initials.

There were substantial differences among the three newspapers: 60.3% of the bylines in the *State* were those of women, compared to only 26.8% in the *Observer* and 21.8% in the *Chronicle*.[39] It was interesting although probably not significant that the largest number of bylines whose gender could not be determined (28.1%) was in the *Chronicle*.

Although the change was not statistically significant (x^2=11.19, df=10, ns), the proportion of female bylines increased noticeably over the eleven-year-period covered by the coded stories (from 21.3% in 1986 to 41.8% in 1996), perhaps an indication that the proportion of women on the newspapers' staffs had increased.[40]

Women's bylines appeared more frequently than men's over stories whose topic was courts/court cases, crime, religion, health/science/medicine, and human interest profiles. Women were noticeably more likely than men to write local stories (54.3% of all local stories carried female bylines) but male bylines predominated over international, national, and statewide stories (x^2=15.01, df=4, p=.005).

Data on Sources and Their Status. The 1,125 stories analyzed included 3,624 attributions of information to sources.[41] The number of sources per story ranged from zero (96, or 8.6%, included no source attributions) to 16 in one story. The mode of sources per story was two.

The *Chronicle* was most likely of the three newspapers to run a story without source attribution (14.5% of the stories mentioned no sources) while the *Observer* was least likely, using no sources in only 2.9% of its stories.

A large majority—89.3%—of the sources were named, a finding which may be of comfort to journalists and media critics concerned about the extent to which media rely upon unnamed or anonymous sources. The *Observer* was most likely to name its sources (91.8% of all sources were named), and the *State* was least likely, naming sources 86.9% of the time.

Most of the sources (86.3%), whether they were named or not, were identified by title. All but 14.5% of those with titles had "official" titles. Half (50.7%) had middle management titles: director, manager, senator, councilman, detective, etc. Another 25.0% had top management titles: president, chief executive officer, chairman/woman, chief, general, owner, etc. An-

TABLE 1
Combined Demographics

	Male Byline	Female Byline	Total
Type of Story			
News			814
Feature			311
# of Stories	592	280	1,125
# of Sources Used	2,104	894	
Sex of Source			
Female	18.9% (398)	26.5% (237)	
Male	68.9% (1,449)	65.8% (588)	
Undetermined	12.2% (257)	7.7% (69)	
Scope of Story			
International	55	17	104
National	87	28	164
State	156	60	280
Local	242	152	465
Mixed	51	23	111
Topic of Story			
Governance	153	64	271
Courts/Cases	36	20	66
Crime	60	38	135
Military	24	10	49
Education	45	22	83
Business/Finance	47	15	80
Culture	47	21	88
Religion	8	7	20
Health/Medicine/Science	56	37	130
Political/Campaigns	39	11	63
"Common Man" Profile	40	19	77
Other	33	16	64

Note: Since some of the stories did not carry a byline, the "Total" column may be greater than the sum of male and female reporters.

other 6.5% had the title "spokesperson," generally indicating a public relations official within an organization, and the remaining 3.3% were identified simply as an "official" or "officials."

The *Charlotte Observer* was most likely of the three newspapers to run a story quoting nonofficial sources: 47.4% of the nonofficial sources used across the three papers were in *Observer* stories, and almost 20% of all sources mentioned by the *Observer* were nonofficial. The *Augusta Chronicle* was most likely to run stories that attributed information to officials.

The employer of almost 8 in 10 sources (79.5%) was identified. Sources were most likely to work for a government agency or department (63.0%) or for a business (19.6%). Another 11.3% of the sources worked for not-for-profit organizations, and the smallest number, 6.1%, worked for an association.

The researchers concluded from this data that the answer to their first research question, "Do journalists still favor official sources of information in their reporting of the news?" is yes. Journalists for these three newspapers DO heavily favor official sources of information in their reporting of news. And because male officials significantly outnumbered female officials as sources, it appears journalists heavily favor official MALE sources of information. The gender of the reporter seems to make little or no difference in this preference: male and female reporters gravitate equally to official sources in their reporting (x^2=3.449, df=4,ns).

Data on Source and Reporter Gender. Almost 7 in 10 of the sources used were male: 2,466 or 68.0%. Only 746, or 20.6%, were female. The remaining 11.4% could not be identified as to gender, either because initials were used instead of the first name or because the first name was one that could be used by either a male or a female.

The *Charlotte Observer* used proportionately more female sources (28.1% of all its attributions were to female sources) than either the *State* in Columbia (18.8%) or the *Augusta Chronicle* (13.6%).

Of all the attributions to female sources, 26.1% (195) were in stories that used between one and three sources, compared to 33.6% (829) of all attributions to male sources occurring in stories that used this same small number of sources. In "grading" the importance of information, one might argue that the fewer sources per story, the more "burden of proof" on each of those few sources to lend veracity and credibility to the information in the story. If that is the case, however, then the overall proportion of female to male sources (746 female sources compared to 2,466 male sources) would indicate women more often than men were relied upon for this veracity and credibility.

It was not surprising, given the preponderance of male sources used, that male sources outnumbered female in stories dealing with every topic. The representation was most balanced in coverage of education (56.7% of the education sources were male, 34.7% female) and culture (56.0% male, 32.9% female).

Male sources also outnumbered female sources regardless of the scope of the story. The imbalance was most evident in international stories, with 61.5% male sources and only 14.0% female, while in local stories, women were used as sources a bit more frequently: 24.8% of the time. The smallest proportion of attributions to both female (6.7%) and male sources (8.9%) was in international stories. And the largest proportion for both female and male sources (47.8% and 39.3%, respectively) were in local stories, not surprising given the preponderance of local stories.

Most of the attributions to sources were quite brief. Four in 10 (40.4%) were 6 or fewer lines of type in length, and 69.9% were 11 or fewer lines long. Women sources were quoted most briefly, 6 lines or less: 42.2% of all female sources used were in this category, compared to 36.7% for men. Female sources were also mentioned most frequently in the shortest stories, those 6 lines or less in length: 43.5% of all female source use was in these short stories, compared to 39.9% for men.

The difference between the number of male and female sources quoted at length was more striking, with 84.3% of those quoted for 30 or more lines being men. The same was true for story length with 76.4% of the attributions to men in stories 24 to 29 lines of type long, compared to only 17.1% of the female attributions.

Since length is one cue journalists give to importance in a story (longer is more important), it appears, then, that male sources were quoted more frequently in the longer, more important stories, and were more trusted than

TABLE 2
Source Data

	Charlotte	Columbia	Augusta	Combined
Total #	1,322	1,443	991	3,756
Mode per Story	2	4	2	2
Identified by Name				
Yes	91.8%	86.9%	89.5%	89.3% (3,222)
No	8.2%	13.1%	10.5%	10.7% (387)
Sex of Source				
Female	28.1%	18.8%	13.6%	20.6% (746)
Male	62.5%	67.8%	75.5%	68.0% (2,466)
Undetermined	9.5%	13.3%	10.9%	11.4% (412)
Title Description				
Spokesperson	4.3%	7.1%	8.3%	6.5% (204)
Top Manager	24.8%	26.6%	23.3%	25.0% (789)
Middle Manager	48.4%	52.8%	50.9%	50.7% (1,598)
Nonofficial	19.7%	11.6%	11.7%	14.5% (456)
Official	2.8%	1.8%	5.8%	3.3% (103)
Job Type				
For Profit Business	22.2%	18.2%	20.7%	20.2% (586)
Not For Profit Organization	10.6%	13.8%	6.3%	10.6% (306)
Association	8.2%	3.9%	7.2%	6.3% (181)
Gov't Agency, Department, Commission, or Committee	58.9%	64.1%	65.8%	62.9% (1,821)

women to give the longer, more in-depth quotes. Chi square statistics showed a high level of significance ($p<.000$) when sex of the source was cross-tabulated by length of attribution.

Just as length is an indicator of the importance journalists attach to information, so is placement of a story in the newspaper. The front page of the "A" section is THE most important placement, and generally the farther back in the newspaper a story appears, the less important it's been judged by the editor. In this study, almost 7 in 10 of the sources (69.2%) to whom information was attributed in stories on the "A" front page were men, compared to only 17.3% women ($x^2=23.19$, df=1, $p<.000$). Additionally, 57.7% of all male source mentions were on the "A" front page, compared to only 47.5% of the attributions to women.

Based on analysis of this data, the researchers' second research question, "Are the sources, and especially the official sources, upon whom journalists rely still predominantly male?" can also be answered in the affirmative.

Women reporters were more likely than men to attribute information to sources with middle management official titles while stories with male bylines tended to favor sources with top management, spokesperson, or other official titles. Male and female reporters were equally likely to quote non-official sources: only 14.5% of stories with female bylines and 14.6% of male-bylined stories attributed information to individuals without official title or position.

Thus, the researchers' third research question, "Does the gender of the reporter make a difference in the tendency to rely upon official sources?" is answered no; male and female reporters share a preference for and reliance on official sources.

There was little difference between male and female reporters as to the number of sources mentioned in each story. But women reporters were more inclined than their male colleagues to include female sources in their stories. More than one quarter (26.5%) of the sources used in the 280 stories that carried female bylines were women, compared to only 18.9% in the 592 stories with male bylines (x^2=16.22, df=1, p<.000). Male reporters were more likely than females to attribute information to sources whose gender could not be determined: 12.2% of the sources in stories with male bylines were of indeterminate gender, compared to only 7.7% in female-bylined stories.

The fourth research question ("Does the gender of the reporter make a difference in the extent to which women are used as sources?") thus can be answered in the affirmative. Women reporters are more likely than their male colleagues to attribute information to female sources.

Conclusions and Implications for the Media's Framing of Reality

The fifth research question addressed in this study asked, "If journalists are, indeed, heavily dependent upon official sources, how does this affect the media's construction of reality, the "worldview" presented to media audiences and consumers?"

Based on analysis of this data, the researchers would suggest the following impacts:

First, the "schemata of interpretation" the media, at least these three newspapers, present to media audiences and consumers would lead them to believe that news is made and information controlled almost exclusively by men acting in some official capacity, with official status. This frame calls attention to what men do and say and as Entman suggests, directs attention away from women. Women were infrequently cited as sources, a signal to the reader that they are relatively unimportant in both public and private sector activities and events. A media consumer might infer that this lack of importance is the result of women not holding positions of authority and/or their lack of credible, valuable information. And of course we know that's not necessarily reality. Or the truth.

But do media audiences recognize that the reality with which they're presented by the media isn't necessarily either real or truthful? Do they care? We know from the literature that journalists are surprisingly unaware of the frames they construct, but we know considerably less about how readers deconstruct those frames. Further study—perhaps using a quasi-experimental design that measured reader interpretation of two identical stories but with one attributing information to male sources and the other to females—would be instructive.

Second, to the extent that information is power, and positions of power create opportunities for access to information, the media worldview would have audiences and consumers believe that women are virtually without power and thus have no access to information that would be of use to the public. While there certainly are women who belie this particular construction of reality, the researchers contend that women are not represented in the higher echelons of organizations in proportion to their total number in the population, and therefore are less likely to be identified as viable sources. As much as one might like to blame the media for NOT telling it like it is, in this instance the media's "schemata of interpretation" may actually be mirroring reality, as unfortunate and inequitable as that reality might be. The frame in this instance facilitates an understanding that is not necessarily a distortion.

Third, the researchers expected that female journalists might attach greater credibility to female sources than do male reporters and thus use proportionately more of them in their stories. After all, since they have had the opportunity in their own professional lives to see that a woman journalist can be just as competent as a male counterpart, they might be expected to carry that attitude into their selection of sources and seek out the women—spokespersons, officials, middle managers, and top managers—rather than the men when both could be expected to have equally valuable information. And in these three newspapers, at least, that did prove to be the case to a statistically significant level ($p<.000$).

The study found, however, that female reporters are more likely to quote middle management sources—of either sex—while their male counterparts quote those considered top managers. While the researchers did not conduct interviews with reporters and thus can only speculate on the reasons for this, two possible explanations come to mind. It is possible that many female reporters are denied access to the highest levels in organizations or government, and cannot reach those managers or officials for comment. It is equally likely, however, that a female reporter with experience in the casual slights of bureaucrats would consciously make the choice to speak to mid-level sources, those most readily accessible, rather than take the chance of being rebuffed by those in top-management positions. This is an area in which further research, particularly interviews with reporters of both sexes, needs to be conducted.

A final point: the "maleness" frame that media employed in this study extended not only to attaching greater importance to male sources but also to diminishing the importance of women even when they were used as sources. Across all three newspapers, female sources were quoted less frequently in stories on the front page of the "A" section than on the front of the metro or local section ($p<.000$), no matter the sex of the reporter. In addition, both the length of attributions by female sources and the length of the stories in which female sources appeared were shorter than those of male sources. Since placement and length are cues journalists give to importance in a story (longer is more important), it appears, then, that female sources were considered less important than males in the longer, more important stories, and were trusted less to give the longer, more in-depth quotes.[42]

From these findings the researchers conclude that women journalists, by and large, seem slightly more sensitive to the "symbolic annihilation of women" in their choices of news sources than their male counterparts. And that may be positive news for journalism educators and editors, both of whom frequently explain gender diversity efforts by suggesting that adding more women to newspaper staffs will enlarge and make more representative the frame that's used to report the news. At least at these three newspapers, their efforts appear to be working.

What does not appear to be working is any effort to increase the visibility and thus the power of women journalists. While the numbers of female bylines increased over the ten-year period of this study, the researchers found female reporters are still more likely to cover local stories, while their male counterparts cover state, national, and international news ($p<.005$). In addition, women's bylines appeared more frequently than men's over stories whose topic was courts/court cases, crime, religion, health/science/medicine, and human interest profiles—all of which are considered to be traditionally local, family-oriented, or "women's" stories.

The interrelationship of power, information, and gender that this study's research questions addressed is surely too complex to be fully explored, much less definitively so, in a study of three newspapers in the Southeast. The authors believe more comparisons must be made particularly focusing on different geographic areas and by extending study to other media, perhaps television. While there is no certainty that differences will exist in various areas of the country or between different media formats, possible differences should be explored.

In addition, further research could triangulate the findings of content analysis with interviews with both reporters and media consumers to develop a more complete understanding of why certain frames are used by journalists and how they are perceived by readers and viewers.

NOTES

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5. Donald L. Shaw and Maxwell E. McCombs, *The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press* (St. Paul: West Publishing, 1977), 151.

6. Bernard C. Cohen in *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 13, stated that "The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about."

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8. Judy VanSlyke Turk, "Subsidizing the News: Public Information Officers and their Impact on Media Coverage of State Government" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1985), 34.

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13. Gerald M. Kosicki and Zhongdang Pan, "Framing Analysis: An Approach to Media Effects," (paper presented at the annual meeting of International Communication Association, Chicago, IL, 1996).

14. Adapted from W. Breed, "Social Control in the News Room: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces* 33 (1955) in *Media Management: A Casebook Approach*, Stephen Lacy, Ardyth B. Sohn, and Jan LeBlanc Wicks (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1993).

15. For more in-depth discussion of these issues, see D. L. Paletz and R. M. Entman, *Media, Power, Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1981); Charles S. Steinberg, *The Information Establishment: Our Government and the Media* (New York, Hastings House, 1980); Oscar H. Gandy, *Beyond Agenda Setting: Information Subsidies and Public Policy* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1982); and Mark Fishman, *Manufacturing the News* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1980), 50.

16. John Soloski, "Sources and Channels of Local News," *Journalism Quarterly* 66 (winter 1989): 864-70.

17. Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (New York: Longman, 1991), 150.

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20. Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*, 151.

21. Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 145.

22. Tuchman, *Making News*.

23. Hernandez, "Are Women Being Annihilated."

24. See Jane Delano Brown, Carl R. Bybee, Stanley T. Wearden, and Dulcie Murdock Straughan, "Invisible Power: Newspaper News Sources and the Limits of Diversity," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (spring 1987): 50;*Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television. A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights*, August 1977, updated January 1979. U.S. Government Printing Office; Carol M. Liebler and Susan J. Smith, "Tracking Gender Differences: A Comparative Analysis of Network Correspondents and Their Sources," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 41 (winter 1997): 58-68; and Kathleen A. Hansen, Jean Ward, Joan L. Connors, and Mark Neuzil, "Local Breaking News: Sources, Technology and News Routines," *Journalism Quarterly* 71 (autumn 1994): 564.

25. Marc Cooper and Lawrence C. Soley, "All the Right Sources," *Mother Jones*, February-March 1990, 20-27.

26. Powers and Fico, "Influences on Use of Sources."

27. See I. Diamond and L. Quinby, *Foucault and Feminism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988); M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1980); and D. Scholle, "Critical Studies: From the Theory of Ideology to Power/Knowledge," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5 (March 1988): 16-41.

28. Carl R. Bybee, "Constructing Women as Authorities: Local Journalism and the Microphysics of Power," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (September 1990): 199.

29. Brown et al., "Invisible Power," 46.

30. Richard V. Ericson, Patricia M. Baranek, and Janet B.L. Chan, *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

31. Linda A.M. Perry, "Differences, Dominance, and Dialectics: A Call for Change," in *Differences that Make Difference: Examining the Assumptions in Gender Research*, ed. Lynn H. Turner and Helen M. Sterk (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1994), 187-94.

32. Ericson, Baranek, and Chan, *Negotiating Control*, 4.

33. For this research, official sources were operationalized as those sources holding a position of authority and responsibility in, or representing as a spokesperson, an organization or governmental agency.

34. According to the *1997 Editor and Publisher International Yearbook*, as of 30 September 1996 the daily circulation of the *Charlotte Observer* was 236,050 and Sunday circulation was 301,412; the *State* [Columbia, SC] was 122,053 and Sunday circulation was 160,381; and the *Augusta Chronicle* was 90,581 and Sunday circulation was 100,606.

35. For instance, see McCombs and Gilbert, "News Influence"; Shaw and McCombs, *The Emergence of American Political Issues*; Turk, "Subsidizing the News"; Williams, Shapiro, and Cutbirth, "The Impact of Campaign Agendas"; Dan Berkowitz and Douglas W. Beach, "News Sources and News Context: The Effect of Routine News, Conflict and Proximity," *Journalism Quarterly* 70 (spring 1993): 4-12; and Soloski, "Sources and Channels."

36. Intercoder reliability across the four coders was 83%, and intracoder reliability averaged 92%.

37. Stories were categorized as news if they had a timely news peg, emphasized the traditional "5 Ws and H" news values, and were written in traditional inverted pyramid news style. Stories were categorized as features if they lacked particular timeliness and focused more on human interest than on the traditional news values.

38. The *Chronicle*, which as of October 1997 employs fewer reporters and editors (63) than either the *State* (133) or the *Observer* (218), thus has less capacity to generate its own stories.

39. In October of 1997 the *Chronicle* employed 20 women and 43 men in the newsroom, the *State* employed 44 women and 89 men, and the *Observer* employed 79 women and 139 men. The newsroom staffs are composed of reporters and editors, and human resources personnel at the papers did not provide a breakdown of solely male and female reporters.

40. Because data regarding staff size and composition was not collected for each year analyzed, that possible correlation cannot be verified.

41. Each different source was counted in each story. If information was attributed to the same source multiple times in the same story, that source was counted only once.

42. Chi square statistics showed a high level of significance (p<.000) when sex of the source was cross-tabulated by length of attribution.

Courage of Convictions: The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the New York Times, and Reform of the Pure Food and Drug Act, 1933-1937

By Elizabeth M. Witherspoon

J&MC Q

The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 and the Wheeler-Lea Amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act became law together after five years of intense lobbying as a relatively weak compromise over the original proposal to overhaul the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. Conscious of threats by the drug industry to cancel all advertising if the legislation passed, many newspapers participated in the effort to defeat it by editorializing against it or omitting coverage altogether. This study shows that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch *was an exception and actually crusaded for reform of the Food and Drug Act.*

Introduction

The current debate over whether and to what degree the Food and Drug Administration has the power to declare nicotine a drug and regulate cigarette advertising is reminiscent of the original debate in the 1930s over the extent to which the FDA should regulate drugs and drug advertising. Both controversies feature a complex combination of public, industry, citizens' group, and political pressure. Both also feature crucial questions about the balance between the government's responsibility to protect consumers and its role in allowing free enterprise. Equally significant is the paradoxical role played by the news media in these debates. On the one hand, the media serve as agents of reform and consumer protection by informing the public about the outrageous practices of business. Yet at the same time, the media are businesses themselves with a profound financial stake in limiting the powers of government to regulate advertising.

The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 and the Wheeler-Lea Amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act became law together on 30 June 1938 after almost five years of intense lobbying as a relatively weak compromise over the original proposal for a complete overhaul of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906.[1] Extremely dependent upon the revenues of drug advertising during the Great Depression—John E. Nichols estimated that the industries affected by the new legislation represented 43 percent of all national advertising in 1933—and conscious of threats by the drug industry to pull all advertising if the legislation passed, many newspapers actually participated in the effort to defeat it by their omission of coverage.[2] Yet as this struggle intensified, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was operating what

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J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
776-788

Elizabeth M. Witherspoon is a doctoral student at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. *The author wishes to thank Margaret A. Blanchard and colleagues at the 1997 American Journalism Historians Association convention in Mobile, AL, who all provided valuable comments on this manuscript.*

some regard as the strictest form of self-censorship of drug advertising at that time.[3]

Scholars have chronicled the struggle to reform the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and, to some degree, the role of the media in that five-year effort.[4] However, noticeably absent from this discussion has been an analysis of how the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* dealt with the issue.[5] In light of Pulitzer's rigorous program of self-censorship of drug advertising at that time, it is worth examining how this newspaper covered the debate over this legislation and to compare it to coverage of the newspaper of record, the *New York Times*. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. characterized media coverage of this issue and the role of the *New York Times* as follows: "As for the bill, whether for fear of lost advertising revenue or for other reasons, the press subjected it to an almost total blackout, except for splenetic denunciations of Tugwell. Even the *New York Times*, in the five years of the struggle, put the story only once on the front page (and this because of a disturbance made by a spectator in the Senate galleries)."[6]

This study seeks answers to the following questions: How did the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* cover the introduction in 1933 of legislation to reform the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906? Did the editorial coverage reflect Joseph Pulitzer II's strong position in favor of refusing misleading or objectionable drug advertising? Or, did the *Post-Dispatch* virtually ignore coverage of the legislation, as scholars have suggested the *New York Times* did?[7] If not, to what extent did the *Post-Dispatch* cover the issue and how far did it go in terms of a crusade to get the legislation passed?

A detailed content analysis of five years of two daily newspapers is beyond the scope of this article. However, key indicators for comparing how these newspapers dealt with the proposed reform of the Pure Food and Drug Act can be found in how they covered two events: (1) Senate hearings of the proposed legislation on 7-8 December 1933, and (2) the poisoning deaths of over 100 people nationwide by an elixir manufactured by the S.E. Massengill Co. in October and November 1937. This second event tragically provided the impetus for final passage of the highly amended version of the legislation.

A content analysis comparing the news coverage and editorials by the *Post-Dispatch* and the *Times* of these two events reveals a stark contrast between these two newspapers. It dispels the broad generalization by previous scholars that the entire newspaper industry succumbed to pressures and threats of lost advertising revenue by the drug industry and prolonged the effort to reform the Pure Food and Drug Act.[8] In fact, the following analysis shows that Joseph Pulitzer II, publisher of the *Post-Dispatch*, adhered to a set of principles much different from his father's and that he brought those principles to that newspaper in 1906 as a publisher in training. Furthermore, this study shows that the *New York Times* did indeed ignore these key national events and, for at least this example, did not live up to its motto, "all the news that's fit to print," nor its reputation as the nation's newspaper of record.

Advertising, the Law, and Self-Censorship

Using United States Census data, Frank Presbrey estimated that by 1927 expenditures by national advertisers in newspapers and periodicals had reached $1 billion. The leading category for both newspapers and periodicals was automotive advertising followed by food (14.6% of advertising in periodicals; 13% of advertising in newspapers). According to Presbrey's categories, "drugs and toilet goods" ranked third in periodicals, at 13.3%, and "toilet goods and druggist's sundries" ranked fourth in newspapers, at 9%. The tobacco industry in that year comprised 12% of advertising in newspapers and 1.8% of periodicals. To illustrate the tremendous growth of the advertising industry in the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, Presbrey provided examples of the bulging advertising budgets of certain products, among them the Listerine mouthwash campaign, begun in 1921 at $11,000 per month and increased to $300,000 per month by 1927.[9] Another estimate, mentioned previously, was that 43% of all national advertising would have been affected by the new legislation as introduced in 1933.[10]

Since publication of *Collier's* magazine's muckraking expose of patent medicines in 1905, Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* the next year, and passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, the advertising industry had come under greater scrutiny. However, the new legislation did little to protect consumers; it only prohibited manufacture or sale of adulterated or blatantly misbranded foods or drugs and did nothing to penalize misleading or deceptive advertising practices.[11] With the passage of the Federal Trade Commission Act in 1914, the government gained powers to regulate advertising when it became an issue of unfair competition. However, it was not until the Wheeler-Lea Amendment, passed in 1938, that the FTC obtained the power to regulate advertising as an aspect of unfair consumer practices.[12]

In an effort to forestall further government intervention, the advertising industry at a convention in Boston attempted self-regulation in 1911 with adoption of the Printer's Ink model statute. This proposed statute, which the industry lobbied states to adopt, made it a misdemeanor for an advertiser to publish "any assertion, representation or statement which is untrue, deceptive or misleading." By 1940, twenty-six states had adopted the statute, and another seventeen had passed some weaker version of it. At about the same time, Better Business Bureaus arose for the industry to deal specifically with misleading or deceptive advertising.[13]

Newspapers and magazines began to set various standards of acceptability for advertising during this period. However, Louis M. Lyons attributed the rapid growth of national advertising, from the automobile industry in particular, more to the willingness of publishers to refuse deceptive drug advertising than any other motive.[14] The *New York Times* developed its Index Expurgatorious between 1905 and 1910 and actually offered a $100 reward "for the arrest and conviction of anyone obtaining money through the medium of a misleading or fraudulent advertisement" in its columns.[15] Daniel Pfaff notes that by 1929, when Joseph Pulitzer II instituted his program at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, some form of self-censorship of advertising by newspapers and periodicals was common. However, Pfaff also notes, which will be detailed later, Pulitzer's program was perhaps the most systematic of any to date.[16]

Pulitzer v. Pulitzer

Within the first ten days of his 1906 arrival in St. Louis, Joseph Pulitzer II wrote his father regarding "the disgraceful medical ads that we print.... They are not only disgusting but are a mean deception of the ignorant public that can in no way be justified." He followed this letter with clippings of medical ads and the admonishment: "I can't believe that you realize what these damned medical ads say, and how much dreadful harm they do. If you did realize it then I'm sure you wouldn't permit them to appear in your newspapers, both of which, as you know, claim to be respectable 'home' newspapers intended for the fireside and the home."[17]

The younger Pulitzer received a swift and harsh reply from Alfred Butes, personal secretary to his ailing father: "You were sent out to learn your profession—not to kill the medical ads. ...You are not a competent judge. ...You know very well that the paper is in charge of competent managers who have the fullest control, and are men of character. The responsibility is *theirs.*" [emphasis in original][18] This exchange of letters put a severe strain on the relationship between the younger and elder Pulitzer at a time when the elder was making key decisions about which of his three sons should inherit and run his two newspapers, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *New York World*.

Despite the ire he had raised within his father and the risk to his inheritance, the younger Pulitzer did not let up on his emerging crusade against deceptive medical ads. Writing to his brother, Ralph, in 1907, who was then running the *New York World*, he pointed out the irony that his father's pet phrase was, "sacrifice everything to the public interest," in light of the current practice of running such ads. He wrote: "...how can anyone really believe that he [Joseph Pulitzer] and the paper are sincere when we carry this fraudulent, deceptive stuff and make ourselves every day parties to the crime of ruining the fortunes and health of scores of ignorant people who believe in the paper they read, many of them no less fervently than they believe in the Bible?" He also appealed to his brother's business interests when he added: "And forgetting for a moment the moral side of it, what a hell of a nice fix we'd be in ... if Hearst should come out tomorrow with a full page announcement that the Hearst papers will hereafter reject all doubtful medical and financial clairvoyant fake ads."[19] However, his brother was of the same mind as his father.

Again, in 1911, the younger Pulitzer jeopardized his future when he wrote to his father: "In view of the fact that all the reputable high class magazines and newspapers no longer print such ads, I respectfully submit the suggestion that both as a matter of ethical policy and as a matter of business policy, ads of this nature should be thrown out of the paper, not so much because they are fraudulent and disgusting as because they tend to undermine whatever elevating influence the paper derives from the tone of its undoubtedly high-class editorial page, and from the much improved tone of its news columns."[20] According to Daniel Pfaff, by then the subject was so sensitive to the elder Pulitzer that barely six words of the letter were read before he exploded and dictated an angry reply forbidding his son to ever speak of this subject again.[21]

Due in part to the ongoing battle between the father and son, when the elder Joseph Pulitzer died later in 1911, he left no clear plan of succession. However, fortunately the sons were able to amicably divide responsibilities such that the younger Pulitzer assumed the titles of editor and publisher at the *Post-Dispatch*.[22]

As mentioned previously, at the time that the Pulitzer papers were passing into the hands of this new generation, the advertising industry was also beginning to take action regarding threats within its own industry and recognized the need for some sort of self-restraint of deceptive advertising, or else, it feared, there would be government intervention. The advertising industry drafted the Printer's Ink model statute and lobbied state legislatures to adopt it. At the same time, Better Business Bureaus were forming around the country specifically to deal with complaints of false or misleading advertising.[23]

Pfaff has also chronicled in detail the aggressive program Joseph Pulitzer II instituted in 1929 to screen and reject misleading or objectionable medical advertisements. Though he established it a mere five months prior to the stock market crash, he continued rejecting such advertising into the Great Depression years as economic conditions worsened and advertising revenue became harder and harder to maintain.[24]

In 1929, Pulitzer created a three-member Advertising Censorship Board of *Post-Dispatch* advertising executives. Their charge was to screen all advertisements for misleading or deceptive claims. Early on they focused almost exclusively on medical ads, invoking Pulitzer's rule: "When in doubt, leave it out." During the Great Depression years the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*'s advertising lineage declined 40 percent. ACB records indicate that in the years 1929-1939, the ACB turned away an average of $63,220 in unacceptable advertising annually, in addition to the cost of the man-hours devoted to the task of screening such ads.[25]

The ACB drafted a list of censorship guidelines and distributed them in-house to advertising department personnel, as well as outside the organization to their advertisers and advertising agencies. When the ACB was unsure or lacked the medical knowledge to make a decision about an ad, they sent it outside to a medical expert for review. As a result, the ACB often required revision of the ad prior to publication, or else banned it altogether.[26]

Many times, the *Post-Dispatch* was ahead of the government in protecting the consumer and refused ads that later the Federal Trade Commission prohibited. For example, in 1931 the *Post-Dispatch* rejected an ad for a baby food that claimed the product enhanced the body's ability to store calcium. It was not until 1937 that the FTC forced the manufacturer to stop making that claim.[27]

New Legislation

By the time President Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated in 1933, pressure had mounted for an overhaul of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. A member of FDR's "brain trust," Rexford G. Tugwell, assistant secretary of agriculture, and Walter G. Campbell, director of what was then known as the Pure Food and Drug Administration, drafted stiff new legislation calling for powers by the FDA to prohibit drug advertising with misleading claims or that purported a drug to be a cure when it was only a palliative.[28] Sen. Royal S. Copeland (Democrat-New York) introduced the bill with the backing of Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace, 12 June 1933 for discussion but no intended action until the next session of Congress.[29] Still, it was part of the rapid and comprehensive set of new legislation introduced by FDR during his legendary first "Hundred Days" in office.[30]

The *Post-Dispatch* ran a substantial piece—approximately sixteen inches long—under the headline, "New, Stiffer Food and Drug Act Is Sent To Congress," on page 11A. It matter-of-factly detailed the provisions of the bill, including a definition of the term "misbranding," and the penalties for violation.[31]

The Senate held public hearings on the bill beginning 7 December 1933.[32] However, the *Post-Dispatch* prepared its readers for the news. Front and center of the editorial page on 5 December ran an approximately twenty-five-inch story by its Washington correspondent under the headline, "Food and Drug Law Reform Bill Comes Up for Hearing This Week; Powerful Lobby Is Fighting It," and subhead, "Patent Medicine Interests Oppose Legislation That Would Forbid False Claims and Make Them Tell What Is in

TABLE 1

Coverage of First Senate Hearings on Proposed Legislation to Overhaul the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, 5-9 December 1933

Type of Coverage	*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, No. Stories	*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Total No. Words	*New York Times*, No. Stories	*New York Times*, Total No. Words
New Stories - Staff-written	2	2,670	0	0
Editorials - Staff-written	2	1,173	0	0
Editorials - Guest	1	350	0	0
Total	5	4,193	0	0

Their Bottles." The story opened with news of the upcoming Senate hearings, then provided historical background of the proposed legislation. It also detailed the arguments posed by lobbyists against the legislation, the "Fault of the Present Law," a gruesome description of the exhibit known as "The Chamber of Horrors," and support by FDR for the legislation. The Chamber of Horrors was an exhibit arranged by the Food and Drug Administration for the hearings to illustrate the need for the new law. It featured photographs of maimed and deceased victims of patent medicines and cosmetics that would be banned or labeled more safely under the new law.[33]

The *Post-Dispatch*'s coverage continued that week with a thirty-six-inch story on page 2A headlined, "Wallace Backs Food, Drug Bill Before Senators," and subheads that included, "Girl Blinded by Eyelash Preparation; Prizes in Candy Swallowed by Children; Trick Containers." It described the Senate hearings in detail, focusing heavily again on the gruesome details of The Chamber of Horrors Exhibit, presentation of it as evidence supporting new legislation, testimony by Secretary Wallace, and the "record crowd of patent medicine manufacturers, drug company officials and their lawyers and lobbyists," that forced the proceedings to a larger room.[34] The same day, an editorial ran detailing action by the Health Board of New York to forbid manufacture, sale, or use of eyebrow or eyelash dyes containing harmful ingredients. It applauded New York's efforts, stating, "This action, the first by any city or state in the country, anticipates one reform sought by revision of the Food and Drug Act, which will be considered by the next session of Congress."[35] Even with the local connection and involvement of the First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt expressing horror at photographs of a young woman blinded by eyelash dyes, the *New York Times* had no coverage on its news or editorial pages of the proceedings 5-8 December 1933. (See Table 1.)

Before the week was out, the *Post-Dispatch* had run another lengthy news story on page 2A detailing the second day of Senate hearings and an editorial from the *Canning Trade*. The canning industry ardently opposed the 1906 law along with other industries. This editorial spoke to others in the canning industry about how times had changed and how the industry needed to be on the right side of this new legislation. It closed with the line: "So the new law will be enacted, because it is needed."[36]

The Poisonous Elixir

By the time first word of poisoning deaths resulting from use of S.E. Massengill's mixture of sulfanilamide made news, in 1937 the legislation was still languishing in Congress. A substitute bill for the version that had passed the Senate was scheduled to come before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in the upcoming session of Congress.[37]

A key issue that had had the legislation locked in debate for more than four years was which federal agency should have jurisdiction to regulate advertising of foods, drugs, and cosmetics, and how much power should it have. The Senate version of the new food, drug, and cosmetic legislation contained a prohibition of false advertising.[38] However, the House version did not.[39] Ultimately, as a compromise, the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 held jurisdiction only over product labeling, while the Wheeler-Lea Amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act passed that year gave the FTC the power to regulate advertising.[40] The mounting national death toll resulting from the Massengill Elixir is what finally prompted Congress to work out this compromise.

The Massengill Elixir poisonings were the accidental deaths of more than 100 people nationwide from a liquid mixture of sulfanilamide manufactured by the S.E. Massengill Co. of Bristol, Tennessee, and prescribed by physicians in the treatment of various types of infections. Under existing law, the mixture could be manufactured and sold without tests of any kind to determine whether it was harmful. Furthermore, existing law only allowed the government to seize the poison because it was mislabeled an "elixir," which by definition meant it contained alcohol, when actually it was a "solution" containing no alcohol; had it been labeled a "solution," the government could not have seized it.[41]

The *Post-Dispatch* broke its first story 19 October 1937, with the headline, "Four Deaths Here Among 13 Laid To Use Of New Drug."[42] Most newsworthy in this staff-written story was the fact that four East St. Louis residents had died closely following the death of nine people in Tulsa, Oklahoma, after taking the Massengill sulfanilamide. The story also noted a warning issued by the American Medical Association against the elixir and recall of shipments by the company. The *Times* ran its first two stories, from the Associated Press (AP), the next day on page 18. One was a brief about the deaths in St. Louis, the other about the FDA's seizure of the elixir.[43]

From 21 October through 27 October, the *Post-Dispatch* ran seven daily news stories, including a lengthy one with an AP photo of an FDA inspector and chemist together holding a bottle of confiscated elixir, and two editorials calling for reform of the Pure Food and Drug Act.[44] In contrast, during that same period the *Times* ran only two stories. One covered a lecture by a local physician who asked for better government oversight of drugs and cosmetics but made no mention of the elixir deaths. The other was a brief from the AP about elixir deaths in Mississippi.[45] (See Table 2.)

It is noteworthy that three of these five days covered by the *Post-Dispatch* and not covered by the *Times* featured AP stories about the rising national death toll and actions by the FDA to confiscate the elixir from all distribution points. While the *Post-Dispatch* had a sustaining interest in the story due to the fact that it began with four deaths in St. Louis, practically overnight this became a national story.

Even more surprising is that even as local ties to this national story became evident for the *Times*, with seizure of the elixir in the Northeast,[46] the *Times* still lagged behind the *Post-Dispatch* in running AP stories from 30

TABLE 2

Coverage of Massengill Elixir Sulfanilamide Poisoning Deaths, 19 October to 27 November 1937

Type of Coverage	*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* No. Stories	*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* Total No. Words	*New York Times,* No. Stories	*New York Times,* Total No. Words
News Stories - Staff	7	3,192	1	183
News Stories - AP	10	2,717	5	396
Editorials - Staff	4	1,823	0	0
Editorials - Guest	3	1,891	0	0
Letters to Editor	0	0	1	80
Total	24	9,623	7	659

October through 27 November. During that period, the *Post-Dispatch* ran three AP stories, four staff-written news stories (including one about a *Journal of American Medical Association* editorial calling for reform of the Pure Food and Drug Act and two about Congressional actions), four editorials, and an editorial cartoon.[47] Three of these news stories appeared on the front page, including one that ran the full length in the center of the page starting immediately under the banner and jumping to page 3.[48]

Significant in the comparison of the coverage by these two papers of this event is how they treated—or, in the case of the *Times*, ignored—national reaction to the mounting death toll and its relationship to the adequacy of the Pure Food and Drug Act. The American Medical Association was an early voice in the crisis, first issuing a warning to physicians regarding prescription of the drug, later issuing almost daily reports of the death toll, and finally calling for reform of the drug law in an editorial in its highly respected trade journal. Both the U.S. Senate and the House passed resolutions directing the Department of Agriculture to report on the status of the crisis. Finally, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace presented his report to the Senate 26 November, stating that seventy-three deaths were directly attributable to the elixir and another twenty were probably attributable.[49] The *Times* reported none of these actions in its pages.

An analysis of the *Post-Dispatch*'s editorials surrounding this event reveals the apparent crusade taken up by Pulitzer. The angry tone escalated as did the death toll over those five weeks. On 22 October, the *Post-Dispatch* posed the question, "Why should not the Federal and state governments have power to keep such deadly preparations off the market until they can be safely used?" under the headline, "22 More Human Guinea Pigs Die."[50] By 27 November, it was demanding: "The deaths of the 73 elixir victims are direct results of the present law's weakness. That fact outweighs all the arguments advanced by the obstructionists at previous sessions of Congress," under the headline, "Reform The Drug Law!"[51] In the interim, it ran a haunting three-column editorial cartoon depicting a hooded skeleton holding a bottle of poison breaking through a tear in a copy of the Pure Food and Drug Act titled, "Wide Open."[52]

The *Post-Dispatch* also made use of reprints from two trade publications in its editorial page coverage, both calling for stronger drug laws. Under the bold headline, "Pharmaceutical Tragedy" a reprint from the *Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter* stated: "It is inevitable that the 'poison elixir' calamity will arouse public sentiment for speedy and closely tightening revision of the Food and Drugs Act. There will be no great difficulty in calling up a pending bill in the special session of Congress. It cannot be denied that revision of the law has been too long deferred."[53] In addition to news coverage of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*'s editorial on the crisis, the *Post-Dispatch* reprinted that editorial on its own page. Under the headline, "Deadly Elixir and Drug Laws," it quoted the *JAMA* as stating: "The Food and Drug Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture has rendered conspicuous service in the present circumstance, even though our present laws are so woefully inefficient as to hamper its authority... The catastrophe that has occurred may well stimulate Congress to the development of comprehensive and effective legislation."[54]

Conclusions

In terms of amount and tone of news and editorial coverage, the evidence is clear that the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *New York Times* took very different approaches to the struggle for reform of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. The *Post-Dispatch* was a crusader for reform of the drug law and was unafraid to speak strongly in favor of new legislation even as the drug industry and others threatened publications with loss of advertising revenue during perhaps the worst economic downturn in our nation's history. It served as a notable exception to the generalization that the entire newspaper industry succumbed to this pressure and fueled lobbyists' efforts to defeat the legislation, if not speaking out directly against it then by helping to keep the issue off the public's news agenda. Meanwhile, the *Times* does appear to have done just that—virtually ignored Senate hearings on the legislation in 1933, despite the fact that the bill was introduced by New York Sen. Royal S. Copeland, and scantily covered the Massengill sulfanilamide elixir poisonings, even though it was a national tragedy.

In these examples, at least, the *New York Times* did not live up to its motto, "all the news that's fit to print," nor its reputation among scholars as the nation's newspaper of record. This study provides some evidence that scholarly over-reliance on the *New York Times* as the official record or benchmark for coverage of certain national events can misinform mass communications history. Furthermore, this study extends the comprehensive work by Pfaff and others on the program of advertising self-censorship practiced by Joseph Pulitzer II at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* during the 1930s by also examining the news and editorial pages during that period.

NOTES

1. Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, 25 June 1938, c. 675 § 1, 52 Stat. 1040; now found at 21 U.S.C.A. § 301; Wheeler-Lea Amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act, 52 Stat. 111. As originally introduced, the legislation would have completely overhauled the Pure Food and Drug Act and included penalties for false advertising of food, drugs or cosmetics. For a comprehensive legislative history, including testimony, bills, and amendments introduced throughout the five-year struggle, see Charles

Wesley Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act: A Statement of Its Legislative Record* (New York: G.E. Stechert & Co., 1938).

Dunn, 26-27, from the original bill: "The terms of the present Food and Drugs Act are not applicable to advertising statements relating to foods, drugs, and cosmetics. . . The need for control of serious abuses in the advertising field has long been recognized by the public, by ethical manufacturers and advertising specialists. . . Under the new bill the label provisions of the law will apply also to all forms of advertising, the responsibility for the truth of such statements being the manufacturer's not the publisher's."

After protracted debate over five years, as enacted in 1938, jurisdiction for advertising of food, drugs, and cosmetics was transferred to the Federal Trade Commission via the Wheeler-Lea Amendment.

2. See John E. Nichols, "Publishers and Drug Advertising: 1933-38," *Journalism Quarterly* 49 (spring 1972): 144-47; Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958), 359; "Tugwell Bill Turmoil," *Business Week*, 2 December 1933, 7, referenced in Nichols, 144-45. Nichols wrote: "Several months after the bill had been introduced, about a thousand newspapers had editorialized against it, six for it," 145.

3. Daniel W. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship, 1929-1939*, Journalism Monographs, no. 77 (Columbia, SC: AEJMC, July 1982), 3.

4. In addition to Nichols and Schlesinger, see Otis Pease, *The Responsibilities of American Advertising: Private Control and Public Influence, 1920-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 44-137; Charles O. Jackson, *Food and Drug Legislation In The New Deal* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

For a detailed account by the information officer of the FDA at the time, see Ruth deForest Lamb, *American Chamber of Horrors: The Truth About Food and Drugs* (New York: Arno Press, 1936, 1976). Also, the advertising industry trade publication, *Printer's Ink*, chronicled the debate over reform of the Pure Food and Drug Act from 1933-1938.

5. Jackson, 41-42, briefly mentions activity by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "Whether from indifference or malice, the lack of positive press was a fact to the drug administration. Many people worked hard to make it otherwise . . . Not all the attempts paid off. Dr. Beattie's initial editorial endeavors were flatly rejected by *Good Housekeeping*, a fact she ascribed to the 'Almighty Advertiser.'

"Yet there were also notable successes. One was Paul Anderson of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, who had been a friend of FDA at least since he covered the ergot investigation of 1930. He proved very receptive to Miss Lamb's call for aid, worked closely with her, and in the coming years provided extremely strong editorial support in both the *Post-Dispatch* and the *Nation*."

6. Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt*, 359.

7. Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt*, 359.

8. See note 2; Nichols, "Publishers and Drug Advertising," 144-45; Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt*, 359; Jackson, *Food and Drug Legislation In The New Deal*.

9. Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929), 593-96. "Increase in net profits of the Lambert Company, owners of Listerine, from $115,000 in 1920 to $4,000,000 in 1927 explains the expansion of the advertising appropriation and tells the story of the efficacy of a word dug out of the medical dictionary

and made a heading for advertisements: 'Halitosis'!"

10. See note 2; Nichols, "Publishers and Drug Advertising," 144.

11. Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, c. 3915 § 8, 34 Stat. 770: "That the term 'misbranded,' as used herein, shall apply to all drugs, or articles of food, or articles which enter into the composition of food, the package or label of which shall bear any statement, design, or device regarding such article, or the ingredients or substances contained therein which shall be false or misleading in any particular, and to any food or drug product which is falsely branded as to the State, Territory, or country in which it is manufactured or produced."

12. Federal Trade Commission Unfairness Policy Statement, 17 December 1980: "In 1914 the statute was phrased only in terms of 'unfair methods of competition,' and the reference to 'unfair acts or practices' was not added until the Wheeler-Lea Amendment in 1938."

Amendment to Federal Trade Commission Act, c. 49 § 4, 52 Stat. 114, 26 March 1938: "Such Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof new sections to read as follows: Sec. 12. (a) It shall be unlawful fo any person, partnership, or corporation to disseminate, or cause to be disseminated, any false advertisement—

(1) By United States mails, or in commerce by any means, for the purpose of inducing, or which is likely to induce, directly or indirectly the purchase of food, drugs, devices, or cosmetics; or

(2) By any means for the purpose of inducing, or which is likely to induce, directly or indirectly, the purchase in commerce of food, drugs, devices, or cosmetics."

13. Printer's Ink Model Statute, as quoted in Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship*, 5. For the full text, see Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising*, 537. See also, Pease, *The Responsibilities of American Advertising*, 46, for discussion of adoption and use of the statute. For more discussion of the advertising industry's attempts at self-regulation, see Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising*, 536-38; Pease, *The Responsibilities of American Advertising*, 44-86.

14. Louis M. Lyons, *Newspaper Story: One Hundred Years of the Boston Globe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 59, quoted in Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship*, 5.

15. William H. Boyenton, "Origins of Advertising Censorship In the New York Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 19 (June 1942): 143. This article compares the advertising censorship practices of New York newspapers around 1900 with practices around 1921.

16. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship*, 7.

17. Joseph Pulitzer II letter, 20 August 1906, as quoted in Daniel W. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and the Post-Dispatch* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 66.

18. Alfred Butes to Joseph Pulitzer II, 6 September 1906, as quoted in Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and the Post-Dispatch*, 67.

19. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and the Post-Dispatch*, 89, quoting a letter from Joseph Pulitzer II to Ralph Pulitzer, 24 August 1907. Pfaff (1982) noted that following passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, even though it did not affect truth in advertising, more and more publications began to reject outright deceptive patent medicine ads. However, he also points out that economically it was more feasible for publications to do so because of the influx of advertising revenue from the new automobile industry and growth in national mass market goods.

20. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and the Post-Dispatch*, 118, quoting a letter from Joseph Pulitzer II to Joseph Pulitzer, 23 January 1911.

21. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and the Post-Dispatch*, 118-19.

22. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II*, 128.

23. See note 8 above.

24. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship*.

25. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship*, 12.

26. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship*, 17-18.

27. Pfaff, *Joseph Pulitzer II and Advertising Censorship*, 23.

28. Pease, *The Responsibilities of American Advertising*, 116: "The bill empowered the F. and D. A. to prohibit the 'false advertising' of any food or drug, and defined any advertisement as false if, 'by ambiguity and inference,' it 'created a misleading impression.' In particular, manufacturers of drugs could not advance for their product a claim which was 'contrary to the general agreement of medical opinion,' nor could they assert a drug to be a 'cure' if in truth it were only a 'palliative.' Any food, drug, or cosmetic falsely advertised was deemed misbranded and therefore liable to seizure by the Department of Agriculture."

29. Pease, *The Responsibilities of American Advertising*, 116.

30. Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act*, 1033-47, contains the transcript from one of a series of three conferences held by the U.S. Department of Agriculture prior to introduction of the bill with representatives from industries, trade associations, and the professions that would be affected by the new legislation.

31. Raymond P. Brandt, "New, Stiffer Food And Drug Act Is Sent To Congress," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (hereafter P-D), 2 June 1933, sec. A, p. 11.

32. Senate Commerce Committee, 73rd Congress, 2d Session. Hearings on S-1944, 7-8 December 1933. For excerpts from the 505 printed pages of testimony, see Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act*, 1048-11.

33. Paul Y. Anderson, "Food and Drug Law Reform Bill Comes Up for Hearing This Week; Powerful Lobby Is Fighting It," *P-D*, 5 December 1933, editorial, sec. B, p. 1. For a detailed account of the exhibit written by the information officer of the FDA, see Lamb, *American Chamber of Horrors*.

34. Paul Y. Anderson, "Wallace Backs Food, Drug Bill Before Senators," *P-D*, 7 December 1933, sec. A, p. 2.

35. "New York Hits A Health Menace," *P-D*, 7 December 1933, editorial, sec. B, p. 2.

36. From the *Canning Trade*, "A Trade View of Tugwell Bill," *P-D*, 8 December 1933, editorial, sec. C, p. 2.

37. Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act*, 752.

38. Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act*, 693.

39. Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act*, 752-71.

40. Wheeler-Lea Amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act, c. 49 § 1, 52 Stat. 111.

41. Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act*, 1317, *Report of the Secretary of Agriculture On Deaths Due To Elixir Sulfanilamide-Massengill*, 26 November 1937.

42. "Four Deaths Here Among 13 Laid To Use Of New Drug," *P-D*, 19 October 1937, sec. A, p. 3.

43. "Drug Fatality Cause Is Traced To 'Elixir'," *New York Times*, 20 October 1937 (hereafter *NYT*), late edition, p. 18.

44. "6th East Side Death From Suflanilamide," *P-D*, 21 October 1937, sec. A, p. 4; Associated Press, "Sulfanilamide Elixir Kills 6 In Mississippi," *P-D*,

22 October 1937, sec. A, p. 3; Associated Press, "Sulfanilamide Elixir Deaths Increase to 36," *P-D*, sec. A, p. 3; "22 More Human Guinea Pigs Die," *P-D*, 22 October 1937, editorial section, sec. C, p. 2; Associated Press, "Sulfanilamide Elixir Deaths Increase to 36," *P-D*, 24 October 1937, sec. A, p. 9 (this story repeated from previous day and ran in column above the next story); Associated Press, "Elixir Sulfanilamide Manufacturer Disclaims Responsibility," *P-D*, 24 October 1937, sec. A, p. 9; "Two More Deaths Here From Elixir Of Sulfanilamide," *P-D*, 25 October 1937, sec. A, p. 3; "Most Sulfanilamide Is Recovered," *P-D*, 26 October 1937, sec. A, p. 10; "The Fatal Elixir," *P-D*, 26 October 1937, editorial section, sec. C, p. 2; Associated Press, "Elixir Sulfanilamide Death List Reaches 55," *P-D*, 27 October 1937, sec. A, p. 4.

45. "Health Regulation Urged for Industry," *NYT*, 21 October 1937, late edition, p. 19; Associated Press, "Lays Death of 6 To Elixir," *NYT*, 22 October 1937, late edition, p. 4.

46. "Fatal Elixir Seized Here As Adulterated," *NYT*, 30 October 1937, late edition, p. 5; Associated Press, "More Die of Elixir Poison," *NYT*, 30 October 1937, late edition, p. 5.

47. Reprint from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, "Deadly Elixir and Drug Laws," *P-D*, 30 October 1937, editorial, sec. A, p. 4; "Sulfanilamide Elixir Deaths Bring Demand for U.S. Curb," *P-D*, 2 November 1937, sec. A, p. 1; Associated Press, "Elixir of Sulfanilamide Death Toll Now 67," *P-D*, 3 November 1937, sec. A, p. 1; Associated Press, "Sulfanilamide Elixir Toll," *P-D*, 4 November 1937, sec. A, p. 6; "Elixir Deaths Proof Of Law's Inadequacy," *P-D*, 8 November 1937, sec. A, p. 4; "A Trade Journal On The Elixir Deaths," *P-D*, 9 November 1937, editorial, sec. C, p. 2; Reprint from the *Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter*, "Pharmaceutical Tragedy," *P-D*, 9 November 1937, editorial, sec. C, p. 2; Associated Press, "U.S. Court Orders Seizure Of Elixir Of Sulfanilamide," *P-D*, 12 November 1937; "Wide Open," *P-D*, 12 November 1937, editorial cartoon, sec. E, p. 2; "House Action On Fatal Elixir," *P-D*, 18 November 1937, sec. B, p. 1; "'Elixir' Deaths Basis of Plea to Change Drug Law," P-D, 26 November 1937, sec. A, p. 1; "Reform The Drug Law!" *P-D*, 27 November 1937, editorial, sec. A, p. 4.

48. "Sulfanilamide Elixir Deaths Bring Demand for U.S. Curb," *P-D*, 2 November 1937, sec. A, p. 1; Associated Press, "Elixir of Sulfanilamide Death Toll Now 67," *P-D*, 3 November 1937, sec. A, p. 1; "'Elixir' Deaths Basis of Plea to Change Drug Law," *P-D*, 26 November 1937, sec. A, p. 1.

49. Dunn, *Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act*, 1316-27, full text of Senate Document No. 124, 75th Congress, 2d Session.

50. "22 More Human Guinea Pigs Die," *P-D*, 22 October 1937, editorial, sec. C, p. 2.

51. "Reform The Drug Law!" *P-D*, 27 November 1937, editorial, sec. A, p. 4.

52. "Wide Open," *P-D*, 12 November 1937, editorial cartoon, sec. E, p. 2.

53. Reprinted from the *Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter*, "Pharmaceutical Tragedy," *P-D*, 9 November 1937, editorial, sec. C, p. 2.

54. Reprint from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, "Deadly Elixir and Drug Laws," *P-D*, 30 October 1937, editorial, sec. A, p. 4.

From Barriers to Challenges: Career Perceptions of Women TV News Anchors

By Erika Engstrom and Anthony J. Ferri

A survey of 128 local women anchors found that they rank concerns with their physical appearance, conflicts between the roles of wife/mother and newscaster, and difficulties in balancing career and family as their major career challenges. A comparison of this study's results with those of a 1986 study shows that women anchors today continue to perceive physical appearance as a major challenge in their work. However, their concerns about entry into the profession have shifted to issues related to the maintenance of career and family goals.

Introduction

Women now comprise more than a third of the television news workforce in the United States and half of all television news reporters and anchors.[1] In the past twenty-five years, their numbers have increased a dramatic 23 percent; in 1972 women made up less than 13 percent of the TV news workforce.[2] These statistics show that women apparently have achieved some parity in on-air news positions and certainly have made progress in the management side of the TV news industry, at least at the local level.[3]

Feminist scholars have examined the implications of the increased number of women in the media industry. With more women in the media workplace, one would predict a subsequent influence in the resulting messages they create, such as news stories focusing on women's issues or portrayal of women in entertainment programming. While Marshment[4] notes some positive changes in films and TV shows, Creedon[5] points out that no significant changes have occurred in actual media practices as a result of the "gender switch" of the 1970s, when more women than men were enrolled in college media courses. She asserts in her 1993 updated edition of *Women in Mass Communication*: "The quiet revolution in values we expected to result from the gender switch...has not occurred. The potential of the gender switch to bring about a paradigmatic rupture in the basic assumptions of mass communication practice is as yet largely unrealized."[6] Here, we examine, to an extent, why such changes have not yet occurred by considering the factors of everyday work experiences which may hinder women from progressing in their careers, and subsequently, from instigating those expected changes.

In that the journalism profession serves as a reflection of the workplace in general,[7] its participants, especially anchors and reporters who appear in actual media content, serve as representatives of the industry. Regarding the prominence of TV anchors, as Stone stated more than twenty

Erika Engstrom and Anthony J. Ferri are associate professors in the Hank Greenspun School of Communication, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. *The authors thank Carl Cook of UNLV Alumni Relations, Erin Finley, and Susan Schiller for their assistance.*

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
789-802

years ago, "No other occupation is so visible and able to provide a daily example of men and women working as equals."[8] While viewers, thus, society, might see this equality on camera, we aim to find out whether women anchors perceive themselves as being equal to their male counterparts off camera. Such perceptions would serve to provide insight not only into the "professional health" of women anchors,[9] but also the constraints they experience on the job that might affect their professional progress.

Using Richardson's assertion that the "everyday accomplishment of work is a socially structured activity that takes place in the context of a culture,"[10] we can consider the TV newsroom as a kind of culture, one in which its members hold certain roles, sets of expected behaviors and values defined by society based on their occupants' social categories.[11] From a symbolic interactionist perspective, roles are viewed as *gestalts*, organized sets of ideas or principles related to expected behaviors.[12]

Taking this concept a step further, the role of women anchors, then, not only encompasses the industry's expectations for news anchors, but also gender roles—society's expectations for females.[13] For example, society historically has expected women to marry, have children, and stay at home. While women's choices and options have significantly changed, these traditional expectations still exist for women who choose to work outside the home.[14] Conflicts between work and home also pose special problems and additional stresses for women that most men might not experience.[15] Another traditional gender role expectation for women calls for them to take an interest in their appearance,[16] with beauty and youth, according to Wood, still pushed as the exemplar of successful womanhood.[17]

To more fully understand women's progress in the broadcasting profession, we also must take into account the connection between work and personal life. By doing so, we can obtain a more accurate picture of how women cope with the various expectations they must confront at work, and in turn, in society. As Richardson points out, ". . . it is when we address ourselves to private lives that we can perhaps see most clearly how culture, socialization, and the institutions that socially control adults are integrally enmeshed."[18]

By considering these various aspects of women news anchors' roles, we can better document the industry, societal, and personal expectations that may deter their career advancement or interfere with nonwork-related aspects of their lives. Additional profession-specific challenges, such as long and irregular hours and the willingness to relocate in order to advance in their careers, to name only a few, also can affect women's progress in the field. We aim here to discover how these various facets relate to the unique challenges women in broadcasting face in building their careers.

Background

Past research and personal stories show women have experienced consistent and significant side effects of working in the journalism industry. Weaver and Wilhoit noted that, "One of the continuing challenges for women in journalism—like their counterparts in other fields—is the difficulty of combining career and family."[19] This difficulty in balancing career and family life serves as an especially salient one for women broadcasters, as noted by Gelfman in her 1976 study of women anchors and reporters, and by veteran network newscaster Marlene Sanders in *Waiting for Prime Time: The Women of Television News*.[20]

Women in TV news face other career-specific obstacles. These have included an overemphasis on personal appearance[21] and gender-based decision making, or the male "buddy system," in terms of story assignment, hiring, and promotion.[22] Women TV reporters often found themselves doing "soft news" features.[23] For example, former ABC network correspondent Marlene Sanders' typical assignment during presidential campaigns was to report on the activities of the candidates' wives.[24]

In recent years, the press has traced the progress of women anchors and reporters at the networks, with articles that describe CBS news anchor Connie Chung's dismissal[25] and the unequal ratio of men and women network correspondents.[26] Some also have focused on several of the career issues mentioned here; examples include articles on the strict treatment of women anchors' make-up and hairstyles at the major networks due to executives' concerns over physical appearance[27] and clothing choices of network anchorwomen.[28] Issues related to conflicts involving family and work have received attention as well, especially in terms of how women anchors at the network level deal with them. These include network maternity leave policies[29] and how women anchors cope with motherhood.[30]

Ferri and Keller[31] systematically studied these career factors in their nationwide survey of 68 local women television anchors, conducted in 1984. That study's results confirmed that, for the women news anchors in their sample, barriers stemming from inequitable standards applied to men and women anchors did exist. Among those career obstacles deemed most salient to the news anchors in their study, Ferri and Keller list several: (1) an overemphasis on women's physical appearance; (2) hiring practices based on applicants' sex; (3) overcoming stereotypical attitudes about women's role in society; (4) proving their competence and worth as broadcasters; (5) conflicts between work and family (a traditionally female career barrier); and (6) difficulties in gaining access to networking opportunities (overcoming the "buddy system").

Ferri and Keller also asked their subjects how they felt about other personally perceived career impairments, which they took from anecdotal accounts of women news anchors, such as lack of encouragement from family and peers and lack of personal confidence. Women anchors reported that these factors did not significantly hinder their career development. Because of the rather small size of their sample, Ferri and Keller acknowledged their results should be considered with caution.

Smith, Fredin, and Nardone[32] examined sex discrimination and discriminatory attitudes among men and women television reporters. In their 1986 survey, 512 local television reporters, 307 men and 199 women (six did not report their sex), responded to various questions concerning story assignment based on reporters' sex. While the researchers "found little evidence for tangible sexism of the kind that would be grounds for legal action," their findings "suggest that sexist attitudes persist."[33] They concluded: "Until women acquire equity with men at the highest levels of management, it seems likely that these attitudes will continue to affect the working lives of women in television news."[34] The authors also noted that after presenting their results to a local chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists, two of three local women TV anchors commented that the researchers did not address the "difficulty of having both a family and a TV news career."[35]

Burks and Stone[36] reported a similar finding in their 1993 survey of 55 female and 52 male TV news directors. Their study, they wrote, "presents evidence that female news directors perceive family obligations to impede their career progress."[37] The authors saw this perception by women news managers as helping to account for the under-representation of women in upper management. Further, Burks and Stone concluded that sex discrimination in the TV news workplace might be subsiding; only a third of the women in their sample reported encountering it, a decline from earlier research.

Research Question

In the current study, we examine how women television news anchors in the 1990s are faring in terms of the career barriers they have faced in the past, especially in terms of sex discrimination, family and work conflicts, and other factors in the workplace. To this end, we pose the following research question: What factors do women news anchors today perceive as obstacles to their career development?

By updating Ferri and Keller's[38] research, we can provide a clear picture of how women TV news anchors see themselves and their profession, track their progress within the television news industry, and discover whether they perceive traditional gender role expectations as hindrances to their daily work. We also seek to add to the current knowledge regarding women's status in the media industry, and the working world in general. By doing so, we recognize and hope to contribute to feminist-oriented research, which asserts women's experiences are important in the study of communication overall.[39]

Method

Sample. Of all U.S. television stations listed in the *1996 Broadcasting and Cable Yearbook*,[40] we included only those listing a newsroom or news director's phone number as a basis for selecting our sample. Of the 1,670 television stations listed, 795 met this criterion. Using a random numbers table to determine a starting point on the list of TV stations as it appeared in the *Yearbook*, we included every fourth station. College stations were eliminated from the sample; they were replaced with the next station with a newsroom phone number on the list. If a station listed a newsroom number, but in fact did not have one, the same procedure was followed. Each station's newsroom was telephoned, and the names of the station's main news anchors were gathered. The 241 female anchors of 476 anchors named comprised the survey sample.

Procedure. We conducted our survey in three waves to obtain a response rate of at least 50%, as per Babbie's recommendation.[41] The initial mailing occurred during the late spring of 1997. Four weeks later, a postcard reminder was sent to those anchors that had not returned their questionnaires. After another four weeks, questionnaires were re-mailed to those who had not responded to the second mailing. About twelve weeks after the initial mailing, we achieved a response rate of 53%; 128 of 241 anchors returned completed questionnaires.

Instrument. We used Ferri and Keller's[42] survey to measure respondents' attitudes toward a series of statements concerning factors related to work and personal life that could serve as career obstacles. These included items regarding emphasis on personal appearance, management's differential treatment of anchors based on gender, access to job networking, added pressures on women to prove their worth as a competent broadcasters, relocating in order to advance in the television news industry, and support for their career from family and peers.

Prior to the initial survey mailing, we sent the questionnaire to eight news anchors in our local market, both male and female, who were not included in the sample for their feedback concerning the questionnaire's readability. Based on several comments made by the female anchors concerning gender inequities in salary, we added the item, "My salary is comparable to my male colleagues who have similar qualifications and experience."

We also deleted other items from the original questionnaire that did not pertain specifically to our research question, such as strategies used to overcome career barriers and personal characteristics respondents thought were most important for career advancement. We decided to omit two other items from the original questionnaire due to their prejudicial nature and difficulty in rewording; both referred to minority or male favoritism in the hiring process.

Survey respondents indicated how strongly they agreed or disagreed with the 34 total items contained in the first section of the questionnaire on a five-point, Likert-type scale.[43] These ranged in value from five, for "strongly agree," to one, for "strongly disagree." A value of three was assigned to the response "neither agree or disagree." Additionally, respondents could write in comments in a blank space that accompanied each item. We also included an open-ended item asking anchors to describe other career barriers they experienced.

Items used to assess demographic information included respondents' age, marital status, number of children at home, education level, income, market size, number of years in the broadcasting field, and number of years in their current job. Respondents also indicated how successful they thought they were in their career progress.

Analysis. Our analysis was designed to discover which of the potential career barriers presented in the 34 questionnaire items respondents considered most salient. We differentiated barriers from non-barriers through the use of quartile deviation, also known as the semi-quartile range. To calculate this statistic, the means for the 34 Likert-scale items were arrayed. Mean scores for all items ranged from 3.86 (high) to 1.83 (low). We calculated the third and first quartiles, then the quartile deviation, using Spiegel's formula.[44] By subtracting the quartile deviation from the third quartile, we determined the minimum mean for those items to be considered as important barriers. Non-barriers were determined by subtracting the quartile deviation from the first quartile. The means between the minimum mean required for items to be considered as important barriers and that required for items to be considered non-barriers fell outside the range of consideration for this study, since they represented for the most part the response "neither agree nor disagree."

Thus, we treated item means between 3.86 and 3.38 as perceived important barriers. Conversely, we considered those item means between 2.48 and 1.83 as having a minimal negative impact on respondents' careers.

Results

Demographic Analysis. Respondents' average age was between 30 to 34 years; 28% were age 29 or under, 50% were between 30 and 39 years old, and 22% were between 40 and 49. Most (59%) were married, 31% were single, and 9% were divorced. More than half (56%) reported they had no children living with them. Regarding education level, 86% reported holding a bachelor's degree; 8% had earned a master's degree.

Respondents averaged 6.5 years of experience in the broadcasting industry before obtaining their current job, and 5.4 years in their current

TABLE 1

Perceived Career Barriers for Women Television News Anchors

Description of Item	*N*	Mean	SD	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree
Overemphasis on Physical Appearance	128	3.86	1.14	75%	7%	18%
Conflicts between Roles of Wife/Mother and Newscaster	122	3.64	1.20	62%	20%	18%
Balancing Family and Job	128	3.52	1.16	63%	11%	26%
Lack of Professional Network	127	3.42	1.02	53%	27%	20%
Having to Relocate	128	3.38	1.24	54%	19%	27%

Notes:
(1) The greater an item's mean, the greater its importance as a career barrier.
(2) Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding and missing values.

position. The mean age at which they were appointed to their current position was 29.4 years. Respondents' typical income was between $60,000 and $70,000; 30% reported earning more than $100,000. Forty-five percent disagreed that their salaries were comparable to their male counterparts with similar qualifications and experience; 45% agreed with the statement, and 10% neither agreed nor disagreed. About 91% rated themselves as either professionally "very successful" (50%) or "moderately successful" (41%).

Perceived Career Barriers. Items considered as important career barriers had mean scores ranging from 3.86 to 3.38. These items measured the extent to which anchors agreed: (1) there is overemphasis on their physical appearance; (2) they experience conflicts between the roles of wife/mother and newscaster and (3) difficulties in balancing the time demands of career and family life; (4) there is a lack of a professional network; and (5) relocation is a significant career barrier (see Table 1).

Overemphasis on Physical Appearance. As Table 1 reflects, most respondents agreed or strongly agreed that there exists too much emphasis on their physical appearance. Numerous respondents pointed out that male anchors are allowed more leeway in terms of looks. One, for example, commented, "Men can grow old, have facial hair and be bald, where women must be young, pretty and perky." Another wrote, "A male anchor can age, gray, gain weight, wear glasses, and he's considered seasoned, a woman is considered old." Especially telling were comments that showed how appearance could detract from an anchor's credibility, such as, "A bad hair day negates what I'm saying on the news. I get more comments on my clothing and make-up than on stories."

Several other respondents wrote that comments and criticisms on their appearance seemed to come from both sides of the camera, with complaints from viewers, management, and co-workers. One anchor reiterated that sentiment: "It seems everyone from management to viewers focus on how I look and what I'm wearing than on what I'm saying." One anchor acknowledged women's appearance receives more attention than that of men, but it is "to be expected in society today."

Few respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that they perceive an overemphasis on their appearance. One who disagreed commented, "The men at my station are scrutinized just as heavily for their hair/wardrobe." Some anchors indicated a neutral attitude toward this item, but very few (7%). Wrote one anchor, "Comments on that have waned as my seniority builds. I think that management here is pretty fair when it comes to that."

Conflict between Roles of Wife/Mother and Newscaster. More than half of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they felt a conflict between their roles as wives/mothers and professional newscasters. The importance of this item as a significant career obstacle reflects an ongoing challenge that women in the workplace continue to encounter in this regard.

The difficulty of "juggling it all" seemed most salient, as expected, among married women and mothers. Several respondents commented that the demands of television news, especially its odd hours, make it difficult to find time for family, as one anchor wrote: "Management says it understands, but neither understands nor forgives when there's an emergency and Mom is needed urgently elsewhere." Another wrote, "I've been turned down for jobs once I've mentioned I have a family—it turns into a 'dirty secret.'" One expectant mother commented, "I'm expecting my first, but I'm already feeling the pressure. This business is unforgiving when it comes to family, especially during ratings." Another anchor, not even married yet, expressed concerns about starting a family: "I don't have any children yet but my future husband is also a newscaster. I've seen mothers leave the business because they were too tired of weekends and holidays away from home. How we'll handle it, I don't know."

While most comments illustrated the difficulties women anchors experience regarding conflicts between family and work, 18% disagreed or strongly disagreed that there are serious conflicts between the roles of wife/mother and newscaster. Several did not see this as a career obstacle at all. Wrote one, "I just got back from 12 weeks' maternity leave and am now working half-time and I'm the 6 p.m. anchor!" Another wrote, "I don't see conflicts. I see challenges to be a good mother and a good employee and the time required to accomplish both."

Balancing Time Demands of Family/Self and Job. While a majority of respondents agreed conflicts exist between family-related roles and that of work, so, too, did they agree with the statement, "One career barrier for me has been that the position is so demanding in terms of time that I find it hard to balance my own responsibilities to my family and myself with the time demands of my job." Regarding the anchors' responses, there seemed to be less neutrality on this item, with only 11% indicating they neither agreed nor disagreed that this was a career barrier for them.

Anchors' comments on this item were similar to those made in response to its related roles-conflict item, with a majority of them pointing to the negative effects working in television news has had on their personal lives. As one anchor put it succinctly: "My family ends up coming second." Another anchor, while being able to balance home life and job, commented, "My strange hours make it hard to commit to a friendship." "I've had to stop or ignore my personal life for the sake of my job," agreed another. Additionally, the time demands of a news anchor include putting in extra time beyond those in the newsroom, as one anchor related, "You're often asked to make lots of personal appearances on your free time, etc."

Some anchors found coping with the time demands of their career merely part of the job description. Several of the comments reflecting this opinion include: "I wonder if this is any different than many careers—medicine, law, business, etc.," "We work until the story is done, not until 5 p.m.," "This is not an eight-hour-a-day job." One anchor, however, noted that while she has found "a comfortable middle ground," she has "declined network TV jobs because of too much travel."

Lack of Professional Network. While slightly more than half of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that there exists a lack of a professional network for women, this item elicited few comments. Several pointed out that while there may not be any networking opportunities specifically for television anchors, there do exist several organizations for women in the television field, such as Women in Communications (groups bearing this name exist in several cities) and Women in Radio and Television. However, as noted by some respondents, these organizations are oriented toward those in sales or public relations rather than news.

A few of the anchors wrote that such support groups must be actively sought, and many simply do not apply to television journalism. Wrote one, "There's a lack, period, mainly because this is not a profession you can plan or network for. You have to be what a news director is looking for." Another explained the lack of professional networks as a gender issue: "Women often do not work well together. Instead of a camaraderie, there's a blanket of competition." While most of the respondents agreed there is a lack of professional networks for women within the TV news industry, their comments suggest it does not pose significant problems in terms of career advancement.

Having to Relocate. A little more than half of the respondents (54%) agreed or strongly agreed that having to relocate serves as a significant career barrier for them. However, 27% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item. In their comments, which reflected both attitudes, the anchors acknowledged that relocation is part of the business and that it is difficult. The major point of contention with this issue concerns how marriage and family are affected, especially in terms of demands made on spouses, as the following comments reflect: "When I was single I considered moving no problem. Now that I'm married it is very difficult to consider relocating because of the impact it will have on my husband," and "With my fiancé and I both looking for our next jobs, it's hard to find somewhere we can go together."

Relocation also reflects the choice women anchors must make between their family and their career. Some, as one anchor wrote, have rejected offers which would force them to move, even if it meant landing a job in a larger market: "I have turned down several jobs in bigger markets like Portland and Spokane and Cincinnati because they didn't pay well enough for my husband to relocate and for us to feel it was worth uprooting our four children." Reiterated another, "I want stability in my life and for my children. I've had many opportunities to move on. But as long as I'm challenged and valued here, I stay and don't take risks associated with starting all over in a different market."

Barriers Having Minimal Impact. In determining which barriers respondents perceived as having a minimal negative impact on their career development, our analysis shows that a large number of items (21) fell into

TABLE 2
Comparison of Perceived Career Barriers

Ferri and Keller, 1986		Current Study	
Description of Item	Mean (*N*=68)	Description of Item	Mean (*N*=128)
Overemphasis on Physical Appearance	4.05	Overemphasis on Physical Appearance	3.86
Differential Treatment In Hiring Process	3.77	Conflict between Dual Roles of Wife/Mother and Newscaster	3.64
Overcoming Employers' Negative Attitudes of Women	3.76	Balancing Family and Job	3.52
Additional Pressures to Prove Worth Due to Gender	3.65	Lack of Professional Network	3.42
Conflicts between Dual Roles of Wife/Mother and Newscaster	3.57	Having to Relocate	3.38
Lack of Professional Network	3.51		

Note: The greater an item's mean, the greater its importance as a career barrier.

the lowest quartile of the distribution. These include factors related to the amount of preparation and training opportunities available to women, lack of mentors and role models, differential treatment during the hiring process based on applicant's sex, and other success-related factors, such as lack of confidence, motivation, career aspirations, and support from family and peers.

Comments on Open-ended Question. We invited respondents to offer comments on any additional career barriers that they perceived. Only 27 of the 128 respondents did so. Their comments fell into seven general categories: difficulties in balancing family and career, the combination of gender and race as a hiring factor and difficulties faced by minority women, overemphasis on physical appearance, gender inequity in job promotion, competition among women, subjective hiring practices, and overcoming gender stereotypes.

An additional six respondents wrote they believed career barriers for women anchors no longer exist, mostly due to the influx of women into the field and into management positions, as this example illustrates: "Many of these perceptions no longer exist. Ten to twelve years ago, lots of women started being hired because they were cheaper to pay than men. Now those women are doing much of the hiring—that's evened out the field." These anchors all had worked in TV news for at least ten years.

Changes in Perceived Career Barriers. Though different sample sizes and cohorts were used in Ferri and Keller's 1986 study and this one, we believe that a comparison might be useful in gauging changes in the career barriers of women anchors. Documentation of such would serve as evidence that women anchors have indeed overcome the issue of gender as a hindrance to success in their television news careers. Table 2 contains the top-rated barriers from both studies.

In the late 1990s, overemphasis on physical appearance remains the top-ranked career barrier. However, as shown in Table 2, items concerning differential treatment based on gender, such as being treated differently than men during the hiring process, overcoming management's stereotypical attitudes, and experiencing additional pressures to prove one's worth, have been replaced by those related to the balancing of family and career.

In the current study, we found more items, a total of 21, falling into the non-barrier category. Among the lowest-ranked items in both studies: adverse influence of past experience on motivation, lack of encouragement from family and peers, lack of self-confidence, and lower career aspirations. These results reflect a diminished negative impact of these factors on the career development and advancement of women anchors in the late 1990s.

Discussion

We sought to ascertain factors that women news anchors today perceive as obstacles or challenges to their career development. Two major patterns emerge from the results: (1) physical appearance continues to serve as a highly important aspect of women anchors' work; and (2) women anchors today are highly concerned about being able to manage both a television career and a family.

Concern with Physical Appearance. In the ten or so years since the publication of Ferri and Keller's results, we found no change regarding the importance placed on women anchors' physical appearance. We see as especially telling the common themes of the comments made by anchors in both studies on this item, including: (1) how comments made about women anchors by both managers and viewers center on their appearance rather than their competence; (2) the disparity in the importance placed on men and women anchors' appearance; and (3) the constant criticism of women anchors' wardrobe, hair, weight, and age.

Given that those who appear on television news obviously must contend with cosmetic concerns, it seems women bear the burden of "looking good" more so than men do. This illustrates a general societal attitude that women are valued for their looks rather than skills. We see that women anchors must deal with a general societal expectation that they maintain an attractive appearance and show interest in how they look and what they wear.[45] This also supports Richardson's assertion that the media maintain the status quo in terms of women's portrayals.[46] Women anchors, in a sense, are part of media content, and still subject to the similar appearance standards required of other women who appear on television.

Shift in Barriers: Career Entry versus Career Maintenance. Gender-based difficulties in gaining entry into the profession, which the women anchors in Ferri and Keller's study ranked as highly important, here were replaced with those related to the balancing of career and family. We regard this shift as illustrating a major change in the problems faced by women anchors today: Entering the profession may be less common or compelling a problem or barrier now than maintaining both career and family goals. In short, it seems that women have made progress in the professional arena, but must struggle to balance the demands of work with those of their families and personal life.

For working mothers, these demands are especially profound in terms of career advancement, as Burks and Stone found.[47] Indeed, the high ranking of relocation as a career barrier for the women in this study parallels the challenges faced by women in other professions. For example, Shauman and

Xie found that for women scientists, "children have a significantly negative on mobility, regardless of children's age."[48] Combined, these studies lend support to the notion that despite expanding workplace opportunities for women, old contradictions between market work and home remain.[49]

Respondents in both studies also ranked highly, in terms of their agreement, that there is a lack of a professional network for women anchors. The transient nature of the television news business, and its highly competitive nature, makes the absence of career support groups that specifically meet the needs of news anchors understandable. Several anchors in the current study commented that they don't have the time to network, given the demands of the job itself. Since the questionnaire item for this factor did not specifically state that it serves as a career barrier, the extent to which it does so could be a subject for further research.

Barriers or Challenges? Respondents' comments regarding the top-ranked items we refer to as career barriers indicate that perhaps we can consider them more as challenges than barriers. For instance, physical appearance serves as a major part of television news and has for the past twenty-five years or so. This current group of women anchors recognizes this as a challenge they must deal with rather than a *de facto* barrier to career advancement. Similarly, anchors' acceptance of relocation as a fact of life in television news seems to serve more as a challenge than a barrier that stalls one's career.

We find encouraging respondents' perceptions that other career-related factors have less significance to them. These formerly top-rated barriers concerned differential treatment based on an applicant's sex in the hiring process, sexist attitudes of management, and pressures to prove one's worth as a woman. Additionally, our results demonstrate that today's women anchors are confident, motivated, and encouraged by family and peers.

Future Research Suggestions. We examined the perceived career barriers and challenges of women television anchors at the local station level. The population from which we selected our sample obviously limits the generalizability of our results, as does the sample size itself. The inclusion of women anchors at the networks serves as one way to expand the scope of our findings.

We also aimed to discover changes in the career hindrances experienced by women television anchors since the mid-1980s. Ours was not a cohort study. Panel studies that track a particular group of women anchors over time would offer further support for our findings which indicate changes in the importance women anchors place on different aspects of their careers as they continue to enter into the profession in greater numbers. Researchers might want to see if and how changes in the practice of TV news are made as this happens.

The universality of the challenges women in the television workplace encounter also serves as a potential research topic. Future researchers might find of interest the career obstacles and challenges experienced by women who hold different jobs in the TV news industry, such as producers and videographers. One might expect their career obstacles and challenges to be different from those who appear on camera.

Finally, researchers could update Ferri's 1988 study in which he compared women anchors' career perceptions with those of their male counterparts.[50] Among his most telling results was the disparity men and women anchors experienced in terms of the emphasis on their physical appearance, with this being of greater salience to women than to men. A follow-up to Ferri's work could provide further evidence that change has or has not occurred during the past decade in terms of the challenges men and women experience in the television news workplace.

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Newsroom Topic Teams: Journalists' Assessments of Effects on News Routines and Newspaper Quality

By Kathleen A. Hansen, Mark Neuzil, and Jean Ward

This study examines the effects of newsroom topic teams on news routines and newspaper quality. It is based on a census survey of journalists at the Star Tribune *(Minneapolis) and the* St. Paul Pioneer Press, *which both instituted topic teams within six months of each other. Survey results are supplemented by focus group and written comments from journalists in these two Newspaper Guild newsrooms. The study finds that the effects of the team system on the news process and news quality have been mixed, but predominantly negative, in the assessment of these journalists.*

The topic team system has received a great deal of attention in the trade press, but has not been the subject of very much systematic study. This study examines the effects of the newsroom topic team system on news routines and newspaper quality. The study is based on a census survey of journalists in two newsrooms that recently implemented topic teams. These two newspapers, the *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, Minnesota) and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, are published in different cities but see themselves as fierce competitors in their coverage of the metropolitan Twin Cities region. This is a case study of how journalists in these two Newspaper Guild newsrooms perceive the effects of topic teams.

Background

Newspapers face fewer resources and more competition for readers' time, and newspaper managers are looking for new, more cost-effective ways to report, write, and deliver the news, and to meet profit goals.[1] Changing technology, especially pagination, has also put more production responsibility squarely in the newsroom.[2] Newsrooms across the country have been experimenting with structural change as a way to respond to these challenges.[3] Newsroom topic teams, also called pods, circles, clusters, and an assortment of other names, are one innovation. Teams are organized by content areas that cut across traditional job descriptions and newsroom departments. A team might consist of reporters, editors, a photographer and/or graphic artist, and a "team leader." The idea is to reduce "assembly line" thinking about the process of producing stories, and encourage collaboration among writers, editors, and visual artists. Staff members may no longer work for a particular section of the newspaper. News desks and copy desks may disappear and be replaced by "presentation hubs" or "design desks."

Kathleen A. Hansen is associate professor in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota; Mark Neuzil is associate professor in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of St. Thomas; and Jean Ward is professor emerita in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota.

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
803-821

Some of the intentions of newsroom teams are to "empower" employees, flatten newsroom hierarchies, and force journalists to focus more of their attention on the needs and desires of readers in planning and producing the newspaper every day. Traditional beats, event-driven coverage, and geography-based deployment of personnel are replaced by content areas, news analysis, and topic-driven coverage. Military-like hierarchies are out; group collaboration is in. Coaches, facilitators and maestros maneuver around "newsrooms without walls." Teams are supposed to "bring together complementary skills and experiences that, by definition, exceed those of any individual on the team."[4]

The ostensible purpose for these managerial innovations is to produce higher-quality journalism and better serve reader and advertiser customers. Many of the approaches are adopted from companies that make material products, in which assessment of team performance can be based on productivity goals, product defect rates, costs reductions, and other traditional indicators.[5] There is considerable skepticism about whether such measures and approaches are appropriate and desirable for an industry whose primary output consists of information.[6] Nonetheless, team journalism appears to be solidly ensconced in a number of newsrooms around the country, and it is time to start assessing the impact this new organizational structure has on news routines and newspaper quality.

Literature Review

Many studies examine how managerial structure affects newswork, although none explicitly addresses the newsroom team system. Studies generally examine the influence of management style variables,[7] motivational variables,[8] ownership variables,[9] and marketing orientation[10] on news routines and judgments about newspaper quality, performance, and conduct. Media management texts and casebooks outline many of the research findings and provide guidance about implementation of one managerial strategy over another.[11] These texts acknowledge that managing workers in media organizations provides different challenges than managing those who manufacture products or provide services. The need to foster creativity and professionalism in media workers poses special problems for managers.

One factor of managerial behavior appears to greatly influence journalist perceptions about their jobs: the amount of communication in the newsroom. The perceived atmosphere in the newsroom is better when managers evaluate employees on a regular basis and communicate interpersonally.[12] Journalists want to participate in decisions about their work, and want to have regular feedback from their managers.

Motivational variables contribute to assessments about news work and innovativeness. Journalists have strong needs for participation and autonomy.[13] Polansky and Hughes found that "independence of decision-making authority, the presence of formal control, and a sense of control over one's work and ideas are critical components in facilitating a sense of autonomy and thereby innovation."[14] An increase in centralization and bureaucratization, often a result of larger organizations, has been assumed to breed dissatisfaction because of perceived diminished autonomy.[15] However, bureaucratization may also encourage role specialization, thereby enhancing autonomy.[16] Reporters with highly specialized beat knowledge, for instance, may develop autonomy from editors who cannot match reporters' subject expertise. Research also shows that editors at highly bureaucratized newspapers are more satisfied with their jobs and have more autonomy.[17] Thus, centralized decision making and bureaucratization within newsrooms may actually have the counterintuitive effect of creating a work environment that enhances worker autonomy because roles are clearly delineated and work routines are predictable. This runs counter to the stated goal of the newsroom team system.

Whether or not a newspaper has a marketing orientation has been identified as a possible explanation for journalist perceptions about news work and newspaper quality. Several authors have derided the profit orientation of modern newspapering and complained about its effects on journalistic values and practices.[18] Beam argues that environmental uncertainty (when newspaper managers find their community's informational wants and needs to be unpredictable) appears to strengthen an organization's marketing orientation. Uncertainty about how to serve customers leads to the adoption of methods and practices to determine the needs and wants of target markets so as to deliver satisfaction more effectively and efficiently. The community characteristic that affects perceived environmental uncertainty the most is competition.[19]

Another set of studies examines contributors to job satisfaction among journalists.[20] These studies generally conclude that journalists are a difficult bunch to keep happy. Job satisfaction appears to be related to environments that operate efficiently in problem-solving, that provide opportunities to do a good job in informing the public, and that acknowledge journalists' need for unambiguous job descriptions and specific job assignments. These job characteristics are not prominent features of the newsroom topic team system, which seeks to eliminate or radically redefine specific, job-related assignments.

Stamm and Underwood found that newsroom policy changes that affected journalists' perceptions about newspaper quality and the balance between business and journalism in the newsroom were most likely to affect job satisfaction. Their study concluded that "journalists are happier when they are about the business of journalism—rather than the business of business."[21] When journalists perceive a drop in newspaper quality or a move toward a marketing orientation, their job satisfaction drops.

Another factor in job satisfaction is a concept from reference group theory called "relative deprivation." The basic idea is that people evaluate their positions in life based on comparisons with others in their reference group, rather than on absolute, objective standards. Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien, and Demers[22] argue that the concept applies to job satisfaction in journalism when reporters know of a lesser qualified reporter who has been promoted or rewarded differentially. This problem is especially relevant to the discussion of newsroom job satisfaction. Newspaper workers have traditionally operated in a hierarchical relationship with editors, in which a single editor is the key audience and arbiter of what a reporter does. When many additional individuals have the opportunity to comment and pass judgment on reporters' work, there are bound to be problems. The relative deprivation problem is more likely to surface in an environment where everyone knows what each worker's contribution has been to a particular work product, such as in the newsroom team system.

Another concept that helps explain why journalists might be unhappy with the team approach is called the "free-rider" problem.[23] Whenever people work in teams there is always someone who does not do his or her fair share of work. Yet, that person shares in the benefits from the team's work with everyone who carried their load. This free-rider problem may be especially acute in a newsroom team setting where people with very different jobs are comparing their contributions to the overall work product. The loss of individual autonomy combined with annoyance about differential work productivity among team members leads to a dissatisfied workforce.

Newspaper quality has been studied from a number of perspectives. A key measure of quality has been accuracy, which has been measured and analyzed for more than fifty years.[24] Other studies have examined how readers' and journalists' assessments of news quality compare.[25] Key findings from these studies include the observation that readers and editors do not always agree in their assessments of the importance of some traditional standards of newspaper excellence. For example, Gladney found that editors and readers disagree on the ranking and importance of staff enterprise (aggressive original reporting) and visual appeal (effective, attractive presentation of news through the use of visual tools such as typography, photography, graphics, color, layout, designing). Editors valued staff enterprise and visual appeal more than did readers. Strong local coverage was rated as essential by 94 percent of the editors in Gladney's study, versus an essential rating from 62 percent of readers. Bogart found that a "high ratio of news interpretations and backgrounders to spot news reports" was ranked by editors as third in importance for newspaper quality, but twelfth by readers (out of a list of twenty-three). In other words, a number of the measures that editors rate highly for newspaper excellence are not rated highly by readers.

Finally, newsroom teams have received considerable attention in the trade press (see footnote 3), following much discussion in the wider business and managerial literature.[26] Scholarly attention has focused on the content effects of teams in the newsroom.[27] Russial's before-and-after content analysis found that when an Oregon newspaper instituted a "Health and Science Team," there was an increase of 40-50 percent in the amount and section front play of health and science stories in the newspaper. He noted, however, that in the absence of an unrealistic expansion in the amount of newshole, all topic teams could not show the same sort of increase in coverage and play unless other areas traditionally covered in the newspaper were going to receive less coverage or no coverage at all.

Research Hypotheses

The findings from the research literature about the relationship between job satisfaction and the need for organizational efficiency, clear job descriptions, and regular communication among managers and workers suggest that journalists require a routine and predictable work environment. Anything that upsets journalistic autonomy, efficiency, or leads to a loss of individual recognition and rewards is likely to be seen in a negative light. Additionally, the researchers conducted several focus group interviews (described below) and learned that many journalists in the two newsrooms under study believed the team system was having serious negative effects on news routines and newspaper quality. Therefore, the researchers hypothesized that

> H1: Journalists will tend to perceive that the team system has negatively affected the news process, in the form of journalist loss of authority, slower production times, more organizational confusion, less communication.

The findings from the research literature about the relationship between marketing orientation, innovation acceptance, and newspaper quality perceptions lead us to conclude that journalists prefer to focus on the business of journalism, rather than the business of business. Focus group interviews suggested the team system was perceived by many journalists to be motivated by marketing principles rather than journalistic quality principles. Further, the team system was blamed by many for introducing organizational confusion leading to falling journalistic quality. Therefore, we hypothesized that

> H2: Journalists will tend to perceive that the team system has negatively affected the quality of the newspaper, in the form of more substantive and mechanical errors, more missed stories, less attention to breaking news, greater attention to "trend" stories over "beat" stories, and more attention to design over story content.

The Case Study

The Twin Cities newspaper market is highly competitive, despite the fact that the (Minneapolis) *Star Tribune* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* are published in two different cities. In fact, managers at the two newspapers routinely refer to the two cities as the "east metro" (St. Paul) and "west metro" (Minneapolis) as a way to indicate that their market really encompasses both cities and the surrounding suburbs. The *Star Tribune* began distribution of a St. Paul edition of the newspaper in 1987. The then-Cowles Media-owned[28] *Star Tribune* circulation stood at 393,800 daily and 678,000 Sunday, while the Knight-Ridder-owned *Pioneer Press* circulation was 203,000 daily and 270,600 Sunday. The *Star Tribune* newsroom employs 360; the *Pioneer Press* newsroom employs 240. The Newspaper Guild of the Twin Cities chapter represents members in both newsrooms.

Both newspapers instituted newsroom teams within six months of each other in 1995, after negotiations with the Guild on terms and conditions for the changes. The motivations and strategies for making these changes differed slightly, but in both instances it is clear that newspaper managers felt they needed to move toward a marketing orientation in order to compete successfully in the uncertain environment they faced. Internal documents, local and national trade press accounts, public presentations by top newspaper officials, and our interviews with managers and newsroom personnel confirm that both newspapers meant to move away from a product-focus and toward a focus on serving reader and advertiser customers through a marketing approach.

The changes at the larger *Star Tribune* have received more attention and comment, perhaps because then-Publisher Joel Kramer and Editor Tim McGuire have been outspoken and visible lightning rods within the industry.[29] Together they instituted a highly controversial corporate reorganization in 1993. Their goals were to "achieve real growth in revenue and profit by serving more needs of our reader and marketer customers, with multiple products and services, in and outside the newspaper, while fulfilling the *Star Tribune*'s public service mission."[30] At that time, the newsroom became part of something called the Reader Customer Unit, responsible for all activities relating to the readers (reader customer sales and service, reader market research, etc). McGuire became general manager as well as editor, with direct responsibility for meeting specific profit goals, a change that caused much alarm in the newsroom.[31] In a 1994 presentation to the University of Minnesota management school faculty and students, Kramer outlined seven goals for the newsroom. First on the list was reader focus. Journalistic excellence was second. This strong reader/marketing-driven focus colored the newsroom restructuring that followed in 1995.

When the team system was implemented, the top managerial positions went from thirteen to seven (news content, features content, visual content, production, administrative activities, change editor, and director of player personnel), led by the "News Leader" Pam Fine. Section coordinating editors reported to content managers, and reporters and copy editors were assigned to one of sixteen content-oriented teams with a team leader for each. There were not enough photographers and graphic artists to go around, so they were given assignments to multiple teams. Many of the managerial positions were opened up, so people had to re-apply for their positions. Everyone in the newsroom received a day-and-a-half training session when teams were instituted.

Since then, there has been the expected tinkering with both the corporate and newsroom structure. The Reader Customer Unit was dropped in 1996, and the reader sales and service responsibilities were assigned to another corporate unit. McGuire retained his title as editor, and added oversight of the paper's digital efforts and other content-related products to his portfolio, with a continued responsibility for profit and financial accountability. "News Leader" Fine's title reverted to managing editor after she found that folks outside the newsroom with whom she interacted didn't know what her role was.[32] Team titles and newsroom staff assignments have changed several times.

The rhetoric of the publisher and editor throughout the transition made it clear that there was no guarantee that the future of the company lay with the traditional newspaper, but with information products and services that delivered high-value content to readers where and how they wanted to receive it. The effects of these types of pronouncements on newsroom morale were not good.[33] In addition, the newspaper has been embarrassed by several high-profile incidents in which glaring mechanical, production, and substantive errors have led to lawsuits or berating from public officials, as well as prominent published apologies.[34] This has demoralized staff, who worry that the quality of the news product is suffering.

Across the river, the *Pioneer Press* managers were making their own changes. In 1994, then-Publisher Peter Ridder invested in a $1 million campaign to attract readers with more local, business, and entertainment news; increased amenities for advertisers; eleven new newsroom position; and seven additional pages of newshole per week.[35] Editor Walker Lundy and then-Managing Editor Ken Doctor[36] began asking how they could make the newspaper better and make the newsroom a better place to work. These changes were being made within the larger corporate context of the Knight-Ridder chain, which was undergoing a number of upheavals and shifts in priorities and focus.[37] Lundy and Doctor deny that their move toward newsroom teams was mandated by Knight-Ridder corporate managers, but they admit that the *Pioneer Press* is a case study for the chain because the Newspaper Guild is such a strong influence in the newsroom.[38]

Managers at the *Pioneer Press* came up with three reasons why they had to change. The first reason was for readers (readers are changing, and we have to keep up to attract them); the second was for the newsroom (we keep making the same mistakes, and we are not improving); the third reason was for the future (we have to keep up with the world out there).[39] Because they are the smaller paper in the competition with the *Star Tribune*, a strong motivation for managers at the *Pioneer Press* is "differentiation" of their news product as a strategy for reducing subscriber churn and holding readers. They focus heavily on the "east metro," the north-eastern and south-eastern metro suburbs and a portion of western Wisconsin in their news coverage.

In 1994, two-person teams (1 Guild, 1 management) visited nine newspapers around the country to study the innovations that those newsrooms had instituted. They came back with "show-and-tell" reports that most papers they visited were moving toward teams. In a call for volunteers, sixty people formed groups to work on the plan for a move to the team system. The new structure was unveiled in July of 1995. The "Newsroom Mission Statement" lists four goals: "We will put readers first," "We will cultivate one newsroom," "We will work smarter," and "We will respect each other."[40] The *Pioneer Press* eliminated the copy desk, the layout desk, and the features and metro desks. It instituted content teams (the number has fluctuated—it stood at fifteen at the time of this writing), assigned copy editors to teams, created a production hub responsible for "designing" the paper, and flattened the management structure from six layers to four, with twelve senior editors and eleven team leaders who are responsible for generating content for each section. A total of fifty people changed jobs. Senior editors and team leaders had four days of off-site training with a newsroom staff member from another Knight-Ridder paper, the San Jose *Mercury News*. All other newsroom staff had one day of Zenger-Miller training on site.

One of the controversial decisions that St. Paul managers made originally was to forego creating a general assignment team. As newsroom staff began to work within the new structure, they quickly discovered that general assignment coverage was slipping and they were missing many breaking stories because they couldn't free up staffers from content teams to cover things as they happened. In July of 1996, several original teams were abandoned and a Cover/General Assignment team was created to try to re-establish a focus on breaking news. As at the *Star Tribune*, tinkering and refinements continue, with staff concerns and grumblings occasionally breaking out into the local alternative press.[41]

It is important to summarize the findings from the research literature about the relationship between a marketing orientation and environmental uncertainty at this point. Clearly, both newspapers in this case study find themselves in a competitive and uncertain environment, and both newspapers have adopted a marketing orientation as a strategy for coping. A strong focus on readers as customers pervades the rhetoric of newspaper managers and the written materials that have guided the introduction of teams in both newsrooms. For the purpose of this study, we have posited that these two newspapers have implemented a marketing orientation, and that newsroom teams are part of the overall strategy of each organization to respond to the market situation.

Method

This study examines journalist assessments of the effects of the newsroom team system on news routines and newspaper quality. The study is based on a series of focus group interviews and a census survey of newsroom staff in the two case study newspapers. Researchers received approval for the study from the managing editor and from Guild representatives in each newsroom, contingent on a promise that results from the two newspapers would not be analyzed or reported on separately. Researchers conducted interviews with two newsroom focus groups at the *Pioneer Press* in May 1996 and two newsroom focus groups at the *Star Tribune* in June 1996. Focus group participants included section editors, team leaders, reporters, copy editors, photographers, graphic artists, and layout/production staff.[42] The focus group interviews provided insight that helped in the development of the research hypotheses and design of the final questionnaire. No focus group comments are mixed in with the questionnaire findings reported on here.

A six-page, eighty-item questionnaire was designed to elicit journalist responses about the effects of the team system on their work, time management and efficiency issues, assignment of work, quality of journalism, communication in the newsroom, and leadership and responsibility issues. The final question left a large space requesting comments "about the team system and its relationship to news production and news quality." The questionnaire was pretested in August 1996 with seven newsroom staffers representing a variety of job categories. Managers and Guild representatives in both newsrooms approved the final language of the questionnaire, thereby reducing concern about bias toward one point of view or another. The revised questionnaire, along with a cover letter and a stamped return envelope, was delivered in September 1996 to every newsroom staffer at both newspapers. This was twelve to fifteen months after the introduction of teams at these newspapers. Staff at each newspaper helped distribute questionnaires in newsroom mailboxes. A total of 597 questionnaires was distributed (360 to the *Star Tribune* and 237 to the *Pioneer Press*). Two weeks later, staff helped distribute a reminder postcard to newsroom mailboxes. The final number of completed questionnaires returned to researchers was 244, for a response rate of 41%. One hundred-fifty respondents wrote comments in the last section. The distribution of questionnaire respondents closely resembles the overall distribution of individuals in the two newsrooms by job category, gender, work shift, and labor-management characteristics.

Upon completion of the coding and data analysis, researchers created two "indexes"—one for judgment about team effects on the news process, and one for judgment about team effects on news quality—by combining several response categories in an additive index. Some of the results will be reported using these indexes.

Because this survey was administered to a census of staff at two case study newspapers, *we do not make any claims about the generalizability of these findings to other situations. Inferential statistical tests are applied where appropriate, but solely for the purpose of clarifying results for this case.*

Results

Respondents to this survey are 59% male and 41% female. Ninety-three percent of respondents belong to the Guild. The labor-manager breakdown is two-thirds to one-third (respectively). Ninety-five percent of the respondents worked at their newspaper before the team system was implemented (those who had not were asked to turn to the last section for demographics and return the questionnaire). Respondents describe their primary job as being reporter (46%), editor (29%), layout (5%), photographer (5%), team leader (4%), critic (3%), graphics (2%), news/copy aides (2%), library staff (1%), or other (3%). Seventy-six percent of respondents work the day shift, while 24% work at night. The mean number of years of newspaper experience is 18, while the mean number of years of experience at the specific newspaper is 13. Eighty-six percent of respondents are currently assigned to a team. Forty-six percent of respondents work on a team of 6-10 members, while 33% work on a team of 11-15 members. Seventy-two percent of respondents are assigned to a team that has been in existence for 10 months or longer.

There is a division of opinion about some of the effects of team journalism. Many respondents wrote in their comments that the team concept is a good one in the abstract, but that it requires a larger staff and more resources, neither of which were forthcoming in these two newsrooms, in order to work well. One person wrote, "The team concept is a wonderful concept. However, to fully make use of its many advantages, resources in the paper must increase: more copy editors, more photographers, more artists, etc. If you do not increase your resources the system is doomed to fail before it ever gets going."

Both newsrooms instituted a newspaper redesign at the same time the team system was introduced, and many respondents were careful to point out that some of their judgments were probably due to the production and design change demands more than to the team system. One person wrote, "Page designers are running amok (they haven't a clue about style)." Another wrote, "There is far more attention to graphics and design, so that words are sometimes sacrificed to visual appeal." Another said, "To me, the newspaper *looks* good, but it's less useful, less meaningful and more difficult to work at."

News Process Findings. Journalists judge that the team process has negatively affected the process of producing the newspaper on a day-to-day basis. Table One summarizes the responses on questions that asked about the effects of teams on the news process. Ten times as many respondents said that under the team system the production time needed to put the paper together has increased compared to those who said it has decreased. Similar discrepancies exist between those who think the night and weekend supervision of the news process has decreased and those who say it has increased. This problem with story "hand-off" was reiterated in written comments. One person wrote,

> The team system produces pretty much the same old nightmares for the night production team with some new nightmares added—stories sitting in far-flung team queues after teams have left for the day, lack of clear lines of responsibility for some issues, and the mythical notion that reporters can fill in for copy editors who are sick, on vacation or on leave, for instance. I believe a team system might be fine in a business where everybody works M-F, 9-5. I do not believe it works in a 7-day operation where major shifts stretch from 8 a.m. to 2 a.m.—it is not possible to build team cohesion when team members aren't even in the building at the same hours daily.

While 43% of respondents said that the time needed to report a story has stayed the same, fully 27% said it has increased and only 4% said it decreased. Sixty-one percent of the respondents who answered "don't know" to this question are managers, lending weight to reporters' complaints in the written comments about how managers are insensitive and unaware of how the team system has negatively affected their work routines.

TABLE 1

Effects of Teams on the News Process

(N = 244)

	Yes	No	No change	na
Teams enhance ability to meet deadline	11%	44%	37%	8%
Clear who makes final decisions	53	47		
Know goals for own work	52	48		
Know goals of team journalism	43	57		
	More	Less	Same	na
Time in mtgs. now	45	13	42	
Hours of unpaid overtime	25	5	44	26
No. of people your work passes through hands of	22	33	36	9
	Increased	Decreased	Same	Don't Know
Night supervision of news process	3	57	10	31
Weekend supervision of process	4	41	18	38
Production time needed	48	5	15	33
Time to report a story	27	4	43	25
	Improved	Declined	Same	Don't Know
Coordination between reporters & copy editors	42	17	25	16
Coordination between reporters, photogs & graphic artists	39	24	24	12
	Teams	Copy Pool		Don't Know
Content of paper is better with copy editors in	48	29		24

Four times as many respondents said the team system does not enhance their ability to meet their deadlines compared to those who said it does. Forty-five percent of respondents report that they are spending more time in meetings compared to before the team system was implemented. One person wrote, "Simple decisions that used to take five minutes now require hours or weeks, plus a cast of thousands, and sometimes don't get made at all." One-fourth of respondents say their unpaid overtime hours have increased.

In many other respects, the process of work has stayed the same. Respondents report that they generate their own story ideas that get into the paper about as often as under the old system; they volunteer for assignments about as frequently as before; they have the same number of shared bylines as before; and the effort needed to get a story on page 1A is about the same.

Organizational confusion appears to be an issue. About half of respondents say they don't have a clear idea about who makes final decision about their work, and about half say they don't have a clear idea about the goals and expectations for their own work. Fully 57% of respondents say they don't have a clear idea about the goals of team journalism. Team leaders, graphics staff, and layout staff are the only groups with majorities who say they have a clear idea about the goals of team journalism. Managers are more likely to say they know who makes final decision about their work than are labor ($x^2 = 6.5$; $p < .05$). Those who don't have a clear idea about who makes decisions about their work have a lower (more negative) news process index score. ($t = -4.3$; $p < .001$).

Coordination between reporters and copy editors has improved in the judgment of 42% of respondents, and 48% of respondents say the content of the paper is better served with copy editors assigned to teams rather than working in a copy pool. Thirty-nine percent of respondents think coordination among reporters, photographers, and graphic artists has improved. However, when broken out by job title, it becomes apparent that photographers think coordination is actually worse, while graphic artists think coordination is better. One photographer wrote,

> Placing photographers in teams is less efficient both in terms of quantity and quality. The loss of flexibility in terms of bodies covering the daily and weekend shifts as well as the loss of flexibility to utilize each individual's talents in a more matched way with assignments has resulted in a lower quality of the pix appearing in the paper. It's hard to bring a fresh eye to a subject when you are doing the same thing over and over and over and over. It's a nightmare for a generalist—which is what most photojournalists are both by temperament and training.

A key finding is that 53% of respondents say they have less authority under the team system than they did before. Most labor respondents say they have lost authority, while most managers say they've gained it ($x^2 = 6.7$; $p < .01$). Generally, those who used to be able to work independently, without a lot of oversight and intervention, say they have lost authority. They can't just go off and "do their own thing" anymore, and this has translated into negative judgments about the team process. One person wrote, "The team system, in theory, is supposed to empower the teams to do their own work and see it through the process but there is much meddling from above when something created and nurtured by a team becomes a 'big deal.'...The elaborate processes we now have to go through to get something into the newspaper sometimes results in delaying stories and takes away our sense of immediacy." Another wrote, "Teams still do not control their budgets, their hiring, even the configuration of their own beats." Another wrote, "The newsroom is more hierarchical. Senior editors carry a lot of clout; reporters are pretty low on the food chain."

Both newsrooms were physically redesigned as part of the move to the team system, and this has led to the perception of loss of authority in some cases. In one newsroom, many more people are crowded together than in the past. Reporters sit right next to their editors; phone conversations are easily overheard. Team members are in close proximity to one another, and people who do different types of jobs can't help but observe what their colleagues are doing on a minute-by-minute basis.

The team system seems to have exposed more of the news process to a wider group of people than was the case in the past. People who used to be able to focus on their own area and not really pay attention to the rest of the process can't do so anymore. This may feed the "relative deprivation" idea. Written comments made it clear that people feel they have to police their less-productive colleagues; it is harder to get someone to help in a crunch because no one wants to have something permanently assigned as "their" job if they do it once.

Staff in both newsrooms reported that there have been days when the paper came close to running white space because of the dearth of copy. One section editor likened the process of filling her section to "churning the ice cream crank"; others wrote about having to walk around the newsroom with a rhetorical whip to try to get enough copy to fill the paper. Relative deprivation sets in when workers perceive that others who are less able or productive are being rewarded the same as or better than everyone else. Under the team system, there are many more opportunities for workers to make comparisons and judgments about their relative contributions to the overall process of putting out a newspaper. One person wrote, "There is no place in the team system to flog the guilty. We are all supposed to be *nice* to each other but when someone puts a bad headline on my story, I want the right to yell at them."

The overall findings about the effects of the team system on the news process lend support to Hypothesis 1.

Quality Findings. Fifty-four percent of respondents think that for the reading public, the quality of news produced under the team system has declined; only 21% think it has improved. This judgment is buttressed by the responses on questions regarding errors, coverage of breaking news and beat stories, and stories missed. Table Two summarizes responses about quality judgments.

Respondents say the newspaper now has more substantive errors (fact, information), and more mechanical errors (grammar, spelling). Respondents say the newspaper's coverage of breaking news is worse, but that the packaging of stories has improved. Most respondents say the team system has not helped the newspaper produce stories that would have been missed under the old system, but the newspaper is missing stories that would have been covered before. Respondents who say they have lost authority are more likely to have a lower (more negative) news quality index score. ($t = -6.8$; $p < .001$) Respondents' news quality index and news process index scores are significantly correlated. ($r = .430$; $p < .01$)

Generally, respondents say their own work quality has stayed the same (53%), while 29% say their own work quality has improved. Respondents report that they spend the same amount of time on background research as before; the number and variety of sources they use in their stories is the same. Thirty-one percent say the number of trend/idea stories they work on has increased, and 26% say their use of library/database resources has increased. Those who say the quality of the newspaper is better are more likely to say their own work quality is also up. Those who say the newspaper quality is worse are more likely to say their own work quality has stayed the same.

Written comments flesh out some of the quality judgments. One copy editor wrote, "I find my work less satisfying because I have less time with

TABLE 2
Effects of Teams on News Quality
(N = 244)

	Improved	Declined	Same	Don't Know
Quality of news for reading public	21 %	54 %	16 %	9 %
Quality of own work	29	18	53	
	Yes	No		Don't Know
More substantive errors	54	13		33
More mechanical errors	62	10		28
Covering stories that were missed before	19	46		35
Missing stories that were covered before	62	9		29
	Better	Worse	Same	Don't Know
Response to breaking news	7	63	20	10
Packaging of stories	53	17	22	8
	Increased	Decreased	Same	na
No. of trend/idea stories	31	16	36	17
No. of "beat" stories	17	21	40	22
Time on bckgrnd. research	16	17	44	22
Use of library/databases	26	9	48	17
No. of sources in stories	14	9	49	27
Variety of sources	17	10	49	25

more copy...quality is suffering as a result." Another person wrote, "Most of the nuts and bolts of copy editing have disintegrated under the new system...Page proofs, once scrupulously read, are now ignored because the copy desk doesn't exist." Others expressed concern about coverage. One wrote, "I think we're softer, too trendy, not enough hard news or daily stories." Another wrote, "I believe we do a much poorer job of covering breaking news at night. During the day, we cover fewer hard-news stories from beats, and we write more stories suggested by editors sitting in a 9:30 a.m. meeting. In those meetings, the freedom editors feel to suggest stories is inversely proportional to the responsibility those editors have for actually getting the stories reported and written." Yet another wrote, "Our coverage lacks consistency. Feature stories and columns land on the front page while news is buried. We simply miss breaking stories because there's no one in charge to point out errors and there is pressure at meetings to simply be agreeable!"

The overall findings about the effects of the team system on news quality lend support to Hypothesis 2.

Discussion

Previous research has determined that one of the most important factors in journalists' perceptions about their work is whether the quality of the newspaper is good. The dominant perception among the journalists at these two newspapers is that journalistic quality has suffered. It is therefore not surprising that newsroom teams are viewed negatively. Whether it is or isn't fair to make the sort of cause-and-effect judgments that these journalists have made, there is a clear concern about the slipping quality of the newspaper, and many have blamed it on the switch to teams.

Organizational confusion has contributed to the negative assessment of newsroom teams. Many people say they don't know what they are supposed to be doing anymore. Previous research has emphasized the importance of clear communication in successfully managing newsroom personnel. While many respondents in this study report that they are communicating more often with team members who do a different job from theirs than in the past, there is still a great deal of confusion about who makes final decisions on individuals' work, and about the goals and expectations for individuals' work and for team journalism.

Cook and Banks found that journalists need unambiguous job descriptions and specific job assignments. These two job characteristics appear to be conspicuously absent in the judgments of many of the journalists in these two newsrooms. Ironically, the highly bureaucratized, hierarchical newsroom structure that is supposed to be improved upon by the team system may actually be superior in its ability to foster efficiency, role specialization, and individual accountability. Thus, the more traditional, bureaucratic structures that protect clear lines of authority and reward individual effort may provide more job clarity than the team system seems to have done in these two newsrooms. This is a surprising finding given the conventional wisdom that employees are alienated by bureaucratic, hierarchical structures. A team approach designed to move away from that traditional structure actually appears to have increased inefficiency, blurred lines of role specialization, and caused significant worker dissatisfaction.

In addition to confusion about what they are supposed to be doing, many journalists in this study say they have lost authority in their jobs. Polansky and Hughes found a relationship between authority and autonomy, and found that people have to have autonomy in order to be innovative. Managers at these two newspapers are asking people to be innovative in an atmosphere that has taken away their authority to control their own work. Managers feel they have gained authority, while labor feels they have lost it. This is counter to the rhetoric about the "empowering" benefits of the newsroom team system. Written comments expanded on the feeling of top-down power flow, and this gap between rhetoric and reality has fostered a sense of cynicism about the motives and goals of the managers who instituted the team system. One person wrote, "From the beginning, leaders paid much lip service to 'empowerment' of news staff while holding on to most of their power. The trend in recent months has been to gather ever more power to themselves, to make decisions without any concern for the opinions of the people who do the work...I find I often have greater responsibility than before and, at the same time, less authority."

As the news process has become more exposed, people find more to dislike about how their colleagues do their work. The lack of communication in the newsroom from managers about what the goals for team journalism are has further complicated the implementation of the team system. Workers are forced to interact with one another much more than in the past, but without knowing why. This may be leading to the "relative deprivation" phenomenon, in which workers become disillusioned when they compare their own activities and rewards to those of others.

Both papers have made a heavy commitment to a marketing orientation. Stamm and Underwood found that as newspapers implement more of a marketing orientation, journalists have a worse perception of their work. Many journalists in this study perceived the implementation of the team system as a ploy to get them to bend to management's wishes on the marketing orientation for the paper. Written comments from staff at one paper suggested that managers wanted more control over what individual journalists were working on day-to-day in order to be sure that reader desires in content and coverage were being met, and that the team system allowed for that kind of control. One person wrote, "Moving to teams allowed the editors to do what managers routinely do, which is reward and promote the people they have hired or feel kinship with, and to facilitate a shift toward a softer magazine-style type of journalism."

Ironically, many of the marketing decisions managers are making, such as the increase in interpretive and trend stories, and the focus on the visual design of the newspaper, are not items highly rated by readers when judging newspaper quality, according to Gladney and Bogart. And the move away from deep local coverage of meetings and events is potentially off-putting to readers as well, according to the same research. In other words, the marketing orientation of the newspapers is making journalists unhappy but may not be pleasing readers either. Thus, it is counterproductive in two ways.

We should not make the mistake of appearing to conclude that journalists' assessments of the team system are uniformly and overwhelmingly negative. In fact, some respondents thought the team system had improved the quality of the newspaper, had improved their own work quality, had given them more authority and responsibility, and had made them happier in their work than they had been in years. One person wrote, "My job as a news editor has been made better under the new system because designers have taken over the page design function, allowing me to focus on content and news judgment." Another wrote, "Teams are terrific. They allow for increased communication and improvement of the story *before* the reporter types, files and goes home at 5." A team leader wrote, "Our team has produced some packages that have been excellent examples of how all the partners working together (reporters, photographers, graphic designers, copy editors) can really make a difference. We work together well; not all teams have all the partners they need working the hours they should and they simply aren't doing/can't do the job as well as it needs to be done."

Despite the positive comments from some respondents, the overall impression from this case study is that the newsroom team system has had negative effects on the quality of newspaper journalism and on the efficiency and effectiveness of the routines and processes of producing the newspaper. More effective communication among the groups involved in implementing the team system might have eliminated some of the problems, but there may still be some underlying characteristics of the team system as it applies to creative and professional workers that make it an inappropriate model for adoption.

Obviously, an objective measure of news quality can confirm or refute journalists' perceptions of falling quality documented in this study. A before-and-after content analysis of the two newspapers could determine whether journalists' assessments are borne out by actual quality measures. The timeliness of this first study suggested that we should report on these results now as a contribution to our emerging understanding of the perceived effects of the team system, with additional evidence from an extensive content analysis to follow.

Additional research might examine how newsrooms that have implemented topic teams compare with broadcast and magazine news operations that, by their nature, have always required group effort and collaborative news routines. Do the newspapers with team systems now operate more like broadcast or magazine newsrooms? In what ways are the different organizations similar or dissimilar, and with what effect on news processes and journalistic quality measures?

Future reports about this research will examine some of the power and empowerment issues raised by these respondents. We will also explore the findings about communication in the newsroom, responsibility and accountability issues and the politics of newsroom staffing. This is the first of a series of reports that will flesh out our understanding of the effects of the newsroom team system in these two case study newspapers. For now it is possible to conclude that the effects on the news process and on news quality have been mixed, but predominantly negative, in the assessment of these journalists.

NOTES

1. For example, Rebecca Ross Albers, "New-Age Newsrooms," *presstime*, April 1995, 31-35; Peter Bhatia, "Change: Riding the Wave to a New Era," *ASNE Bulletin*, October 1994, 5-23; Nancy M. Davis, "News Holes, Inch by Inch," *presstime*, April 1996, 26-29; Nancy M. Davis, "Protecting the Franchise," *presstime*, February 1996, 27-30; Tom Koenninger, "Newsroom Darwinism," *ASNE Bulletin*, September 1993, 4-13; "Newspaper Cutbacks," *Nieman Reports*, Spring 1996, 2-37; Susan Paterno, "Whither Knight-Ridder?," *American Journalism Review*, January/February 1996, 18-27; Carol Pogash, "The Shrinking L. A. Times," *American Journalism Review*, October 1995, 22-35; Doug Underwood, "When MBAs rule the newsroom," *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1988, 23-30.

2. Albers, "New-Age Newsrooms," 32.

3. For example, Scott Johnson, "Newsroom circles," *Quill*, March 1993, 28-30; Carl Sessions Stepp, "Reinventing the Newsroom," *American Journalism Review*, April 1995, 28-33; Janet S. Weaver, "Wichita is doing fine without a copy desk," *American Editor*, January/February/March 1996, 14-16; Betty Wells, "Challenges of the 1990's are reshaping newsroom structures," *ASNE Bulletin*, December 1992, 4-11.

4. Jon R. Katzenbach and Douglas K. Smith, *The Wisdom of Teams: Creating the High-Performance Organization* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1993), 18.

5. Katzenbach and Smith, *The Wisdom of Teams*.

6. Koenninger, "Newsroom Darwinism"; Albers, "New-Age Newsrooms"; Jim Sachetti, "Journalists are loners," ASNE Bulletin, April 1995, 20-

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32. Burl Gilyard, "Oh, the Winds of Change," *Twin Cities Reader*, 26 June - 2 July, 1996, 4.

33. Souder, "Welcome to the Fun House."

34. Burl Gilyard, "Suing the Strib for Fun and Profit," *Twin Cities Reader*, 9 October-15 October, 1996, 7.

35. Rebecca Ross Albers, "Extra! Extra?," *presstime*, June 1994, 55-56.

36. In April of 1997, Doctor announced his resignation from the *Pioneer Press* and his acceptance of a new position as vice president of editorial at Knight-Ridder New Media in San Jose, California. Publisher Peter Ridder left his position at the *Pioneer Press* in July 1997 to move to another Knight-Ridder newspaper in Charlotte, North Carolina. Both Doctor and Ridder were replaced in St. Paul by individuals from other Knight-Ridder properties.

37. Paterno, "Whither Knight-Ridder?"

38. Walker Lundy and Ken Doctor, interviews with author, 8 May 1996.

39. Lundy and Doctor, interviews, 8 May 1996.

40. "St. Paul Pioneer Press Newsroom Mission Statement," 1995.

41. Burl Gilyard, "The Big Fix Is In—Again," *Twin Cities Reader*, 12 July - 23 July, 1996, 6.

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Does Web Advertising Work? Memory for Print vs. Online Media

By S. Shyam Sundar, Sunetra Narayan, Rafael Obregon, and Charu Uppal

J&MC Q

Is memory for an advertisement related to the medium in which the ad was viewed? A between-subjects experiment (N = 48) was designed to answer this question. One-half of the subjects was exposed to a print newspaper front-page with two news stories and one advertisement whereas the other half was exposed to the online version of the same content. Results showed that print subjects remembered significantly more ad material than online subjects.

The recent and rapid growth of web advertising into a multi-billion dollar industry[1] has sparked renewed interest in the age-old question: Does this new medium work better than traditional media in spreading the advertiser's message? While this question is of obvious practical importance to media planners and other advertising professionals,[2] it raises more fundamental theoretical questions about cognitive processes for media scholars: Do people remember advertisements on the internet any differently—or perhaps better—than they do ads in newspapers and television? How much memory do they have for online ads compared to print ads? Are these memory differences, if any, unique to advertising content or are they generalizable to all content?

The present investigation makes an effort to address these questions through a controlled experiment designed to measure memory differences for identical content transmitted via different media. Specifically, the experiment measures recall and recognition of advertising as well as news story content on a newspaper front page and compares it with recall and recognition of the same content presented on a website. The purpose is to track differences, if any, in incidental memory for print and online ads while controlling for memory differences for other, non-ad content. The independent variable is medium, with two values: print and online. The dependent variable is incidental memory for ad content. The control variable is memory for news story content. The research question may be summarized as follows: For media consumers, controlling for story memory, what is the relationship between the type of medium and the level of memory for advertisements?

This article will first explicate the concepts of medium and memory in the context of advertising effects. It will then present the methods and results of an experiment designed to answer the above-mentioned research question. Finally, it will discuss the findings with a view to enhancing academic understanding of the psychological effects of online media.

J&MC Quarterly
Vol. 75, No. 4
Winter 1998
822-835

S. Shyam Sundar is assistant professor and director of the Media Effects Research Laboratory at the College of Communications, Pennsylvania State University. Sunetra Narayan, Rafael Obregon, and Charu Uppal are doctoral students in the same college. All student authors contributed equally to the preparation of this article. *The authors would like to thank Shuanghong Wu for her research assistance.*

Medium

Almost all classical models of communication have conceptualized "medium" as a transmission vehicle, channel, or device through which messages are transmitted from senders to receivers.[3] Implicit in this conceptualization is the idea that the medium of communication is a *variable* capable of altering the nature of communication between senders and receivers. McLuhan was among the first to problematize "medium" when he proclaimed that the psychosocial effects of media on audiences far outweigh the effects of message content.[4] He theorized that technologies in general and media technologies in particular were transmitting their own messages, which were much more powerful and all-encompassing than the effects of "content" on the masses. With a broad social-psychological sweep that would forever change generations of humans, new media introduce changes in scale, pace, and pattern into human affairs. "The effects of technology do not occur at the level of opinions or concepts, but alter sense ratios or patterns of perception steadily and without any resistance."[5]

The advertising profession, more than any other media enterprise, has long recognized the psychological effects of media technologies by explicitly comparing different media while making campaign decisions regarding media mix.[6] This is especially the case since the arrival of the latest "new media," meaning computers and the Internet.[7] In addition to measuring various media for their relative reach of audiences,[8] the advertising industry keenly pursues audience reactions to different media by trying to assess the "standing of the media vehicle" in the minds of the audience.[9]

The idea of viewing "medium" as a function of the receiver has spawned a number of psychological definitions of media technologies. Instead of considering media purely in terms of industry-based delivery systems (cable, film) or whole technologies (radio, TV) as scholars in the effects tradition do, these definitions adopt a receiver-centered perspective by aligning media stimuli along a number of psychological dimensions.[10] One such dimension is modality, which refers to the mode of presentation—text, audio, picture, video—that corresponds to human senses used for processing the presented material.[11] Other dimensions include the degree of notationality,[12] repleteness,[13] mental representation,[14] intended symbolicity,[15] informational and computational equivalence,[16] realism or vividness,[17] and interactivity.[18]

Such definitions of medium—based as they are on user-centered criteria—facilitate a variable-based approach to communication research[19] by helping to isolate the precise variables of media technologies—and the values on those variables—that cause the observed changes in receivers' processing as well as responses to media stimuli. For example, research on modality of presentation has shown us how visual stimuli and auditory stimuli are differently processed[20] and how an interaction of the two stimuli could lead to behavior changes.[21] The variable-based approach has also led some researchers to pinpoint the precise features of media technologies that contribute to changes in cognitive spaces devoted to—and cognitive effort expended for—paying attention to stimuli,[22] information processing,[23] and memory.[24]

Just like these definitions of medium, theories about media effects have historically used receiver-centered criteria to distinguish between various media vehicles. While uses and gratifications theories document user expectations of—and patterns of exposure to—different forms of media,[25] cognitive response theories such as the elaboration likelihood model[26] posit that certain stimuli in certain media are processed "centrally" (i.e., with considerable expenditure of cognitive energy) while stimuli in other media are typically processed "peripherally," with little or no cognitive involvement or effort. This distinction between central and peripheral processing echoes the distinction made by McLuhan between "hot" and "cold" media wherein the former elicit active engagement by audience members while the latter are responded to passively.[27] Krugman and Wright have both empirically documented the wide differences in the amount of brain activity while using different media technologies such as television and print.[28]

In sum, converging evidence from theory and research suggests considerable psychological differences in the processing of stimuli transmitted by different media. However, as Stewart and Ward point out, much of the research has focused on differences between traditional mass media such as radio, television, and print, with little or no attention being paid to new media such as computer information services. It is an empirical question whether past research on advertising effects of different media are applicable to new media.[29]

The present investigation is designed in part to answer this question. Since the study reported here attempts to compare the traditional print medium with the new online medium, important questions about differences in the psychological importance of "medium" and "modality" come to the fore. As the modality of both print and online media is predominantly textual, a good case could be made for the absence of any psychological differences between the two. On the other hand, the difference in the delivery vehicle (paper versus computer) could be argued to have significant psychological effects, as suggested by the growing literature on the socialness of human-computer interaction.[30]

Memory

The concept of "memory" has enjoyed a long, rich tradition as a criterion variable in communication research—not just because advertisers are interested in finding out how effective their campaigns were in "getting through,"[31] but because scholars have continually used memory as an operational indicator of a variety of higher-order concepts in information processing such as attention, involvement, arousal, habituation, and learning.[32]

Human memory is a complex phenomenon, with different locations in the brain used for different mental operations. Among the components of memory are cues affecting the sensory organs.[33] The memory structure is divided into short-term and long-term sub-structures.[34] The former is the locus of consciousness and has limited capacity.[35] The latter is comprised of semantic long-term memory concerned with structural information and episodic long-term memory for contextually dependent information.[36] Memory is commonly measured in two ways: recall and recognition. Recall is affected by almost all substructures of memory while recognition tasks typically entail a less rigorous involvement of memory structures.

Recall and recognition of news stories have been measured by numerous investigators studying differences in the amount of learning from different media, especially print versus television.[37] Surveys of television viewers minutes after they voluntarily watched the evening news have shown that they remember very little.[38] This has been used as a measure of attention by some researchers[39] who contend that people generally do not give television news their full attention because they are simultaneously engaged in a variety of competing activities like eating and cooking. Agenda-setting researchers have used recall and recognition of major issues in the news and correlated them with the level of newspaper and television coverage of those issues.[40] However, such survey-based measures of memory have proved less reliable than recall and recognition measures administered in experimental settings.[41]

DeFleur and colleagues conducted an experiment that made an intermedia comparison between TV, radio, newspaper, and computer. Their subjects recalled about the same amount of news information from newspaper and computer, but differed significantly from television and radio. The researchers accounted for the lack of differences between the newspaper and computer conditions by proposing that both these media represent the same modality. They claimed that both are "print media requiring a quite similar cognitive processing unlike that of the audio-visual or audio-only versions related to TV and radio."[42] A cross-cultural experiment showed that while Spanish audiences learned least from computer presentations (compared to newspapers and other traditional media), American subjects found the computer as effective as the newspaper for learning details of a news story.[43] Other studies involving online news have concluded that online information is not all processed in a cyber-haze but attended to as deliberately as printed news stories.[44]

Extending these findings with news information to the present study, it may be tempting to speculate that recall and recognition of advertising content will not differ between print and online conditions. However, numerous studies have documented the enormous differences in the nature of processing of news and advertisements.[45] Typically, news occupies the center-stage of any publication. Ads are often relegated to the corners of the newshole, face greater informational competition, and hence have a lesser chance of gaining reader attention and retention. Therefore, in general, readers' memory for ad content may be conceptualized as "incidental memory" (short-term or episodic long-term memory).[46] Memory for ad-related material may be all the more incidental in online media because of the "I-read-somewhere-that" phenomenon[47] wherein readers are believed to be incapable of remembering the origin of the different pieces of cyber-information because of the multiplicity of sources in online media.

Given the paucity of past research on such incidental memory for advertising content, no specific directional hypotheses can be proposed for the current study. Nor can we predict that there will in fact be a difference in ad memory between print and online conditions. The works of McLuhan[48] and other technological determinists detailed in the previous section would lead us to expect differences between print and online media. However, the findings with news recall[49] and the fact that both print and online share the same mode despite being different media could be strong arguments for finding no differences. Therefore, this study performs a test of two competing schools of thought on the processing of print and online stimuli.

Method

All subjects ($N = 48$) in a between-subjects experiment were exposed to the front page of a fictitious newspaper featuring two news stories and one advertisement. Half the subjects read the page in print form while the other half read the same content in online form. After subjects read the page, their memory for ad content as well as story content was measured by a battery of recall and recognition questions administered via a paper-and-pencil questionnaire. The independent variable, Medium, was operationalized in terms of the two manipulated conditions while the dependent variable, Ad Memory, was operationalized as a ratio measure computed from the number of correct responses to ad-related memory questions on the questionnaire. The control variable, Story Memory, was operationalized in terms of the number of correct responses provided by subjects to story-related memory questions in the questionnaire.

Subjects. Forty-eight undergraduate students enrolled in communications classes participated in the experiment. Half the subjects were randomly assigned to the print condition while the other half were assigned to the online condition.[50] Both genders were equally represented in both conditions. All subjects signed an informed consent form prior to their participation in the experiment.

Stimulus Material. In order to increase the generalizability of the experiment's results, the news stories and the ad were taken verbatim from actual newspapers and edited only for length. However, in the case of the advertisement, which offered free installation of car stereos, the name of the store was changed to prevent any influence of subjects' familiarity with the local business. The ad was exclusively textual, but featured a lot of bold lettering, size and font variations, and a distinct border much like the display ad seen in newspapers and websites. It also included a vertical banner proclaiming "Big SALE." The news stories were carefully chosen to include typical, routine content which would be unlikely to evoke strong positive or negative emotions. The first story was titled "Malpractice Law: A Defective Product." It dealt with medical malpractice lawsuits in the state of New York. Since the story originally appeared in the news over three years ago, it reduced the likelihood of respondents' memory being affected by its recency or timeliness. The other news story was an international story entitled "King Hussein's visit makes statement." This was a report about the visit of Jordan's King Hussein to Jericho since the Palestinians took control of the West Bank as part of the Middle East Peace Accords. The domestic story was considerably longer (thirty-two lines) than the international story (seventeen lines).

At the very top of the page was the masthead featuring the name of the newspaper, the *Daily Star*, in bold letters and stylized font. This was followed by a line indicating date, volume number, and issue number. Below this line, occupying two-thirds of the width of the page on the top left-hand side was the domestic story with a headline and byline. Below that was the international story with a headline and byline. On the right-hand side of the page, occupying the remaining one-third of the width, was the ad for a car stereo store featuring names of car stereo brands and company names, as well as larger font sizes compared to the font of the news stories.

Experimental Treatment Conditions. Both the print and online versions of the stimulus were made to look similar in order to optimize treatment equivalence. The two news stories and the advertisement read by subjects in the two conditions were identical in content as well as layout. Moreover, the size of the print version of the newspaper was that of a 11" x 14" tabloid. This was done in order to maintain consistency with the online version, which was displayed to subjects on 11" x 14" computer monitors. The only discrepancy between the conditions was in font size: While the font size of the news stories for the print condition was twelve point, it was only ten point for the online condition. This was necessary not only to accommodate all the content on a single computer screen without having the subjects scroll down, but also to enhance the resemblance between the overall appearance of online and print versions.[51]

In addition to the print-online manipulation, there was another manipulation unrelated to the present study: One-half of the subjects in both print and online conditions was exposed to a black-and-white version of the ad while the other half was exposed to a colorized version of the same ad.

Dependent Measures. The dependent variable of ad memory was operationalized in the form of five different questions in the paper-and-pencil questionnaire. All five questions tested subjects' memory for various aspects of the ad's content. Two of the five questions were recall measures (e.g., "What do you know about the advertiser's sale/installation procedure based on the advertisement?) with an open-ended response option. The other three questions were recognition measures (e.g., "The advertisement made which one of the following claims?) with multiple-choice, closed-ended response options (e.g., a. lowered prices; b. free after-sale service; c. free gift with purchase; d. free car batteries with purchase; e. free car upholstery with purchase).

Control Measures. In order to test whether memory differences between print and online content were unique to ads or generalized even to news stories, measures were included in the questionnaire to assess subjects' memory for story content. In all, 14 questions were used to test for story memory—four recognition questions and three recall questions relating to each of the two stories.

In addition, two questions about subjects' media habits (one each about their use of newspapers and online media) were included as potential control measures. For each of the two media, subjects' frequency of prior use was measured on a five-point scale anchored between 0 ("never") and 4 ("daily").

Procedure. The experiment was administered to groups of subjects in a classroom with computers. However, all subjects in a given group administration belonged to the same condition (i.e., print or online). Subjects were informed that they were participating in a study that compared different formats of a newspaper. After the informed consent forms were signed, copies of the print version of the newspaper were distributed to the subjects in the print condition. In the online condition, experimenters directed subjects to view the *Daily Star* website on the computer monitors in the classroom.[52] Subjects in both conditions were encouraged to read the newspaper as they would read any other newspaper. No time constraints were placed on subjects. Once all subjects had finished reading the *Daily Star* front page, they were handed a paper-and-pencil questionnaire and asked to answer the questions without referring to the news stories. After all the subjects handed in their questionnaires, they were debriefed, thanked for their participation, and dismissed.

Data Analysis. Both recall and recognition questions pertaining to ad content as well as story content were given numerical values for correct and incorrect answers. Correct responses were coded as 1 and incorrect answers as 0. Since all questions pertained to factual aspects of ad and story content, the recall and recognition items could be coded without any ambiguity. Questions that were left blank or answered as "don't remember" were coded as incorrect.

Additive indices were constructed to arrive at composite measures of ad memory and story memory before entering them as dependent variables in analyses of variance to detect memory differences between print and online subjects.

In order to increase the precision of the experiment by statistically controlling for extraneous variability and removing biases due to possible non-randomness in assignment of subjects to conditions, a series of analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) was run with each of the three control measures (story memory, newspaper frequency, online frequency) as the covariate.[53]

Results

All 14 items measuring subjects' memory for content of the two stories were subjected to a factor analysis in order to determine if the recall items would load under a factor distinct from the recognition items. No such pattern emerged. Additionally, the factor analysis revealed that subjects' memory for the domestic news story was not systematically different from their memory for the international story. Therefore, it was decided to construct an additive index of all 14 items pertaining to the two stories and use that index as an overall measure of story memory. Similarly, an additive index of all 5 items pertaining to ad content was created as an overall measure of ad memory.

When the story memory index (Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$) was entered as a dependent variable in a two-tailed t-test between the two medium conditions (print vs. online), no significant difference in means was discovered between print subjects ($M = 6.33$) and online subjects ($M = 6.04$), $t\ (46) = .32$, $p = .74$. Subjects in both conditions averaged about 6 correct responses out of 14 questions.

However, when the ad memory index (Cronbach's $\alpha = .68$) was subjected to the same test, there was a significant difference in the means of print ($M = 3.91$) and online ($M = 2.87$) subjects, $t\ (46) = 2.54$, $p < .05$. Given a total of 5 memory questions about the ad content, subjects in the print condition provided nearly 4 correct responses on average while subjects in the online condition provided less than 3 correct responses. An analysis of covariance with the ad memory index as the dependent variable and the story memory index as the covariate echoed this significant finding, $F\ (1, 45) = 6.46$, $p < .05$. Similarly, the analysis of covariance with newspaper frequency as the covariate showed a significant effect of medium on memory, $F\ (1, 45) = 6.49$, $p < .05$, as did the analysis with online frequency as the covariate, $F\ (1, 45) = 6.48$, $p < .05$. None of the three covariates varied significantly as a function of medium.

The next set of analyses pertained to the two different types of ad memory: recall and recognition. The two open-ended dependent measures were additively combined to form the ad recall index (Cronbach's $\alpha = .57$) and entered as a dependent variable in an analysis of covariance with medium as the independent variable and story recall index (a composite of the 6 recall items in the 14-question battery aimed at capturing story memory) as the covariate, the difference between print ($M = 1.25$) and online subjects ($M = 0.87$) in their amount of recall of ad material was in the same direction as with the overall ad memory index. However, this difference was not statistically significant, $F\ (1, 45) = 2.5$, $p = .12$. When the 3-item ad recognition index (Cronbach's $\alpha = .55$) was used as a dependent variable in a similar analysis (with story recognition serving as the covariate), the difference in scores between print subjects ($M = 2.66$) and online subjects ($M = 2$) was statistically significant, $F\ (1, 45) = 7.13$, $p < .05$.

When gender and color were entered as independent variables, both separately and together with the medium manipulation, they failed to show significant results on any of the dependent variables. Therefore, these two variables will not be discussed henceforth in this article.

In summary, results from the analyses suggest that individuals exposed to news stories and ads in the print medium tend to remember (specifically, *recognize*) significantly more of the ad content than comparable individuals exposed to identical stories and ads in the online medium. There is no significant difference however on memory for story content between the two groups of individuals. Even when story memory and prior frequency of newspaper and online media are statistically controlled, memory for the print version of the ad is significantly higher than memory for the online version of the same ad.

Discussion

The absence of a significant difference in story memory between subjects in the two conditions not only confirms earlier findings with memory for news information,[54] but also eschews the need for a separate control variable of story memory for the present investigation. Given that print and online subjects were about equal on the story memory index, our control variable is automatically controlled for in this study.[55]

Furthermore, the absence of differences in story memory serves to highlight the fact that ad memory differences between the two groups of subjects is not due to any attentional differences between the two conditions. It is clear that subjects in both conditions were about equal in paying attention to the stimulus because they scored about the same in a test of their memory for story content. Therefore, we cannot conclude that print and online media command different levels of attention from readers.

The lack of differences in story memory also rules out another explanation for differences in ad memory between the two media. This explanation is based on the difference in font size between the print and online conditions. As mentioned in the methods section, the news stories in the online version had smaller font size than in the print version. If this size difference was driving the memory difference for ad content, it would first have to affect memory for story content. Since it did not, font size difference can be ruled out as an explanation for the study's result.

The reasons for finding higher ad memory scores among subjects exposed to the print medium are more likely to be related to the specific features of print as a medium when compared to online, than to any artifact of the experimental design.

To begin with, the study's result might be a reflection of a novelty effect. Since online advertising is relatively new (compared to print advertising), users of the online medium may be less prone to notice peripheral attributes like advertising. Therefore, while receivers show no media-based differences in their processing of news content, they seem to exhibit somewhat lower level of processing of ad cues in the online context.

Whether this is due to differential processing of different media or due to differential storage and/or retrieval is unclear. Since the recall measure did not show statistical significance (while the recognition measure did), it may be argued that the difference exists in retrieval, not encoding of information. However, given the closeness of the recall measure to statistical significance (not to mention the high likelihood of this measure being significant if it had more questionnaire items than just two) and the general empirical tradition of always finding low recall and high recognition for advertising content,[56] it is premature to conclude that online media and print media differ only in recognition memory, not recall memory. All that can be stated at this stage is that people remember more ad content from print medium than from online medium.

An important theoretical implication of this study is that in order to find cognitive differences between two media, it is not necessary for the media to differ in their modality. Both print and online media, at least in this experiment, shared the same mode: text. Therefore, the psychological distinction between these two media is not rooted in modality, but in some other factor(s) central to the media. Perhaps the differences are due to the delivery mechanism. It may be speculated that the paper on which the newspaper is printed allows for the readers' eyes to consume the news page in its entirety, including all peripheral aspects like advertising, while the computer screen, with its thick boxed boundaries, limit readers' attention to the center of the screen.

Another explanation for the study's finding could be related to receivers' expectations as well as estimations of the appropriateness of advertising in the online medium.[57] It may be argued from a uses-and-gratifications perspective that readers are purposive in their use of online medium,[58] such that they associate this new medium as a channel for news and information and consider it inappropriate for advertising. The image of the Internet as a free information network perhaps engenders a psychological predisposition to consider all of its content as free-floating sharing of information rather than as carefully packaged products of advertising and marketing. This attitude may be reflected in readers' careful consideration of the central content of the online news page (namely, news stories) while, at the same time, ignoring peripheral content like advertising.[59]

This is of consequence to the recently formed Internet Advertising Bureau which has undertaken the task of making the web medium a "measurable" entity in order to standardize space-selling and ad spending.[60] While advertisers have measured traditional media in terms of their reach of audience members (circulation size or viewer ratings), such an approach would be insufficiently informative in the online medium. Given the relatively poor memorability of online ads noticed in this study, reader access data of web pages is not a good indicator of the reach of advertising on those websites. Perhaps, the bureau could recommend placement of hyperlinks, which may help in tracking the number of users clicking on a given advertisement. This would be a stronger indicator of the reach of the ad in the new online medium.

An important practical implication of this study is that, in order for web advertising to work, advertisers have to do more to attract readers than they would in the print medium. For example, animated ads as opposed to still ads might be needed to attract online users.[61] To the extent advertisers use the new features of the online medium that are nonexistent in print (audio and video downloads, animated images, hyperlinks, site-maps, etc.), they are probably more likely to enhance user attention to advertising.

Future research should investigate the psychological merits of the new features of online media in the advertising context. Experimental studies in the selective exposure paradigm might be conducted to determine not only how many users consciously process ad material by clicking on them but also which technological features attract what kind of audiences. Information-processing experiments may then be conducted to determine the mechanisms by which these new features help or hinder reception as well as reaction of audience members to online advertising.

NOTES

1. Martha Brannigan, "Internet Advertising Grows," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 December 1996, sec. A, p. 7, col. 2; Amanda Plotkin, "Online Gold Mine Awaits Exploitation," *Advertising Age*, 4 March 1996, S4; Joe Mandese, "NBC asks $350K for Six-Month Online Deals," *Advertising Age*, 1 January 1996, 4; Steven Dickman, "Catching Customers on the Web," *Inc.*, Summer 1995, 56-60.

2. Gene W. Murdock and Anthony F. McGann, "Audience Reactions to a New Advertising Medium," *Journal of Media Planning* 6 (spring 1991): 29-37.

3. See, for example, Harold D. Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in *The Communication of Ideas*, ed. Lyman Bryson (NY: Harper and Brothers, 1948), 37-51; Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver, *The Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1949); Wilbur L. Schramm, "How Communication Works," in *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*, ed. Wilbur Lang Schramm (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1954), 3-26; David K. Berlo, *The Process of Communication: An Introduction to Theory and Practice* (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).

4. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (NY: McGraw Hill, 1964).

5. McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 18.

6. See, for example, David Stewart and Scott Ward, "Media Effects on Advertising" in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, ed. Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994), 315-63.

7. See, for example, Keith Fletcher, Colin Wheeler, and Julia Wright, "Database Marketing: A Channel Medium or a Strategic Approach," *International Journal of Advertising* 10 (2, 1991): 117-27.

8. See, for example, Stewart and Ward, "Media Effects on Advertising."

9. Murdock and McGann, "Audience Reactions."

10. The strongest case for defining and distinguishing media based on "cognitively relevant characteristics of their technologies, symbol systems, and processing capabilities" is made by Robert B. Kozma, "Learning With Media," *Review of Educational Research* 61 (summer 1991): 179-211. For a summary of psychological as well as functional and industry-based definitions of media, see Benjamin H. Detenber, "Psychological Processing of Media" (unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, 1992), 3-7.

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12. Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, 2d ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1976).

13. Gavriel Salomon, "Television Watching and Mental Effort: A Social Psychological View," in *Children's Understanding of Television*, ed. Jennings Bryant and Daniel R. Anderson (NY: Academic, 1983).

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15. Sol Worth and Larry Gross, "Symbolic Strategies," *Journal of Communication* 24 (autumn 1974): 27-39.

16. Herbert A. Simon, "On the Forms of Mental Representations," in *Perception and Cognition*, ed. C. Wade Savage (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1978), 3-18.

17. Jonathan Steuer, "Defining Virtual Reality: Dimensions Determining Telepresence," *Journal of Communication* 42 (autumn 1992): 73-93.

18. Sheizaf Rafaeli, "Interacting With Media: Parasocial Interaction and Real Interaction" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1985); Steuer, "Defining Virtual Reality"; Roland T. Rust and Sajeev Varki, "Rising from the Ashes of Advertising," *Journal of Business Research* 37 (November 1996): 173-81.

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27. McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 36-45.

28. Herbert E. Krugman, "The Measurement of Advertising Involvement," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 30 (winter 1966): 583-96; Peter L. Wright, "Cognitive Responses to Mass Media Advocacy," in *Cognitive Responses in Persuasion*, ed. Richard E. Petty, Thomas M. Ostrom, and Timothy C. Brock (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1981), 263-82.

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30. Clifford Nass and Jonathan Steuer, "Voices, Boxes, and Sources of Messages: Computers and Social Actors," *Human Communication Research* 19 (June 1993): 504-527; S. Shyam Sundar, "Is Human-Computer Interaction Parasocial or Social?" (paper presented at the annual conference of AEJMC, Atlanta, GA, 1994); Byron Reeves and Clifford Nass, *The Media Equation: How People Treat Computers, Television and New Media Like Real People and Places* (Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications and Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3-13.

31. Herbert E. Krugman, "Low Recall and High Recognition of Advertising," *Journal of Advertising Research* 26 (February/March 1986): 79-86.

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34. Eric S. Fredin, *Rethinking the News Story for the Internet: Hyperstory Prototypes and a Model of the User*, Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs, no. 163 (Columbia, SC: AEJMC, September 1997), 6; Kellerman, "Memory Processes," 84-86.

35. Gordon H. Bower and Frederick Springston, "Pauses as Recoding Points in Letter Series," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 83 (March 1970): 421-30.

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38. Olle Findahl and Birgitta Hoijer, "Some Characteristics of News Memory and Comprehension," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 29 (fall 1985): 379-96.

39. For an example, see Mark R. Levy, *The Audience Experience With Television News*, Journalism Monographs, no. 55 (Columbia, SC: AEJMC, April 1978), 1-29.

40. Maxwell McCombs, "News Influences on Our Pictures of the World," in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, ed. Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 1-16.

41. DeFleur, Davenport, Cronin, and DeFleur, "Audience Recall of News Stories," 1013.

42. DeFleur, Davenport, Cronin and DeFleur, "Audience Recall of News Stories," 1020.

43. Facorro and DeFleur, "A Cross-Cultural Experiment," 598.

44. S. Shyam Sundar, "Effect of Source Attribution on Perception of Online News Stories," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 75 (spring 1998): 55-68; S. Shyam Sundar and Clifford Nass, "Source Effects in Users' Perception of Online News" (paper presented at the 46th annual conference of the International Communication Association, Chicago, IL, 1996).

45. For an overview of empirical studies relating to advertising effects, see Stewart and Ward, "Media Effects on Advertising."

46. There may be exceptions, of course, as when a motivated buyer of a high-involvement product actively scans the newspaper for advertisements related to the product.

47. Sundar, "Effect of Source Attribution."

48. McLuhan, *Understanding Media.*

49. DeFleur, Davenport, Cronin, and DeFleur, "Audience Recall of News Stories."

50. Since this study adopted a between-subjects design, random assignment is crucial to ensuring equivalent samples in the two conditions. Random assignment may not eliminate outside factors, but it ensures that the effect of confounding variables is equally distributed in both conditions, thus producing no systematic effects on the dependent variable (James H. Watt and Sjef A. van den Berg, *Research Methods for Communication Science* [Needhan Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 1995], 63). An alternative to this design is the within-subjects design wherein all subjects are exposed to both conditions. While it has the advantage of reducing experimental error due to individual differences, the within-subjects design poses considerable threats to internal validity in the present context, such as sensitization (Watt & Berg, *Research Methods*, 256) and testing (Thomas D. Cook and Donald T. Campbell, *Quasi-Experimentation: Design and Analysis Issues for Field Settings* [Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company], 52). Subjects' responses to the second set of dependent measures may be skewed by their sensitization to the experimental purpose as well as their familiarity with the testing procedure. This is especially worrisome when the dependent variable is memory. Therefore, we decided that the between-subjects design was preferable for this study.

51. Since the online version of the stimulus imitated the print version so closely, it may be argued that the online ad lacked ecological validity (although ads in WWW are still predominantly textual). The goal of the current experiment was to perform a pure comparison between the two media; modifying the ad to include unique Web features (such as animation and audio downloads) would undermine treatment equivalence, thereby reducing the experiment's internal validity.

52. Subjects in the online condition were not allowed to surf before or after viewing the experimental website. This was done in order to prevent subjects in the online condition from experiencing greater distraction (associated with the computer and the web environment) compared to their counterparts in the print condition.

53. Albert R. Wildt and Olli T. Ahtola, *Analysis of Covariance* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications).

54. DeFleur, Davenport, Cronin, and DeFleur, "Audience Recall of News Stories"; Facorro and DeFleur, "A Cross-Cultural Experiment."

55. Nevertheless, in keeping with the planned design, story memory was statistically controlled while inferring the effect of print vs. online media upon ad memory via the analysis of covariance.

56. Krugman, "Low Recall and High Recognition of Advertising."

57. Michael H. Gramig, "Shopping on the 'Net Growing at Rapid Pace," *Atlanta Constitution*, 24 October 1996, sec. A, p. 12, col. 3.

58. Bas A. Andeweg and Jaap C. De Jong, "Helpviewer or Textbook? The Case of Ganesh Helper," *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* 26 (4, 1996): 419-34.

59. This may be a manifestation of the online medium's novelty effect. However, in order to confirm this notion, future replications of this experiment will have to show that, over time, with increasing diffusion of online media into our society, there is a corresponding decrease in the strength of this effect.

60. Joan Voight, "Beyond the Banner," *Wired* 4 (December 1996): 196-204.

61. For recent studies on animation in the online context, see Piet Westendorp, "Learning Efficiency with Text, Pictures, and Animation in Online Help," *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* 26 (4, 1996): 401-417; S. Shyam Sundar, George Otto, Lisa Pisciotta, and Karen Schlag, "Animation and Priming Effects in Online Advertising," (paper presented at the annual meeting of AEJMC, Chicago, IL, 1997).

BOOK REVIEWS

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■ *Assessing Public Journalism.* Edmund B. Lambeth, Philip E. Meyer, and Esther Thorson, eds. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1998. 292 pp. $22.50 pbk.

In November of 1988, George Bush was elected president following a vitriolic campaign replete with images of Willie Horton and a diminutive Michael Dukakis peering at us from atop a tank. Appropriately, *Assessing Public Journalism* appears on the ten-year anniversary of that presidential contest, which many see as the genesis of the public journalism movement. It was disgust over their role in disseminating these images that finally pushed Davis Merrit and like-minded editors to undertake the reforms which we today call public (or civic or citizen-based) journalism.

As co-editor Edmund B. Lambeth notes, "This book brings together a number of different research projects and reflective essays that assess public journalism. They aim to lower the decibel count, modulate the rhetoric, refine and advance the dialogue, and stimulate research." Although it may not quiet the controversy over public journalism, this generally readable and thought-provoking collection will likely succeed on the other counts. Significantly, it is one of the first books to offer a comprehensive look at both public journalism philosophy and practice, with input from both academics and editors. But more important, many of these chapters report original research that substantially advances our understanding of what public journalism is and what it can accomplish.

The book is divided into three sections. The first four chapters address the "origins and significance of public journalism." In chapter 1, Lambeth traces the movement's intellectual roots. Bravely he also attempts to "distill a definition" for this famously inchoate brand of journalism. In chapter 2, former editor Davis Merritt and scholar Jay Rosen reflect on their own individual journeys toward "the birth of an idea" that became public journalism, as well as their shared efforts to advance it. Then in chapter 3, Carol Reese Dykers deconstructs this story by analyzing Merritt's Page 1 musings on the new direction taken by the paper he edited for nearly twenty years, the *Wichita Eagle*. Finally, in chapter 4, John Bare establishes a baseline for defining public journalism by explicating the differences in attitudes and behavior between newspaper journalists who have taken part in a project and those who have not.

The six chapters in section II, called "Taking the Measure of Public Journalism," reflect the dominant focus of public journalism research to date—analyses of specific projects. They tell the stories of some of the seminal public journalism efforts. For instance, in chapter 5, editor Rick Thames describes how the pioneering *Charlotte* (NC) *Observer* changed its approach to campaign coverage in the 1992 elections. In chapter 6, editor Scott Johnson discusses how a move toward public journalism led to structural changes in the newsroom at the *Columbia* (SC) *State*.

The remaining section chapters examine public journalism projects through the theoretical lens of media effects. For instance, Frank Denton and co-editor Esther Thorson measured the effects of a Madison, WI, multimedia project on political knowledge and attitudes. Thorson also led a team that detected synergistic media effects following a multimedia project in Columbia, MO. In chapter 9, Sally J. McMillan and her co-authors present limited support for the notion that public journalism produces editorial content which differs from "traditional" content in significant ways. Then in chapter 10, Lewis Friedland and co-authors report the results of a study which found that deliberative public journalism can strengthen the fabric of social capital within a community, in this case Madison, WI.

Section III, "Delivering the Possibilities of Public Journalism," includes three thought-provoking essays. Chapter 11, for instance, features a debate between two journalists, a critic and a convert. Their exchange sounds common themes: Critics are not comfortable with what they perceive as journalists setting the agenda. And what's so new, they add, about listening to citizens and then reporting what they say? In contrast, in chapter 12, Lambeth argues that the changes necessitated by this new philosophy are not cosmetic but profound and in fact represent a change in news culture. Co-editor Philip Meyer also looks forward in chapter 13, presenting the questions that the next generation of research must ask.

The breadth of this book makes it an excellent primer for those with little knowledge of public journalism, although some chapters may be beyond the grasp of undergraduates. Of course, it will also be of interest to advocates, since it clearly offers further evidence that public journalism possesses a separate identity and characteristics. In addition, it presents some of the first solid proof—not from one study, but from several—that public journalism may in fact ameliorate the worst excesses of "traditional" journalism. Even skeptics may find in these pages facts that force them to re-think their position.

CAMILLE R. KRAEPLIN
Adjunct Professor of Journalism
Southern Methodist University

■ ***The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892-1950.*** Hayward Farrar. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998. 240 pp. $59.95 hbk.

For decades during this century, *The Baltimore Afro-American* was a formidable presence. As a leading black newspaper, it voiced the concerns of its readership and reflected the extraordinary social changes of a nation. Hayward Farrar takes an exhaustive look at this icon of the black press in *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1890-1950.* Though the newspaper continues to publish, Farrar chooses to focus on the newspaper's achievements from inception to the onset of the Civil Rights era. A central thesis is that the *Afro-American* was pivotal in laying the groundwork for that movement.

To support this far-reaching conclusion, Farrar has organized the book in a rather atypical fashion. Rather than discuss the *Afro-American's* achievements in strict chronological fashion, as do most historical reviews, the author examines topical milestones. So, content and conflict within the paper's pages are discussed with such provocative subjects as morality crusades and criminal justice.

Part of what distinguished the *Afro*—as it was popularly called—from other newspapers was the venerable Murphy family who owned the paper, nearly from its inception. John H. Murphy Sr., the son of slaves, took over the paper during precarious financial times in 1897. Murphy's descendants have operated the paper since.

Another distinction of the *Afro* was an ambition fueled by the first Murphy patriarch: that the newspaper extend its influence and readership along the Eastern seaboard. To that end, by 1950, the *Afro-American* had established a chain of eleven editions which that year grossed over $1.5 million. Loyal readers eagerly sought the *Afro* not only in Baltimore, but in New England cities, Philadelphia, Richmond, New York, and indeed, nationwide.

But, ironically, some of the freedoms the *Afro* advocated in its campaign against desegregation became part of its professional nemesis. Top African-American journalists joined the ranks of majority newspapers, and competition heightened for readers and advertising dollars. Along with rising material costs which have affected all papers, the *Afro* has had its challenges in more recent years. In an epilogue, the author updates readers on what precise changes the *Afro* has made to remain viable.

Well-researched, this book is amply supported by a host of primary source materials. Besides his access to archived newspapers, the author has rounded out his study with personal interviews and documents provided by the Murphy family. *The Baltimore Afro-American, 1892-1950* is an important study of the black press, one that vividly highlights the enormous influence such papers had on the national agenda. This book would be a solid supplementary text in courses about journalism history, race, and public opinion and the media.

META G. CARSTARPHEN
Assistant Professor of Journalism
University of North Texas

■ ***Channeling Violence: The Economic Market for Violent Television Programming.*** James T. Hamilton. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998. 390 pp. $35 hbk.

No more important public policy exists than the dealing with the presumed negative effects of violence on television. Research—particularly concerning negative effects on the young—usually takes the form of psychological and/or sociological analysis. *Channeling Violence* examines television violence as a commercial product.

This well-written and finely argued economic analysis begins by noting what we all too often take for granted: TV programming is in general profit driven, and, in particular, is strategically chosen to attract particular viewing audiences. This is as true for news as it is for the more avowedly greed-driven entertainment programs.

James T. Hamilton, an associate professor of public policy and economics at Duke University, argues that TV violence represents an economic problem at its core, a classic example of a failure of the free-market to produce "optimal" results in terms of societal and cultural performance. Hamilton, effectively and adroitly, makes the analogy to air pollution in that in both cases, producers do not consider the full social and cultural costs of their activities. Broadcasters and cablecasters alike seek to attract viewers for their advertising clients as well as their need, in cable's case, to ensure we all write that check each month.

The problem is that in too many cases, TV's programmers and networks do not fully bear the costs to society of their violent programming, if those costs include such factors as increased aggression and crime. We all pay later for the spillover effects of road rage, mistreatment of children, and increased criminal activity. Hamilton makes his case clearly, methodically, and in a fashion all media economists ought to aspire to.

In comparing TV violence to air pollution Hamilton engages the reader in familiar territory. Through this rhetorical and analytical means he is able to compare this particular negative externality with environmental pollution, both in the manner of how it works as well as in possible solutions. The economic theory of externalities underscores the damage to society as a whole that arises from television violence that remains outside the calculations of the typical micro-economic analysis. The recognition of television violence, as but one example of a negative externality, suggests that while the goal for the optimal amount of violence is not zero, the existence of negative externalities needs be considered in any mass media public policy analysis.

Readers ought to pay close attention to Hamilton's concluding chapter: "Dealing with Television Violence: Politics and Policies." In thirty-seven pages he offers a model analysis on what we might do about TV violence. While Hamilton may be more optimistic than some (he advocates more information and the V-chip as ways to reduce exposure of violence on television to children), his matrix of public policy possibilities ought to be carefully read and considered by all interested in the future of the mass media.

DOUGLAS GOMERY
Professor of Journalism
University of Maryland

■ ***Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity.*** Simi Linton. New York & London: New York University Press, 1998. 204 pp. $45 hbk. $16.95 pbk.

Claiming Disability provides the first comprehensive discussion of disability studies as an area of academic inquiry. It is an exciting addition to the burgeoning disability studies publications. In his guest forward, Michael Berube writes that "the study of disability has its place in the curriculum – and that place is everywhere" (x). Because disability studies is inherently interdisciplinary, this book is important to communication scholars, educators, and administrators interested in incorporating disability into their programs.

Simi Linton is co-director of the Disability Studies Project at Hunter College in New York. In *Claiming Disability*, Linton clearly and succinctly articulates her agenda of incorporating disability into academic curricula. She draws upon a wide array of literature, including feminist, race, and gay scholars, as well as providing a historical context of the social arrangements pertaining to disability. She and other disability studies scholars argue that disability is a socio-cultural phenomenon that historically has been under the purview of only the applied sciences such as medicine, psychology, and rehabilitation. Unfortunately, the dominance of this medical model results in disability being viewed as a deviant, individual phenomenon instead of a product of social arrangements. Linton believes that a liberal arts approach can reveal and remedy these constructions.

Of particular interest is chapter 2, on creating a new language of disability that escapes medical language. She deftly deals with ways to identify persons with disabilities, appropriate for newswriting/editing classes and other classes covering diversity issues. For example, she urges writers to avoid the "histrionics" of saying someone is "afflicted with" a disability, or the deception of calling someone "physically challenged." The former phrase creates a passive victim; the latter suggests that a person's barriers are merely physical, ignoring complex social factors such as attitudes. On the other extreme, Linton cautions writers to avoid using the frame of someone "overcoming" their disability. This creates an unrealistic stereotype.

Linton offers several goals for disability studies, including a call for the exploration of "metaphoric and symbolic" uses of disability: "These devices need to be analyzed in an array of cultural products to understand their meanings and functions, and to subvert their power" (p. 125). Courses in communication and analyses of multiple forms of media are clearly important sites for such investigations.

Lastly, Linton sees disability studies as a means for educating disabled and nondisabled individuals to become responsible, informed citizens. She offers a series of hypothetical scenarios and discusses the disability issues in each. Administrators might consider the scenario of a personnel director dealing with disability discrimination complaints, while educators could create scenarios for students on handling stories on disability issues.

Linton writes that for each discipline there are specific truths and lies to be told. Her book is certainly a springboard for exploring what lies journalists and communication scholars may be telling about disability.

CATHY MARSTON
Graduate Instructor of Education
University of Iowa

■ ***Electronic Whistle-Stops: The Impact of the Internet on American Politics.*** Gary W. Selnow. Westport, CT & London: Praeger Publishers, 1998. 221 pp. $59.95 hbk. $19.95 pbk.

The controversial Starr Report that described what the Independent Counsel believed were grounds for impeaching President Clinton was released on the World Wide Web 11 September 1998. While the Independent Counsel's report on Bill Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky was made public too late to be part of the new political world that is the substance of *Electronic Whistle-Stops*, it is interesting to consider where it would fit into this new book about politics and new communication technology.

Whether events following release of the report would have changed anything is mere speculation; it is the sort of event that is the heart of the new book by Gary W. Selnow, a communication professor at San Francisco State University. He has authored several books about television and politics.

"The use of the Internet in the 1996 campaigns has a significance that transcends the political figures who set up Web sites to impress constituents," Selnow wrote in the introduction (p. xxii). The impact of the Internet on the political process is much more than simple candidate Web sites, he maintains. "The Internet is shaping up to be a serious international medium that will radically alter politics in the United States and abroad, and what's more, it will impact society on a larger level. It stands to change political and ideological alignments, the substance of news available to the population, and the relationships between political leaders and the people" (p. xxii).

Selnow's book is divided into seven chapters contained in three parts. There is one appendix, a list of further readings (in addition to citations at the end of each chapter), and an index.

Part 1 looks at "lessons of the past" in two chapters. The book's opening chapter places the subject in context with a discussion of mass communication and its lessons for the Internet. The second chapter follows with a summary of media history and evolution with emphasis on new formats and content.

Part 2 focuses on political communication and the Internet in three chapters. Chapter 3 discusses mainstream candidacies that have used the Internet. Chapter 4 shifts to the rank and file and their voices in political campaigns. Chapter 5 reviews information experiments on the World Wide Web.

Part 3 concludes the treatment by discussing the relationships of the press, politics, and the public. The two chapters of this section analyze the use and impact of the Internet on journalism from the viewpoint of reporters and the changing public agenda and fragmentation of audiences.

This is an important book for two reasons. First, it is among the earliest to document the uses and potential effects of the Internet on the political process. And second, it is significant because of how well it describes these uses and effects for readers. The book makes a mark in the body of political communication and mass communication literature and has the potential to become a standard in its particular niche of communication scholarship.

BRUCE GARRISON
Professor of Journalism
University of Miami

■ ***Gen X TV: The Brady Bunch to Melrose Place.*** Rob Owen, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997. 225 pp. $26.95 hbk.

According to a 1997 *Time* magazine cover story, there are 44.6 million people in the United States who were born between 1965 and 1976. Even though this cohort has been called twenty-somethings, the thirteenth Generation, the MTV generation, slackers, and Generation X, only the term Generation X, which was coined by Douglas Coupland in his 1991 novel, has stuck. While there are many attributes to distinguish Generation X from the older baby boomers, perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic is the younger generation's relationship with TV. Rob Owen, TV critic for the *Times Union* in Albany, NY, has documented that distinctive relationship in *Gen X TV*.

Gen X TV is much more than an examination of the TV programs that were produced specifically for this age group. It is also a sociological study and a marketer's perspective on the 44.6 million people who are rapidly becoming thirty-somethings. The book begins by defining Generation X and discussing the attitudes that Generation Xers have toward the term. The author said that even though the most up-to-date dictionaries now include the term Generation X, they differ in the definitions. While the dictionaries disagree on the definitions, Generation Xers who were interviewed by the author or responded with e-mail comments to his query were in agreement about one thing. Most were disdainful of the term Generation X. In fact, one twenty-two year old said Generation X is "a term invented by old fuddy-duddies who think that kids ages 18 to 26 are apathetic and without identities, but they're wrong."

As expected, *Gen X TV* examines some of the TV shows that appeal to Generation X: *Beverly Hills, 90210*; *Melrose Place*; *The X-Files*; *Party of Five*; *Friends*; *The Simpsons*; *Late Night with David Letterman*; *ER*; *The Real World*; and *Seinfeld*. According to the author, features of these shows that attract Generation X include serialized storylines, music, references to other TV shows, friends as family, a fast production pace, and poking fun at the establishment. The book also addresses how the success of one of the first Gen X TV shows, *Beverly Hills, 90210*, helped FOX join the company of NBC, CBS, and ABC as a major TV network. FOX's success with Gen X-targeted programs inspired two additional networks, UPN and WB, to start up by targeting this same youthful generation.

The author's examination of Gen X TV programs also exposes TV's segregation. The irony of this segregated TV land is that Generation X is the most racially and ethnically diverse generation, and the first cohort to grow up after segregation was outlawed. The author said that the shows that are labeled Generation X have mostly white characters, and the shows that had the same ingredients of Generation X TV such as *Living Single* and *Martin* were not even labeled Generation X shows because of their black casts. In fact, the author used a report from BBDO, the advertising agency, to show that the most popular TV shows in young adult black households were completely different from the top shows in Generation X white households.

Since Generation X is also considered the most technologically savvy cohort, it was not a surprise to find a chapter devoted to TV and cyberspace. In fact, the author documented how the Internet has become a gathering place for Gen Xers to talk about TV programs and commercials. He even listed 180 news groups, FTP sites, and Web sites for TV programs, comments, frequently asked questions, episode guides, cast bios, and fan activity.

One of the more interesting sections is called "Suits on the Net," in which the author described how network TV executives use the Net to research the audience for Generation X TV programs. Even though the executives recognize the data gathered via the Net is not scientific, they still like to "eavesdrop" on conversations in electronic discussion groups. Network TV executives learn what Generation X surfers on the Net think about their programs, characters, and plot lines.

Even though it is well-written, interesting, and insightful, *Gen X TV* does have some weaknesses. One weakness is that the book devotes little attention to cable music channels which were developed for and succeeded because of this youthful generation. Another weakness is that the book spends little time examining MTV-type TV commercials that were targeted specifically to this age group. And even though this age group is not known as the news and information generation, it was expected that there would be something on Generation X and its relationship with TV news, talk shows, news magazines, and tabloid shows. Because some of the talk shows, news magazines, and TV tabloids have emphasized Generation X TV, music, and film celebrities, it was expected that the book would have addressed these programs to some degree.

Another weakness is the research that serves as the underpinning of the book. The author relies too much on comments from those who frequent the Internet for their observations on Generation X TV. The inclusion of more scientifically valid data would have made it possible to drawn a more authentic picture of Generation X and TV.

Gen X TV would be useful as a supplemental text for media management, consumer behavior, and advertising research courses. Even though the focus of the book is TV, it is fair to say that because this generation has been defined so much by TV, you can't really understand it, until you understand its relationship to TV. This book would also make a useful reference for those conducting research on Generation X.

Finally, *Gen X TV* would be beneficial for newspaper executives who have been scratching their heads for a quarter of a century trying to figure out how to attract the younger generation to the newspaper. In fact, according to a 1997 national survey conducted by The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, only 39 percent of adults under the age of 30 read a newspaper regularly. *Gen X TV* may provide ideas on what to do about strengthening this weak relationship between young adults and the newspaper.

PAULA M. POINDEXTER
Associate Professor of Journalism and Advertising
The University of Texas at Austin

■ ***Girl Reporter: Gender, Journalism, and the Movies.*** Howard Good. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1998. 176 pp. $35 hbk.

In *Girl Reporter*, Howard Good focuses on the character of Torchy Blane, the attractive, blonde, witty, but tough, female reporter, who starred in a series of nine Warner Brothers films released from 1937 to 1939. Torchy was and still is every woman's idea of what the career-minded woman should be like and, of course, why she should be respected in a male-dominated society. But, is that really the case in these films? Or, even today, some sixty years since the films debuted?

Good demonstrates throughout the book that despite the illusions of equality between Torchy Blane and her boyfriend, police detective Lt. Steve McBride, many of the portrayals of female reporters clearly reinforce traditional gender roles. They did back then, and they still do today, for as Good writes, "from the late 1970s till today, films that feature female reporters have persecuted these women for displaying courage and initiative."

The strengths in *Girl Reporter* appear to outweigh the weaknesses. For one, each of the twenty-five chapters is but a few pages in length, which Good hopes will "generate, or at least suggest something of the manic energy of film, with its jump cuts and zooms and freeze frames."

Both instructors and students alike also will appreciate Good's ability to integrate historical facts into the discussions whenever appropriate. Acknowledging that the Torchy films ran during the Depression, Good uses various historical documents to put into perspective the tenuous status of women workers in the 1930s and 1940s.

A professor of journalism at SUNY at New Paltz who has written extensively on journalism, gender, and film in American culture, Good also does not shy away from racism in the film industry during the Torchy Blane era. He discusses a scene in the first Torchy Blane film, *Smart Blonde,* in which two black men featured as Redcaps at Union Station are depicted rather buffoonishly in their roles. The only film in the series in which blacks are featured, Good writes of the two black male actors: "That the creators of Torchy could only envision blacks in racist terms raises doubts about their view of other underprivileged groups, including women."

For the most part, *Girl Reporter* is a fun and fast-reading book, replete with the effects Good tries to give with the use of his colorful writing style. At some points, one is likely to feel as though he or she is sitting there with Good, reading and critiquing the films he is referring to rather than critiquing what he has written *about* the films. Such an experience, quite naturally, makes one want to see some of the scenes from these films. Apparently Good knows this, which is why several black and white photos of scenes from the films are inserted in the final chapter.

Girl Reporter is a supplementary text that should be considered for use in race, gender, and media courses. The book, along with the actual viewing of the films, is sure to help keep discussions on gender and race portrayals both interesting and provocative.

LILLIE M. FEARS
Assistant Professor of Journalism
Arkansas State University

■ ***Global Media Economics: Commercialization, Concentration, and Integration of World Media Market.*** Alan B. Albarran and Sylvia M. Chan-Olmsted, eds. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1998. 362 pp. $54.95 hbk.

This is an exciting time for media economists. Through expansion, privatization, and convergence, the world's media, and media markets, are undergoing fundamental shifts in the race to the Information Society. These changes are global and driven by economic factors and economic policy, suggesting the importance of understanding the economics of media and media markets. Both media professionals and media students are well-advised to learn more about media economics, international media markets, and the issues that are driving the transition to a Global Information Economy/Society.

This book by Albarran and Chan-Olmsted is designed as a companion piece to Albarran's recent *Media Economics: Understanding Markets, Industries and Concepts* book. It seeks to review and analyze a range of media markets around the world, the economics that shape those markets, and the changes they are confronting, providing a foundation that students and media professionals can use to further their understanding of media markets around the world.

Albarran and Chan-Olmsted are moderately successful in meeting this ambitious goal. The book suffers from the traditional weaknesses associated with global overviews: it is neither as comprehensive nor as complete as one might hope for. The book's nineteen chapters on national markets, written by a range of international contributors (mostly noted media economists), does hit all the big markets, but also ignores large portions of the globe. Outside of North America and Western Europe, most regions are represented by only a couple of countries, usually those with the most highly developed media markets. None of the chapters really examine what could be called developing media markets, where some of the most interesting market structures and changes are at work. The media market of Eastern and Central Europe, rapidly shifting from planned socialist economies to free market capitalism, are not addressed at all.

The individual chapters generally do an excellent job of describing national media markets and industries. Most also include a look at trends and changes in that market and their implications. The reviews of current and historical markets are fairly thorough. Analysis of the markets, the forces driving change, and the implications of change is, on the other hand, fairly superficial. Albarran and Chan-Olmsted have done a good job in framing and enforcing a common outline and approach, which helps the flow of the book. They also contribute their own overview chapters, synthesizing the separate chapters and adding a bit of analysis. They are hampered a bit by the long publishing process, however. Most of the data are at least a couple of years old, and some analyses have been superseded by more recent events.

Even with these caveats, this is a good compendium for scholars, students, and professionals. It provides a good, albeit limited, overview of media markets around the world, and of some of the emerging trends in media economics, and the current issues confronting media. I'd recommend it for courses in international media and media economics, at least until something newer and more comprehensive comes along.

BENJAMIN J. BATES
Associate Professor of Broadcasting
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

■ ***The Internet Handbook for Writers, Researchers, and Journalists.*** Mary McGuire, Linda Stilborne, Melinda McAdams, and Laurel Hyatt. New York: Guilford Press, 1997. 242 pp. $39.95 hbk. $19.95 pbk.

Of the recent plethora of guide books to the Internet and all its offerings, *The Internet Handbook for Writers, Researchers, and Journalists* is one of the more intelligent, useful, and visionary. It is probably the best of the recently published Internet reference books because it consistently bridges technical information and conceptual context which helps readers learn not only about electronic information sources and strategies, but how those sources and strategies connect to larger issues and concerns of professional researchers and writers.

The orientation of the text is not to train future journalists heading off to specific occupations, but to prepare the broad, "information professional" to enter and intelligently negotiate the robust and rapidly evolving electronic environment. The authors note that this environment has been dominated by technical developments that have spawned an electronic junk drawer where various actors—commercial, government, nonprofit, individual—have tossed in spare change and rare coins, costume jewelry and precious gems. The trend in Internet development is shifting, however, away from technical skills to create electronic resources to practical ability to cull the gems from the slag and to develop content and services capable of attracting and holding users. This trend is posing challenges and opening up new opportunities for those who are most skilled and creative at negotiating and developing materials for the Net.

The authors assume that readers may know nothing about the Internet and include chapters that range from the basics of logging on to more advanced concerns of producing Web pages and coping with information overload. The heart of the book, however, is devoted to describing and explaining the principal information resources—search engines, databases, listservs, newsgroups, Web pages—on the Net, with a particular emphasis on materials of interest to journalists and researchers. Although much of the material in these chapters is quite elementary and well known by seasoned Internet users, the basic information is interwoven with issues and concerns that will be teased out by practitioners and scholars for years to come. Such issues include the criteria by which to judge Internet resources, the professional standards for conducting online interviews, and the ethical norms involved in quoting conversations and postings in electronic discussion groups and other forums.

The format of the text mimics the hypertext style prevalent on the Web, with a heavy use of headings, boldface, bulleted lists, indented text, recurring features tucked into the margins, and graphic art. Although this format does give the pages a busy appearance, most of the formatting helps to organize the dense quantity of technical information (how to add helper applications to your browser) and research resources (search engines at a glance). The quantity of data included in the book's eight chapters is augmented by six appendices that include an excellent list of professional resources on the Web, an overview of copyright and censorship issues, and a reproduction of the Associated Press' policy for using electronic resources.

This book is aimed at students and professionals who are new to the Internet, but it is a valuable resource for more seasoned users, as well. The book would work well as a supplemental reference text for a wide range of journalism and communication courses that include an Internet component. It is also a useful read for advanced teachers to help them re-orient their focus on some of the central issues relevant to researching and writing on and for the Internet.

ROBERT HUESCA
Assistant Professor of Communication
Trinity University

■ ***Media Making: Mass Media in a Popular Culture.*** Lawrence Grossberg, Ellen Wartella, and D. Charles Whitney. Thousand Oaks, CA, and London: Sage Publications, 1998. 442 pp. $68.50 hbk. $35 pbk.

This long-awaited textbook from three leading author/researchers is likely to be widely welcomed and used. It is an up-to-date, authoritative and fresh attempt to map out the mainstream field of mass media and communications in an accessible and intelligent form. Its innovative character stems largely from a structure that seeks to integrate three main theoretical perspectives and sets of concerns within a common framework. In general it succeeds in this aim, partly perhaps because the three authors share experiences of time and place in their own professional development. The three perspectives can be summarily described as having to do with the cultural, social, and political-economic links between media and society.

However, the contents of the book are organized somewhat differently, without clear lines separating the perspectives mentioned. Of the four main parts, the first deals with the social context in which media themselves and the study of media have developed, moving on to the organizational setting of media production and the influence of market forces in shaping media industries. Part 2 is entitled "making sense of the media" and is largely devoted to alternative theories of how meanings are embedded in media texts and how these are to be "read" or interpreted. Part 3 deals with the "power" of the media, understood in different ways: as producing identities; attracting audiences and serving their needs; influencing behavior, attitudes, and opinion. Finally, the media are, as it were, re-contextualized under the heading "Media and Public Life," in a series of chapters that deal especially with news, politics, and ideas of the "public." The book concludes by dealing with "normative theories of the media" and "globalization" respectively.

The title of "media-making" is intended to capture the essential nature of media as both producing meaning and being themselves produced by their social context, their audiences, and the people who work in and through them. The general style and format of the book is indicated by the authors' own observation at the outset that it is "likely to appear much more theoretically and analytically oriented than the typical descriptively and empirically based approach of most textbooks in the area." Typically, the authors explain and discuss issues in an open way that acknowledges disputes and alternative perspectives. Although the introduction disclaims the use of "lots of extended examples," there are quite a few drawn from the media and other sources. The book does not shy away from difficult topics such as modernism and postmodernism or questions of semiotics. Influential recent theories are introduced and explained, although the occasional sharp shift of gradient from easier topics is sometimes a strain and the level of difficulty varies more than appears at first sight.

This is one weakness of the reasoned discursive approach that deals with all obstacles in its path in much the same systematic way. For this reader, format and presentation could have been better. For instance, the typefaces used for different levels of heading are not easy to distinguish and the use of headings or sub-headings is generally too sparing. All in all, however, this is an extremely valuable contribution to the existing corpus of texts, although perhaps not suitable for all absolute beginners. It should also appeal to any curious reader wanting to know what the field of study of mass communication is about and will be refreshing for jaded teachers already at work in the field.

DENIS MCQUAIL
Professor Emeritus of Communication
University of Amsterdam

■ ***Media, Market, and Democracy in China: Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line.*** Yuezhi Zhao. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998. 255 pp. $44.95 hbk. $19.95 pbk.

Since the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union around the early 1990s and amid its continuing reform and openness even after the heavy-handed crackdown on the 1989 Tiananmen Square pro-democracy movement, both the academic and journalistic communities have been searching for new concepts and ways of making sense of the structure and processes of mass media in China, the last stronghold of communist ideology and the world's fast emerging economic power. By all measures and through various accounts, China's changing media landscape within the larger socio-political context continues to defy conventional wisdom and contemporary conceptual fixation.

With a variety of approaches, numerous articles and books have attempted to determine, either quantitatively or qualitatively, how the Chinese media system strives to strike an uneasy balance between the unyielding political control dictated by the necessity of state domination in an authoritarian system on the one hand and the unrelenting momentum unleashed by the market forces on the other hand. This book by Yuezhi Zhao, a native of China and an assistant professor of communication at the University of California at San Diego, represents an insightful and challenging addition to a significant body of literature on China research in social sciences in general and in mass communication/journalism in particular. It presents a skillful synergy of *what is* and *what should be* in the Chinese media system in both the political and economic sense.

For anyone who follows the spirit and practices of Chinese journalism, the book makes a fascinating, and to some extent provocative, reading of the tension, negotiation, and accommodation of the willing bedfellows between the highly politicized Communist Party and the increasingly commercialized mass media in China. Its approach is a combination of historical description and critical analysis of the form and content of the Chinese media system over time and across space. Relying heavily on such publications as books, academic journals, and trade magazines, however, the author provides little original or systematic data. The book is nevertheless full of useful anecdotes and circumstantial evidence culled from Chinese sources not readily available to mass communication researchers outside China. They are helpful in story telling, but are insufficient in theory building, especially when the book argues for a new mass communication model in China.

The nine chapters are arranged in topical areas, dealing with party journalism, media reform, advertising orientation and business practices, journalistic corruption, technical innovation in broadcasting, specialized press, model of propagandist/commercial journalism, internal regulations and foreign influences, and political democratization. They underscore the dilemma and struggles created by the functional prerequisites of the party leadership (by design, promulgated in the constitution) and the survival instinct of market competition (by default, albeit imperfect) in a media environment fused with growing audience demand and technological sophistication. The discussions are often buttressed by vivid examples and thoughtful criticism.

The author certainly is not satisfied with the existing configuration and equation between the mass media and the powers that be in China. She also has serious, and justifiable, reservations about the suitability of a Western market-oriented model as an alternative in the Chinese setting. Her solution gives away a romantic belief that media reform and press freedom in China can be achieved within the current framework of the Communist Party domination, without an overhaul of the fundamental political structure that has been abandoned by the Soviet Union itself and its former republics. The central idea of the book thus poses an intriguing question to the community of scholars at large. It is not merely an empirical matter, but a profound theoretical inquiry. The book should not have the last word. The intellectual debate must be joined.

Given that the lessons of the failure of communism elsewhere apparently have not been ignored in China, the author insists on taking on the Chinese system in its own terms and within its own parameter. The book offers a reasonable epistemological departure point for retrospect and prospect. Notwithstanding its inconsistency in cognitive map making, it leads the reader through uncharted, if not untrodden, paths of media development in China, compelling one to re-think along the way the what-ifs of political, social, and cultural experiments in a country where the constant is the unpredictable change. If China is too important to be left to the specialists, as the *Christian Science Monitor* once said, this book should not be read just by them.

TSAN-KUO CHANG
Associate Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

■ *Media Mergers.* Nancy J. Woodhull and Robert W. Snyder, eds. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1998. 198 pp. $21.95 pbk.

Are media mergers good or bad? In the tradition of mainstream journalism, the editors of *Media Mergers* do not take sides.

"For now, anyone who wants to understand the mergers will be best served by a healthy dose of skepticism, a search for illuminating facts and a willingness to consider *all* sides of the discussion," write editors Nancy J. Woodhull, who died in 1997 shortly after these essays were first published in *Media Studies Journal* (Spring/Summer 1996), and Robert W. Snyder, a historian and managing editor of *Media Studies Journal*. "The best and worst possibilities of the mergers have been articulated so loudly that everyone should be on guard against both hyperbole and facile judgments. In that spirit, we offer this collection of essays"(p. xi).

The strength of this book is that it contains a good sampling of many of the opinions on media mergers. This collection of twenty-three short essays from journalists, industry "experts," and a handful of professors is one of the few places, in fact, to find writings in support of mergers. The vast majority of the material that has been published in professional and scholarly literatures during the past fifty years has been critical of mergers and the corporate form of organization. *Media Mergers*, in contrast, contains contributions from several industry analysts and even a roundtable discussion from four top media executives who argue that profits are not the only force that drive their organizations.

However, in terms of resolving the question about whether mergers are good or bad, this collection does little to illuminate. Most of the readings are heavy on rhetoric and light on good theory and data. In particular, this book contains no systematic analysis of the historical origins or causes of mergers. One author who briefly mentions the topic summed up the causes in one phrase: "technological change" (p. 9).

That was it. No analysis of Karl Marx's theory of competition and the paradox of competition under capitalism. No analysis of Adam Smith's and Emile Durkheim's writings on the division of labor and the role it plays in stimulating innovation and competition. No analysis of Max Weber's concepts of bureaucracy and corporate organization. No analysis of Joseph Schumpeter's theory of innovation and his oft-quoted metaphor, "the creative gale of destruction." No analysis of the managerial revolution hypothesis and how this may attenuate merger critics' charges. And, finally, there is no reference to the writings of many contemporary media economists, including Alan Albarran, Alison Alexander, Rod Carveth, Robert H. Ducoffe, Richard A. Gershon, Peter Golding, Albert N. Greco, Edward S. Herman, Stephen Lacy, Barry R. Litman, Robert W. McChesney, Graham Murdock, James Owers, Gary Ozanich, Robert G. Picard, and Michael O. Wirth.

To be fair, some of the opinion and speculation expressed in this book are useful. For example, media sociologist and critical scholar Todd Gitlin writes in the introductory chapter that media corporations with "the capacity for overbearing power are being merged and acquired into existence as if there were nothing at stake but stock values. Today's deals may weigh on the culture for decades. The potential for harm (as a result of mergers) is at least as impressive as the potential for good" (p. 8). Interestingly, this position seems to be more cautious than we have come to expect of Gitlin, who has been extremely critical of media mergers.

Leo Bogart's and Eli M. Noam's chapters also contain some useful summary data on media mergers and conglomeration. A chapter by Randall H. Lucius, Jeffrey A. Sonnenfeld, and Michael Reene presents some interesting, albeit limited, survey research data across industry segments. And the final chapter by the late Anne Wells Branscomb includes a thoughtful review of some of the key works in the field.

But these contributions are not enough to overcome the glaring lack of theoretical and empirical substance in the rest of the book. Take, for instance, the opinion offered by one industry consultant about whether American journalism has lost too much of its seriousness and become too trivialized. "I am convinced that to the extent journalism today is less thoughtful, mergers are not to blame. I am equally certain that, if anything, when the history of media in the latter part of the twentieth century is written, it may well be concluded that we are in a golden age of information" (p. 14).

Ho-hum. Where's the beef?

Speaking of beef, the weakest sections of the book are those that address the consequences of "media empires" in the United States and the world. The contributions in this section are written primarily by nonscholars and are impressionistic—i.e., long on anecdotes and personal experience, and short on theory and empirical observation. This section of the book should have drawn more heavily on the expertise of mass communication researchers and scholars. Another problem is that, with the exception of the final review chapter, this book contains no references or citations to other works in the field.

Unfortunately, these shortcomings make it difficult for any reader to take sides in the media merger debate or, worse yet, may actually promote misguided opinions. As a consequence, the capacity of this book to influence and inform the debate is limited.

DAVID DEMERS
Assistant Professor of Communication
Washington State University

■ ***Newspapers of Record in a Digital Age: From Hot Type to Hot Link.*** Shannon A. Martin and Kathleen A. Hansen. Westport, CN: Praeger Publishers, 1998. 159 pp. $55 hbk.

Newspaper legal notice advertising has not been a hot topic for scholars. Indeed, it rarely is hot at all, except occasionally on the local level, when political subdivisions fail to meet state notice requirements, or try to play politics in meeting them.

So a book that concerns itself at least in part with legal notice advertising is an unusual and useful addition. A book that examines the issue when newspapers are beginning the shift to digitized delivery systems is timely as well.

Authors Shannon A. Martin and Kathleen A. Hansen have attempted to examine notice advertising from two perspectives—the obligation of governmental bodies and others to notify the public about meetings and certain legal and political developments, and the need to provide a permanent record for historians and other future media users.

Unfortunately, the two functions have little in common. The resulting book treats two quite distinct issues in different sections, then attempts to combine them, draw conclusions, and make recommendations. The effort is worthy, but much remains to be discussed on both subjects.

The sections of the book on the public notice function would be strengthened by deeper analysis of the purpose of such notices and the audiences they serve. As a former community newspaper publisher, I know the primary readers of what we called "legal ads" were lawyers and financial institution representatives. Some political subdivisions were required to print minutes, which found a broader audience. Some notices, such as those for probating wills, were mostly pro forma, because most concerned parties already were informed.

For the most part, the "newspaper as a public record" function is quite different from the legal notice functions. The public record category, as commonly understood, places an ethical, but rarely legal, obligation on the paper to print lists of such things as births, marriage licenses, deaths, and property transfers. In most states, newspapers are not compensated for these. Such lists often have surprisingly high readership, however, especially in small communities.

What historians, genealogists, and other future users may find useful is conjectural. However, one cannot expect editors to be very concerned about that. Future historians are not paying the operating expenses today. Archivists are useful to society, but rarely are they major markets for the material archived. The media subsist on today's revenue, not future societal benefits. It is no more reasonable to expect current media to carry the burden of future historians than it is to expect prehistoric cultures to have preserved their pots unbroken.

That being the case, we are faced with the authors' valid observation that digitized media are not being archived systematically. Digitized records are often overwritten, made inaccessible by changing technology, and arbitrarily altered. For many users, legal notices are not yet as readily accessible on-line as they are in print. On-line media have not yet replaced more conventional media in terms of fulfilling the public notice function.

Scholars in mass media and political science need to do more analysis into the nature, function, and audiences of public notice advertising. Better ways of meeting the notice needs of society should be explored. This book serves as a first step in that analysis.

The other problem—preserving and indexing information traditionally carried in a "newspaper of record"—likewise deserves serious study, and apparently professional groups have begun this task. It is not a simple problem, and there may be no practical, affordable solution.

Media scholars who are interested in the public notice function should read this book and use it as a beginning point for further research. The questions are important ones, and may get answered by ad hoc means, instead of by thoughtful study and careful policy-making.

HUGH S. FULLERTON
Associate Professor of Journalism
Sam Houston State University

■ ***One Step From the White House: The Rise and Fall of Senator William F. Knowland.*** Gayle B. Montgomery and James W. Johnson with Paul G. Manolis. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. 361 pp. $29.95 hbk.

Legendary Republican kingpin William F. Knowland and his once-monolithic *Oakland Tribune* are the focus of this long-needed biography. Penned by two former *Tribune* political writers with research help from a former executive editor, *One Step From the White House* succeeds in casting an objective, non-romanticized, and often-critical eye on the legacy of this publishing scion who became an influential U.S. senator. In the process, the book also weaves a classic narrative of dynastic glory and high tragedy, using American media and Cold War politics as interlocking backdrops on a grand stage

The Knowland family's *Tribune*, along with the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, formed an axis of journalistic dominance that set California's political agenda and, in turn, America's during the middle decades of the twentieth century. The early careers of Richard Nixon, Earl Warren, and Ronald Reagan were inextricably tied to the goodwill of these newspapers. In Knowland's case, the power of the press also empowered his own agenda of personal political gain.

William Knowland was born into privilege and politics. He was the grandson of Joseph R. Knowland, a Southampton, New York, farm worker who moved west and found his fortune in California lumber, shipping, mining, and banking. William's father, Joseph Knowland Jr., was a U.S. Congressman who bought the *Tribune* in 1915. The young heir had a manifest destiny laid out before him. But his life would not be nearly so tidy as this, as the authors so compellingly demonstrate. In the end, William Knowland was brought down by gambling, drinking, money problems, a troubled marriage to a Las Vegas actress, and, the authors suggest, the inability to control the inner flames that had fueled his big ambitions. Knowland shot himself to death in 1974.

There are many scenes in this book that would fascinate historians looking for trivia about the frothy world of mid-century California journalism. Moreover, the book also adds provocative grist to the research mill for those who probe more critically for the links between media and state power. There is a scene, for example, in which an obscure Alameda County prosecutor walks into the *Tribune* publisher's office to seek advice for his campaign for district attorney. That young lawyer was Earl Warren, who later became governor of California and then chief justice of the United States, aided in no small part by the largesse of publisher J.R. Knowland (William's father) and favorable treatment in the pages of the *Tribune*. As governor, Warren appointed young William Knowland to a vacated U.S. Senate seat, thus pushing the prodigal son onto the pinnacle of Knowland-family political power and into the pages of history.

The authors note: "For all he owed the Knowlands, Warren didn't seem to feel he had to acknowledge that debt in words; his deeds spoke for him."

Knowland's elevation to the U.S. Senate through family connections, his subsequent party leadership, his passionate advocacy of Nationalist China, and his brief bid for the White House in 1956 are just a few of the defining career moments described deftly in this book. So too are the long-obscured details of his childhood, his love-hate relationship with President Dwight Eisenhower, his stormy marriage, and his ultimate death by his own hand. It all makes for fascinating reading.

The fall of William Knowland presaged not just the end of an era, it also marked the final victory of Knowland's "dark and self-destructive side." But this is far more than just a fascinating tale of a psyche torn; this book gives a bounty of long-ignored information to media historians and mass communication scholars. Through extensive interviews and exhaustive mining of personal letters and public archives, the authors have unearthed a wealth of historical information that surely adds layers of complexity to any social analysis of the American press.

The authors leave out some detail, though—and this opens the door for intensive investigation by mass communication researchers. For example, how the courtship of Knowland and Warren played out in the pages of the *Oakland Tribune* would make a fascinating qualitative case study in framing and political agenda building.

Knowland's brand of conservatism was enigmatic. He showed courageous progressivism through his co-stewardship (with Lyndon Johnson) of the Eisenhower Civil Rights bill of 1957. But his reputation as a retrograde jingoist was fortified by his conflicts with Berkeley student radicals in the 1960s. How these paradoxical positions were reported and framed in the newspaper's news and op-ed pages could also form a base for highly articulated research into political communication and its short- and long-term effects on public opinion.

Those with short memories think of the *Tribune* as the newspaper that was the vessel for Robert Maynard's own glorious, but ultimately tragic voyage. Before there was Maynard, though, there was the Knowland family, whose staunch anti-communism during the Cold War era and bull-headed editorial leadership of a crusading Republican newspaper indisputably helped set the agenda of mid-century American politics.

The story of William F. Knowland is the story of California journalism's gilded age. This book takes a big first step in giving him his rightful place among giants.

GEORGE ESTRADA JR.
Assistant Professor of Journalism
Humboldt State University

■ ***Personalities and Products: A Historical Perspective on Advertising in America.*** Edd Applegate. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998. 192 pp. $57.95 hbk.

In advertising discussions and lectures, it is too easy to rattle off names like Volney Palmer, P.T. Barnum, and Albert Lasker as if they were cardboard characters instead of knowing them as living people struggling and innovating within the context of their times. Edd Applegate, professor of journalism at Middle Tennessee State University, helps us rectify this shortcoming with *Personalities and Products: A Historical Perspective of Advertising in America.*

The text includes eight chapters focusing on chronological (though not directly related) advertising people and times. The eight chapters are "Advertising in Colonial America," "The first Advertising Agents," "How P.T. Barnum Helped Change the Course of Advertising," "Advertising Patent Medicine: The Rise of Lydia Pinkham, John Wanamaker and His Influence on Retail Advertising," "Albert Lasker and the Lord and Thomas

Advertising Agency," "Procter & Gamble and Advertising Cleanliness: The First 100 Years," and "The Springs Cotton Mills Advertising Campaign of the Late 1940s and Early 1950s." Each stands alone nicely as a single discussion topic.

Most of the chapters make fine use of an introduction which historically sets the stage for the advertising people and perspectives that are being presented. Additionally, writings of the times flavor each chapter adding texture and clarity to the stories being told.

The book is a quick read and is clearly not intended to be a comprehensive history of advertising. Yet in its brevity it provides enough background material to make many of the people gain dimensional significance. In doing so, it presents important people interestingly in a way that is unassuming, straightforward, and occasionally charming. For example, in the span of only a half dozen pages the insight and ethics of F.W. Ayer come to life. This contrasts nicely with the depiction of the life and times of Phineas Tayor Barnum. Yet the author does not paint Barnum with the gaudy colors of a circus sideshow banner. Instead, he weaves the man into a tapestry of the times, showing him to be a character with a genius for showmanship and one of the early masters of publicity spin.

This short book will likely not satiate historical scholars with voracious appetites for words and new historical theories. But for those interested in gaining a better sense of some of advertising's legendary characters and the times and challenges they faced, the book should be quite satisfying. Readers will find this book provides texture to the stories of some of the more famous and infamous people who have affected advertising in America.

Because of its brevity, this is not a text that would carry a course on its own, but might well be considered as supplementary reading in a course on the history of mass communications. And it is certainly a worthy read for any professor of mass communications or marketing interested in the fascinating roots of today's advertising world.

DAN S. BAGLEY III
Associate Professor of Mass Communications
University of South Florida

■ ***Red Blood & Black Ink: Journalism in the Old West.*** David Dary. New York City: Alfred A. Knopf., 1998. 346 pp. $30 hbk.

Anyone interested in Western history is familiar with the image of the frontier printer, with his Washington hand press striving to bring civilization to burgeoning tent cities or aspiring river towns. Always there was the possibility of a blooming metropolis in the making, with the resultant rewards.

The reality was harsher, as David Dary points out in this new book that brings together oft-told stories of printers who blazed the way in the Old West along with little-known gems of early journalism. The work covers the founding of the first newspaper at St. Louis in 1808 to the rural press of the early twentieth century.

Western editors have become a cliché in movies and legend. Consequently there has been a dearth of serious research involving the role of the frontier press in the westward movement. Dary's book helps fill this void.

For the journalism historian, the book offers rich insights and examples into the whole panorama of the early printer. His analysis of the development of news practices is particularly valuable. For instance, he notes the impact of New York's Penny Press on Western printers, Horace Greeley's influence on developing objectivity in the news, and the effect of preprinted newspaper pages included in far-flung newspapers that helped shape the national character just after the Civil War.

Dary sees the frontier press as a catalyst in the shaping of frontier towns, rather than as reflecting local values.

The strength of the book lies in its emphasis on midwestern journalism, especially Kansas and Missouri. That of course is natural, considering the author's strong attachment to the region. This emphasis brings to light many unpublicized examples.

At the same time, the Midwestern focus limits the coverage of other more-dramatic developments in other parts of the West. For example, to say that the *Rocky Mountain News* was founded in Denver in 1859 ignores the riveting race between two printers with presses in tow across the plains to be the first to set up shop there. William Byers won by twenty minutes and his rival gave up and went to the gold fields.

The chapter on women among the early editors helps correct the prevailing attitude that wearing skirts precluded entering the rough-and-tumble world of journalism.

Especially valuable are the seventy-nine illustrations, some from the author's personal collection and others from early sources like *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*. An appendix of woodcuts of early press types and glossary of early terms are also useful.

Earlier popular works like Robert Karolevitz's *Newspapering In the Old West* explored this topic with lots of fervor, but not much analysis or detail. The nineties have seen more scholarly attention brought to bear, but usually centering on a single aspect, such as Cherilyn Bennion's *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth Century West* and Barbara Cloud's *The Business of Newspapering On the Western Frontier.*

As one with deep roots in Midwestern journalism, the author brings a good sense of what the business was about. He has taught at the University of Kansas and is currently head of the School of Journalism at the University of Oklahoma. The writing is first-rate, as one might expect from the author of seven other book about the West, including *The Buffalo Book, Cowboy Culture,* and *True Tales of Old-Time Kansas.*

JACK A. NELSON
Professor, Department of Communications
Brigham Young University

■ ***Spin Cycle: Inside the Clinton Propaganda Machine.*** Howard Kurtz. New York, NY: The Free Press, 1998. 324 pp. $25 hbk.

Howard Kurtz, a media reporter for *The Washington Post* and the author of numerous award-winning books, including *Hot Air: All Talk, All the Time* and *Media Circus: The Trouble with America's Newspapers*, dissects the public relations machine of America's most investigated president, Bill Clinton, in this detailed though wandering insider's account of presidential propaganda.

From Whitewater to Gennifer Flowers to Travelgate to Filegate to Paula Jones to campaign finance abuses to Monica Lewinsky, Kurtz attempts to show how White House operatives laundered the news—"to scrub it of dark scandal stains, remove unsightly splotches of controversy, erase greasy dabs of contradictions, and present it to the country crisp and sparkling white" (p. xix). Unfortunately, a great deal of this is nothing new.

Kurtz does provide a very interesting and provocative look inside the day-to-day operations of the "propaganda machine" (his words) and offers a nice historical packaging of the full smorgasbord of scandals in the Clinton presidency and the sometimes comic, sometimes adept responses to these scandals. From accounts of Mike McCurry's secret hiding places to Hillary Rodham Clinton's media hatred and paranoia to perspectives on the inner workings of President Clinton's psychological motivations, Kurtz does provide the reader with a look inside the presidential communications machinery.

Yet, Kurtz fails to deliver much of a theoretical perspective or meaningful analysis of the rather bizarre system; and when he does attempt to provide it, it somehow seems rather naive and "been there, done it." As a rule of thumb, the chapters are generally wandering accounts of historical scenarios spattered with the author's occasional reflections, and little ties the entire book together.

At the very end of the book, Kurtz attempts to give the book a brief analytic focus, yet his ultimate conclusion tends to belie the rather weak thesis that wanders through the book—that Clinton has this masterful PR machine to control public perception. Kurtz concludes, "Clinton was riding high, despite the barrage of negative headlines, precisely because the voters' expectations had sunk so low. The presidential flacks had done their job. For 1997, at least, their spin had carried the day (p. 289).

As Kurtz himself suggests, maybe Clinton was not riding high because his PR machine was so good. A great deal of the book actually suggests that it took quite a while for the machine to become well-oiled and even then it didn't always work so well. Also, Kurtz points to the effects of a rather passive, inept press that failed to dig for the story, preferring instead to be fed like cattle at the troth of the presidential PR machine, and that attacked the presidency and president with vengeance and sensationalism despite of, and in part due to, the PR efforts. As Kurtz concludes, "Journalists were no longer the ink-stained heroes of an earlier era; they were seen as the heartless vultures who had driven Princess Diana to her death" (p. 288).

Ultimately, was Clinton's success in the approval ratings due to his effective PR, or was it due to the effects of a press that survived upon sensationalism and desensitized the public, or was it due to a public who was willing to lower the bar in the light of presidential scandal and media sensationalism, or did President Clinton achieve true success at all (at the time of this writing the answer still alludes us)? Unfortunately, Kurtz does not provide a very thoughtful or interesting answer to this question; he attributes it to presidential propaganda, which he does detail thoroughly and meticulously.

WM. J. GONZENBACH
Professor and Chair of Advertising and Public Relations
The University of Alabama

New and Notable

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1. Publication Title	2. Publication Number	3. Filing Date
JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION QUARTERLY	1 0 7 7 - 6 9 9 0	9/23/98
4. Issue Frequency	**5. Number of Issues Published Annually**	**6. Annual Subscription Price**
QUARTERLY	4	$50/$60/$75

7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication *(Not printer) (Street, city, county, state, and ZIP+4)*

AEJMC
LeConte College/Room 121/USC
Columbia, SC 29208-0251 Richland County

Contact Person: Jennifer McGill
Telephone: (803) 777-2005

8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher *(Not printer)*

same as above

9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor *(Do not leave blank)*

Publisher *(Name and complete mailing address)*

AEJMC
LeConte College/Room 121/USC
Columbia, SC 29208-0251

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PS Form **3526**, September 1995 *(See Instructions on Reverse)*

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JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION QUARTERLY	Summer 1998	

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JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION
QUARTERLY (ISSN 1077-6990)
AEJMC
LeConte College, Room 121
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208-0?

Periodicals Postage PAID at
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