A

ABC NEWS

ABC News is the news division for the American Broadcast Company (ABC), which the Walt Disney Company owns. Disney acquired ABC/Capital Cities, Inc. for $19 billion on July 31, 1995. Capital Cities had owned ABC since 1986, when it purchased the network for $3.5 billion. At the time, it was the second largest corporate merger in U.S. history. It combined the power of Disney's film studios with ABC's broadcast channels, including ESPN. Revenue jumped more than 70% over the next decade, including a 50% increase in earnings per share. This entry discusses the origins of ABC News, the development of TV news, ABC's venture into the digital arena, an attempted merger with CNN, and ABC News Live.

Origins

ABC news started from the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) as the NBC Blue radio network in 1943. NBC was owned by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and operated two radio networks: NBC-Blue and NBC-Red. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ordered RCA to sell one of its radio networks because of the monopoly they shared. The case went to the Supreme Court, which sided with the FCC. RCA sold NBC-Blue to Edward J. Noble for $8 million, and it was later rebranded with the ABC name in 1945.

One of their most popular radio personalities was Paul Harvey, who started working at ABC affiliate WENR in Chicago in 1944. His program, *Paul Harvey News and Comment*, became popular and became nationally syndicated in 1951.

ABC radio has provided services for thousands of radio stations throughout the United States. Starting in 1968, they offered four different programming services, providing content to radio stations. By 2015, ABC provided content to approximately 2,000 radio stations with a reach of 50 million listeners each week.

Development of TV News

As the media industry dove into the world of television, ABC had financial difficulties in keeping up with the TV race. Paramount Theaters took over the company in 1953 and later changed its name to American Broadcast Companies in 1965.

John Charles Daly anchored ABC's television newscasts from 1953 to 1960, serving as the network's vice president in charge of news, special events, and public affairs. Daly was a veteran journalist before going to ABC, working for both NBC and CBS radio. While he was the face of ABC News, he was not limited to the network. Daly hosted the television program *What's My Line* on CBS and also filled in on *The Today Show* on NBC. He left ABC on November 16, 1960.

ABC News had a tough time matching up with CBS and NBC, in part due to its lack of television

affiliates compared to the other two networks. By the 1970s, the network played catch-up as newer affiliates helped expand the network's reach in the United States.

After years of being in third place, ABC took a chance on hiring Roone Arledge as president of ABC News in 1977. Because Arledge was known for his efforts in creating Monday Night Football and Wide World of Sports for ABC, there were fears that his history of creating flash for successful sports programs would ruin journalistic integrity for their news operations. However, ABC needed to attract more viewers, as it was drawing less than half of the audience of rivals NBC and CBS.

Arledge received credit for reinventing Sunday morning after hiring David Brinkley from NBC in 1978 to anchor *This Week*. Arledge also gave the show a full hour, giving journalists such as Sam Donaldson, George Will, and Cokie Roberts a higher stature and importance in the show itself.

Arledge also led the effort in producing a nightly special on the Iranian hostage crisis in 1979–1980, a new effort in the TV news industry. The success of those specials became the influence for Nightline, hosted by Ted Koppel. He also brought in Diane Sawyer from NBC in 1990, creating a new show *PrimeTime Live*. Arledge's efforts caused ABC News to turn profits of $70 million in 1990, which made ABC News the first network to achieve that number. Arledge stepped down as president in 1998.

Good Morning America

The longest running program at ABC News is *Good Morning America*, which debuted on November 3, 1975, with hosts David Hartman and Nancy Dussault. The program replaced the short-run show *AM America*, which lasted less than a year on ABC. It was originally part of the company's entertainment division with the hosts sitting on a couch rather than a news desk. *Good Morning America* was expected to rival *The Today Show*, which had long had a stranglehold on morning news audiences for 20 years.

In just four years, the program overtook *The Today Show* in the ratings. ABC also invested in taking the show around the world for big events, including the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo and the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles later that year.

By the 1990s, *Today* regained the top spot in the ratings war and did not lose it for another 16 years. Regardless of the popularity of then-anchors Joan Lunden and Charles Gibson, the show was not able to overcome the tandem of Matt Lauer and Katie Couric at *Today*. Critics claim *GMA* was also slow to adapt to the 24-hour news cycle. The show moved to ABC's news division in 1995. *GMA* regained the top ratings spot in 2012 and has been in a constant ratings battle with *Today* since then.

20/20

Arledge created the newsmagazine 20/20 to rival 60 Minutes on CBS. The first episode aired on June 6, 1978, with hosts Harold Hayes and Robert Hughes, both of whom were respected magazine editors. The program had a rough start, with New York Times TV critic John O'Connor calling it pointless and dizzyingly absurd. Immediately afterwards, Arledge replaced Hayes and Hughes with Hugh Downs, who was a former anchor with *The Today Show* on NBC. He anchored the show solo until Barbara Walters joined as a coanchor the following year. The duo remained cohosts of the program until Downs retired in 1999. Other notable anchors who have been with the show include Sam Donaldson, Connie Chung, John Miller, John Stossel, and Chris Cuomo. As of 2021, anchor David Muir has been with the program since 2013. Anchor Amy Robach has been with the program since 2018.

World News Tonight

World News Tonight was launched in its current format in July 1978. The roots of the program originate from *John Daly and the News* in 1953. Arledge made the change after the nightly network newscast had consistently ranked third among the network newscasts. Veteran journalist Frank Reynolds was named the lead anchor for the new format and held that title until he died of bone cancer in 1983.

Following Reynolds' death, Peter Jennings was named main anchor in September 1983. He had

been a coanchor for *World News Tonight* since 1978, reporting from London. Jennings had been with ABC since 1965, when he anchored *Peter Jennings with the News*, a 15-minute nightly newscast. He became the youngest network news anchor at the age of 26, but struggled to compete with veteran personalities such as Walter Cronkite and David Brinkley. After three years, he became a foreign correspondent before returning to the United States in 1974 to anchor the morning program *AM America*.

In 1984, the program's name became *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings*. Jennings held the role until April 5, 2005, when he took a leave of absence due to lung cancer. He never returned and died later that August. At one point during his tenure, Jennings drew an average audience of nearly 14 million people each night in the early 1990s. He had an 8-year ratings winning streak over CBS and NBC during that time period as well. However, the program fell behind NBC Nightly News for a decade prior to Jennings' death.

Bob Woodward and Elizabeth Vargas succeeded Jennings, holding that role for just a short time. Woodward was seriously injured from an explosion in Iraq on January 29, 2006, and never returned to the anchor desk, although he did contribute as a reporter after a lengthy recovery period. Vargas went on maternity leave in May 2006 and resigned from her position.

Gibson took over in 2006, which gave the network a familiar face to lead the program. Gibson had been a coanchor for *Good Morning America* from 1987 to 1998 and had filled in on occasion for Jennings during his health issues. Soon after, the program name changed to *World News with Charles Gibson*. He stayed in that role until retiring in 2009.

Diane Sawyer, who had been a coanchor for *Good Morning America*, replaced Gibson in 2009 and remained in that role until 2014. Muir, who was a coanchor for *20/20*, took over after Sawyer stepped down to do special projects.

Digital

ABC's venture into the internet came after its initial failed attempt to organize a 24-hour cable news channel, after NBC launched the MSNBC network in 1996. Instead, the company decided the web would be the source for its 24-hour coverage.

ABCnews.com launched on May 15, 1997. It was a joint venture between ABC News and Starwave Corporation. Paul Allen, cofounder of MicrosoftStarwave Corp., owned Starwave Corporation. The company had already been successful behind other popular websites, including ESPN Sportszone, which was the web service for ESPN, Inc., that would also be featured on the ABCnews.com website.

The launch came 2 months after Disney acquired one-third of Starwave for just under $100 million and also took over its board. In addition, Disney had the option of buying the remainder of the company within the next 5 years.

The launch did have some hiccups though. At a news conference on the launch date, executive Jeff Gralnick did a demonstration of the features of the website. The Java headline reader function did not work during the demo for much of its first day after going live.

News content featured columnists and current correspondents from ABC News. Breaking news content on the site relied mainly on Associated Press and Reuters news wire services, with a team of 100 reporters updating stories as they developed. The initial plan was to also feature content from its 200+ affiliates around the country. ABC News initially partnered with TheStreet.com to provide information on the stock market.

Video clips in the initial stages were cut down dramatically because consumers used dial-up internet service providers, and long videos would take too long to download and watch. However, as bandwidths increased and the introduction of faster internet speeds were developed for homes and businesses, ABC News reached upwards of 129 million people across its digital platforms on a monthly basis by 2015.

ABC News developed a partnership with iTunes in 2005 to become the service's recognized news provider for podcasting. Initial podcast offerings included highlights from Nightline, entertainment news, mixes of news headlines, and news wraps for the Hispanic community.

ABC News Now launched in 2004 to provide 24-hour news initially on a digital subchannel, but later expanded to the internet. The experiment provided election coverage and allowed the

network to provide expanded coverage without having to worry about confined time periods on television. Anchor Peter Jennings had been frustrated with the lack of convention coverage and offered to anchor them from start-to-finish when he was not anchoring his television newscasts. Even though the network expanded to include the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, and Belgium, it only lasted a few years.

ABC News partnered with Yahoo in 2011 to gain more online visibility. The partnership expanded in 2015, allowing cross-promotion for Yahoo's digital magazines and other segments on ABC's *Good Morning America*, while ABC's entertainment programming would be featured on Yahoo's site. Yahoo also featured ABC News content more often on its network, resulting in more viewers across a wider web audience. *Good Morning America's* web page was hosted on Yahoo until 2018, when ABC News shifted its arrangement with the morning show to become strictly a content partnership.

ABC News partnered with Univision in 2013 to launch Fusion TV, a news and information channel that was initially geared toward Latino bilingual adults, a demographic that ABC valued. Univision, which was in charge of content for the new channel, quickly switched gears to appeal to all ethnicities, rather than a focus on Latinos. It also took on an edgy political tone, which reportedly made executives at Disney uncomfortable. The partnership lasted until 2016.

ABC News acquired FiveThirtyEight from ESPN in 2018. FiveThirtyEight was a data journalism organization that ESPN acquired in 2013. Under ESPN, FiveThirtyEight attracted millions of visitors and was also named "Data Journalism Website of the Year" by the Global Editors Network in 2016. The goal for the acquisition was to enhance political coverage with statistical analysis and data visualization for ABC News and its partners.

Attempted CNN Merger

In 2002, Disney and AOL/Time Warner had discussions about merging ABC News with CNN. The move could have saved tens of millions of dollars on both sides by combining their news forces. However, the two sides halted the potential merger in February 2003 after failing to reach an agreement on how the complicated relationship would work in regards to control. Plus, AOL was dealing with its own internal issues regarding internet service, which was a core service for them at the time.

ABC News Live

More than 20 years after ABC News had initially thought about launching a 24-hour network of programming, it made its next attempt in 2018 with the launch of ABC News Live. The 24/7 live stream was launched on the Roku Channel and featured breaking news and live event coverage. At the time, it was the first live feed to debut on the channel. ABC News correspondents provided content. The feed also carried the same programming as the ABC TV network during breaking news events. Contrary to goals of other 24-hour news networks, the goal of ABC News Live was to provide on-the-ground coverage, rather than news analysis from anchors and guests.

ABC News Live later expanded to Hulu subscribers in March 2020. Hulu, which is also a Disney company, claimed that more than 45% of their subscribers had either cut the cord for cable or satellite service or had never had cable. It was an opportunity for their subscribers to have access to a 24-hour news service without any additional cost. ABC also launched new apps for Android TV, Amazon Fire TV, and Apple TV that same year. ABC claimed that it would air up to 18 hours of live and original content daily, which included newscasts, documentaries, and other original programming.

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See also Anchors, Television; Broadcast, or Broadcasting; Media Monopoly; Media Ownership; Newscasters, Radio; Paley, William S.; Television Newsmagazines; Television News, History of

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ABP News

ABP News is a Hindi television news channel and website that is one of the more prominent privately owned satellite television channels in India.

Its history of ownership and collaborations not only reflects India's shift from public broadcasting to private news media but also demonstrates conflicts between the state and media over information networks. Since the start of the 21st century, the number of independent news media outfits in India has shown tremendous growth, even though the 2010s also witnessed the state exerting more pressure to consolidate this apparently diverse landscape in its favor. This entry discusses the history of ABP News and its place in the Indian television news landscape.

ABP News, in its current form as a free-to-air Hindi news channel, only came into being in 2012. Prior to the 21st century, news production in Indian television was entirely controlled by the public broadcaster, Doordarshan. One of the first and most credible private news media companies, New Delhi Television Ltd (NDTV), itself began in 1988 as a content provider for Doordarshan. The gradual expansion of the private news landscape allowed NDTV to start its own channel in 1998, through a partnership with Rupert Murdoch-controlled STAR India. The relationship between NDTV and STAR lasted only for about 5 years, until 2003.

In 2003, STAR News began collaborating with Bengal's reputed Ananda Bazar Patrika (ABP) Group on a Hindi news service that was renamed ABP News in 2012. The flagship newspaper of the ABP Group, *Anandabazar Patrika*, has been published since 1922, while its English language daily, *The Telegraph*, began publication in 1982. Apart from the two dailies, the group publishes numerous periodicals in Bengali and English and runs a market-leading Bengali publishing business, multiple news channels, a matrimonial business, and several mobile and Internet properties.

STAR's joint venture with the ABP Group was a result of a government cap limiting foreign equity in the news business to 26%, which was later raised to 49%. STAR News was run by Media Content and Communications Services Private Ltd (MCCS), a joint venture of STAR and ABP, in which the former was the foreign and minority partner. STAR News was considered a more credible and established brand than its sibling channels, STAR Ananda (Bangla, now ABP Ananda) and STAR Majha (Marathi, now ABP Majha). The branding preference for ABP

News over Telegraph or Ananda was on account of the worldwide popularity for three-letter brand titles in television news. ABP News, however, persisted with the legacy of STAR News as if nothing had changed except the name and the logo. The shows, anchors, design, tonality, decibels, or style did not change to explicitly maintain continuity.

While Indian news channels have featured an increasingly hawkish political slant and partisan news anchoring, ABP News was situated on the softer edge of the spectrum of sensationalism, before a more hawkish government elected to office in 2014 tipped the balance at the network in favor of a more partisan, sensational tone. In comparison, NDTV India has been known for relatively credible journalistic analysis and reasonable reportage, while channels such as Zee News, India TV, and Aaj Tak occupy the other end of the spectrum. On the other hand, ABP Group's English daily, *The Telegraph*, has been the most consistently critical daily print publication since 2014. Contrary to *The Telegraph*'s Kolkata-centric readership, however, ABP News has been a key driver of the ABP Group's national ambitions. That is why, ABP News draws more from the Hindi News cabinet (Aaj Tak, CNN-News18, Zee News, India TV, and NDTV India) of its rival channels and networks than from its own business group's more regional political slant.

One of the ways in which the Indian government controls the news media is by suffocating its advertising revenues, since advertising from political campaigns by the ruling party and requests for proposals by companies vying for government contracts are significant sources of revenue for news organizations. In 2019, for example, the Indian government froze advertisements to Times Group, ABP Group, and *The Hindu*, which were seen to be critical of the government on various fronts. While the dependence on advertising revenues may be higher in print publications, the message about the government closely watching news reporting also is absorbed by television channels that need ruling party spokespersons for primetime debates, and ministers as well as high-ranking government officials for various media events conducted by all news channels. The events are not only strategic occasions for brand-building, they also bring in new collaborators from the government as well as the private sector. As highly profitable ventures, these events necessarily require access to the government and the ruling party.

Only a year before the freeze in advertisement funding, ABP News had made vital political "adjustments" in its positioning, by ousting managing editor Milind Khandekar and popular anchor Punya Prasun Bajpai. Another senior news anchor, Abhisar Sharma, was also asked to go off-air and was sent on a long leave before he resigned. Sharma had been highly critical of the government in his video blogs, and as of 2020 both he and Bajpai were working as freelance journalists. Bajpai's show *Master Stroke* was a particular bone of contention, since he had exposed the government's claims of employment generation through its skill-development program.

Bajpai showcased a female farmer from Chhattisgarh, Chandramani Kaushik, who had declared in a public video conference with the prime minister, that her income was doubled after diversifying her crops, and switching from cultivating rice to growing custard apples. However, appearing on Bajpai's show, she admitted that she was tutored by the ruling party officials to make the claim, alongside other female farmers. The channel stood by the story, instead of issuing an apology in response to public criticism of the story by some ministers. However, it suffered a prompt boycott by the ruling party, which stopped sending any spokesperson or a prominent party face to its debate shows. Soon after the story, it was also reported that during primetime shows, the channel's transmission signals began getting distorted, as had earlier been reported about NDTV India—the only Hindi news channel consistently critical of the government.

The problem with transmissions was restored soon after the resignations, which reoriented the relations between the government and ABP News. However, as discussed earlier, the government's animosity with ABP Group continued, particularly with respect to *The Telegraph*, which remains a marginal English daily in comparison to its northwestern counterparts—*The Times of India* and *Hindustan Times*. In fact, one could argue

that ABP Group remains a regional institution of much credibility, but its national ambitions are manifested in ABP News, which has adopted a tone of support for the Indian government that has become widespread among Hindi news outlets.

To a large extent, then, the template of ABP News continues to be borrowed from its STAR News vintage and the standard operating procedures of Delhi-based national news studios. The ABP Group's limited expertise with Hindi-speaking regions of the north and west, where the core audience targeted by advertisers of the channel resides, introduces further asymmetries between the company's legacy business and its more recent foray in television, but the interest-free loans from the company have been vital in the growth of the television channel.

In 2020, the ABP Group completed the first year of ABP Ganga, another Hindi news channel dedicated to the states of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Presumably, while ABP News addresses a much wider, national, Hindi-speaking audience, ABP Ganga addresses a Hindi-speaking region, including every district and town of Uttar Pradesh, which is not only the most populous state in India, but widely understood to be the political backbone of north India. ABP Ganga, therefore, gives an indication of the arenas of growth ABP Group's Hindi news production seeks to expand across.

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See also Asia, South; India; Pakistan

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ACCESS TO MEDIA

Media access means the opportunity and ability to use media technology for the production, distribution, and reception of mass communication intended for public audiences. In most commercial media renderings and politician pronouncements, media access is restricted to *reception* of analog or digital transmissions, including Internet sites. Even the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19, which declares access to the "means to communicate" a human right, emphasizes receiving information, with only passing references to citizen participation in media production.

Media access provides a measure of democracy and entails more than viewing or listening. To maximize democratic participation by diverse publics, individuals and groups must have full access to the technologies necessary for the production and distribution of mass communication, including the means for print, broadcast, film, and digital production and dissemination of messages and meanings. Specifically, media access entails opportunities for video and audio recording, including access to sound and visual editing equipment, studio space, portable recording equipment from microphones to cameras, and the ability and resources to broadcast to mass audiences. Media access means adequate training in production techniques and practices.

Full civic access to media also requires space for collective discussions on programming needs, criteria, and scheduling to maximize contributions from multiple viewpoints and diverse social groups, communities, ethnicities, genders, and more. To assure wide reception, media access needs ample broadcast spectrum space, which is publicly owned but governmentally administered in most nations.

Media Control

History shows media as a primary means for information, social influence, and political

control. From ancient Rome to contemporary China and Turkey, from World War II censorship to contemporary media repression in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Brazil, institutions and governments have sought to control the production and reception of information and entertainment. Even in ostensibly democratic nations such as France, Britain, and the United States, most media production is not available to the public. Civic organizations and community groups, whether ethnic or national minorities, labor, indigenous, youth, women, and other non-elite social groups, have very little to no access to technologies needed for the production and dissemination of mass communication. Access to media production technologies and media distribution channels is almost exclusively under the control of a handful of consolidated national and transnational media corporations.

In the United States, Comcast, Disney, Fox, Gannett, iHeartRadio, and a half dozen other firms dominate the production of news and entertainment programming. In Europe, Bertelsmann, Burda, Bauer, Canal+, BSkyB, Daily Mail, Mediaset, and a few other national and transnational media groups produce and distribute most news and entertainment products across the continent. Increasingly, banks, investors, and private equity funds (such as KKR and Alden Capital) are also buying into major commercial media, further restricting media access to leveraged financial interests. Elsewhere, dominant commercial media such as Rede Globo (Brazil), Televisa (Mexico), Naspers (Southern Africa), and Reliance (India) control the airwaves and predominate on national Internet sites.

Certainly, access to information and entertainment is abundant globally. Providing access to information about science, technology, and politics to the world's billions is essential. However, reducing media access solely to *reception* of the "information superhighway" as the pathway to education and employment (as championed by former U.S. Vice President Al Gore) confines citizens to s*pectators* and *receivers* of communication produced by others. Without access to media production, communication as a human activity can be little more than advertising, proselytizing, and propaganda—well-intentioned or not.

Public Service Media

In most nations, public service broadcasting offers modest and benevolent public-oriented educational and entertainment programming. Yet, even a public broadcasting that emphasizes its public service still leaves citizens and the public in general as *receivers* of communication—dependent on news and entertainment produced by elite gatekeepers who have direct access to production and distribution. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the United Kingdom, Germany's ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*—Association of Public Broadcasting Corporations in the Federal Republic of Germany) and ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*—Second German Television), Italy's RAI (*Radiotelevisione Italiana*), Japan's NHK (*Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*—Japan Broadcasting Corporation), and India's Doordarshan maintain some of the largest viewing and listening audiences in their own nations and globally. In most cases, mandatory public fees provide the financial resources and afford public service broadcasters some degree of independence from their respective governments. In the United States, in contrast, Congress determines the level of federal support for public media such as National Public Radio (NPR) and Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). Public service broadcasters in the United States have increasingly turned to commercial underwriting and voluntary donations from listeners and viewers, pushing the public media toward entertainment, apolitical programming, and news reports that largely echo government policies and sources.

In Europe meanwhile, free trade agreements have required governments to reduce their support for public broadcasting as an unfair subsidy restricting the free flow of commercial broadcasting. BBC, and other public broadcasters in Europe, faced with cuts in federal funding have turned to commercial enterprises, such as BBC America. Others, like TF1 in France, have found private partners.

Globally, public access to media production has been threatened by technological innovation and national governments enforcing austerity cuts on public services. About half the world has

no access to the Internet, and digital media have limited mass distribution. Not surprisingly, the mass production and distribution of media messages and formats (including on the Internet) remain dominated by commercial media, while public service broadcasters normatively and ideologically conform to dominant media frames and agendas set by those commercial interests and government policies influenced by commercial media lobbyists. In the 21st century, media access to production and distribution by major corporations results in standardized genre (e.g., talk shows, game shows, situation comedies, dramas about professionals, and infotainment news) with public service broadcasting featuring nature, history, and music documentaries—all intended to attract audiences to be sold to advertisers. Public access to media technology for production of noncommercial programming and stories by citizens is miniscule in comparison.

One significant contrasting example is public service broadcasting in Venezuela since 2004. Public media were dramatically expanded following the business coup attempt against President Hugo Chavez in 2002. VTV, the government-run public service television airs educational programming, news and information, and even some telenovelas. ANTV broadcasts news and information from the National Assembly. Three major public broadcasting stations—ViVe, TVes, and Avila TV—feature community-produced videos and news, drama, music, and investigative reporting. The YVKE Radio Network includes 10 public radio stations. These noncommercial media receive substantial financing from the government's Social Fund. They are each independently run outside government direction, oversight, or even approval—highlighted by several shows highly critical of the government.

Although Venezuela's public media do not attract the most sizable audiences, their diversity of programming, independent and investigative news reports, and their community-produced cultural offerings of theater, music, and dance express the best in public service. In addition, Venezuela hosts Telesur (Television of the South), a cooperative noncommercial satellite television venture of Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, and Bolivia with 12 Latin American bureaus. Still, even when

public service media inspire and inform millions of viewers and listeners, those audiences remain receivers—not producers, not creators of media or communication.

Public Access Radio and Community Media

Direct media access by the public does exist in many nations, albeit on a limited scale. In the United States, for instance, some 2,000 low-power FM radio stations are licensed to broadcast at 100 watts to mostly rural small towns across the country. The National Federation of Community Broadcasters and the Grassroots Radio Coalition coordinate and share programming among dozens of larger community radio stations. The most successful public access media may be the Pacifica Radio Network, which has five independent, noncommercial, listener-funded stations in Berkeley, California; Los Angeles; New York; Houston; and Washington, DC, as well as more than 100 community radio affiliates across the United States.

Since its founding in 1983, the World Association of Community Broadcasters (in French, AMARC—*Association Mondiale Des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires*) has grown to over 3,000 member stations in 100 countries broadcasting, sharing, and advocating for public media access and international collaboration in participatory broadcasting practices and policies. Internationally, radio technology affords more media access to the public due to its relatively low cost of production and distribution. For public reception, radio is more accessible because literacy is not necessary for listening, while relatively inexpensive transistor or even nonbattery crank-generated radio receivers make reception possible almost everywhere. Thus, across Latin America, Africa, and South Asia access to low-technology community radio provides some opportunity for public media production and distribution with the potential for wide reception.

One hallmark of media access through community radio, including even the larger Pacifica stations, is the preference for media production by listeners, community members, and individual broadcasters, who create and air their

programming to listeners in the broadcast footprint and through shared exchanges among community radio networks and coalitions. Community radio broadcasting provides multiple models for participatory public media access to production and distribution, including listener-directed programming decisions, listener and community-based technical training and producer development, and direct democratic communication and decision-making among and by listeners-as-programmers.

Media Access in Southern Africa

Underscoring the essence of media access, community radio's defining feature is that senders are also receivers. In some regions, government authority explicitly recognizes community broadcasting as a third sector, supplementing commercial media and public service media. The South African Independent Broadcasting Authority defines community access media as those that reach specific geographic or collective interest, are nonprofit, and include community participation. A leading postapartheid example is Bush Radio, which has been broadcasting in English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa from Cape Town since 1993. In West Africa in contrast, radio station owners include religious groups proselytizing and individual commercial interests—essentially limiting public media access to "community" broadcasting. Originally sponsored by UNESCO, Katutura Radio in Namibia demonstrates fuller media access with its wide citizen participation in production and broadcasting. New national networks advocating public media access, including the Kenyan Community Media Network and the South African National Community Media Forum, have been petitioning for more supportive legislation and policies.

Europe's Uneven Media Access

Despite European countries' long history of public service broadcasting with significant national funding, the availability for public access media was slow to develop. In 2009, following a resolution by the European Parliament, the Council of Europe declared community media essential for promoting social cohesion and intercultural dialog, but implementation remains uneven. Community radio in Germany, often called *free radio*, goes back to antinuclear activists launching Radio Dreyeckland in Freiburg in the late 1970s. Since then, several states have licensed "open channels" as forms of noncommercial, nongovernment media. Yet, regional radio authorities administer and control these channels, essentially limiting public access.

France has an advanced community radio system with more than 600 community stations. Although many are Catholic broadcasters, the majority promote community dialog, fight ethnic discrimination, and advocate on environmental issues and local development. Funding for community radio comes from taxes on commercial station advertising revenue. The Netherlands and Belgium have contrasting media access structures: The Dutch have some 300 community stations (*locale omroepen*), while next door in Belgium the government only licenses for cultural programming, marginalizing full public access to broadcasting.

By 2010, the Office of Communications in Britain had issued more than 200 community radio licenses. All licensed stations demonstrated evidence of public service to their community, a not-for-profit status, accessibility for people living within the area, training and significant community participation and engagement in program production. British media laws have an expansive view of community radio, providing for both communities of interest and of geography. For example, there is Forest of Dean Community radio, the only local station broadcasting throughout the Forest, a remote region in the west of Britain. Takeover Radio in Leicester is the first children's station in the United Kingdom. In London, there is a licensed community station in West London serving the Punjabi-speaking population (Desi Radio) and an experimental sound, art, and culture station in Central London (Resonance FM). Some stations emerged from long-running community organizations. New Style Radio in Winston Green, Birmingham, is a project of the Afro-Caribbean Millennium Centre, formed in the 1970s as a cooperative for Black youth and which

later became a multifaceted now community resource center.

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europeans anticipated a democracy with increased communication rights such as access to information and freedom of expression—independent not only from government but also from commercial control. Community media offered the clearest access to media and communication rights. In fact, community media had played an important role during and after the wars in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, serving as an important platform of discussion, creating a sense of belonging. Community media in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia were also open spaces contributing to social transformations.

In the post-Soviet era, however, community media have been sidelined in most of Eastern Europe. Until recent political changes, 40 community radio stations allowed media access in Hungary with some 30 in Poland. Now, in all 20 Eastern European countries, from Albania to the Ukraine, legal community media and public media access is all but nonexistent—illustrating how media access indicates the extent of democracy and a citizen's right to communicate.

Across Southeast Asia, including the Philippines and Indonesia, hundreds of local newspapers and low-power radio stations are community based, but in most cases without community control or participation. Politicians and private owners maintain exclusive access to most stations. These media serve as one-way channels for government information, advertisements, and religious propaganda. Even though they serve limited geographical communities, they do not represent media access. Rather, print publications and folk media often dominate other media in many local communities. Publications range from the blackboard news bulletins, to mimeographed pages, to tabloid-sized newspapers—but provide media access for local citizens who write, interview, and report news and information to be shared.

India has a similar trajectory with the potential for more public media access. After Supreme Court decision in February 1995 that "airwaves are public property," a national campaign to legitimate community radio began. Until 2006, only

educational institutions were allowed to set up campus radio stations having a transmission range of 10–15 kilometers. With India's 2006 Community Radio Guidelines, nonprofit organizations, agricultural research institutes, and schools were licensed for community radio stations that included local communities in the content production process. Progress has been slow: Only about 200 media access radio are licensed in India. (Of note, Nepal has around 475 radio stations even though they do not have community media policies.) Importantly, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry only permits community radio to air news bulletins translated into the local language or dialect and non-news like traffic and weather updates. Guidelines essentially compel community radio stations to broadcast for the government, not the community. A few stations have transgressed to provide wider public media access. For instance, since 2008, Sangham Radio broadcasts for 2 hours daily in Telugu to 150 villages in the Telangana region. With UNESCO support, rural women produce and air music, farming news and advice, and a call-in session for villagers to speak directly and without censorship to all listening. Radio Benziger in Kollam has also enacted participatory production practices with community decision-making on programming, further pressuring the Indian government to allow more media access.

Such initiatives for media access have become more organized and deliberate. The South Asia Network for Community Media (SANCOM) was formally launched on February 13, 2015, at the World Radio Day event in New Delhi, India. The event and network were organized jointly by UNESCO and the Commonwealth Educational Media Centre in Asia. SANCOM advocates for expanding public media access across South Asia through workshops, conferences, and policy proposals to national governments.

Public Access Television

Given that television requires more technology, more expertise, and more funding, it is not surprising that public access to television broadcasting (terrestrial, cable, and satellite) is more limited. One exemplary media access model for television

comes from the United States. Public access television was established in the United States during the 1970s and public, educational, and governmental (PEG) cable television organizations and community media centers began in 1984—both of which feature locally produced programming and appear as local free speech media zones, giving access to public communication, comment, and opinion.

The Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 included a public interest requirement that to be awarded local franchises cable companies must set aside cable channels, facilities, and equipment for public access, educational, and government use. In addition, cable companies were required to pass along customer service fees to the local PEG channels. In some cases, such as in Santa Clara and San Mateo counties on the San Francisco peninsula, local PEG media became quite robust and vibrant in providing significant community access to production and airing of programs. The Mid-Peninsula Media Center in Palo Alto broadcasts on six community cable channels. The Media Center trains local citizens in video and audio production skills and provides paid-professional and volunteer taping and broadcasting services to local groups, including schools, city councils, and small businesses for education, youth, culture, government, and arts programming. With annual revenues of less than $700,000 in 2020, the Media Center services local government, educational, and business contracts, coordinates a wide range of workshops, offers technical training, and broadcasts citizen- and viewer-produced programming, as well as producing and airing shows by media center staff. In 2015 the cable franchise paid $300,000 in franchise fees; in 2018 the payment was cut to $62,000 while the cable company kept the subscriber fees intended for PEG broadcasting. Arbitrary funding cuts, without any government oversight, threaten the future of public access television in the area. Cable companies are aggressively pursuing restrictions on public access television across the United States.

Elsewhere, public access television is somewhat less precarious—notably in Scandinavia, Western Europe, Canada, and Australia. In most countries public-access television channels are broadcast on cable; in Australia, Denmark and Norway broadcasting is more common in UHF and digital. Ironically, most "public access" channels outside the United States are for-profit operations, which limits access to those who can pay.

Media Access as Democratic Eruption

Because media access is so intimately tied to democratic participation, media access is not only a measure of democracy but also makes media primary public sites for debate and discussion. Some of the most dramatic and significant instances of expansive citizen access to media production and distribution occur at times of social protest and collective demands for increased democracy and human rights. From Bolivian miner's community radio in the 1950s to community radio and television in Venezuela and Bolivia in the 2000s, social movements that successfully shift the social relations of power have accordingly opened media to public participation and sites for advancing civic participation and democratic decision-making.

Democratic moments of rupture in societal norms unearth interconnections between media and society that are often obscured during periods of social stability or political repression. In the 20th century, turmoil in Latin America created openings for significant citizen media access.

To different degrees, governments across Latin America have created or allowed openings for citizen access to media communication, reflecting disparate social relations of power. In each case, the social relations of power reflected in government policy have resulted in changes in media political economies and public access to communication. Political power has largely determined the extent of media access by the public.

Media Access in Bolivia

One dramatic instance of public media access occurred in Bolivia in the 1950s. As part of a massive social and political uprising for democracy, dozens of rural communities created their own media access, collaboratively building their own radio production and broadcast. Nearly 30 radio

stations (from 200 watts to 200 kilowatts) were built, managed, and funded by Bolivian tin miners in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, in the desolate Altiplano region. Each station had its own style, created by and for the culture of its mining community. With access and control over media production, citizen broadcasters aired educational programming, including radio plays, theater, music, and poetry. They took microphones to the mines, markets, churches, and sports fields, inviting all to talk.

By the 1990s, as globalization of production expanded and Bolivia's tin mines closed, the social basis and political conditions for public media access declined in the region but reappeared as an outcome of the radical tumult against privatization at the end of the 1990s. Following the 1999 Cochabamba Water Wars and the 2003 El Alto Gas Wars, the Movement for Socialism won the 2005 presidential election campaign, bringing Evo Morales and other indigenous leaders to power. Media access returned in the 2009 Bolivia Constitution, and the Telecommunications Act, Technologies, Information, and Communication Law of 2011 mandated spectrum access of 33% for state media, 33% for private media, and 34% for community and indigenous media. While the constitutional mandates for media access remain, many of the administrative responsibilities for supporting public media access have been abandoned by the government that forcibly replaced Morales in 2019.

Media Access in Nicaragua

Another historical example of widespread media access developed during another moment of rupture—the 1979 Nicaragua Revolution against the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. The revolutionary changes in Nicaragua in the 1980s were more short-lived than in Bolivia. The sudden triumph brought workers and peasants to political power without much preparation. Only about 50 stations remained after the insurrection, most of them privately owned and none with public media access. As Somoza supporters fled, their radio stations became "community property."

In April 1981, the public radio network CORADEP (*Corporación de Radiodifusion del Pueblo*—the Corporation of Popular Radio Broadcasting) was founded, bringing together 16 stations. In many towns, the socially owned community stations became media access by direct democracy, whereby collectives of volunteers and professionals seeking to engage the communities in their regions provided news, information, and entertainment appropriate for the area. Farmers, health workers, soldiers, and educators, acting as community correspondents, reported on what was happening in their communities. To maximize media access, stations set up broadcast booths in town squares and markets so citizens could voice their personal and political perspectives.

In 1990, under the new government of Violeta Chamorro, CORADEP was disbanded, funds for community media were abolished, and most community stations were confiscated and privatized. With the 2006 reelection of Daniel Ortega to the presidency, some initiatives for community media and public media access have returned, but none as successful as CORADEP's public media access.

Media Access in Venezuela

Following the military-media attempted coup against the elected Hugo Chavez government in 2002, the National Assembly passed a Law on Social Responsibility of Radio and Television. The 2004 law established the right to public media access to production and broadcast. The 2006 Partial Reform Law of Radio and TV Social Responsibility furthered media access rights based on active and direct participation in media production. Within a few years, more than 300 FM radio and TV broadcasters were established and licensed. The Venezuelan National Assembly approved additional laws in 2010 and 2012 that expanded media access, supporting some 1,200 community media with increased networking, funding, licensing, and community control. In Venezuela, media access gives citizens the right *and* the means for media production and distribution.

Democratic media access by citizens and community groups is assured by (a) public, collective, social ownership of media broadcasting technology with wide public access to the broadcast

spectrum; (b) community and media workers' control of the means of mass communication; and (c) media content produced by and for community contributors. Media access obtained democracy in action—through organized, engaged, political, and cultural communication by average citizens, youth, women, indigenous, and other constituent social groups—all of whom now have direct access to media technologies, skills, and opportunities for the production and distribution of mass communication. With socially owned media, media access is available to all.

By 2009, community media reached 56% of the population with more than 100,000 community media activists working at hundreds of stations in collaboration with social movements that previously used street media such as murals, flyers, megaphone "radio," film clubs, and websites. Media access in Venezuela has created participatory journalism and participatory democratic production at public and community media outlets such as ViVe, Avila, Catia TV, and Radio El Negro Primero, reflecting new social relations of production needs or editorial dictates of a market-driven media. One third of media broadcasts in Venezuela are socially owned with licensing collectively held by the media users themselves. These democratically run media are nothing like the vertical broadcasting and control prevalent in commercial media. Communal councils, which operate most community media, are structures of direct democracy by residents, workers, and citizens self-organized at the local level.

Media Access as Democracy

Media access as a vital space for democratic communication is not merely technical or even distributional—it provides a public space for dialog, debate, argument, and interaction among citizens long denied access to the production of politics and culture. In practice, media access must provide a space for production and distribution of communication by citizens to consent and dissent from official and majority voices. For example, media access in Latin America, represented largely by community radio, nourishes and shares diverse languages and cultures. In Ecuador, microphones transmit Spanish and Quechua, Mixteco and Guarani, Miskito and Quiché. In Guatemala, 26 languages are spoken, and behind each language is a culture. Many community radio stations have collected the legends and myths of various cultures, their way of cultivation, genealogy, traditional medicine, and other customs, sharing them through programs containing people's testimonies. Media access also allows music cultures to be broadcast more widely. Community journalists and correspondents serve as lifelines of news and information on local and national events. Media access provides the means for democratic community media to cultivate and share cultural experiences with the nation through translation and broadcast.

Almost everywhere, from Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Bolivia to Sweden, Norway, the United States, India, and Nepal, public media access increases communication among and within communities, nations, and diverse social groups. The public's access to media production increases opportunities for representations and expressions by the majority of society—through music, entertainment, and political commentary—as demonstrated by Avila TV, CORADEP, Sangham Radio, Pacifica Radio, and the Mid-Peninsula Media Center, among hundreds more public access media around the world.

Lee Artz

See also Democracy and the Media; Media Ownership; New World Information and Communication Order NWICO; Public Service Broadcasting

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ADVANCED RESEARCH PROJECTS AGENCY NETWORK (ARPANET)

The Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) was a computer network that existed between 1969 and 1990. It is considered the cornerstone of the Internet, since the latter mainly came about as a result of a wish to connect other data networks to the ARPANET. Furthermore, the ARPANET introduced many of the technologies associated with the Internet, including democratized information access, email, instant messaging, file transfer via the File Transfer Protocol (FTP), resource sharing, collaborative development, and distributed computing, as well as using software and storing files in the cloud. After the ARPANET first came into wide use in U.S. and European academic communities, many of its technologies became essential to the practice of journalism. For several decades after the ARPANET's inception, photojournalists would use FTP to send digital images back to newsrooms, and the instant messaging and email technologies now considered indispensable to news production and reporting, were originally invented for the ARPANET. Perhaps the most consequential of the technologies first implemented in the ARPANET was *packet switching*, the principle that enables the fast and reliable data connections of the Internet and almost every other data network in use as of 2021. Finally, the many dramatic changes to the news media landscape wrought by the Internet can all be traced back, culturally and technologically, to beginnings associated with its predecessor, the ARPANET. This entry discusses the development of the Advanced Research Project Agency (ARPA), the origins and construction of the ARPANET project, packet switching, email and wireless networking, and the emergence of the Internet.

Envisioning a Network

When the USSR succeeded in launching the *Sputnik 1* satellite into space on October 4, 1957, it convinced United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower that national security was a matter of technological prowess. The first U.S. satellite launch failed spectacularly during a national television broadcast on December 6, 1957, which prompted Eisenhower to take more decisive steps toward regaining the country's technological lead. This led to the formation of the ARPA under the Department of Defense in February 1958. Shortly thereafter, Eisenhower recognized the prudence of keeping space exploration in the civilian domain and transferred the space program to what would become the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. ARPA would concentrate on missile defense and nuclear test detection instead.

In the spring of 1962, psychologist and computer scientist J. C. R. Licklider gave a series of talks at the Pentagon. He was known for his 1960 paper "Man-Computer Symbiosis," in which he argued that the full potential of computing could only be unleashed if all humans could interact directly with computers using somewhat natural language. Licklider believed this could be achieved with *time-sharing systems*. These were large computers shared by several people using simple computer terminals in a principle that was akin to today's cloud datacenters and server architectures. Licklider's talks impressed ARPA's leadership and he was subsequently hired to lead ARPA's first real foray into computing, the Information Project Techniques Office (IPTO). While at IPTO, Licklider began articulating a vision for connected computing. He believed that time-sharing computers could be used as information retrieval and communication devices in networks, enabling users to access resources on several computers from a single point. Licklider would fund initiatives working toward this goal, including Project MAC at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he had previously held a position as an associate professor. Project MAC, initiated with a $2 million grant from Licklider at ARPA, hosted MIT's early, significant contributions to artificial intelligence as well as the

construction of MIT's main time-sharing initiative, the Compatible Time-Sharing System.

Testing the Lines

In 1964, Licklider left ARPA for IBM, handing the director reins to his deputy, Ivan Sutherland. Spurred on by ARPA's new director, Charles Herzfeld, Sutherland continued pursuing Licklider's vision. He initiated a project to test whether the telephone system was a viable infrastructure for a computer network that would require long-distance data transmissions. After receiving a project proposal from Thomas Marill at the time-sharing systems company CCA, Sutherland called upon his former PhD classmate at MIT's Lincoln Laboratories, Lawrence G. "Larry" Roberts. Sutherland asked him to contract with Marill through Lincoln Laboratories, where Roberts still worked. The goal was to connect the large TX-2 computer at Lincoln Laboratories to a similarly large computer on the other side of the country, the Q-32 at Systems Development Corporation in Santa Monica, CA. Roberts and Marill managed to connect the two machines, which was an achievement in itself, since it was extremely uncommon at the time for two computers of different makes and models to communicate with each other. The experiment began in July 1965 but was considered a failure because of the high noise level of the telephone network and its propensity for data congestion. The two researchers concluded that the system resources required at each end, as well as the problems with the telephone lines, simply made this method too slow and unreliable to be used for networking in practice.

Later in 1965, Sutherland joined the faculty at Harvard, leaving Robert Taylor in charge of IPTO. With strong support from ARPA director Herzfeld, Taylor accelerated the work toward Licklider's network vision. The interconnection of ARPA-funded time-sharing computers finally became its own project in 1966, and Taylor began looking for someone to manage the project. Although he was initially reluctant, Roberts eventually accepted a position as chief scientist at IPTO, and began working on what was then called the *ARPA Network* in early 1967.

Deciding on Packet Switching

Upon arrival at ARPA, Roberts began gathering a group of experts who would meet regularly throughout 1967 to design the network. Among these experts was Roberts's former PhD colleague at MIT, Leonard Kleinrock, who had joined the computer science faculty at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). In his dissertation work, Kleinrock showed mathematically that distributed data routing could achieve the speed and data throughput that Roberts was aiming for. The group was also joined by Wes Clark, who was Roberts's, Kleinrock's, and Sutherland's advisor at MIT. Clark suggested to Roberts's group that they let small computers act as "translators" for each of the large computers and let them control the data routing instead of leaving both those tasks to the large computers. This gave rise to the idea of the Interface Message Processor (IMP), the smaller computers that essentially became the first network routers.

Yet, the challenges of slow speeds and congestion in the telephone network still remained. In early October 1967, Roberts presented the ARPA network concept as the "ARPA net" at the ACM Symposium on Operating System Principles conference in Gatlinburg, TN. The results of a computer networking experiment performed by British researcher Donald Davies and his team at the National Physical Laboratory in the United Kingdom were presented at the same panel. Davies's solution to the speed and congestion challenges was *packet switching*, a principle he initially thought he had come upon first, until he learned that it had already been invented four years earlier by Paul Baran at the RAND Corporation in the United States. RAND had been tasked by the U.S. Air Force with designing a digital communication network for voice that would still be functional during a nuclear attack. In a 1961 report, Baran suggested digitizing voice calls and using a distributed network of computers to facilitate this. The Air Force shelved the network plans, but Baran's packet switching principle (which he called *Hot Potato Routing* at the time) lived on and by way of Donald Davies, it made its way to Roberts. When Roberts heard about packet switching at the conference, he saw it as a possible routing option for the ARPA network. Upon returning to

the Pentagon, he introduced his group of experts to Baran's publications.

The dominant data and signal routing principles of the time involved a central unit that controlled how data flowed through the network, which was part of the speed and congestion challenge. With packet switching, data messages are divided up into smaller "packets" with to- and from-addresses attached that essentially find their own way through the network, utilizing all the available space. Once all the packets arrive at their destination, they are reassembled into a coherent message.

Kleinrock's prior mathematical work served as proof for Roberts that packet switching could work for the coming network, and the decision was made to base the ARPANET on this technology. Paul Baran himself joined the design group for meetings in 1967 and 1968, consulting on the ARPANET implementation of packet switching. Given that the packet switching principle today underpins not just the Internet, but a majority of all networked data communication, this decision to make the ARPANET the first packet-switched computer network is seen as highly significant. It was a decision that led to the construction of the infrastructure now used by most journalists to conduct research, to search databases for information, and to communicate with sources. Because both the ARPANET and Baran's original packet-switching research was funded by the U.S. government, those technologies could not be made proprietary, patented, or commercialized. This absence of license fees and excludability, along with the proof-of-concept provided by the ARPANET, facilitated networked exchanges of data with a speed and consistency that later would enable mass media to digitize by lowering the cost of mass distribution of content. As the technologies introduced with the ARPANET evolved over the following decades, news organizations previously confined to publishing print media could widely proliferate news stories as video and audio in competition with television and radio.

Building the Network

With packet switching added as the last piece of the puzzle, the overall ARPANET design was now

complete, and ARPA sent out a Request for Proposals to contract vendors who might be able to build the IMP as well as lease and maintain the telephone lines needed to make the connections. The chosen vendor would also be responsible for the daily maintenance of the network in collaboration with Stanford Research Institute (SRI) and UCLA.

The contract eventually went to Bolt, Beranek and Newman (BBN), where Licklider worked previously. The work on BBN's proposal had been led by Frank Heart, with the participation of David Walden, Severo Ornstein, and Robert E. "Bob" Kahn. When BBN won the proposal, Heart led a sizeable team that modified existing computer hardware from Honeywell and coded the software for the first batch of IMP machines.

Four of the institutions represented in the ARPANET design group were chosen as the first four "host" nodes on the ARPA network. The first link was to be established between Kleinrock's laboratory at UCLA and SRI. The first connection between two computers using phone lines, packet switching and IMP "routers," occurred on October 29 at approximately 10:30 p.m., when the Sigma 7 computer in Kleinrock's laboratory at UCLA was connected to an SDS 940 computer at SRI.

The Arrival of
Email and Wireless Networking

In the following months, the utility of the ARPANET became evident for most researchers involved with ARPA projects, and in spite of initial reluctance toward sharing computing resources, the number of participating institutions grew. In December 1969, ARPANET consisted of its first four nodes: UCLA, SRI, UCSB, and University of Utah. By August 1972, the ARPANET had expanded to serve 19 more research institutions and hundreds of users.

That year, the ARPANET's first "hit" application emerged: email. Electronic mail had been passed between users sharing a single computer since the early 1960s through programs such as READMAIL and SNDMSG. In late 1971, BBN programmer Ray Tomlinson modified the latter to exchange messages between different computers on the ARPANET. To distinguish users at

different computers, Tomlinson repurposed the "at sign" (@), which originally had designated, for example, a certain amount of products sold "at" a certain price. Tomlinson instead used it to indicate a user "at" a research institution, thereby creating the popular format of name@place that later became standard for email addresses. When the ability to send email over the network launched in early 1972, it quickly became popular among ARPANET researchers, which prompted Roberts to write the first email client that could organize a user's messages in folders and show messages by subject line.

The Emergence of the Internet

It was also in 1972 that the ARPANET was shown to the public for the first time. Roberts, having taken over from Robert Taylor as director of IPTO, hired Bob Kahn from the IMP team at BBN as his chief scientist in early 1972. Kahn then took the lead on arranging a large demonstration of the ARPANET in the basement of the Hilton hotel in Washington, DC, during the International Conference of Computer Communications in October of that year. In both his roles at BBN and ARPA, Kahn made several visits to Kleinrock's laboratory at UCLA and met with graduate students working on the ARPANET, including Vinton G. "Vint" Cerf.

In 1973, after Cerf had graduated with a PhD and joined the faculty at Stanford University, he and Kahn discussed IPTO's plans for expanding the ARPANET into wireless territory by connecting it to planned satellite- and radio-based networks, known as *SATNET* and the *Packet Radio Network*. Under Roberts's supervision, ARPA had already funded the development of a wireless data network, ALOHANET, at the University of Hawai'i. ALOHANET was an example of several packet-switched networks inspired by the ARPANET that began emerging independently at the time. These newly formed networks, along with ARPA's own SATNET and Packet Radio Network, convinced Cerf and Kahn that the next challenge after connecting heterogenous computers in networks, was to ensure that those networks were also interconnected. This inspired the two researchers to begin the development of the TCP/IP protocol suites in 1973. These protocols define the parameters by which different networks can be interlinked, essentially creating the Internet.

During the 1980s, several companies presented proprietary, commercial alternatives to TCP/IP, including Xerox, whose work on inter-network protocols happened under the auspices of former IPTO director Taylor. Eventually, however, TCP/IP won out and was adopted as the main communication protocol of ARPANET on January 1, 1983, enabling it to connect with much bigger and faster packet-switched networks being built, such as the National Science Foundation's NSFNET. At this point, several thousands of people at more than 200 host institutions in the United States and Europe were using the ARPANET daily. However, as ARPANET became increasingly integrated into the fledgling Internet through TCP/IP, those users began migrating to faster and larger networks with more resources. By 1990, the ARPANET's equipment and software were severely outdated and its functions, software, and concepts had all been absorbed into the Internet. DARPA (now with an added D for "Defense") decided to lay it to rest. When the ARPANET was officially decommissioned on February 24, 1990, the technologies it birthed such as email and FTP were already essential to the journalistic practices of many news organizations in the United States and Europe. That same year also marked a decade since U.S. newspapers had begun publishing stories through sites such as the CompuServe Information Service, which relied heavily on packet-switching and other ARPANET-related technologies.

Morten Bay

See also Digital Distribution; Digital Journalism Ethics; Digital Journalism Tools; Internet: Impact on the Media; Social Media

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ADVERTISING

Advertising has always had a complicated relationship with journalism. Traditionally, advertising is defined as a paid message that is typically persuasive in nature from an identified sponsor and placed in various media such as newspapers, television, or online. This has also included activities such as product placement where a brand is integrated into broadcast news programming or more recently as advertising designed to match an online publication's editorial content but used to promote a brand. This entry first discusses the move toward relying on advertising to fund news media in the United States and the evolution of covert advertising techniques. It then looks at how audiences receive these techniques and efforts to regulate them, including industry self-regulation.

Advertising Prevalence in Journalism

Although prior to the mid-1800s, American newspapers were financed primarily by political parties, it was advertising that allowed them to break this dependency. The rise of the penny press enabled publishers to charge readers just a few cents for newspapers by subsidizing production costs with advertising. With the industrialization of the United States, the emergence and growth of national retailers and brands, and the ensuing consumption-driven economy, media outlets provided advertisers a mechanism to reach audiences and pitch their wares. This advertising-supported media model was replicated in most American magazines and later in radio, television, and eventually, on the internet. Advertising provided much-needed revenue to support the production of news, largely freeing publishers from the shackles of the political sponsors of yesteryear.

For newspapers, this model was successful throughout the 20th century with ad revenue reaching its apex around the year 2000. However, with the rise of the internet in the 1990s, audiences began to have significantly more choices of sources from which to obtain news, leading to newspaper circulation declines. Furthermore, as news organizations migrated online, most failed to install paywalls, instead allowing audiences to consume news content for free. This accelerated the cancellation of subscriptions. Smaller audiences no longer commanded the same amount of advertising dollars. Moreover, internet sites such as Craigslist allowed people to place classified ads online for free, decimating the classified-ad revenue that most local newspapers relied upon.

The emergence of Google followed by the social media site Facebook further eroded the advertising revenue of news media, as did the 2008 economic recession. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, many news organizations—particularly alternative weeklies—have been permanently shuttered because of the disappearance of advertising. However, some publishers—especially local news websites—experienced greater traffic than ever and have been able to convert this into increased digital subscriptions. While in late 2020, it was still too early to make broad conclusions about the impact of the pandemic on publishing, the ability to divert revenue dependence away from advertising to a diversity of sources seems to be important for news media survival.

Advertising Influences on Journalism

The *New York Herald* was an early adopter of the advertising-supported business model, agreeing to

an advertising contract in 1835 with a producer of patent medicine (over-the-counter medications that were generally ineffective and sometimes deadly) after a fire led to the paper's near-financial ruin. According to Ben Bagdikian, *Herald* founder James Gordon Bennett proclaimed the advertising contract allowed the paper to be "more independent than ever." That independence, however, was contingent upon the *Herald* publishing not only an abundance of advertisements for the product, but also what appeared to be legitimate news *articles* about Benjamin Brandreth's seemingly magical pills that supposedly cured almost any ailment (although they did not, in reality). While the advertising from Brandreth allowed the *Herald* to continue publishing, this case is also an early exemplar of how advertising can exert control over the content of newspapers and foreshadows the presence of covert—or hidden—advertising. The *articles* were not any more real than the product was effective.

The practice of working advertising into news programming has not been limited to newspapers. In the 1940s and 1950s, the CBS radio and then television variety show, *Talent Scouts*, featured its Lipton Tea sponsor in the show's opening song. Nearly 75 years later, in 2012, the practice continued with NBC's *Today* show prominently integrating Procter & Gamble when discussing the Olympics.

Boundaries and Agendas

The turn away from political to commercial sponsors coincided with the development of journalistic norms and objectivity, or so-called *unbiased reporting*, around the turn of the 20th century. A cornerstone of the professionalization of journalism was its proclaimed independence, first from political and then commercial influences. Journalists often invoked a metaphorical boundary, or firewall, that separated the editorial, or news, side of the newsroom from the business side. In theory, this wall was intended to protect journalists from the financial pressures of the costs of reporting, especially having to do so profitably. Finances were the domain of owners and publishers who were supposed to shield their journalists from the demands of advertisers who had goals that differed from those of journalism. While the purpose of journalism was to serve the public interest by providing information necessary for a participatory democracy, the goal of advertisers was marketplace driven: Garner the attention of readers so as to sell their product. As decades of scholarship have revealed, however, in practice, the boundary has been elusive, at best.

The potential gatekeeping effects of this boundary (or lack thereof) between the news and business sides of journalism can be understood from the theoretical perspectives of agenda building, framing, and agenda cutting. In the early tradition of media effects research, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw's conceptualization of agenda-setting theory focused on how news content influenced what the *public* thinks about. An important antecedent to agenda setting, however, is understanding what influences the decisions *news organizations* make in choosing whether and how to cover particular topics or issues. There are both internal and external influences on news organizations of which advertisers are among the latter. In theorizing how this process works, Rita Colistra suggested that advertisers are capable of building news agendas and frames by influencing which topics or issues receive coverage and how they are framed, while they may also cut agendas by pressuring newsrooms to minimize or censor particular topics or issues from news coverage.

Historic accounts as well as those spanning into the 21st century offer evidence of the agenda-building and framing effects of advertising. Favorable news stories about advertisers, such as those written in the *Herald* for Brandreth, were called *puff* pieces or reading notices. Often written by the advertisers themselves, they were offered to keep advertisers happy. In the recovery years following the 2008 economic recession, news organizations began partnering with advertisers to create content that they argue might not ordinarily receive coverage due to its expense. For example, in 2017, the *New York Times* partnered with Mondelez International's Véa snacks brand to sponsor a yearlong journalist-in-residence who produced editorial content for its Travel section. Similarly, the BBC Worldwide has accepted funding from Exxon to report on the environment. Whether or not these resulted in puff pieces, they were produced with the support of advertisers and demonstrate how advertisers can build and

frame the news agenda. Moreover, a 2020 *New York Times* exposé indicates that the practice of puff pieces does continue and has come full circle back to political sponsors. A network of over 1,300 news sites in the United States have been posing as local news organizations but obscuring their funding and taking payment to run *articles* that are often written by a sponsor for political purposes.

Scholarship across the decades also reveals a persistent agenda-cutting effect associated with advertising. For instance, when Camel cigarettes sponsored NBC's Camel News Caravan from 1949 to 1956, footage showing *no smoking* signs was prohibited. Similarly, magazines that accepted advertising from cigarette manufacturers were less likely to run stories about the connections between smoking and lung cancer than those that did not. Particularly at the local level, newspapers have recognized the perils of offending local advertisers with hard-hitting stories. Angry auto dealers have pulled advertising because of reporting on dangerous cars and unsatisfied customers. Even local governments can punish critical news reporting as noted in the headline of a 2019 *New York Times* article: "A Community Newspaper Gets Tough on a Village; The Village Pulls Its Ads." Thus, a continuing threat from advertising-funded media is that advertisers will try to suppress news coverage that is unfavorable to their brands.

Covert Advertising 2.0

Ads disguised as news content were part and parcel of the penny press newspapers. Over the years, the nomenclature used to describe such phenomena has included puff stories, reading notices, feature advertising, and advertorials. In broadcast media, infomercials and video news releases are of the same ilk: paid programming disguised as news. Beginning in the mid-2010s, the term *native advertising* came into use for commercial content in online news publications that is camouflaged to look like news.

In the contemporary digital era, online advertising has become increasingly intrusive and subjects audiences to surveillance. To make the user experience more pleasant and minimize consumer attempts to ignore ads or employ ad blockers, advertising has sought to become more integrated with news content. Supporters of the practice contend that consumers respond positively to native advertisements, remembering the content and preferring it because of its nonintrusiveness and informativeness. Critics, however, argue that these consumer responses are based in deception since studies demonstrate that most people are unable to distinguish native advertising from news content.

Digital technologies also facilitated the ability for online creators to mimic the appearance of entertainment, informational, and news content. The paid content resembles the authentic content to such a degree that it looks *native* to the platform on which it appears. On digital news sites, native advertisements can use the identical typeface and layout as the editorial content that surrounds it, right down to the masthead of the publisher. Often the only distinguishing feature of native advertising is the disclosure label required by the U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC).

Audience Reception

In his book, *Confessions of an Advertising Man*, famed advertising executive David Ogilvy wrote that ads which do not look like advertising would attract twice as many readers and that there was no evidence suggesting the public would resent this practice. While the lack of evidence may have been true when he first wrote the 1963 book, the extant academic literature since the emergence of native advertising has repeatedly demonstrated that audiences generally do react negatively to this practice in digital news contexts. When audiences recognize that content they thought was news is instead advertising, their attitudes toward and perceived credibility of the publisher declines. This has been demonstrated for both digital-only news organizations and for legacy publishers. Audience members who are most likely to experience these negative perceptions are those who engage with news for informational rather than entertainment purposes. When asked their thoughts about the practice of native advertising, over half of people familiar with it describe it as underhanded or deceptive.

While native ads typically do not have an overt sales pitch, often never mentioning the sponsoring brand or company, they are,

nonetheless, attempting to create favorable associations in the minds of readers or viewers. Consequently, the context of the seeming news *article* also affects how people respond. When native ads imitate hard news stories, people react more negatively to the content than when they masquerade as soft news. For instance, readers find it relatively less concerning that the fashion brand, Cole Haan, sponsored an article about the dedication and hard work of ballet dancers in comparison to having an energy corporation, such as Chevron, sponsor content about global energy consumption.

Beyond the conditions that affect how news consumers perceive publishers and the native advertising content itself are the downstream effects the practice has on journalism. According to a 2020 study published in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, when people saw a publisher engaging in native advertising, they were more likely to find the subsequent news reporting of journalists at the same outlet to be less credible compared to those who didn't see the native advertising. Thus, while offering news organizations much-needed revenue, native advertising tarnishes the perceived credibility of reporting from actual journalists.

Boundaries and Agendas in the Digital Era

While a large quantity of advertising has traditionally been made by independent agencies that specialize in creating ads, there have always been organizations that have created ads in-house. Media outlets, however, were solely in the domain of being a distribution platform for advertising that was created elsewhere. With the emergence of native advertising, however, news organizations are increasingly adopting a variation of the in-house model by establishing their own content studios. For instance, the *New York Times* has its T Brand Studio, the *Wall Street Journal* has WSJ Custom Studios, and *The Guardian* has Guardian Labs. But these content studios are not creating ads to promote their parent news organizations; they are instead creating content for external clients, including brands, corporations, and even political candidates. News organizations are now in the business of not only producing journalism

but also creating branded content for advertisers that looks like news, as well.

If the metaphorical wall separating the newsroom from the business side of journalism was in question previously, the development of content studios has all but eradicated it. As Ava Sirrah showed in a 2019 article for the *Columbia Journalism Review*, content studio marketing teams—often former journalists—tasked with creating advertiser stories work closely with newsrooms to plan special projects. Journalists accompany sales teams on client visits to help close deals. Furthermore, because most native advertisements have no bylines—a commonality with traditional display ads—journalists sometimes do double duty, writing native advertising content when they are not reporting. Moreover, native ads have been created that directly contradict the news reporting of journalists. For example, while the *New York Times* has published articles about the dangers hydraulic fracking poses to the environment, they have also taken money from Chevron to run a native advertising campaign focusing on the benefits of fracking.

Sirrah's article also indicates that the creation of native ads by content studios does not end the obligation of publishers to their advertisers. Most publishers are contractually obligated to promote the native advertising they created via their social media properties in order to meet agreed-upon engagement metrics. Because audiences have only a finite amount of time they can allocate to consuming media content, publishers are, in essence, creating a competition for attention between their own news content and the native advertising content they created on behalf of their advertising clients. In this regard, it may be particularly beneficial for brands or companies that are experiencing negative press coverage to invest in native advertising that offers a competing, more favorable account of the company.

The use of native advertising for whitewashing purposes appears to be a tactic that a growing number of companies are pursuing. For example, while STAT News—a healthcare-focused news site owned by *The Boston Globe*—was running investigative stories in 2018 about Purdue Pharmaceuticals knowingly promoting the use of its opioid medications despite their addictive properties, STAT was also running native advertising content

sponsored by Purdue about the company's efforts to combat the opioid epidemic. Similarly, as *The New York Times* was reporting in early 2019 on concerns that Johnson & Johnson's baby powder was contaminated with asbestos, they were also running native advertising on behalf of that same company debunking myths about ingredients in personal care products.

When considering native advertising from this vantage point, it is plausible to conceive that content studios may create an agenda that competes with the news agendas of the newsroom. That is, news by its very nature has always told us what to think about. Today, as newsrooms increasingly create native advertising content that appears on their websites, in their news apps, and that they promote in their social media feeds, they are competing with content studios to tell us what to think about.

Empirical research demonstrates the plausibility of this notion. An analysis of thousands of native advertising articles that ran between 2014 and 2019 at three elite news organizations in the United States revealed an agenda-cutting effect on the actual news coverage of these same newsrooms. In other words, companies that paid for native advertising were significantly less likely to appear in subsequent actual news coverage after the sponsored content ran. This suggests a troubling effect of native advertising. If a corporation is receiving unfavorable press coverage, paying that news outlet to create and promote a native advertising campaign can reduce the likelihood of future coverage.

Regulatory Efforts

Efforts to control the encroachment of commercialism on journalism have emerged from at least two fronts: governmental regulation and self-regulation. By the turn of the 20th century, puff pieces and reading notices were frequent. While some publishers voluntarily sought to label the notices with a disclosure or used a slightly different typeface, the passage of the Newspaper Publicity Act of 1912 mandated the use of disclosure labels for advertisements that were disguised as newspaper articles. Two years later, the Federal Trade Commission Act established the FTC and tasked it with protecting consumers and

regulating unfair business practices. Section 5 of the law defined deceptive acts or practices as those that mislead reasonably acting consumers in their conduct toward a product or service. One of the first cases brought by the FTC involved a vacuum cleaner company, Muenzen Specialty Co., that created advertisements appearing to be editorials recommending its product. The commission found the ads to be deceptive.

To address the evolving nature of media and technology, the FTC offered new guidance in 2015, specifically in regard to native advertising. Their concern was whether the format of an ad misleads consumers as to the nature or source of a message. Any commercial message that resembles noncommercial content, such as news, must contain a clear and conspicuous disclosure that alerts consumers to its commercial nature. The guidance, however, is not prescriptive. While the FTC advises that disclosure language such as *advertisement* may be most recognizable to consumers, they do not mandate disclosure language or appearance.

As a result of this lack of standardization from the FTC on disclosures, in practice, publishers use a broad variety of words to identify native advertising including "paid post," "brought to you by," and "partner content." Research on people's ability to recognize native advertising clearly demonstrates that most news consumers cannot distinguish native advertising from actual news articles, even with disclosures. Across many studies, including those nationally representative of the United States, typically fewer than one in four people are able to recognize native advertising. Many people don't understand what the disclosure language means; others don't notice the disclosures because they are not visually prominent. In an effort to appease the demands of advertisers, some publishers even reduce the prominence of disclosures or omit them altogether making it all but impossible for consumers to understand what they are looking at. However, when publishers employ disclosures that audiences perceive as transparent (easier to understand and/or to notice), people respond less negatively to native advertising.

Besides government regulation, industry groups have also offered self-regulatory guidelines. The Institute for Advertising Ethics (IAE) was

developed as a collaboration between the American Advertising Federation and the Reynolds Journalism Institute at the Missouri School of Journalism. In 2011, the IAE released its Principles and Practices for Advertising Ethics. Among the original eight principles, Principle 3 specifies that advertising should be clearly distinguished from news and entertainment content regardless of whether it is online or offline. Similarly, the Code of Ethics for the Society for Professional Journalists indicates that news should be distinguished from advertising and that hybrids that blur the lines between the two should be shunned. Furthermore, it states that sponsored content should be prominently labeled. Without doing such, media critics argue that journalists' ability to act independently in serving the public is compromised. Moreover, given the growing number of academic studies demonstrating that news consumers are deceived by native advertising, it appears that the practice of it by publishers—particularly when not clearly and conspicuously disclosed—violates codes of ethics established by leading industry groups.

Future Directions

With the disappearance of newsrooms around the United States in 2020 from the substantial loss of advertising revenue that was accelerated by the Coronavirus pandemic, it is clear that dependence upon advertising by journalism is an unsustainable model. Finding alternate sources of revenue is imperative. While some critics argue that market-driven journalism should be done away with altogether in favor of nonprofit or publicly funded models, others believe newsrooms need to diversify their revenue sources and minimize their involvement with advertising. In an ideal world, journalists would rededicate themselves to the mission of journalism by adhering to long-standing journalistic codes of ethics. Realistically, however, with newsrooms facing dire financial circumstances, many practitioners consider the old standards of practice aspirational at best.

For the many reasons detailed here, journalism and advertising have always had a complicated relationship. However, advertising is a tool that can be leveraged as more than just an income source. As journalistic outlets have become brands unto themselves, there is the opportunity for them to remind the public that independent-minded newsgathering is vital to democratic life. Prior to 2016, newsrooms typically spent little in advertising their brands to the general public. Since 2016, however, the work of journalists has become increasingly devalued and hazardous to pursue—both at home and abroad—with attacks on the press as *fake news* and *the enemy of the people*. As a result, news organizations have begun to vie for audiences' attention and respect. A nascent genre of journalistic self-defense advertising has emerged with, for example, the *New York Times*' "Truth" campaign, as well as CNN's "Facts First" promo, and ABC News' "Straightforward" ad. Moreover, during Super Bowl LIII in 2019, for the first time ever, a news organization was among the advertisers when *The Washington Post* aired its "Democracy Dies in Darkness" ad, narrated by all-American actor Tom Hanks. As local newsrooms look to promote themselves, collaborations with local college and university advertising and communication programs may prove fruitful.

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See also Advertising Ethics in; Advertorials; Digital Advertising; Video News Releases

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Advertising, Ethics In

Advertising ethics is a normative process that begins with moral awareness and ends with an ethical decision. While the process involves many different stakeholders, the practitioners involved in planning, designing, and placing advertisements on behalf of their clients are the people primarily responsible for perceiving and responding to the ethical nature of challenges. Other stakeholders include marketers of products and services, vendors and suppliers, and media organizations. Consumers are also important stakeholders in determining the extent to which advertisements and processes are right and good, since a marketer's success is dependent on consumers' trust. This entry provides an overview of the context in which ethical challenges in advertising arise, explores the nature of those challenges, and offers guidance for decision-making.

The demands of honesty and transparency present ethical challenges in advertising practices such as greenwashing (claiming, overtly or tacitly, that a company's products are more environmentally friendly than they actually are), image retouching, fear appeals, online sponsorships and disclosures, online behavioral targeting, digital

advertising fraud, and native advertising (paid ads that match the look, feel, and function of the media format where they appear). Organizational challenges include embracing social diversity, fair treatment of others, and the offering of incentives by marketers. Products such as tobacco and alcohol also constitute ethical challenges in advertising because they are deemed harmful to one's health. And anticipating the consequences of advertising requires moral deliberation, because its effects, although they may not be intentional, might result in harmful behavior, especially when vulnerable individuals are reached. In response to such ethical challenges, practitioners rely on various resources such as codes of ethics and engage in decision-making that entails one's sense of duty, social responsibility, and accountability.

The context in which ethical challenges arise is constantly evolving and is influenced by new technology and communication platforms, as well as by the changing relationship between advertising and journalism. According to the social responsibility theory of the press, democracy is served by truthful information for debate and discussion. When ethical breaches occur, trust in this information falters. Historically, the press has been financially supported, in part, by advertising revenue. This relationship is considered ethical when adequate separation exists, and journalism remains free from financial pressure and the special interests of advertisers. Practices once clearly delineated as journalism versus advertising, however, are blurring (e.g., native advertising; bloggers endorsing products), and funding models are changing, thereby putting more pressure on publishers to accept new forms of advertising revenue. Because of this evolving and codependent relationship, understanding its ethical implications is important. An advertisement is of value only to the extent to which it is perceived as truthful, which influences and is influenced by journalism's credibility.

Advertising Ethics in Context

Ethical practice in advertising requires an awareness of the ethical nature of challenges in order to determine what is right and ought to be done. Considering the vast array of services offered, the multiple stakeholders involved, and the range of

goods and services promoted, all in the context of an evolving marketplace with blurred boundaries, it's not surprising that ethical challenges in advertising arise.

Collectively, the businesses and individuals impacted by and involved in advertising practices are referred to as *stakeholders*. The advertising industry is composed of several interdependent businesses. Advertising agencies offer services of account management, research, strategy, media planning, and creation, among other more specialized services such as branding, digital advertising, and experiential marketing, to name a few. These services are offered to clients, the marketers that research, develop, distribute, and advertise products and services. Advertising agencies are hired to assist marketers in promoting goods and services by providing the aforementioned services with the assistance of vendors and suppliers such as directors, photographers, and printers. Advertising agencies might also hire collaborators such as actors and social media influencers. Media companies are also involved in the advertising process and include news organizations, publishers, and communication platforms from which advertisers purchase time and space to place advertisements.

A key stakeholder is the audience, who are arguably the most affected by ethical problems in advertising. An audience (i.e., viewers, readers, and listeners of advertisements) is comprised of (a) current consumers characterized as buyers, users, or those that influence another person to buy or use the product or service; (b) prospective consumers, those who are likely to buy the product or service in the future; and/or (c) those unintentionally reached, who are neither current nor prospective consumers.

As media and technology evolve, advertising services cross, or blur, boundaries with other related professions such as journalism and public relations. An advertisement has traditionally been characterized as paid (e.g., cost for space, time, impressions on consumers), mediated (e.g., via online, television), strategic and promotional content (i.e., content intended to persuade a targeted audience to purchase or use a good or service), by an identified sponsor (e.g., brand, marketer). By comparison, public relations have traditionally been characterized as earned content such as news coverage of an event in response to a press

release. However, contracting social media influencers, who are paid to sponsor content on social media platforms such as Instagram, also falls under the purview of public relations. As another example, native advertising appearing on news sites as paid, strategic content (i.e., intended to convey a specific message) is, at times, content written by employees of the news organization whose identified sponsor is indistinguishable by the reader. These shifts in services offered and by whom, at times unbeknownst to the audience, have implications for accountability and credibility. As boundaries blur and responsibilities shift, audiences and consumers aren't always aware of the sponsor, such as in the case of native advertising, resulting in diminishing trust toward the sponsor, content producer, and content platform.

Those responsible for determining what is right and good in advertising are the practitioners confronted with making a decision in response to an ethical challenge. Advertising practitioners' perceptions are often understood through a variety of methods including interviews and surveys. There is also concern for the extent to which their environment and organizational culture impacts ethical awareness and ethical decision-making. In the new millennium, scholars have begun to conduct studies of moral psychology concerned with practitioners' moral deliberations, which are impacted by their personality traits and by their moral development, which starts in childhood and is influenced by socialization, education, and age.

This normative process is also influenced by and understood from other perspectives, including consumers' perceptions of advertisements and related practices. Research on consumers' perceptions involves the examination of consumers' experiences with advertisements; that is, how they react to, or are affected by, advertisements (e.g., Pepsi's "Live for Now" video featuring Kendall Jenner), strategies therein (e.g., fear appeal such as in anti-tobacco advertisements), or types of advertisements (e.g., native advertising). Consumers' perceptions are important to consider, because, as previously stated, advertising is only as successful as it is deemed credible. When polled, however, consumers have consistently suggested that they have low levels of trust in advertisers, a finding that has significance for the ethical challenges that arise in advertising.

Ethical Challenges in Advertising

Ethical challenges in advertising may be categorized according to business ethics (e.g., the practice of accepting incentives from clients); message ethics (as, for example, in native advertising); the practices and processes involved, including what types of advertisements are produced; the products and services advertised; and the consequences of a process or advertisement regardless of whether or not the effects are intentional.

Practices and Processes

Most ethical challenges in advertising fall within the category of practices. The challenges might be in response to new technology or communication platforms, for example. Regardless of emerging practices, honesty has consistently been a practical challenge, given the nature of planning and creating an advertisement intended to fit within a designated and purchased time slot (e.g., a 30-second video) or space (e.g., an outdoor billboard). As a result of these limitations, the omission of certain information occurs. However, omission by default is not necessarily unethical, just as persuasion is not unethical. However, omission with the intention to deceive is ethically problematic. For example, intentional deception occurs in the practice of greenwashing. Greenwashing occurs when a business promotes the perception that its products, services, or policies are environmentally friendly by providing a claim with no proof, or a factual claim that serves as a diversionary tactic to mask another, often more impactful, environmental issue.

Closely related to the challenge of honesty and truthfulness is transparency. Questions of transparency may arise when working with and touching up images and video (e.g., altering images with programs such as Photoshop) and when disclosing online sponsorships. For example, advertising agencies might compensate bloggers and social media influencers for endorsing a client's product by covering travel expenses, providing product samples, or with a flat rate. In an effort to be transparent about this financial partnership, an agency or client will ask the sponsor to sign a contract that provides specific language regarding how to post a clear and prominent

disclosure. Disclosures such as hashtags (e.g., #sponsored) inform viewers that the product is being endorsed in exchange for some form of compensation and is therefore an opinion influenced by a marketer's interests.

Other ethical challenges include the use of stereotypes or appeals that might objectify individuals or coerce an audience, such as emphasis on sexuality or fear appeals (e.g., disgusting or frightening images in anti-tobacco advertising). Online behavioral targeting and online behavioral advertising present another challenge regarding the use of private information. Mobile users don't necessarily understand how companies use their data, yet they accept certain risks for the convenience of receiving information and incentives such as free access to content or notifications of sales promotions. Digital advertising fraud is another ethical challenge concerning the programmatic buying, placement, optimization, and billing of online ads. For example, a client might not receive fair pricing for online ad placement, based on clicks and views, when it is not known what share of advertisements are being viewed by bots rather than by humans. Furthermore, specific types of advertisements present ethical challenges. As noted earlier, native advertisements are designed to simulate and blend in with editorial content and are therefore misleading, especially when audiences are unaware of their paid and promotional nature. Additional challenges include the fair treatment of clients (e.g., representing two or more clients competing in the same product category) and the fair treatment of other agencies (e.g., poaching another agency's current clients).

Products and Services

Another category of ethical challenges in advertising involves the promotion of certain products and services, such as those deemed harmful including alcohol and tobacco, or others considered controversial, such as marijuana. Ethical challenges might also relate to the practices of a specific industry. For example, in fashion and apparel, these practices might include the use of animal by-products, which are widely considered inhumane and harmful to the environment; or unfair wages for employees working for third-party manufacturers.

Consequences

The consequences of planning, creating, and placing advertisements often have ethical implications, whether or not they are intentional. Consequences might include misleading and deceiving an audience, as when copywriting omits relevant information or includes inaccuracies, or when the layout and design of an advertisement obscure sponsorship disclosure. As noted earlier, advertisements that encourage the use of certain products such as alcohol might result in harmful behaviors or outcomes, such as driving under the influence. When targeting certain audiences, others are often unintentionally reached including those considered vulnerable (e.g., too young to understand the persuasive nature of the content). Lastly, advertising has been criticized for perpetuating materialism and exacerbating racism and sexism often through the practice of stereotyping.

Ethical Decision-Making in Advertising

The normative process of ethical decision-making in advertising suggests that the individual tasked with making the decision is able to identify a challenge's moral and ethical qualities, evaluate those qualities, and act accordingly; that is, in the right way. An advertising practitioner with ethical awareness might ask, "What is the right thing to do in this situation?" "How should I act because it is my duty?" "To whom am I responsible?" and "What are the consequences of my actions?" When an advertising practitioner is unable to ascertain the moral qualities of a challenge, they are said to have moral myopia versus moral awareness. Moral myopia can exist in various degrees from being unable to recognize the ethical nature of a challenge to being unable to express a problem in terms of morality. For example, if a practitioner were to suggest that honest advertising is simply an issue of legality, and one for the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to regulate, they would be exhibiting moral myopia.

Although ethics should not simply be equated with or reduced to the law, the law must of course be followed and provide guidance for doing what is right in advertising. The FTC helps to regulate truthfulness in advertising by setting guidelines

and responding to complaints; in addition, self-regulatory organizations provide standards of practice to hold the industry and its many stakeholders accountable. When a practitioner deliberates what is right and good, they are applying theories of moral philosophy. And the extent to which they are able to assess the moral dimensions of a situation is impacted by their moral development.

Governmental Regulations

Although, as noted in the preceding section, doing what is ethical is not simply a matter of doing what is legal, the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is a foundational starting point for understanding the ethical nature of challenges in advertising. Advertising is commercial speech, one of the least protected forms of speech, and therefore subject to governmental regulations. Simply put, to be legitimate, advertising must be for a legal product and must be truthful. Certain industries are more strictly regulated than others because their products are deemed harmful, such as tobacco products, or harmful if misused, such as pharmaceuticals. While some regulations are proactive, many are reactionary and are established in response to complaints and legal settlements. Overall, the FTC operates through a reactionary process by first responding to complaints against misleading, deceptive, or harmful advertising and then making a recommendation to the courts. When evaluating truthful advertising, it is important to note that puffery is permissible, which is a subjective exaggeration that no reasonable person would take literally (e.g., "world's best coffee").

Self-Regulation

Self-regulation is a cost-effective industry practice to help businesses take responsibility for their actions and hold one another accountable. Advertising businesses adhere to self-regulatory guidelines to do what is right as well as what is best for clients; to maintain efficient and positive relationships with suppliers and vendors; and to maintain a favorable reputation as an industry. Accountability is a key factor in ethical problem-solving since various stakeholders are involved and, therefore, there are many opportunities to pass responsibility onto another stakeholder, which is colloquially referred to as *passing the buck*.

Self-regulation in advertising began in the 1970s and is credited to the work of Howard Bell, former president of the American Advertising Federation (AAF). In addition to the AAF, some other prominent trade organizations that set ethical standards for the advertising industry include the American Association of Advertising Agencies (4As), the Association of National Advertising (ANA), and the Interactive Advertising Bureau (IAB). In addition, the National Advertising Division (NAD) and Children's Advertising Review Unit (CARU) are responsible for independently monitoring and reviewing national advertising for truthfulness and accuracy, and CARU sets guidelines for advertising to children under 12 because they are considered a vulnerable audience.

Moral Theory and Moral Development

There are several moral theories that explain the ethical nature of challenges and ethical decision-making in advertising. Teleological theories such as consequentialism are concerned with the outcome of one's actions. For example, the theory of utilitarianism maintains that, ideally, a person's actions should do the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Utilitarianism is therefore appropriate to apply to the practices of advertising that involve and affect various stakeholders, from clients and vendors to publishers and their audiences.

By comparison, the philosopher Immanuel Kant's deontological theory and categorical imperative of honesty suggests that all persons unconditionally have a duty to tell the truth regardless of the circumstances or consequences. The ubiquitous challenge of honesty shows up in several ethical models for problem-solving, including the TARES test developed by scholars Sherry Baker and David Martinson. The TARES test asks practitioners to consider five principles when evaluating persuasive practices and messages: *t*ruthfulness of the message, *a*uthenticity of the persuader, *r*espect for the audience, *e*quity of the persuasive appeal, and *s*ocial responsibility for the overall good.

When evaluating the ethical nature of advertising practices and messages, it is important to consider the moral principles of autonomy, justice, and respect, which are relevant to several challenges, including that of transparency. Advertisers can respect their audience by treating them as autonomous agents, free and capable of making rational choices, by providing truthful information upon which they can base decisions. For example, sponsored content must be identified (i.e., as paid and by whom) so that a reader can evaluate the content relative to its source and persuasive nature. A story written about cruises by a journalist versus one sponsored by a company that owns a fleet of cruise ships have two very different intentions. By disclosing the sponsorship, advertisers are acknowledging the importance of autonomy and justice by ensuring everyone has the same information.

A person's ability to apply moral reasoning to a challenge in advertising is based, in part, on that person's moral development. Moral psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg suggested that "the first virtue of a person, school, or society is justice," defined as "equity or equal respect for all people" (1981, p. xiii). According to moral development theory, justice is learned during childhood, and moral reasoning skills continue to advance into adulthood and throughout formal education. Therefore, moral deliberation occurs at the individual level but is influenced by several social factors including organizational culture. Moral awareness can be influenced by the shared and espoused values of an organization (e.g., if honesty is a prioritized and often-discussed value) as well as by the characteristics and virtues of its employees, especially leaders. Leaders are especially influential when they are communicative and highly visible throughout the organization.

Ethics in Advertising Practice

Codes of ethics allow an advertising agency to formalize their position on ethics and share with employees and external stakeholders the value that the agency's leadership places on doing what is right and good. Codes of ethics are usually structured, elaborated upon shared and prioritized values; they represent what an organization stands for and hopes to achieve, and provide guidelines for practitioners to follow.

Such codes of ethics, however, have been criticized as vapid and nothing more than a public relations tactic. Accordingly, some advertisers and the agencies that represent them also engage in and publicly promote socially responsible practices such as brand activism and corporate social responsibility (CSR). Brand activism signifies a business using its resources (e.g., profits and clout) for good in a committed and authentic away, which is reflected in its business model and organizational mission. Good acts can be political, social, and/or environmental in nature, such as Patagonia's mission to protect national parks and national monuments, which included a lawsuit against the 45th U.S. president, Donald Trump. Similarly, CSR denotes a business's commitment to improving societal well-being through voluntary business practices and with in-kind and monetary contributions. A business might engage in environmental, philanthropic, volunteer, and ethical labor practices. The Walt Disney Company engages in water conservation practices and uses renewable electricity to reduce its carbon footprint. Warby Parker, an online retailer of prescription glasses and sunglasses, originated with a business model that included the "Buy-A-Pair, Give-A-Pair" program by partnering with nonprofits to bring prescription eyewear to people in developing countries. These examples illustrate that advertising ethics involves not only the evaluation of ethical challenges but also the intentional and proactive process of performing socially beneficial acts.

Erin Schauster

See also Advertising; Classified Advertising; Deception; Digital Advertising; Ethics; First Amendment; Media Literacy; Privacy; Self-Regulation

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ADVERTORIALS

An advertorial is a special advertising section
designed to appear similar to editorial content,
often approximating the editorial style as well as
the typographical look and feel of the journalism
or editorial content in the print or online

publication where it appears. The text copy and
visual images within an advertorial may be cre-
ated by the advertisers themselves, by an advertis-
ing agency, or by the editorial staff of the print
publication. However, the space in the publication
is sold as an advertisement; and the advertiser, not
the editor, has editorial content control over the
text and images of the advertorial.

In the United States, in compliance with Federal
Trade Commission (FTC) regulations, most adver-
torials are marked as advertising. Disclaimers may
be as simple as the word *advertisement* printed
near the advertorial or as ambiguous as legal text
implying the content as advertising. However,
some advertorials have no disclaimer at all. Most
print and online publications allow advertorials
with restrictions, and most allow them to have a
similar typography and style as their editorial con-
tent. This entry discusses the history of advertori-
als, the reasons advertisers use them, and concerns
that have been raised about their use.

Advertorials are as old as mass-circulation pub-
lications. In earlier times, wealthy patrons would
pay printers for access to space in or near editorial
content, usually for letters to the public. The prac-
tice of advertising firms creating and placing
advertorial content developed during the early
20th century. The term *advertorial* may have been
coined by advertising agencies themselves to avoid
a negative reaction to a covert practice of influ-
encing magazine editors. The word first appeared
in dictionaries in 1961. The term *matte release* has
also been used to describe public relations materi-
als that are written in the format of entertainment,
lifestyles, or "soft news" formats and sent to local
outlets of newspaper chains in the mid-20th cen-
tury. This name is still used occasionally by inte-
grated marketing communications professionals.
The term *native advertisement* is also equivalent
but is used almost exclusively in describing online
and social media platform advertorial content.
This may include payment to celebrities and other
social media influencers.

Magazines have been more associated with
advertorials than other print publications because
of their national reach, slower production sched-
ule, and special demographic relationship with
their readers. The advertiser's product brand can
be enhanced by the magazine's brand, and vice
versa. Brand magazines, created and published by

companies as a customer engagement strategy, are not technically advertorials but may require a disclaimer. Similarly, full sponsorship of radio and television programs (e.g. *Texaco Star Theater* and *Philco Television Playhouse*), product placement in films and television, infomercials, branded publications (e.g. *Guinness World Records*), and paid search engine results fall outside the strict definition of advertorial but share many components.

Advertorials allow advertisers to tailor a creative message to very specific audiences which can be both diverse and targeted. An example of such an audience would be women 25–35 across different ethnic and class demographics. An advertorial can be changed to match the readership of a specific magazine, while still retaining the marketing content of the overall advertising campaign. Utilizing social media data analytics, advertorial content can be targeted at Black professional women aged 25–35 in one periodical, and Latina women aged 25–35 in a different periodical with fine-tuned demographic design and content.

According to audience research, most readers can easily differentiate between regular editorial content and advertorials and are less likely to read advertorials than a periodical's regular editorial content. However, the readers who do read advertorials are far more likely to remember the product or take an action. Because of this unique factor, advertisers use advertorials as keystones in marketing campaigns because advertorials allow longer portions of text to be published than standard advertisements, particularly for well-known brands.

On magazines' websites, an advertorial may have hyperlinks leading to the website of the advertiser. This makes advertorials in online magazines similar in function to online banner ads. The effectiveness of online magazine advertorials is disputed. Many advertisers believe readers can too easily bypass online advertorials, and instead favor robust independent advertising websites, similar to brand magazines.

Critics of advertorials argue that the practice is coercive because the placement in a print publication in or near regular editorial content implies endorsement or editorial oversight. Another criticism is that advertorials are an example of the creeping commercialism within journalism and within media culture overall. But as noted earlier,

advertisers have been placing advertorials or similar paid content in journalistic publications for many years.

In the January 1915 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post*, the Cadillac Motor Company inserted a full-page advertisement that carried only text, and was formatted to appear similar to the style of other content in the magazine. The text did not mention any products but did include the Cadillac name and logo at the top and bottom of the page. The essay was written by Theodore MacManus, a former reporter working for advertising firms. The style of the piece was designed to mimic or complement the style popular in *The Saturday Evening Post* at that time.

From 1972 to 1985, the Mobil Oil Company published a regular 1,000- to 1,300-word advertorial in *The New York Times* editorial section. The advertorial typically was published on Thursdays and was frequently targeted to policymakers and other social influencers that Mobil had discerned from their larger public affairs campaigns. Under the direction of Herbert Schmertz, these advertorials were written in the style and format of the invited op-ed pieces they were positioned with. The advertorials were run in compliance with the FTC regulations and were listed as paid advertisements. Although *The New York Times* had published advertorials before, the Mobil advertorials were the first of a multiyear duration with a consistent tone and corporate message.

While the Mobil advertorials were occasionally controversial, much of the sponsored content was broadly accepted and the advertorials became an expected outlet for corporate announcements and support for energy policy initiatives. Critics of the advertorials pointed to the self-serving nature of the content and expressed concerns over corporate influence of journalism based on the financial arrangement with the newspaper. Mobil Oil was considered a pioneer in using advertorials to explain their policies during the oil crises of the 1970s.

More recently, an advertorial in *The Atlantic* prompted debate over the role of native advertising. For approximately 12 hours on January 14, 2013, *The Atlantic* magazine ran a "sponsored content" story on the leader of the Church of Scientology and the church's recent real estate acquisitions, titled "David Miscavige Leads Scientology

to Milestone Year." During the time the advertorial was on *The Atlantic* website, the user comment area was monitored by the marketing team and not the editorial staff, and negative user-generated comments about the story and Scientology were deleted.

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See also Advertising; Advocacy Journalism; Bernays, Edward L.; Blogs and Bloggers; Clickbait; Credibility; Deception; Digital Advertising; Ombudsman; Op-Ed Page; Public Relations; Public Relations, Ethics in; Transparency; Video News Releases

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ADVOCACY JOURNALISM

Often passionate and fiercely opinionated, advocacy journalism rejects the separation of news and opinion that characterizes contemporary journalistic norms. While still rooted in gathering, organizing, and presenting reliable information, the advocacy journalist is openly trying to make a case, rather than attempting objectivity.

Advocacy journalism was the norm in American newspapers before the 20th century, though its recent revival—particularly on cable news networks—has been controversial. Often linked to political parties or social movements, it served as part of broader mobilization efforts intended to bring about social change (or sometimes to hold it at bay). However, advocacy journalists would insist that they are as committed to accuracy as anyone—perhaps more so, given the need to build credibility with readers accustomed to a different style of reporting. This entry discusses the origins of advocacy journalism in the United States, the move away from advocacy journalism in mainstream news media beginning in the early 20th century, and new forms of advocacy journalism in the mainstream and alternative news media.

A Journalism of Ideas

Advocacy journalism is one of the two founding strains in modern journalism (the other being the provision of the commercial and political news essential to societal elites). Most early newspapers

were closely tied to political and religious factions; although some were explicitly campaign organs, more typically newspapers adopted a stance of impersonal journalism in which the editor advocated his cause not in a strident tone, but rather through the mix of essays, letters, minutes of board meetings, poetry, and other items selected for publication. Advocacy journalism served its cause by presenting information and ideas that supported a point of view, and by serving as a forum in which political and social currents could develop and articulate a common program.

From the earliest colonial newspapers in North America to the partisan press of the early 1800s, editors were actively engaged in the political struggles of their day—and indeed formed the backbone of the emerging two-party system. The partisan press is perhaps the best-known expression of advocacy journalism, and the mythology of a party press run amok is often cited as the backdrop against which more commercially oriented popular newspapers emerged in the 1830s. Partisan newspapers such as Boston's *Daily Advertiser*, the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, or Cincinnati's *Gazette* published detailed reports of the workings of government, helped mobilize voters and organize disparate interest groups into viable national political groupings, and crusaded on behalf of their party's pet nostrums—exposing the perfidy of Freemasonry, denouncing the first Bank of the United States, and singing the praises of their particular candidates. But penny papers such as the *New York Tribune* were every bit as politically engaged as the traditional partisan organs that served elite audiences. *Tribune* editor Horace Greeley rejected both "servile partisanship" and "mincing neutrality," opening his paper's columns to a wide variety of reform schemes from the establishment of utopian communities to temperance and universal public education. While there was a steady trend toward avowed political independence during the 19th century, as newspaper revenues shifted from subscription-based to advertising-based, advocacy retained a prominent role in many newspapers.

The New Journalism that began in the late 1870s and was the dominant newspaper form by the turn of the century, boasted of its independence from party spirit, but nonetheless pulled no punches in its relentless pursuit of what it saw to be in the public interest. In the early 20th century, muckrakers, similarly, were unabashed in their advocacy of greater regulation, civil service reforms, and other measures to safeguard the public from special interests and emerging corporate power.

As advocacy journalism continued to play an important role in the mainstream press, advocacy was central to the emerging foreign language press and to the legions of periodicals issued by African Americans, labor unions, socialists, women's rights activists, and a host of other movement organizations. So central was journalism to these movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that when Chicago authorities set out to suppress the radical labor movement in the aftermath of the 1886 eight-hour working day protests, police raided the offices of the German-language daily *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*, arresting and ultimately hanging August Spies, who served as its editor and business manager, as well as Albert Parsons, the editor of the English-language labor weekly *The Alarm*. Chicago supported several radical labor dailies published in the various languages spoken by its immigrant workers for decades to come, as did other cities. These newspapers published agitational and theoretical articles on a wide range of subjects, as well as cultural material and local advertising. But the heart of the newspapers was articles on local events and workers' struggles, often written by participants in the movements they served.

By the end of World War I, this foreign language press was in decline, and newspaper consolidation encouraged daily newspapers to embrace the language of objectivity, though a great deal of overt advocacy could still be found in the columns of William Randolph Hearst's newspapers, and sometimes more discreetly elsewhere. Advocacy journalism and interpretation was gradually displaced in mainstream U.S. newspapers by more event-centered reports, and a journalistic ideology that sought to present an objective, even scientific, account of the day's events to a readership that crossed class, ethnic, and political boundaries. Newspapers seen to embrace a partisan tilt were reviled by journalism critics, and generations of reporters were trained to produce journalistic accounts free of the taint of political bias or personal judgment.

It is far from clear that this just-the-facts style connected with readers at its inception in the early 20th century or in the years that followed; even as newspapers were banishing opinion and personal expression from their news reports, they were institutionalizing the columnist and entire sections devoted to features. The broadcast networks hired "commentators" to host their news programs, and listeners were rarely forced to guess where they stood on the major issues. As broadcast news divisions became institutionalized and moved from single-sponsor programs to spot sales, however, they too increasingly sought objectivity in their reports.

New Forms of Advocacy

Because of their close connection to the grassroots, alternative journalists have often been able to break news stories or offer perspectives unavailable to established media, a phenomenon documented in the United States each year by Project Censored. Just as alternative journalists during the 19th century, writing for such publications as the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Frederick Douglass' *North Star*, or the *Arena*, once forced the horrors of slavery and child labor onto the national agenda, those writing in the late 20th and early 21st centuries for *Ramparts*, *The Nation*, and a host of other alternative publications exposed war crimes in the Russian Republic of Chechnya and in Vietnam, published the first accounts of the AIDS epidemic, and gave voice to victims of police brutality and political repression around the world. The mainstream press, too, publishes much advocacy, even if it is often confined to editorial pages and op-ed page columns, or to magazine sections. *The New York Times*'s Nicholas Kristof, for example, played a central role in pushing human rights abuses in the Darfur region of Sudan onto the world stage in 2005, while media outlets of all stripes frequently advocate for civic improvement or other nonpartisan causes even on their front pages.

Faced with continued erosion of public participation in the public sphere that has been the focus of journalism since its origins—reflected in the post–World War II era by declines in voting rates, newspaper readership, associational life, and even participation in amateur bowling and softball leagues—many U.S. media organizations turned to initiatives such as civic journalism in the 1990s in an effort to simultaneously revive the public sphere and the practice of journalism. The *San Francisco Chronicle*, now the only surviving metropolitan daily in its market, announced its commitment to a "Journalism of Action" in 2007, combining traditional reporting with information encouraging readers to become involved in seeking solutions to the city's and region's problems.

As many alternative newspapers and magazines struggled in the early 2000s to find distribution and financial support, aggravated by the industrywide collapse of newsstand sales, much of the advocacy once found in their pages shifted to the Internet. Sites such as The Intercept, HuffPost, and the Marshall Project offer a mix of commentary and reporting, including many carefully researched investigative reports. Conservatives have robust radio and television networks but also Internet sites ranging from commentary to conspiracy-mongering.

News aggregators on the Left (Daily Kos) and Right (Breitbart) have less original reporting and more commentary but offer their substantial audiences an immersive, homogenous news environment. Podcasts offer platforms for both political invective (e.g., Chapo Trap House) and long-form journalism. And as local journalism has been devastated by layoffs and newspaper closings, displaced journalists and community activists have launched local journalism sites to fill the void. In San Diego, California, activists revived the "underground" *OB Rag* as an online journal (and posted scans of several issues of the original paper) in 2007, one of thousands of locally oriented news sites. Hundreds of other sites masquerade as local, but are actually part of centralized networks such as Locality Labs L.L.C. pushing syndicated articles, automated content, sponsored material, and press releases.

By the first decade of the 21st century, advocacy had once again become a popular style of journalism, with Fox News's overt if undeclared partisanship, the "reported editorials" of *The Wall Street Journal*, an explosion of news and opinion websites, alternative community papers and podcasts that often bring a more personalized approach to their reports, and a resurgent

interpretive journalism that inevitably blurs the lines between straight reportage and advocacy.

Advocacy journalism remains highly controversial within journalistic circles, however, even as evidence mounts that many in the audience are unable to distinguish between unabashed partisanship and journalistic reports that adhere to the norms of objectivity. As journalism outlets experiment with more interpretive and narrative storytelling frameworks, many have accused them of slipping into or even embracing advocacy. The charge is seen as so serious that Fox News long denied that it engaged in advocacy journalism—instead proclaiming it was "Fair and Balanced," until replacing the motto with "Most Watched, Most Trusted" in 2017. (Arianna Huffington, the founder of the overtly partisan Huffington Post [now HuffPost] website, differentiated her journalists' unabashed advocacy from Fox News by maintaining that her site was committed to accurate reporting, and providing important information even when it sometimes undercut causes or candidates they otherwise supported.)

Many have turned to civic engagement as a way of addressing the crisis facing journalism and urged more interpretive and citizen action-oriented coverage as one approach that might serve as a means for rebuilding the public sphere. While many journalism scholars argue that media need to promote civic reengagement, some journalists fear that this would challenge the objectivity they see as central to the profession. Interpretive and explanatory articles increasingly press the boundaries of objectivity even as journalists are urged to offer more personal reflections on social media. But while many see advocacy creeping into the mainstream (if often under the guise of explanatory journalism or through special projects), it remains the core editorial mission for many media outlets, including most national cable TV news networks, community radio and cable access public affairs programming, alternative tabloids published in many cities, and a plethora of "movement" and other specialized publications. This advocacy plays an important role in enabling communities to identify and address concerns and in providing millions with a voice in public debate that would otherwise be missing.

Jon Bekken

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

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AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Aerial photography includes several techniques and has many purposes for journalism. The radio-controlled, airborne drone with photographic capability is one of journalism's latest newsgathering tools. Aerial photography uses an assortment of aircraft and camera technology to achieve the extreme, top-down perspective seen in dramatic news segments of car chases, natural disasters,

weather forecasts, and events in which large crowds gather. In addition to drones, aerial images from helicopters and satellites are historically significant in the field of photojournalism.

Definition and History of Aerial Photography

The terminology of aerial photography is varied and includes such monikers as aerial perspective, aerovision, aerial shot, bird's-eye-view, god's-eye view, vertical shot, atmospheric shot, Olympian perspective, and panoramic view. Aerial photography includes images that are classified as high-angle camera shots. But the distinguishing aspects that separate most high-angle camera imagery and aerial photography are the aesthetic look of the image, altitude, and a connection to the ground. Aerial photography requires flight of some sort so that a photograph can be taken from an altitude above the Earth that would, in most cases, be impossible from, for example, a long pole, ladder, or high perch.

The vertical dimension of the space above the ground is virtually unlimited and the altitude of operation is dependent on the aircraft used. Flying drones, for example, provide images from several dozen feet high. Satellite photographs are taken from hundreds or thousands of miles above the Earth. Helicopters, blimps, and airplanes also have limitations on how high or low they can fly. In the United States, the specific regulations regarding how high or low a given aircraft can fly are governed by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Other countries have different aircraft regulations. For example, as of 2020, in the United States, drones are legally allowed to fly as high as 400 feet above the ground, while in the European Union, they can fly up to 500 feet high. Helicopters used for newsgathering can operate in the United States at a minimum of 500 feet above the highest nearby structure and, depending on the model and make of the helicopter, can fly many thousands of feet higher, if needed.

The camera technologies creating aerial photographs also vary. There are small, lightweight consumer-quality cameras mounted on crewless drones and controlled via radio frequencies or Bluetooth technology to activate the shutter, high-definition television-quality cameras used for traffic reports and other news stories onboard helicopters or airplanes, and high-resolution images produced by the sophisticated cameras on today's weather and surveillance satellites. Complicating things is the variety of aerial photographic technologies that are continually evolving to provide sharper images at higher altitudes for less cost.

The high-angle imagery produced by a camera at altitude has been called one of the defining perspectives of the 20th century. Mechanical flight and photography have parallel histories that have intertwined to produce unique forms of visual imagery. Moreover, the aesthetic and psychological features of the high-angle aerial shot are significant. The high-angle aerial shot achieved through flight takes the vertical dimension of visual perception to a different level than that associated with other kinds of camera shots. Besides, the ability to see from a high altitude gives people unprecedented access to the world below, one that changes some of the underlying assumptions of vision itself.

Before any form of human aviation was possible, the visual experience had been based on a horizontal perspective from the viewpoint of a standing human. Sightlines have stability because they correlate, albeit to varying degrees of geometric abstraction and extension, to the physical and mental being of a grounded individual. Even when artists attempt to portray a bird's-eye view, as with the painted cityscapes of the 18th and 19th centuries, they maintain a sense of horizontality.

The detachment and destabilization that came with aviation radically changed the potential for visual perception. Removed from the horizontal vectors of grounded sight, one experiences a new way of seeing as the eye is directed vertically and perpendicular to the ground. The aerial viewpoint creates new possibilities for apprehending the relationships between people and the land. If we look at things historically, even though human flight has been possible for several centuries, the aerial camera viewpoint achieved via drone, helicopter, airplane, or other means is still an extraordinary way for many people to see the world.

There are two general types of high-angle aerial images: vertical and oblique. Vertical angles look directly straight down through empty atmospheric space onto a continuous and often static visual

field at a perpendicular angle. Oblique images have an angled view of things from above. The oblique perspective looks across a landscape from above as it incorporates horizontality and verticality.

Aerial photography is seen everywhere today and is used for a variety of purposes besides journalism, including entertainment, sports, propaganda, map-making, gaming, urban planning, reconnaissance, and surveillance, among others. The focus here is on journalistic applications of aerial photography.

Aerial Photography and Journalism

There is a complex relationship between news images and the audience, particularly in the case of aerial photography. The perspective that it provides redefines an audience's sense of space and identity. Literature in critical-cultural studies has examined aerial imagery through a dystopian lens, due to its use by the military and government for war and surveillance. In general, the scholars who conduct visual studies from a critical-cultural framework argue that the aerial view has a status conferral function for its viewers who historically have been military, security, government, and other state entities.

The kinds of images produced from a high angle are, like all images, created within the subtleties of power relationships and ideology, thus summarizing the critical-cultural perspective of aerial photography. For journalism, the aerial perspective has opened opportunities for aesthetic potential of scale and overall visibility. The use of drones, however, has opened controversial areas regarding privacy versus freedom of the press, liability and the risk of injury to those on the ground, criminal interference with commercial aircraft, and their use for terrorist purposes.

The extreme high angle provided by the aerial perspective gives the viewer a new look at the patterns of human and natural activity on a large scale. New and alternative perceptions of color, shape, and size occur as the camera redefines a viewer's sense of geography and space and how human and natural activity can be impactful for land, people, and communities. The flow of traffic (or lack thereof), the swirling patterns of warm and cold fronts ushered along by the jet stream, and the path of devastation left from a tornado are given new meanings when imaged from high above.

As a storytelling tool, the aerial perspective may not only have informational qualities but symbolic as well. In documentary films, one infamous example is the use of this shot in Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 film *Triumph of the Will*, which documents a Nazi rally in Nuremberg in 1934. The film opens with an aerial tracking shot of Adolf Hitler's plane as it flies over the city, intercut with shots of the city from the plane's eye view as Hitler presumably scopes out his domain. As a well-planned piece of propaganda, it is considered by many to be one of the most powerful examples of the use of visual images to instill and affirm political beliefs in its audience. This kind of connotative meaning is also associated with aerial photography used in other types of production, including newscasts. The sense of flying over a scene of devastation or a huge crowd is powerful and perceptually places the viewing audience in a position of authority, providing feelings of awe, reverence, or amazement.

Helicopters

One of the better known news stories of the 20th century that used helicopter aerial footage for live, breaking news occurred on June 17, 1994, when a white Ford Bronco containing superstar athlete and actor O.J. Simpson and his friend Al Cowlings (driver) was chased by news helicopters and a large contingent of police vehicles along Los Angeles streets and freeways. The ensuing trial of O.J. Simpson for murder would transfix much of the United States for months to come.

The use of helicopters for journalism, however, evolved from their use in the nonvisual medium of radio. When automobile makers began installing radios in cars, radio traffic reports were created. Early traffic reporting used blimps and airplanes. But due to their unique flight capabilities to hover in place and move quickly from one location to another, helicopters eventually became the aircraft of choice for traffic reporting. But helicopters came with a high price as many reporters lost their lives due to aircraft malfunctions, especially in the early days of helicopter flight.

Helicopter technology has, however, become safer and more high-tech over the years. The news

helicopter went digital in the mid-1990s and into the 2000s. The all-digital news choppers are equipped with cameras inside and mounted on the outside as well. Some high-resolution cameras can read a car license plate clearly from 800 feet away.

Only the largest metropolitan areas can afford and justify the use of a helicopter for newsgathering purposes. Having the ability to cover news using a helicopter is considered prestigious since not all local news stations can afford them. The helicopter, reporter, and driver are often featured in local TV ads for the station and are boasted about in a station's promotional packages. News helicopters often have a pilot and photographer on board and are designed for quick takeoff. On the downside, helicopters are noisy and disruptive to those below, and if the reason for their presence is unknown, there can be cause for anxiety.

Most news organizations lease their news helicopter. Helicopters are very expensive to put in the air, and the hours of use are limited. So, news directors and journalists are cautious about their use and use them only to cover major events such as earthquakes, massive fires, civil rights demonstrations, and other forms of sizable crowd-gathering activity.

Satellites

The views of the Earth from satellites positioned in geostationary orbits have many uses. News coverage of the weather is one of the more recognized uses of satellite imagery. The first images of Earth from a weather satellite were taken by the TIROS-1 satellite (the first in a series of Television and Infrared Observation Satellites) on April 1, 1960. Although it had a short lifespan of 78 days, the potential of satellite aerial photography for tracking weather patterns and hurricanes was evident. Since then, satellite technology has advanced enormously. In addition to providing visual images, satellites also provide data for many environmental and air quality factors using various onboard instruments. Countless lives have been saved by news reports that track the path of destructive weather events.

But satellite imagery has become a useful tool for more than just the weather. Because of the unbiased data they provide for fact-finding and gauging the impact of a particular situation, as well as the imagery they collect from conflict zones, satellites are an indispensable tool for journalists. Satellite data and imagery has, for example, been used to verify reports of civilian murders by government soldiers in Cameroon in 2018 that the government claimed were committed by separatists. By correlating on-the-ground photos with satellite images of landmarks, reporters were able to prove exactly where and when the incident took place and who was responsible. The government of Cameroon was then forced to issue a statement clarifying their earlier stand and announce that a number of soldiers had been placed under arrest. This need to confirm reports of illegal or criminal activity, to connect the dots, tie up loose ends, or find clues for where and when something happened are important journalistic activities that satellite imagery can assist with.

So, whether it's tracking the expansion and condition of refugee camps in Bangladesh or showing 30 years of change to the Amazon rainforests or the retreat of the polar ice caps due to climate change, the advancements and groundbreaking innovations of satellite technology have ushered in a new era of observing the planet, making satellites important photographic tools for journalists.

Drones

From filming war-ravaged areas to capturing action sports footage, there are numerous examples of drones being used for journalism. Unlike the other aerial platforms used to cover news happening outdoors, drones are small enough that they can also cover events in large indoor spaces. Their ability to provide images in situations when it is too dangerous to use a helicopter, such as the immediate aftermath of severe weather, is an especially useful function. They cover other hard-to-access places as well and are much cheaper to use than helicopters. Whether they have the potential to change journalism is arguable, but they are part of a new set of tools journalists have for storytelling.

Besides the unique aerial perspectives, drones can be used to explore new forms of news reporting. For example, they can be outfitted for 360-degree video and 3D virtual reality, to add

innovative perspectives to news storytelling. They can shoot either video or still photographs. Besides cameras, drones can carry sensors for various other forms of data collection, such as geodetic information, emissions detection, and radio signals that can be used to enhance news storytelling. Drones are also used to explore new forms of image-making, such as multispectral imagery and photogrammetry for creating new stories. As a storytelling tool, they can take the audience to new and hard-to-access places and provide unexpected new insights. One example of how drones can provide poignant aerial perspectives are the drone images of Chernobyl's crippled nuclear reactor and the nearby ghost city of Pripyat 30 years after the reactor melted down that were used in a *60 Minutes* report in 2014.

Several universities have begun to teach drone journalism. The Universities of Nebraska-Lincoln, Missouri, Kentucky, Syracuse, and the Newmark Graduate School of Journalism at the City University of New York, as well as for-profit workshops such as DartDrones offer educational programs on drone journalism. These programs teach students how to fly drones and include instruction on the complicated legal aspects of using drones for journalism.

Laws and Ethics for Drones

In the United States, rule changes governing the use of drones came into effect in August 2016. Issued by the FAA, these rules made it easier for journalists to use drone footage in their work. The new rules state that anyone wanting to use a drone as a certified remote pilot, including as a commercial operator, must register the drone with the FAA, and then pass a knowledge test that covers Part 107 Rules regarding the operation of crewless aircraft. In addition, the person must be at least 16 years old, able to read, write, and speak English, and be in a physical and mental condition to safely fly a drone. A person can also legally operate a drone without being certified if they are directly supervised by someone who is certified.

The easing of regulations was a significant development for photojournalism because it made aerial photography accessible to journalists across the United States. New opportunities as well as new challenges for journalists and regulators alike

were created. Journalists wishing to operate a drone should also check local drone regulations and consider if the way they are using the drone meets the Society of Professional Journalists code of ethics. In general, journalists are advised to respect others' privacy and follow the same journalism ethics that would be followed even if the use of a drone were not involved.

Lawrence Mullen

See also Photojournalism, Ethics of; Satellite Newsgathering; Visual Journalism; Weather Journalism

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AFRICA, NORTH

The region of North Africa includes Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and the disputed territory of Western Sahara claimed by both the indigenous Saharawi people and Morocco. The region borders the North Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Mediterranean Sea to the north, and the Red Sea to the east; its population is approximately 234,000,000. Four languages are used institutionally and officially (Modern Standard Arabic in every country of the region;

Tamazight in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia; English in Sudan; and French in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco); as a whole, the region has numerous dialects of Arabic and Tamazight (Berber).

A unifying factor among the extremely varied countries of North Africa is that each of them was colonized or occupied by a foreign power, which necessarily impacted journalism in each country and particularly the development of local, independent journalism. The countries of the Maghreb were colonized by the French: Algeria (1870–1962); Tunisia (1881–1956); Morocco (1912–1956); Egypt was a British Protectorate (1914–1922) and Libya was colonized by Italy (1911–1943); the British colonized Sudan (1899–1953) and Spain colonized Western Sudan (1884–1975), which has been occupied and administratively controlled by Morocco since 1979 and a northern strip of Morocco was a Spanish protectorate from 1912 to 1958. As noted, Western Sahara continues to be claimed both by Morocco and the indigenous Saharawi people.

The destructive legacies of colonialism and imperialism in North Africa and their impact on independent journalism and freedom of expression is important connective context. The press law of 1881, for example, considered Arabic to be a foreign language in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, and printing in Arabic and importing Arabic newspapers was considered to be a violation of the law.

This entry provides an overview of print, broadcast, and digital journalism in this historically, culturally, linguistically, sociopolitically, and economically diverse region and is organized by examining each form of journalism in the Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia), the countries of the Middle East in North Africa (Egypt and Libya), and Sudan and the Western Sahara. Each is briefly contextualized historically, sociopolitically, and economically with regard to how these different forms of journalism function within the media ecosystems in which they operate.

Maghreb

Morocco

Located between Algeria and Western Sahara, Morocco has a population of approximately 35,600,000 and borders the North Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, where the population density is greatest. Print started in Morocco in 1820, and the first paper in the country was Spanish, *Africa Liberal*; the first Arabic newspaper, *Al Maghrib*, appeared in 1886. From the early 19th century until the early 20th century, Morocco saw the publication of numerous newspapers, many of them in French and in Spanish whose aim was to advance colonial agendas and promote the French and Spanish languages. During World War II (1939–1945), the Moroccan nationalist party, the Istiqlal Party, began publishing its newspaper, *Al-Alam* in Arabic and *L'Opinion* in French: both promoted independence and resistance of colonial powers and the French occupation in particular.

Broadcasting began during the 1920s; television appeared in 1954. After independence from France in 1956, different political parties have owned Morocco's newspapers and until the late 1990s, when the first independent newspapers such as *Le Journal*, *Assahifa*, and *Demain* began and started gaining popularity, the most influential daily newspapers were partisan. King Mohammed V's Charter of Public Liberties proclaimed freedom of expression in November 1958, but also included provisions for the government to limit press freedom. The Charter was strengthened in 1960 and 1963 to stipulate that the minister of interior could seize copies of any publication that could be considered a threat to "public order." The king could also ban any publication that was judged to attack the political or religious foundations of the country.

As reported by Human Rights Watch in 2017, since Mohammed VI took the throne in 1999, Moroccans have been imprisoned "solely for their nonviolent speech, under both the press code and the penal code." Journalists have been convicted of defamation and of spreading false news, of advocating terrorism, and citizens have been convicted of insulting the king on Facebook and YouTube. In 2014, political rapper Al-Haqed was convicted of allegedly being inebriated in public and insulting and assaulting police officers after what has been described as an unfair trial and rapper Gnawi was sentenced to a year in jail in 2019 for insulting the police on social media. While in 2016, Morocco adopted its first press code that does not include prison terms for peaceful speech offenses, its penal code continues to punish

nonviolent speech offenses with prison terms, impacting both journalists and nonjournalists. In 2019, the penal code was used to jail human rights activist and freelance journalist Omar Radi for a tweet criticizing a judge.

Reporters Without Borders has characterized Morocco as a "very difficult" country in which to practice journalism, stating that they face "judicial harassment." Reporting by local and foreign media on migration is off-limits and journalists have been attacked for reporting on the Hirak movement, a protest movement in Morocco's northern Rif region in 2016–2017 that accused the authorities of corruption and abuse of power. Numerous activists were imprisoned for participating in the protests, as well as journalists, notably Hamid El Mahdaoui. Another journalist who covered the protests, Hajar Raissouni, was detained in 2019 and tried on a charge of having an illegal abortion: sex-related charges, according to Reporters Without Borders, are often used in Morocco to harass individuals who challenge the authorities.

Crackdowns on online journalists and attacks on independent journalists in online governments publications are prevalent, Freedom House reported in 2019. While internet penetration is high, at approximately 20% in the country (approximately 25 million users) there is a wide disparity between urban and rural users. According to a 2016 report of the National Agency for the Regulation of Telecommunications, 67% of urban residents have internet access as compared with 43% of rural dwellers. Approximately 39% of Morocco's population lives in rural areas.

Algeria

Algeria has a population of approximately 43,000,000 and the country borders Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Tunisia, and Western Sahara. It is geographically the largest country in Africa and in the Arab world, though the majority (80%) of the country is desert. French colonialism dominated the country's media until independence in 1962: newspapers were predominantly French and served the French colonial administration, with only a few local newspapers published in Arabic. In 1960, when France decided self-determination for Algeria, the French administration allowed for the publication of some Arab nationalist views; none were permitted before.

After Algerian independence in 1962 under the National Liberation Front, the print media was briefly quite diverse and independent: the National Liberation Front, which had been publishing its newspaper *El Moudjadid* in Tunis, moved its operations to Algiers in 1962. With the proclamation, however, of Algeria as a one-party state in 1963, newspapers and other forms of media fell under regime control and remained so until 1989.

Freedom House has characterized Algeria as "not free" in the majority of its annual reports beginning in 1972; its 2020 report described most publications as wholly dependent on government agencies for printing and advertising and encouraged self-censorship. Online and foreign publications are sometimes blocked by the authorities, as in June 2019 when the government banned access to the online news outlets *Tout sur l'Algérie* and *Algérie Part* and the authorities regularly "harass the media and censor or punish controversial reporting."

Tunisia

Tunisia is located between Algeria and Libya, bordering the Mediterranean Sea, and has a population of approximately 11,800,000, the majority of whom live in the north of the country. Tunisia's publications were historically owned and controlled by political parties, but the 2011 Jasmine Revolution transformed the media landscape and saw the creation of many independent news outlets, a new press decree (Decree-law115/2011) declaring "freedom of exchanging, publishing and receiving news and views of all kinds." In 2017, an Independent Press Council was established to address press freedom and create a code of journalistic ethics that would address issues of regionalism and racism in the media. Yet as expressed by Reporters Without Borders, there is concern about how slowly new media legislation is being drafted, and reporters covering the security forces especially face pressure and intimidation from the authorities about their work.

Egypt and Libya

Egypt borders the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea and includes the Sinai Peninsula, connecting

Africa and Asia. Egypt is one of the most densely populated countries in the Arab World, and the third most populous country in Africa with a population of an estimated 102,334,404.

There is a diverse range of newspapers in Egypt within the more than 20 published in the country: state-owned dailies, opposition dailies, party newspapers, regional newspapers, and private newspapers published in English. *Al-Ahram* (The Pyramids), is the largest and oldest news organization in Egypt, founded in 1875 and nationalized in 1960, part of the government-owned Al Ahram Foundation, a printing, publishing, and advertising group. The country's most influential independent newspapers were founded in the early part of the 21st century, including the daily *Al-Masry Al-Youm* (The Egyptian Today) founded in 2004 and *Al-Dustour* (The Constitution), founded the same year as a weekly, and then becoming a daily in 2007. Both newspapers were important critics of the Hosni Mubarak regime, publishing investigative pieces on the regime's human rights abuses and corruption, and were vital to reporting on the strikes and other organized labor activism that took place in Egypt between 2004 and 2008. In English, Al Ahram publishes the *Al Ahram Weekly* and in French as *Al Ahram Hebdo*. *The Egyptian Gazette* is another English language, government-owned publication; the *Daily News Egypt* is an English language independent print newspaper. By 2010, the majority of these and other newspapers had digital editions and had incorporated social media into their newsrooms.

Censorship of independent newspapers and the detention of independent newspaper journalists, photojournalists, and editors as well as journalists, photojournalists, and editors working in online publications is an ongoing problem in Egypt. Although Egypt's constitution includes several articles, specifically Articles 65, 68, 70, 71, and 72, that ban censorship and mandate media transparency, independent regulatory bodies, the right to establish media outlets, and the right to free access to information, Egypt's penal code includes several articles that allow for the jailing of journalists. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, since 2012 the charge of false news has been applied prolifically by Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. According to the International Press Institute, more than 60 journalists were imprisoned in Egypt in 2020, the majority with terrorism-related charges and many with the charge of false news as well. In July 2020, journalist Mohamed Monir died in Tora Prison of COVID-19; he had been charged with broadcasting fake news after appearing on Al Jazeera TV, the Qatari-owned channel that the Egyptian government banned in 2013, during the rule of the late former president Mohamed Morsi.

Many other accounts of repression of journalists and free speech have been chronicled in 2020: the raid of the Turkish Anadolu News Agency's Cairo office and arrest of at least four of its journalists; the detention and arrests of four journalists who covered the COVID-19 pandemic; the arrest of Lina Attalah, editor in chief of the prominent independent investigative online news publication *Mada Masr*; the detention of two freelance journalists, one of whom was charged with spreading false news and the other who was detained without charges being disclosed by the authorities; and the arrest of Mostafa Sakr, publisher of the *Daily News Egypt* and the *Al-Borsa* Arabic financial publication and owner of Business News for Press, the papers' parent company.

During the 1960s, the Egyptian government launched television, more than 40 years after Egypt became the first Arab state to have radio service in the 1920s and more than 30 years after the government established Egyptian Radio in 1932. The largest media organization in the country is the Egyptian Radio and Television Union, with nine television stations, six regional television stations, and 70 radio stations. Egyptian Radio and Television Union has no actual separation from the government and has been criticized as being too supportive of presidents Hosni Mubarak, Mohamed Morsi, and Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Egyptian television dramas (*musalsalat*) have been important since the 1970s, not only for their commercial and popular success but also for the range of social, economic, and cultural values they portray. According to a Broadcasting Board of Governors report in 2014, despite the rise of digital media, television is the most popular medium in Egypt, where approximately 20% of the population is illiterate and more than 98% of Egyptians have a television in their home.

Libya

Libya borders the Mediterranean Sea between Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria and is the fourth largest country by land mass in Africa. The vast majority (90%) of the population of approximately 6,871,000 lives along the Mediterranean coast, between Tripoli to the west and Al Bayda to the east; the interior is sparsely populated due to the lack of water and the Sahara Desert. Like the other countries of North Africa, Libya was under the rule of a foreign power for many years, colonized by Italy from 1911 to 1942 and then divided between the French and British until its full independence in 1951.

As in the rest of North Africa, colonial domination affected the development of journalism. Until Libya's independence in 1951, the Italian colonizers controlled the press and issued newspapers in Arabic and Italian, with little room for Libyan-owned or Libyan-run newspapers until 1951. Television and radio stations broadcast primarily in English and in Italian, with the majority transmitting from British, American, and Italian military bases. When Mu'ammar al-Qadafi took power in 1969 in a military coup, he created his own political system that combined socialism and Islam based on local practices and the official name of the country became the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The number of Arabic language television and radio programs increased after he took power, as did attention to the role of mass media. During al-Qadafi's rule (1969–2011), he used the media to disseminate his own views and his government owned the majority of Libya's print and broadcast media, which it strictly controlled, as it did the official state news agency, Jamahiriya News Agency. In 1972, legislation was introduced (and remained in use in the country until 2011) that stated that journalists and writers could express their opinions as long as they agreed with Libyan society's values. Journalists could only report information and views sanctioned by al-Qadafi, so they exercised strict self-censorship, fearing questioning and possible arrest by agents of the intelligence apparatus. In 2004, al-Qadafi's son Saif al-Islam introduced some liberalizing measures, including increased access to the internet and the creation of new Arabic satellite channels.

Still, under al-Qadafi, there were some reporting topics that were strictly off-limits as outlined by Reporters Without Borders: Islamism and discussing the application of Sharia laws; political corruption; discussion of different ethnic groups within Libya, such as the Tabu and Berber, which was viewed as distracting from national unity, and Libya as an all-Arab nation. Reporting on these issues could be met with a range of brutal punishments, from jailing to kidnapping, from disappearing and torture to outright murder, as in the case of freelance journalist Daif al-Gahzal al-Shuhaibi who had been reporting on regime corruption and was murdered in 2005 after being briefly detained and questioned by security agents.

After al-Qadafi was deposed by a popular uprising in 2011, Libya's media landscape underwent a brief but meaningful transformation, according to Human Rights Watch and the Committee to Protect Journalists: private and independent publications, virtually unknown in Libya before the uprisings, increased greatly. The number of daily publications rose from four daily newspapers to hundreds of diverse publications, news websites, and blogs reported by newly publicly active citizen journalists. The number of television stations broadcasting from within and outside Libya grew from two to more than 50, and 30 new radio stations were created. At the same time, the 2011 uprisings and ensuing civil war was perilous for journalists covering it: eight journalists died covering them, including photojournalists Chris Hondros and Tim Hetherington and Al-Jazeera cameraman Ali Hassan al-Jaber. James Foley, who was kidnapped in Syria in 2012 and beheaded there in 2014, was attacked in Libya in 2011 along with Spanish photographer Manu Brabo and American reporter Clare Morgana Gillis by forces loyal to al-Qadafi. Citizen journalist Mohammed Nabbous, who created the Libya al-Hurra ("freedom") livestream channel to report on the uprisings and the al-Qadafi regime, was also killed in 2011, thought to have been shot by an al-Qadafi-backed sniper.

Since 2011, Libya has been rife with internal conflict: militias with different political, tribal, and geographic allegiances have attacked each other and civil society activists, according to Freedom House's 2020 country report. Most Libyan media outlets are highly partisan, promoting the side they support in

the ongoing armed conflict. According to a 2019 U.S. Department of Justice report, the ongoing violent national crisis has negatively impacted online freedom and access in Libya, and Reporters Without Borders describe political and military actors in the country as "news censors." Internet penetration is relatively high in the country, at approximately 75% as of 2020; Facebook is an important news source for many Libyans, but internet access and speed are intermittent and the conflict has damaged the country's internet infrastructure. Journalists active online regularly self-censor due to fear of harassment and a 2006 law mandates that websites registered with the ".ly" domain must not contain content that is "obscene, scandalous, indecent, or contrary to Libyan law or Islamic morality."

Western Sahara

The population of Western Sahara is approximately 650,000 and the territory is primarily and historically under Moroccan control since the territory gained independence from Spain in 1975.

In 2019, Reporters Without Borders published a report on the media in Western Sahara, describing it as "a desert for journalists" and described journalism as one of the many victims of the conflict between the Moroccan occupied areas, the Polisario Front, and refugee camps in Tindouf, Algeria. Despite what the organization described as Morocco's repression of journalists, Sahrawi reporters have been working to report independently from the territory, challenging Morocco's repression of reporting on any issues relating to the territory's independence or human rights abuses. As in Morocco, there is, according to Reporters Without Borders, constant concern about online surveillance, especially regarding topics related to the territory's independence from Morocco. As of 2020, approximately 5% of the population are active internet users.

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See also Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism

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AFRICA, SUB-SAHARAN

Of Africa's 54 countries, the 46 countries south of the Sahara, geographically labeled sub-Saharan Africa, are situated within a diverse cultural, ethnic, and lingual milieu of an estimated 1.07 billion people in 2018. Among these 46 countries, the liberalization of the media has been at the center of debate since a wave of democratic reform swept through the region in the 1990s. Within this wave of democratization, authoritarian one-party regimes yielded to multiparty systems in most African states. At the onset of democratization, a wide range of media reforms surfaced with countries opening up and deregulating their media sector. This entry offers a brief overview of colonial-era press and anti-colonial activism. The entry also discusses the development of the sub-Saharan media landscape, the dual-media structure found in most countries in the region, training for African journalists, and various professional journalistic organizations. The entry closes with a look at legal and other constraints related to free press and free expression in sub-Saharan Africa.

While democratic progress and modest improvements continue as of 2021, there are still increasing threats to press freedom from the political systems in countries ruled by

long-lasting autocrats who block or stifle free press and subject members of the media to various forms of intimidation and violence. For example, Cameroon (Paul Biya has been in office for 36 years.), Togo (Eyadéma, a family dynasty holding power since 1967), and Uganda (Yoweri Museveni has been in office for 32 years.) have all found a myriad of ways to muzzle press freedom. According to Amnesty International, in 2015, Sudan's National Intelligence and Security Service interrogated around 25 journalists and confiscated at least 20 newspapers editions on 45 different occasions. In 2018, Eritrea had 16 journalists behind bars making it the country in sub-Saharan Africa with the most journalists imprisoned. And in January 2020, a court in Burundi sentenced four journalists to 2½ years in prison on charges of trying to undermine state security.

The Colonial-Era Press and Anti-Colonial Activism

With the exception of Ethiopia, almost all African countries were colonized by one of seven European powers (Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy). Out of this colonialism and missionary activity, the region's first newspapers evolved. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, three press systems emerged: one was owned by churches and was expressly intended for spreading the Christian gospel and reaffirming colonial rule; the second, a local or foreign-owned press; and the third, an African-owned and African-financed press—sometimes with missionaries' financial support. Of note, the colonial structure (especially in the British colonies) allowed a free and independent press, though not without some government control. Fearing the rising anti-colonial press, the British colonial administration began to codify press laws addressing sedition and defamation, requiring newspaper registration and the posting of a bond to publish a single newspaper. While each colonial power established its own method of administering its colonies, they shared a common view of Africans as simple and even subhuman. Without careful control, they feared newspapers might easily excite this semi-barbaric population that greatly outnumbered whites and led to a backlash against colonial authority.

By the mid-20th century, the African press grew exponentially as anti-colonial movements arose. Newspaper editors and journalists became heroes for their fortitude to stand up to colonial governments, even if it meant being imprisoned. These actions gave them celebrity status, boosted newspaper sales, and enhanced the platform on which to organize resistance. As a result, several journalists were charged with sedition and were either heavily fined or imprisoned.

As leaders in the resistance movements, after achieving their country's independence, many became Africa's first heads of state. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a radical journalist and later the first President of Nigeria, established the *West African Pilot* in 1937. By the 1950s, he controlled 10 newspapers. Ghana's first Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, used his newspapers, *The Accra Evening News,* the *Daily Mail,* and the *Sekondi Morning Telegraph* to proclaim his rallying cry for decolonization. Jomo Kenyatta, first Prime Minister and President of Kenya, established *Muigwithamia* in 1928. The leader of Tanzania African National Union (TANU) and the first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, was the editor of the party organ, *Sauti ya TANU.*

Once independent from European rule, most lacked the prerequisites for pluralistic democracy upon which press freedom is built. Consequently, the political systems that arose were often authoritarian and resembled the former colonial regimes. In terms of the press, colonial governments made little effort to establish a legacy of Western libertarian press freedom. For the first 30 years of independence, most media became integrated into the party and government structure, relegating journalists and editors to the civil service.

Media Landscape

The democratization wave of the 1990s led to two significant developments: a rising conscientiousness and articulation of press freedom and a significant increase in independent media. On May 3, 1991, the Windhoek Declaration on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press, adopted by African journalists in Namibia and later endorsed by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), concluded that an

independent, pluralistic, and free press was essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation, as well as for its economic development. A year later, the Charter for a Free Press, adopted by journalists at a conference sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee, began by stating that a free press meant a free people. In 1993, the UN General Assembly proclaimed World Press Freedom Day as a means to raise awareness of the importance of press freedom in strengthening democracy and fostering development around the world.

The Windhoek Declaration and subsequent pronouncements lent support to the democratic transitions that were forcing authoritarian rulers in most sub-Saharan nations to undertake a growing range of political reforms. By the end of the 1990s, some 42 nations entered a new era of multiparty democracy culminating with constitutional reforms that included freedom of the press and expression. In essence, the gathering in Windhoek marked the beginning of a solidarity movement of journalists, editors, and media owners and the emergence of media development organizations across the continent.

With newfound political freedoms came extensive media reforms. CNN International, Canal France International, Radio Television Portugal Africa, the Discovery Channel's Europe, Middle East, Africa, and BBC World became household names. A proliferation of independent and community media, especially radio, also emerged as a source for news and information. In 1985, there were only 10 independent (nongovernment owned) radio stations in all of sub-Saharan Africa. By 2019, the radio market in Kenya was close to saturation with 117 radio stations throughout the country. Subsequently, there was a surge in community radio. Mali has one of the strongest community radio networks with 110 private radio stations; 86 are community radio mostly rurally based. Of the 122 licensed radio stations in South Africa in 2005, nearly 90 were community stations. By 2019, community radio had increased to 250.

One growth area taking sub-Saharan Africa by storm relates to the economic and media ties that bind China and sub-Saharan Africa. The Chinese-owned StarTimes Group is now operational in 30 countries and has established subsidiaries in Rwanda, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, Mozambique, Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Africa. It is the fastest growing and the most influential digital TV operator. By 2015, it began to play a major role in digital migration. But China has had some competition from a South African media company launched in 1985 as Africa's first pay TV channel, M-Net, which would eventually become MultiChoice Africa. By the end of 1995, the company has been present in all sub-Saharan countries with millions of subscribers. However, many of their program offerings are simply an African version of American or British programs: *Survival Africa, Who Wants to be a Millionaire?, Catwalk Kenya*, and *Idols in Africa*, with soap operas such as *Egoli: Place of God* having a distinct African flavor. In May 2003, M-Net's DSTV launched Africa's first international-format reality program, *Big Brother Africa*, to audiences in 42 sub-Saharan African countries with an estimated viewership of 30 million.

Regional newspapers are still concentrated in urban areas where literacy is higher and distribution, easier. Countries with growing economies and relatively stable democratic institutions such as South Africa, Senegal, and Mozambique have strong newspaper markets. In other countries (e.g., Uganda and Zambia), newspaper growth is sluggish due to market stress and government policy. Countries hostile to private media, such as Eritrea, have seen newspapers shuttered. There are, however, other factors that put newspapers at risk. For one, many newspaper entrepreneurs entered the market during the democratization wave with little understanding of the news business and were, therefore, unable to make a profit. Many of these newspapers have been short-lived. Six years after Côte d'Ivoire returned to multi-party governance in 1996, 187 newspapers were being published. By 2017, there were more than a dozen French-language newspapers published in Abidjan that are typically read by the educated and affluent class, *Fraternité Matin* (a state-owned daily paper with the largest daily sales), and three additional dailies serving as the official mouthpieces of Côte d'Ivoire's main political parties: *Notre Voie, Le Patriote*, and *Le Nouveau Réveil*. Four additional newspapers present voices of moderation: *Fraternité Matin, Soir Info, L'Inter*, and *L'Intelligent d'Abidjan*.

Due to limited penetration, the Internet is not yet posing a serious competitive threat for newspapers. What the Internet has done, however, is provide a platform for both independent and state-owned and state-operated media to put forth their own positions for the global market. Therefore, almost all media organizations in the region, regardless of their editorial stance, ideological leanings, or political affiliation, have an online presence and regularly update their content. Probably the biggest and best known international newspaper, South Africa's *The Daily Mail & Guardian*, was Africa's first online newspaper, launched in 1994.

Certainly, the Internet has reshaped the media. By 2000, all countries had secured access, at least in their capital cities. As personal computer penetration is low, users rely on cybercafes, telecenters (public places that offer Internet access), schools, and other public facilities. But sub-Saharan Africa still lags behind the rest of the world, which according to a 2019 Pew survey has a 23% penetration rate. Internal disparities are also huge. Namibia, with an estimated population of 2.6 million in 2019, has a 51% penetration rate and 570,000 Facebook subscribers. Mauritania, which has a population of 4.6 million, has a 2% penetration rate with 770,000 Facebook subscribers. In addition, the rural population has not yet benefited from any of these new communication technologies.

However, the largest growth in telecommunication has been in the mobile market, with a growth of about 50–60% annually. Mobile technology is having a great impact on journalists who were previously hampered by poor communication infrastructure. Today, mobile technology provides an expedient and cost-effective way for journalists to send images, news video clips, and news reports back to the newsroom.

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

Media Structure

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

Regardless of government interference, private ownership is changing the media landscape. The emerging pattern is one of concentrated ownership and conglomeration among local and foreign interests. In Kenya, the Royal Media Services (the largest private radio and television network in East Africa) own multiple media platforms including two TV stations (Citizen TV, which broadcasts in English and Kiswahili to audiences in Kenya, and Ramogi TV), 14 radio stations of which 12 are vernacular, a video on demand platform (Viusasa), two national and 11 vernacular radio

stations, Inooro TV, Radio Citizen, The Leader newspaper, and eight local-language radio stations. Two major publishing houses, Nation and Standard, dominate the print media.

Following the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, the foreign-owned Independent News and Media bought the controlling share in the Argus group publishing empire. In 1996, Johnnic Communications (now Avusa) acquired control of newspaper publisher Times Media Limited, making it the biggest Black-owned media company in South Africa. In 1998, Caxton Publishers bought the controlling share in media and publishing corporation Perskor and consolidated its focus on community newspapers and free news sheets. South Africa's MIH Holdings—a multinational media company, with its major operations in electronic media, including pay TV, Internet and instant-messaging subscriber platforms, and related technologies, has spread to the 48 sub-Saharan African countries. MIH also has print media interests in Nigeria, Kenya, and Angola.

Training

Independence from colonial rule clearly demonstrated that a void existed in Africa's media infrastructure and that journalists needed training. In most countries, there were no schools of journalism and no tradition of formal journalism education or systematic training. On-the-job training was and is the preferred model as of 2021, and continues to be the model preferred by newspapers, which have resisted formal training of journalists.

There are several models of journalism training available throughout the region. One is the workshop model for practicing journalists, which emphasizes a particular set of skills such as investigative reporting, wildlife and conservation reporting, climate change reporting, and reporting on illicit finance. These workshops, usually funded by donors and in partnership with a local nongovernmental organization (NGO), involve a limited number of participants and are conducted in the host country, interregionally, or in the donor's country. Another approach is vocational institutes that offer 3-year diplomas in journalism, such as the Evelyn Hone College in Zambia and the Polytechnic of Namibia. Recognizing the need for

in-country degree training at the university level, several countries—even those that gained independence in the early 1960s—established undergraduate degree programs. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first President of Nigeria, saw the value of linking journalism education to a university and imported the American land-grant university model to the University of Nigeria Nsukka, thereby instituting Nigeria's first university journalism program. With 30 universities offering journalism training as of 2006, Nigeria had the highest number of university journalism degree-granting training entities in sub-Saharan Africa, followed by South Africa with 10. The pan-African training program, the Bloomberg Media Initiative Africa, was established in 2015 by the U.S. billionaire Michael Bloomberg and targeted mid-career journalists and working professionals in business, government, and civil society.

However, across the region, journalism training institutions face a number of challenges. In the UNESCO report, *Criteria and Indicators for Quality Journalism Training Institutions & Identifying Potential Centres of Excellence in Journalism Training in Africa*, journalism professors Guy Berger and Corinne Matras outline the challenges these institutions face: shortages of staff, the need for PhD qualifications among full-time faculty, insufficient scholarships for disadvantaged students, underequipped facilities, insufficient funding, out-of-date curricula, lack of funds to replace and update computers and lab equipment, insufficient web knowledge, and poor Internet connectivity. Another challenge is sustainability. The Nigerian Institute of Journalism, for example, closed in 1999, due to a disagreement about the status of the institute and its programs, only to reopen 4 years later.

Professional Organizations

Another striking feature of the democratic transformation is the rise in professional associations. These organizations follow several patterns with varying agendas and levels of success. There are a few subregional organizations, such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) established in 1992, which represent 14 southern African countries. Launched in 1997, the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA)

represents the 16 West African countries. Congolese journalists established Journalists in Danger (JED) to monitor and defend press freedom in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1998. The JED expanded its work to eight French-speaking countries by 2003. Regional organizations see their common mission as that of being advocates for press freedom and raising professional standards through training. Well organized and with a range of global media partners and national branches or collaborators within each country, they have a good track record in terms of monitoring constitutional press infractions by governments, disseminating annual reports on the state of the media.

In addition, professional journalistic associations and unions in many countries found it difficult to sustain these organizations as well as their level of power within the government structure. Some of these organizations pre-date the democratic wave. The Ghana Journalist Association (GJA), established in 1949, was incorporated into the state apparatus by then-President Kwame Nkrumah. Under the leadership of Kabral Blay-Amihere, the GJA changed its direction in the early 1990s to include journalists across sectors and has since become an independent organization for professional training and networking. Benin's Union of Private Press Journalists, established in 1966, brings together journalists working in the public press (state-owned). Since the wave of democratization in the early 1990s, more than 25 organizations have been established in Benin, each catering to various specialized journalists (e.g., cultural, economic, environmental, and parliamentary journalists).

Some organizations cater solely to journalists working in the private press, such as Mali's Association des Editeurs de la Presse Privée du Mali. Others are gender-specific, such as the Uganda Media Women's Association that was created in 1983 as an NGO for women journalists from government and private media. Science writers from Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, and Uganda have partnered with the Canadian-based World Federation of Science Journalists to develop their own organization. In other instances, the media and communication sectors remain vulnerable to systemwide pressures.

Legal and Other Constraints

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

Perhaps the most damaging colonial holdover are the so-called insult laws, a form of criminal defamation. Once designed to shield kings from dishonor, these laws make it a criminal offense to insult the honor or dignity of a public official in all but five sub-Saharan countries. In the first 5 months of 2007, insult laws led to the harassment, arrest, or imprisonment of more than a hundred journalists in 26 African countries. In mid-2007, the International Federation of Journalists launched the "Africa Journalist out of Jail Campaign," calling on African leaders to release journalists imprisoned in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and The Gambia. The World Association of Newspapers and the World Editors Forum in their Declaration of Table Mountain also issued a similar call against insult laws.

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

As of 2021, the African press is in a quandary because both government officials and journalists operate within two opposing press ideologies. Governments require loyalty from the media, whether public or private. Since independence, African leaders have argued that to avoid political instability, media should work in partnership with the government to achieve national development objectives. The partnership model generally works well within state-controlled media where journalists tend to appear as public relations specialists. However, independent media tend to model their professional ethics around the libertarian Western model of a free press that calls for freedom from state intervention. But the state continues to interfere with the work of the press. With the advancement of technology, and as journalists place news online, governments in sub-Saharan Africa participate more and more in digital blackouts. The first known Internet blackout occurred in 2007 when the Guinean president ordered the Internet shutdown following protests calling for his resignation. Using fake news, viral misinformation, and the inability of journalists to verify information, approximately 21 sub-Saharan countries were completely or partially shut down.

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

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

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

The developments associated with the 1990s wave of democratization transformed the media in most countries from a predominantly state-owned and controlled propaganda tool to a more open and independent media. However, within this open system, there is a myriad of ways in which individual countries have responded to the liberalization and privatization of the media. The news and broadcast media are undergoing immense growth in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet there is a digital divide that separates sub-Saharan African countries from each other and the rest of the world. Mobile technology is rapidly expanding, and journalists are reaping the benefits of this technology.

Most newspapers (government or privately owned) have an online presence. Conglomeration and convergence are shaping the media industry in many countries. As of 2021, broadcasting formats and programming imported from North America, Europe, and China continue to shape the cultural discourse. And despite commonalities, there is not a one-size-fits-all media model. Sub-Saharan Africa has a varied media landscape in terms of media choice, accessibility, levels of government intrusion, and the legal and economic structures in which they operate.

<div style="text-align: right;">*Polly E. Bugros McLean*</div>

See also Africa, North; Comparative Models of Journalism; Development Journalism; PANAPRESS

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AFRICAN AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA

African American news media have always focused on reporting the good, bad, and ugly in and affecting the African American community. In recent years, the rising cost of newsprint, reductions in advertising and paid circulation, downsizing of newsroom employees, the advancement of technology (radio, television, and the World Wide Web) for the presentation of news, and the closing of newspapers around the country have adversely affected the expansion and continuance of print media, especially African American print newspapers and magazines. This entry discusses the origins and development of the Black press in the United States, associations and news services involving African American news media, and contemporary African American news media.

Beginning of the African American Fourth Estate

The Philanthropist, founded in Mount Pleasant, Ohio in August 1817 and published and edited by Charles Osborn, has been described as the first abolitionist newspaper in the United States. The first newspaper owned, edited, and published by African Americans was *Freedom's Journal*. Presbyterian minister Samuel Eli Cornish and his partner John Brown Russwurm founded the paper so Negroes could have an avenue to stimulate intelligence and be encouraged to vote, to get a proper education, and become self-reliant, upstanding religious citizens.

Two years after the birth of *Freedom's Journal*, it folded. Two months later, its successor, *Rights of All*, was born with Cornish as its editor. The monthly publication, with its emphasis on equal rights for colored people, lasted 6 months.

Throughout the 1800s, Negro papers were published weekly and monthly across the young nation. Some lasted months, while others lasted years. They included *Weekly Advocate* (1837), which later became the *Colored American* (1837–1842), *Mirror of Liberty*, *National Reformer*, the *Struggler*, *People's Press*, the *Evangelist*, *Ram's Horn*, and *Mirror of the Times*.

Mirror of the Times was established in 1855 in San Francisco. In 1862, the paper merged with *Pacific Appeal*. The merged papers lasted more than 8 years, from April 1862 to June 1880.

The Mystery was first published in September 1843 in Pittsburgh. About 1,000 copies were printed for the first issue. The four-page weekly antislavery newspaper lasted 4 years. It was the first Black newspaper in the state of California and the first one established west of Kansas. The publisher, Martin Robinson Delany, was a Harvard University graduate who later became a medical doctor and an author.

In October 1864, *La Tribune de la Nouvelle Orleans* (*New Orleans Tribune*) was the first Black bilingual daily published in the United States. Twenty-four years later, the *Freeman* of Indianapolis, Indiana, became the first African American newspaper to reach audiences across the nation. The Savannah, Georgia *Colored Tribune* was first published on December 4, 1875 and changed its name the following year to the *Savannah Tribune*. The newspaper, which continued to be published as of 2021, stopped publication only from 1878 to 1886 and from 1960 to 1973.

Christopher James Perry Sr. established the *Philadelphia Tribune* in 1884 and operated the paper for 37 years before turning it over to his son-in-law, Eugene Washington Rhodes. Before his death in 1921, Perry served three terms on the Philadelphia City Council. Rhodes, who was a trained lawyer, operated the *Philadelphia Tribune* for 49 years.

In August 1892, three Baltimore newspapers with religious foundations became one. The *Ledger* was run by George F. Bragg who also was the pastor of St. James Episcopal Church. The content focused on church and community news. The *Sunday School Helper* promoted and encouraged Sunday school leaders. John H. Murphy Sr., an ex-slave and Union Army sergeant, started the paper while serving as Sunday school superintendent of St. John A.M.E. Church. The Rev. William N. Alexander, pastor of Sharon Baptist Church, established the *Afro-American* to advertise his church and community events and issues. Once the three newspapers were merged, they published under the name of *Afro-American*.

The first two decades of the 1900s would see the birth of three newspapers that eventually would be known throughout the United States and abroad.

First, Robert Abbott Sengstacke began publishing the *Chicago Defender* on May 6, 1905. The *Defender* quickly built a reputation through famous writers and contributors, including Gwendolyn Brooks, Langston Hughes, Ethel Payne, and Ida B. Wells (later known as Ida B. Wells-Barnett). Second, James H. Anderson published the four-page *New York Amsterdam News* on December 4, 1909. The paper sold for a penny and after World War II, its reported circulation was over 100,000 copies. Third, William A. Scott II founded the *Atlanta Daily World* in 1928. (Decades later, the Atlanta newspaper would be purchased by Real Times Media of Detroit, Michigan.)

Throughout the years, owners, publishers, editors, and readers of African American dailies, weeklies, and monthlies filled the pages with news from African American churches, schools, social clubs, and fraternal groups, concerning issues of education, jobs, transportation, economics, politics, and civil rights.

Freed Slaves Become Journalists and Freedom Crusaders

Frederick Douglass and Ida B. Wells-Barnett were born slaves. Douglass was born to Harriet Bailey in 1818, or some records say in 1817, in Maryland. Years later he would change his name to Douglass. At the age of 10, Douglass was sent to live with his slave owners' family in Baltimore. The mistress of the house, illegally, taught him how to read and write until her husband found

out about it. In 1838, he escaped slavery and first fled to Philadelphia and later to New York City.

Abolitionist and journalist William Lloyd Garrison encouraged Douglass to publish his writings and letters in newspapers denouncing slavery. In 1845, Douglass published his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. (In 1882, it was revised as *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*.) Also in 1845, the great orator traveled to Europe to give talks against slavery and while there his Quaker friends raised $750 and bought his freedom.

In 1847, Douglass became editor and publisher of the *North Star*, published in Rochester, New York. Its editorial focus was to attack slavery and advocate for emancipation of those who were enslaved. When the *North Star* was published, the cost of a subscription was $2 a year if paid in advance and an extra 50 cents if paid within 6 months. However, Douglass' personal investment from his fees earned from his writings, published books, and speaking engagements, ultimately wouldn't be enough to keep the newspaper financially solvent. Most African Americans were too poor to afford the $2 or $2.50 and far more were illiterate and couldn't read the paper. In 1851, the *North Star* merged with the *Liberty Party Paper* and became the *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, which became another influential abolitionist newspaper.

In 1859, Douglass fled to Canada to avoid being arrested for allegedly participating in the raid of the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, led by John Brown. When he returned to the United States in the mid-1860s, he started *Douglass' Monthly* magazine with abolitionist information. It primarily was for British readers and it lasted 3 years.

Douglass didn't give up on journalism, however. In 1870, Douglass became one of the editors for a new weekly, the *New Era* in Washington, DC. Later, he bought half interest in the paper and changed the name to *New National Era*. In 1874, the paper failed and he then would support the *New Citizen*, which was owned by his two sons, Frederick Jr. and Lewis. Before his death in 1895, Douglass had served as vice president of the American League of Colored Workers, worked as a lecturer for the Anti-Slavery Society, and in 1889 was appointed as the U.S. minister to Haiti.

Wells-Barnett was born in 1862 in Mississippi. About 6 months after her birth, the Emancipation Proclamation was the law of the land and infant Wells-Barnett and her parents were set free. Her parents would die of yellow fever about 15 years later. For college, she went to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where she wrote for the student newspaper. After college, she moved to Memphis to teach in a segregated school. While teaching, she also wrote for the *Living Way*, often using the name "Iola" for her byline.

Like Douglass, Wells-Barnett reported, wrote, and published what today would be called advocacy journalism. Her writings advocated anti-lynching laws and racial justice. Between 1890 and 1892, much of her work was published in the *Memphis Free Speech & Headlight*, which she was part owner. In 1892, however, her paper was destroyed after she wrote a story about the lynching of her friend Thomas Moss and two other Black business partners who owned a grocery store in the Black neighborhood that allegedly took business away from a white-owned grocer. She fled to New York and later to Chicago because she had been told that she would be killed if she returned to Memphis.

Everywhere Wells-Barnett moved, she found an outlet to write articles, especially against lynching, in a variety of publications. While in New York, she became a salaried weekly writer for the *New York Age* and continued to give presentations against lynching. She even wrote an in-depth article about lynching in the *Age*, which was published by a former slave, T. Thomas Fortune. In Chicago, she wrote for the *Inter-Ocean*, and in 1895, she married Ferdinand Lee Barnett, who was part owner and editor of the first Black weekly in Illinois, *The Conservator*.

Like Douglass, Wells-Barnett used her writing, reporting, and communication skills for other organizations that supported African Americans in the areas of integration, equal salaries for teachers, anti-lynching, and equal rights and justice for all. She also was involved with the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with W. E. B. DuBois and Mary Church Terrell. She was a leader in the Illinois suffrage effort and cofounded the National Association of Colored Women. Wells-Barnett published

her autobiography, *Crusade for Justice*, before dying of kidney disease in 1931.

Decades later, Douglass and Wells-Barnett, former slaves and journalists, had another thing in common. They both had a U.S. postage stamp issued in their honor during Black History Month. The stamp honoring Douglass was first issued on February 14, 1967, while that for Wells-Barnett was first issued on February 1, 1990. A second postage stamp was issued in honor of Douglass on June 29, 1995, as part of the commemoration of the 130th anniversary of the end of the Civil War.

From Civil Rights to Black Lives Matter

Owners and supporters of the New York *Amsterdam News*, with the help of the Harlem Businessmen's Club, campaigned to better the African American economic status in the United States. The paper debuted on December 4, 1909 and later, had a slogan that said, "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work." It evolved from the Harlem Businessmen's Club's slogan of "Spend Your Money Where You Can Work."

Reporting issues of economics and civil rights for African Americans helped keep some newspapers alive. Founded in 1905, the *Chicago Defender* increased its visibility as the civil rights movement gained momentum in the 1950s and was emboldened to have a stronger voice in the African American community. In 1956, it became *The Chicago Daily Defender*, the largest African American-owned daily in the United States. It would publish daily for about 52 years before returning to being a weekly newspaper. In 2019, the publisher of the historic paper, Real Times Media, announced that the *Chicago Defender* would stop publishing its print edition and only publish online.

During the urban riots in the 1960s, the African American press lost many talented journalists to the white newspapers and television news stations that needed African Americans to cover the riots and where journalists could earn more than they did in the Black press. In 1968, a report from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (known informally as the Kerner Commission) partially blamed the white press for the riots because of unfair and unbalanced reporting on race matters. Studies have shown that African Americans continue to be more likely to be portrayed as defendants and perpetrators in the mainstream news media, while whites are shown as victims. For instance, after Hurricane Katrina, a photo of a young Black man wading through the water while holding a plastic bag and a case of soda carried a caption describing this as "looting." A similar photo of a white couple holding bags of food were described as "finding" the food.

Meanwhile, the civil rights movement did not get the attention of U.S. presidents and other federal officials as long as the African American news media were the major source of news reports. Its predominantly African American audience wasn't powerful enough to attract the attention of the powers that be in Washington, DC. But once the mainstream white papers and news stations began to carry news reports with photographs and video of police dogs attacking nonviolent protesters, police officers swinging clubs at African American women and children, and fire hoses being opened on unarmed protesters, the nation's leaders took notice. When physical attacks on white citizens and killings of young white males and females who were protesting beside the young and old in the African American community was broadcast on the evening network news stations, it got the world's attention.

More recently, as the deaths of unarmed young Black men at the hands of police gained more scrutiny in the national press, they were taking notice of a story that had long been told by the African American news media. In July 2013, George Zimmerman was found not guilty of murdering Trayvon Martin the previous year in Sanford, Florida, and #BlackLivesMatter was born. On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown was gunned down in the streets of Ferguson, Missouri, by a police officer. He wasn't armed. A national conversation surfaced about police brutality of unarmed Black men and institutional racism. Statistics showed that African American males were more likely to die from police violence than white males. In recent years, many other cases have been reported in both the African American news media and mainstream news media, including Eric Garner on Staten Island on July 17, 2014; Tamir Rice in Cleveland, Ohio on November 22, 2014; Freddie Gray in Baltimore, Maryland on April 12, 2015; Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, Louisiana

on July 5, 2016; Philando Castile in Falcon Heights, Minnesota, on July 6, 2016; Anthony J. Weber in Westmont, California, on February 4, 2018, and George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota on May 25, 2020.

Associations and News Services

John H. Sengstacke, the nephew of the Chicago Defender founder, formed what originally was called the National Negro Publishers Association. Years later, the name was changed to the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), but the organization continues to support Black community publications. It also runs the Black Press USA website, which features news from African American journalists and Black community publications. Black Press USA features news from an African American perspective on U.S. and world events, crime, politics, law, economy, business, technology, education, and lifestyle (sports, religion, entertainment, fashion, and health). Contributing to the collection of information, news and editorials are nearly 200 African American-owned community newspapers from around the United States.

NNPA's Credo of the Black Press promotes strengthening Black publications' efforts and impact. It begins:

> The Black Press believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonism when it accords to every person, regardless of race, color or creed, full human and legal rights. Hating no person, the Black Press strives to help every person in the firm belief that all are hurt as long as anyone is held back. (NNPA, About, n.d.)

In earlier years, there were other news services for the Black press. As early as 1884, the National Colored Associated Press was organized and was able to distribute news, usually via Western Union, to newspapers around the country. More than 40 news services followed, though often short-lived, including Atlantic News Service (Columbia, South Carolina), 1936–1940; Great Eastern News Syndicate (New York City) 1938–1943; Negro News Service (Minneapolis) (1938–1942); Victory News Service (Milwaukee) 1942–1943 and the United Negro Press (Detroit) 1938–1939.

On December 12, 1975, a group of 44 African American print and broadcast journalists from across the United States gathered in Washington, DC. The National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) was formed. The purpose was to establish a professional journalism organization that could offer a network committed to creating a diverse and inclusive journalism industry. During its annual conventions and regional conferences, the emphasis has been professional development workshops with networking opportunities, job and internship fairs, resume and portfolio critiques, and updating industry trends, technology, and resources, for young and veteran journalists. Even though over the years the majority of the more than 2,500 NABJ members have worked predominately in the mainstream media, there remains a continued liaison with the Black press via NABJ membership, including employment and internship opportunities. Countless members have gotten their start at Black newspapers, radio stations, and cable television stations.

Contemporary African American News Media

At one time, the radio waves were the best way to reach the African American community with news, music, religious programming, sports, and entertainment. One major company targeting the African American community and reaching about 25 million listeners each week has been the American Urban Radio Networks. The network was created in October 1991 after the merger of a New York company (National Black Network, which was founded in 1973) and a Pittsburgh company (Sheridan Broadcasting Network).

According to the *Editor & Publisher* News Media DataBook for 2019, there were a total of 153 Black newspapers in the United States. A few states had more than a half dozen Black newspapers, including Texas with 20, California with 16, and Florida and Georgia, which each had 11. The District of Columbia had four.

On Jan. 25, 1980, Black Entertainment Television (BET), founded by Robert L. Johnson, first aired its cable programming. Based in Washington, DC, the target audience primarily was African Americans. After that first year, BET expanded from 2 hours of programming a week to 24 hours

of news shows and entertainment, including music videos and reruns of Black comedies. It soon added talk shows, sports features, and political commentary. Ed Gordon anchored BET's first half hour news program and Tavis Smiley hosted a political show, *BET Talk*. Later the network added *BET Nightly News*. One major program that has been a highly rated show on BET since 2001 is the annual *BET Awards* show, celebrating African American achievements in sports, acting, and entertainment. The Viacom-owned cable network boasts that it is seen in 90 million homes.

In a recent American Press Institute survey conducted by the Media Insight Project, the way African Americans consume news was studied. Survey results show that trust and accuracy were important to them, but which media outlet was ranked the highest depended on how people thought the community was covered. Survey results show that 23% said the African American communities were covered very regularly, while 71% said they were covered somewhat regularly or only occasionally and 3% said they were basically never covered. As a result, African Americans surveyed said that of the sources they use, their communities were covered most regularly by local television news stations, second by African American-specific news organizations, third by newspapers, fourth by radio programming, and last by the 24-hour news stations.

Sandra L. Combs

See also Asian American News Media; Diversity in Journalism; Douglass, Frederick; Émigré News Media; Latino News Media; Race and Ethnicity, Coverage of; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

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AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Agence France-Presse (AFP), the successor to the French news agency established by Charles Havas in 1835, is widely considered to be one of the most prestigious of the global news agencies created during the 19th century. Their purpose then, as now, was to gather news from around the world and sell or distribute it for printing,

broadcasting, or other dissemination in newspapers, radio, television, and other media, as well as non-media clients in the financial, economic, and political realms. AFP is generally ranked third after Thomson Reuters (headquartered in Toronto, Canada) and Associated Press (AP, headquartered in New York).

In 2018, AFP claimed an extensive range and number of bureaus, with operations in 151 countries. Although the statistics may not be precisely comparable to those for other news agencies in recent years, this appears to be more than recent statistics indicate for AP, which operated in 101 countries, and China's Xinhua News Agency, which operated 170 offices worldwide, but fewer than Reuters, which maintained 200 locations worldwide. AFP has traditionally lagged well behind Reuters and AP in annual revenues.

The three major news agencies of the world were originally based in London, New York, and Paris, metropolitan hubs of the three major Western powers of the 19th and 20th centuries. As a result, the approach to providing news, images, and other information at all three have been influenced by the presumptions and preoccupations of these powers, regardless of how well this serves clients elsewhere in the world. In the case of AFP, the decision of its founders to establish the agency as both a domestic and, despite the challenges, an international agency, reflected a desire to retain the place of France and in particular Paris as a leading global center of imperial prestige, journalism, and culture. This entry first discusses the origins of AFP, then looks at the news agency's governance, its dependence on the state, and its efforts to diversify its services.

Origins

AFP may be regarded as the natural successor to the Havas news agency, possibly the world's first international news agency and certainly first among those that are best known or remembered today. At the time of its founding, Havas was both a news organization and an advertising agency, supplying news to newspapers from which it also brokered newsprint space for advertisers to sell their goods and services. It worked closely with the government, from which it received subsidies for its international correspondent network. Havas was nationalized by the collaborationist Vichy government that administered non-occupied France and the French colonial territories during World War II. Its news service became the basis for the Office Français d'Information (French Information Office, OFI), which in 1942 took over an official collaborationist agency in Paris, the Agence française d'information de presse (French Press Information Agency, AFIP) that was run mainly by German Nazi officers and journalists.

From 1942 OFI was a tool of the German news agencies DNB and Transocean. Havas continued as a travel and media business, emerging later as one of the world's largest advertising and public relations agencies. The London wartime bureau of the Havas news agency became the hub of a Resistance agency, Agence Français Indépendante (Independent French Agency, AFI), established by Paul-Louis Bret, working with support from British official information services and in cooperation with Reuters. AFI was opposed to the German occupation of France but also sought to be independent of Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Free French Forces, and later chair of the Provisional Government of the French Republic from 1944 to 1946, and president of France from 1959 to 1969.

Bret prepared AFI for eventual conversion into the post-war national news agency of France. Although he had labored from London in an official capacity for the Vichy regime's OFI early in the war, he worked with the British Ministry of Information to maintain services to former Havas clients in South America and in the Near and Far East. Bret also set up an independent agency in North Africa, based in Algiers under the name of France-Afrique, and worked toward the merger of France-Afrique with AFI in London. Personnel from these and other agencies (not OFI), including the resistance agency Agence d'Information et de Documentation (AID) helped establish Agence Française de Presse in August 1944. The new agency was quickly renamed Agence France-Presse. Bret was appointed AFP's second director-general in 1947.

Although AFP was dependent on government funds initially, Bret's vision was that it be an independent agency. Bret contributed to the ideas that underwrote the 1957 statute for AFP that formalized its independence. This was not just a question

of independence from government (although financial independence from the State has never been fully achieved) but also independence from the sale of advertising space that had characterized pre-war Havas and to which socialist Prime Minister Leon Blum was opposed in the late 1930s. Following World War II, Blum again denounced the idea of a link between news and advertising operations.

Governance, State Dependence, and Diversification

AFP's mission statement commits it to the uninterrupted supply of accurate, impartial, and reliable information. In 2018, AFP maintained contractual relationships with 90 national news agencies worldwide, mostly commercial though sometimes based on exchange of services. AFP had bureaus in 151 countries and provided news in six languages (French, English, German, Arabic, Spanish, and Portuguese). The agency regards the addition of new languages for automatic translation of certain categories of news as a strategy for market expansion at a time of crisis for legacy media. In 2018, AFP had approximately 3,000 media clients worldwide and employed 1,500 journalists (over half of a total staff of over 2,200).

As established by a 1957 statute, amended in 2015, AFP is a species of state-supported public company controlled by an administrative council of 19 members, including the director general. The board has seats for five external experts. Additionally, the French newspaper press shares five seats, public audiovisual services have two, the State has three, and AFP staff have three. The reformulated statute regularizes the agency's relationship with the State through a formal contract that involves a dependable and renewable State subvention for both "missions of general interest" and payment for news services. It also establishes an institutional means—AFP Blue—for the raising of new funding and commercial projects.

Since its inception the agency has sustained news coverage from and to most countries and territories of the world, with notable successes in Asia. From the time of its formal establishment under statute in 1957, it has retained a strongly democratic culture involving a tiered system of shared governance whose participants are newspaper directors, State broadcasters, ministerial representatives, and representatives of the agency's employees.

The cooperative model of news agency governance has declined significantly since the beginning of the 21st century. Examples include the demise of Canadian Press, the New Zealand Press Association, and Sweden's TT as cooperative news agencies. Their decline may be attributed to the travails of their traditional clients. These include concentration of press ownership, shrinking newspaper revenues in an age of digital competition for information and advertising, neoliberal commitment to for-profit models, competition from Internet platforms such as Google and Facebook, and the political and economic challenges of diversification. Yet AFP, like AP and the German news agency dpa, still retains strongly cooperative features. In law, AFP is a publicly owned, autonomous organization with a "civil personality," that operates according to commercial rules.

While AFP's continuing financial dependence on the State is problematic for those of its critics who consider State support anathema to editorial independence, the agency is in good company. Three quarters of all national news agencies are similarly dependent on government revenues, in whole or in part, as are some other significant contenders for the status of global news agency, such as Russia's TASS and China's Xinhua, and some other leading national news agencies that sustain significant international activity such as the government-owned EFE of Spain—which is often described as the world's fourth largest international agency with significant operations in Latin American and Spanish markets.

For many decades and with faltering success AFP has struggled to wean itself from dependence on the State for a substantial proportion of its funding, even if State funding has been justified, at least in part, as State payment for news services rendered. In 2017, AFP depended on the State for 38% of its total revenues of 295 million Euros. The State subsidizes the "services of general interest," the correspondent network outside of France, and strategic innovation projects. Dependence on the State, together with the relative importance of media clients in France and the French territories, has meant that for much of the agency's history

revenue derived principally and substantially from the Francophone world. But with shrinkage of the French media market some 60% of the agency's revenues today derive from outside of France. The State has also been indispensable in providing access to the financial sources necessary for technological advancement, particularly in computerization, digitization, video, and social media.

The agency has persistently sought to diversify its streams of revenue by means of the addition of services in photography, television, video, economic, and other specialized news services. By comparison with some agencies that have developed stronger commercial revenue streams, such as the German agency dpa, AFP was running at a loss in 2017, amidst a self-declared crisis. Further diversification would be a likely response to the increasing challenges that the agency has faced in traditional markets.

New markets, pricing strategies, products, and digital prioritization (including the separation of infrastructure from content and the participation of third-party suppliers) were identified as promising ways forward. Indicative of an intensification of diversification strategies, 40% of AFP's revenue in 2017 derived from visual services, of which 80% came from outside of France. AFPTV had 600 clients and produced almost 3,000 live video stories. AFP ran three Twitter accounts: open, private, and, for paying subscribers, professional. Services of production on demand and of public relations were regarded as areas of growth.

Oliver Boyd-Barrett

See also Associated Press; Havas; Reuters

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AGENDA SETTING

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

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

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

Because agenda-setting research concerns the transferal of issue salience from news media to the public, analyses often combine two research methodologies: a content analysis of media coverage and responses to a public opinion survey. Many studies employ a survey item commonly used in

Gallup polls. This "most important problem" question asks respondents: "What is the number one problem facing our country today?" Responses to this open-ended question are then used to form the public agenda.

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

Original Hypothesis

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

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

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

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

Contingent Conditions

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

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

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

Influences on the Media Agenda

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

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

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

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

Consequences of Agenda Setting

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

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

Other studies have examined whether public officials act on issues or concerns brought to the fore by agenda setting. Such "policy agenda-setting" studies examine how policymakers take cues from both media coverage and public opinion to propose laws aimed at relieving a societal problem. Thus far, such research has been scant, possibly because many issues receive inconsistent coverage over time. Thus, many policy studies are more anecdotal than empirical. They have examined media coverage and subsequent policy actions for issues such as child abuse and governmental corruption. Another reason for the limited research

in this area is that public officials, the news media, and the public tend to interact with each other in the agenda-building process—creating a circular relationship that is difficult to track.

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

Second-Level Agenda Setting

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

Wayne Wanta

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

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Agricultural Journalism

Some 2 million farms cover 900 million acres throughout the United States, and for many these farms are what come to mind when the word agriculture is used. However, the U.S. agricultural sector extends beyond farm production to include such industries as fishing, forestry, and food production. Agricultural journalism refers to a specialized media system and network of communication professionals that provides news, information, and commercial messages to the agricultural industry and other audiences. Gaining a deeper awareness of the origin and current status of agricultural journalism not only provides perspective on a crucial and diverse industry but also offers a rich historical context in which to better understand mainstream American journalism and consider some of its contemporary challenges.

This entry traces agricultural journalism in the United States from its origins through a period of steady growth over the course of the 19th century, when pioneering editors sought to promote sound farming methods and innovative techniques to increase yield and sustain the fertility of the soil. The sections that follow discuss the opening of the west to settlement by farmers, who received grants of land under the Homestead Act of 1862, and the establishment of land-grant colleges under the Morrill Act of the same year, which subsequently would transform higher education in the United States. At the same time, the diffusion of innovations became one of the primary missions of agricultural journalism, incorporating the findings of social science research into the body of knowledge that fueled the Green Revolution in the 20th century. Next, the entry details the rise of large-scale agribusiness and the consolidation of agricultural journalism by a handful of giant media corporations, leading to the introduction and rapid adoption of the new media that dominate today's communication landscape.

Beginnings

The beginnings of the agricultural journalism profession can be traced to the early 1800s, when agricultural societies and other organizations took advantage of the only medium of the age—print—to share information about farming. Nearly three-fourths of the U.S. population resided on farms in this era and even more resided in rural areas. Making a living from the land was difficult, manual work. The limited knowledge that existed on farming practices was passed down from generation to generation or by word of mouth. It would be another century before American colleges of agriculture were conducting and disseminating research on recommended agricultural practices. Until then, the task of sharing knowledge and ideas to improve farming methods and rural standards of living was largely in the hands of fledging agricultural editors and printers.

Throughout the 1800s, many agricultural journals were launched although few were successful for any extended period. This was the penny press era in the mainstream press—publications proliferated largely for their affordability and entertainment value, not their editorial content. Still, this was a pivotal era in communication in which the working-class public was developing an affinity for and dependence on mass media that had not previously existed and would never be relinquished.

Early agricultural publications generally did not participate in the sensational reporting tactics associated with 19th-century journalism. But effective communication with farm and rural audiences was seriously hampered by other challenges, including a lack of reputable sources on sound agricultural practices. Research-based information was not available. The geographic isolation of farmers was compounded by the poor state of roads and lack of dependable mail delivery. Getting information into rural homes was no simple task.

Several progressive agricultural editors of the era used their publications, and political influence, to advocate for farm and rural audiences. Among them was Jesse Buel (1778–1839), a wealthy printer who published *The Cultivator*, a popular farm journal of the period. The forward-thinking Buel experimented with and reported on then-new farming techniques such as crop rotation and soil drainage well before agricultural conservation techniques were widely used on farms. He took up agricultural reform later in his career, serving as an advocate for public education and other farm and rural causes. Another imaginative 1800s agricultural editor, Luther Tucker (1802–1873), founded the highly successful *Genesee Farmer* in 1831, a journal that also championed agricultural soil conservation practices. Tucker is known for his idea of hosting an annual cattle show in New York. He envisioned an event that would both entertain and educate participants. His novel concept, which we recognize today as the state fair, was ultimately adopted in every state.

Through their lifelong editorial and political efforts, Buel, Tucker, and other reform-minded editors carved a path for a *profession* of agricultural journalism long before professional training existed for communicators. The brand of journalism they helped invent involved strong advocacy for, and service to, farm and rural residents. In addition to arguing for sound farming practices, they called for unification of farmers, better roads and schools, and improved living conditions for rural residents. Their ideas were innovative, even revolutionary, for their time and ultimately helped transform agricultural journalism from a craft to a professional activity beginning in the latter half of the 19th century.

Growth and Development

Both agricultural and mainstream journalism in the United States grew alongside the country's rapid growth and development during the latter half of the 19th century. During his presidency, Abraham Lincoln signed milestone legislation that would propel higher education in the United States, initiate agricultural research programs, and improve the lives of working-class and rural residents who still comprised more than 80% of the U.S. population. Perhaps the single most important legislation of the period was the Morrill Act, passed by Congress in 1862, which authorized and provided a plan for the sale of public lands and the establishment of land-grant educational institutions in every state. While land-grant schools were not the first higher education institutions in the country, they stood alone in offering instruction in agriculture and other practical fields to broad segments of society, including working-class residents in each state. Instruction for women was limited to certain fields. The original land-grant legislation was expanded in 1890 and 1994 in federal attempts to address unmet needs of African Americans and Native Americans, respectively. While land-grant colleges of agriculture struggled until the turn of the century to gain farmer acceptance, they gradually built enrollments and in time enjoyed unprecedented success in higher education.

Additional 1862 legislation was transformational for U.S. agriculture and settling of the western frontier. The Homestead Act moved farmers and others westward by offering a free parcel of land to those who settled and lived on it. Westward travel by wagon train was difficult and dangerous, but such journeys would become easier following passage of the Pacific Railroad Acts of 1862, which led to the nation's first transcontinental railroad. The establishment of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, also in 1862, would in time lead to the development of government programs to benefit farmers and consumers, protect natural resources, and achieve other agricultural production and environmental goals. Coming along later in the decade was the 1887 Hatch Act, which established experiment stations at land-grant institutions to conduct agricultural and other applied research important in each state.

It is difficult to overstate the impact of land-grant legislation on the United States of the 20th century. The research conducted by land-grant universities, as well as by other educational institutions and private industry, would lead to the rapid development of new technologies and innovation in food and agriculture, industry, transportation, warfare, and medicine. The rapid technological and economic change occurring at the turn of the 20th century was described in some accounts as going to bed in one country and waking up in another. Everyone did not share equally in the industrial and economic boom. Millions of urban and rural people, and particularly immigrants, continued to face a life of poverty and inequality. Stark differences between the rich and the poor were increasingly evident. Historians have called the late 1800s the Gilded Age, in metaphorical reference to a visible but superficial plating of gold (wealth) that only thinly masked persistent social problems and poverty. Agricultural and mainstream journalism documented the hardships and opportunities of the era.

The knowledge base of agriculture grew exponentially in the early 1900s as land-grant universities and experiment stations proved their worth to farmers and industry. Researchers tested an array of new farming techniques in the lab and field, improved methods for raising livestock, and increased mechanization for planting and harvesting crops. University extension services demonstrated new agricultural practices and use of equipment through field days and demonstrations that attracted thousands of farmers. They also hosted short courses and other programs aimed at improved farm record-keeping and management. One of the more innovative educational methods of the time were extension-service trains with specially equipped railroad cars for demonstrating various new farm and home practices. As the trains traveled from stop to stop, extension experts shared the latest university information with farmers, homemakers, and scores of curious onlookers.

Aided by the development of land-grant colleges of agriculture, farm editors and their publications matured as providers of relevant, research-based farm production news. Editorial positions were fast becoming full-time positions requiring specialized communication and business expertise. Stories increasingly included results of farming experiments and recommendations for local producers. In addition to providing production information, editors tried to address the needs of the entire farm household. General farm magazines and regionally popular state publications carried serialized fiction, humorous columns, games, and children's bedtime stories in addition to the standard news fare. The publications offered a brief escape from the drudgery of farm life at a time when entertainment options were limited for farm and rural audiences.

The advent of radio broadcasting in the United States during the early 1900s brought a new source of news and entertainment to rural communities. Radio was especially suited for geographically dispersed and isolated communities and was adopted rapidly by farm families. The medium offered a unique and unprecedented product: a live voice or performance that could be heard by geographically dispersed listeners at the same time. Most Americans had never heard the live voice of a U.S. president until Calvin Coolidge delivered his State of the Union speech over radio in 1923. Radio also served as a bridging technology that would pave the way for other electronic communication media to come.

The introduction of radio brought an abrupt end to print media's status as the sole form of mass media providing of farm and home information to rural audiences. However, farm magazines and radio assumed complementary roles and, together, served as media workhorses throughout the first half of the 20th century. General and state farm magazines enjoyed widespread name recognition and were highly trusted among specialized audiences. Radio offered immediacy and was especially well-suited for broadcasting weather, markets, and news updates. Various on-air personalities gained near-celebrity status and admiration from local listeners. Radio's audio quality and reach were being constantly improved. Those enhancements, along with other technological developments, set the stage for yet another new medium in the 1950s: television. As with mainstream media, farm television took advantage of well-known radio talent to develop and host various program offerings. Farm television shows typically aired in early morning time slots to match farmers' schedules.

Undisputed Gatekeepers

Twentieth-century agriculture was fast becoming a research-based field requiring highly specialized content knowledge. During this time, university and private industry expertise solved many of the previous century's technical agricultural production problems. Assembling and presenting research-based agricultural news to farmers and industry became the unique province of professional agricultural journalists, now the undisputed information gatekeepers for small and large farm producers.

Professional entry into the agricultural journalism field had always required understanding of the various facets of agricultural production. Knowledge of science was quickly emerging as an additional requisite skill. Those who were lacking in subject matter knowledge often learned on the job. The blossoming field, a forerunner of modern service journalism, needed writers, broadcasters, photographers, graphic artists, and others with professional communication training and skills to work across traditional and emerging media platforms. By the late 1950s, at least seven national organizations had formed in the United States in response to the need for professional development in agricultural journalism:

- Association for Communication Excellence (established in 1913 as the American Association of Agricultural College Editors);
- American Agricultural Editors' Association (established in 1921);
- National Association of Farm Broadcasting (established in 1944 as the National Association of Radio Farm Directors);
- North American Agricultural Journalists (established in 1952 as the Newspaper Farm Editors of America);
- Agricultural Relations Council (established in 1953);
- Cooperative Communicators Association (established in 1954); and
- International Federation of Agricultural Journalists (established in 1956).

Professional organizations such as the American Association of Agricultural College Editors and the National Association of Radio Farm Directors recognized the value of emerging social science research as a tool to improve communication efforts. With support from the Kellogg Foundation, a National Project in Agricultural Communications was launched to host workshops and distribute research-based information from such fields as psychology and rural sociology to assist agricultural communication practitioners in their information efforts with farm and nonfarm audiences.

By this time, university academic programs were attracting relatively small but viable undergraduate agricultural journalism enrollments at nearly 20 land-grant institutions nationally. Baccalaureate programs were typically administered by schools of agriculture in cooperation with schools or departments of journalism and communication. There are at least 30 such programs today offering undergraduate and graduate training in this specialized communication field.

Conflict and Consolidation

By the mid-20th century, the Green Revolution was under way and American agriculture was enjoying unprecedented productivity. U.S. farms were getting larger, but their numbers had been declining for years. Media competition was increasing for shrinking farm audiences. Advertising was becoming the main source of revenue for most commercial media, including farm publications, radio, and television. For farm publishers, the trend was shifting toward a controlled-circulation revenue model in which qualified subscribers received publications at little or no cost. The growing dominance of advertising as a revenue stream signaled a significant change in the business side of agricultural journalism and also began to raise questions about possible impacts on content. Evidence from the literature suggests most commercial agricultural publications attempted to maintain a firewall between business and editorial decisions, but pressures would continue to grow.

Just as land-grant university research had revolutionized agriculture earlier in the century, social science research was providing new insights on how mass media could be used to diffuse news ideas and transfer technology to the public. A central figure in this movement was Everett Rogers, a communication researcher who in 1962 described how innovations are communicated to members of a society and the social process by which

individuals decide to adopt or not adopt new ideas or products. The body of research, known as the *diffusion of innovations*, was among the most widely cited social science work of its time and was commonly used by land-grant universities and extension services to encourage farmers' adoption of a range of new technologies and techniques.

Agricultural journalists played a crucial information gatekeeping role in the technology-transfer and farm decision-making process. Accordingly, they were included in a wave of criticism beginning in the early 1970s surrounding the unintended social consequences of widespread farm-level adoption of new technologies. Difficult questions were raised about land-grant colleges' possible bias toward large-scale agriculture and the nature of their relationship with agribusiness at the expense of small farmers, migrant workers, consumers, and rural communities. Professional and social tensions still surround these topics.

Difficulties continued in the following years as thousands of U.S. farms would be lost to bankruptcy in the wake of the 1980s farm crisis characterized by flooded markets, low commodity prices, and high debt. The loss of small and mid-size farms took a devastating toll on rural communities, whose economic survival depended on agricultural businesses. Images of shuttered, abandoned rural businesses and homesteads were commonplace in national media. Sharp reductions in agricultural advertising also led to significant turnover and consolidation of agricultural media in the 1980s. Some publications did not survive. Others, including many well-known state farm publications, were purchased by larger media organizations and underwent massive staff layoffs.

Farm radio stations were affected not only by withering advertising revenues but also later by the Telecommunications Act of 1996. This legislation deregulated station ownership rules, allowing large media corporations to purchase smaller stations across the United States. Consolidation of agricultural media ownership followed a trend across all commercial media during the next two decades. Scores of publications, along with radio and televisions stations, have been purchased by a relatively small number of giant media companies and chains. As with the mainstream press, concentration of ownership means fewer journalistic voices in the agricultural space. Media experts caution that fewer voices are not in the best interests of audiences or democracy.

Current State

A revolutionary wave of interactive communication technology became accessible to the public in relatively short order beginning in the 1990s. The introduction of the World Wide Web during that decade was quickly followed by social media and smartphone apps in the 2000s. Seemingly overnight, online digital and mobile platforms transformed communication and ignited consumers' media use and reliance in nearly every aspect of work and recreation. These new media have been adopted more rapidly by consumers and businesses than any communication technology in history.

Farm magazines, for decades considered the backbone of agricultural journalism, now offer interactive websites, apps, and various online portals accessible through laptops, tablets, smartphones, and other devices. Virtually all agricultural print and broadcast media have integrated some or all of these platforms into their communication offerings alongside legacy media. Agricultural websites are as likely to be accessed by tablets or smartphones as they are by computers, so ease of use and compatibility across devices is essential. While social media use is growing, particularly among younger farmers, it is generally considered part of a larger media mix that includes traditional and new media.

While digital media literacy and analytics are valued 21st-century skills in agricultural communication, writing and subject matter knowledge will always be important. Serving farm and non-farm audiences as a disinterested provider of accurate, relevant information for sound decision-making remains the central task in agricultural journalism.

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See also Advocacy Journalism; Convergence; Food Journalism; Media Ownership; New Media; Penny Press; Telecommunications Act of 1996; Trade Magazines

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AL ARABIYA

Al Arabiya satellite TV station, based in Dubai Media City, was established in March 2003 as Saudi Arabia's response to Al Jazeera, the global news channel based in Qatar. The move was an attempt to regain what used to be Saudi dominance acquired through funding Arab media outside Saudi Arabia. An examination of its programming during the U.S. presidency of Donald Trump (2017-2021) suggests that, with some exceptions, Al Arabiya has come to represent the point of view of conservative Arab monarchies, rather than the populist vision of Al Jazeera. The lavish spending on the station to acquire the latest technology and to hire professionals make it a worthy competitor to Al Jazeera. However, Al Arabiya has not overtaken the popularity of Al Jazeera except in a small number of countries.

History

The station was established with an investment of 300 million dollars by Middle East News, a Saudi production company that also runs the Middle East Broadcasting Center. The Middle East Broadcasting Center Group, which as of 2021 has 18 TV channels, is the largest media company in the Middle East and North Africa. It was launched in London in 1991 and moved its headquarters to Dubai Media City in 2002. Before the establishment of the Qatari Al Jazeera satellite TV in 1996, Saudi businessmen owned almost all of the major pan-Arab media based outside the Kingdom, ensuring that Saudi Arabia and its rulers were rarely scrutinized by that Arab media. While most Arab rulers prevented attacks on the Saudi royal family through laws that restricted such coverage, Qatar gave free reign to Al Jazeera to criticize Arab rulers and governments—an unprecedented act that seriously threatened the soft power of the Saudi media holdings.

An article by Robert Fisk published in *The Independent* on March 6, 2015, summed up the Saudi fears of the Iranians, the Shia, al-Qaeda, ISIS, the Muslim Brotherhood, and of American betrayal and Israeli plots: Above all, they fear the power of tiny Qatar, which owns Al Jazeera and its unbridled coverage of issues Saudi-funded media never touch. In 2017, Saudi Arabia and its allies, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt, laid out an ultimatum of 13 demands for ending their severing of all ties with Qatar. Demands Number 3 and 4 decreed that Qatar was to shut down Al Jazeera and its affiliate stations, as well as news outlets that Qatar funds, directly and indirectly, according to June 23, 2017, edition of *The Guardian*.

Qatari rulers ignored those conditions, and Saudi Arabia and its allies eventually lost the fight. The countries that tried to undermine Qatar are now reconciling with it, with the help of Kuwait.

Al Jazeera, despite the détente, takes digs at those who befriended former President Trump's advisor Jared Kushner and normalized relations with Israel. For example, at the end of a segment on Arab affairs, on June 6, 2021, the program ran a 1-second critical cartoon, which one would not see if one blinked.

History

From the start, Al Arabiya billed itself as the less provocative alternative to Al Jazeera. The choice of Salah Kallab, a former Jordanian information minister as the first Al Arabiya director-general ensured that the station would avoid what Kallab dubbed as "sensationalism," refraining from challenging Arab regimes or making problems for them, according to Ian Urbina in "The Other Air War Over Iraq" in *Asia Times* on March 1, 2003.

Al Arabiya was established in time to cover the Iraq War. Andrew Hammond, Senior Correspondent for Reuters news agency in Saudi Arabia noted in an October 2007 article titled "Saudi Arabia's Media Empire: Keeping the Masses at Home" that Al Arabiya's agenda took some months to unfold after the Iraq War when it ran documentaries about mass graves and other human rights abuses in preinvasion Iraq. Some saw these documentaries as an attempt to reveal facts about tyranny under Iraqi president Saddam Hussein; others saw them as an attempt to undermine the Iraqi insurgency, popular with the Arab masses.

Islamist websites began to refer to Al Arabiya dismissively as Al 'Ibriya or "the Hebrew Channel" because it granted considerable space to American officials and their allies in Iraq and elsewhere to explain their policies after they invaded Iraq in 2003. Like Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya broadcast montages of Israeli soldiers putting down the Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising), but it also discredited the activities of the Islamist insurgency movement in Saudi Arabia.

Expansion

Al Arabiya Internet News Service was launched in 2004 in Arabic, in 2007 in English, and in 2008 in Farsi and Urdu. The move to add broadcasting in Farsi and Urdu illustrates a move away from reaching out only to the West toward attempting to influence people who live and work in the region and, thus, may be subject to what Saudi Arabia perceives as Iranian influence that threatens its regional and media dominance. Broadcasting in Urdu is provided to reach the large Urdu-speaking population working in the Gulf region. Al Arabiya Internet News publishes columns culled mostly from other Saudi publications or written by journalists who support the Saudi policies on Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, and the Palestinian territories. More than 200 articles are published on its website daily in four languages. The website attracts roughly 70 million visitors per month.

In March 2012, Al Arabiya launched a new channel, Al Hadath (The Event), which described itself as an extension of Al Arabiya, and with which it occasionally shares content as well as news bulletins.

Censorship and Attacks on Al Arabiya and Its Staff

When Al Arabiya was in its infancy, Brian Whitaker, Middle East editor of *The Guardian,* predicted Al Arabiya's journalists could feel constrained about reporting fearlessly on succession, internal reform, and the rise of separatist currents in the kingdom (Feuilherade, 2003). Journalists are also constrained from reporting internal affairs of the Emirates. Reporters Without Borders noted on October 29, 2009, and updated on July 21, 2016, that American journalist, Courtney C. Radsch, lost her job at Al Arabiya news website for posting information about safety violations on Emirates Airlines.

Because Al Arabiya competes with Al Jazeera for the same audiences, it initially tried to scoop its rival, which exposed it to censorship and physical attacks. In August 2003, Al Arabiya broadcast a clip of masked men threatening to kill members of the U.S.-appointed Iraqi Governing Council, leading a spokesperson for the U.S. State Department to call the station's action irresponsible. In September 2003, the Governing Council of Iraq restricted the operations of Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera for 2 weeks after the channels showed more footage of masked men calling for attacks against U.S.-led forces. On November 16, 2003,

Al Arabiya broadcast audiotapes by the then-fugitive Saddam Hussein exhorting Iraqis against the United States, leading Iraq's interim government on November 24 to ban it from reporting from Iraq for 2 months.

Al Arabiya's reporters have been the target of several attacks in Iraq. On September 13, 2003, Mazen al-Tumeizi was killed on camera when a U.S. helicopter fired on a crowd swarming a crippled American armored vehicle. An unknown Islamist group calling itself Saraya Al-Chouhada Al Jihadiya fil Iraq (Jihadist Martyrs Brigade in Iraq) in a statement published on the Internet on October 31, 2007, claimed responsibility for attacking the station, accusing it of praising Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi's government and the Americans it described as liberators of Iraq. The group also chided the station for ignoring resistance operations, although the statement's authenticity has not been confirmed, according to a November 3, 2004, report by Reporters Without Borders. In February 2006, three Al Arabiya reporters were abducted and murdered while covering the aftermath of the bombing of a mosque in Samarra, Iraq, among them, a female Iraqi correspondent, Atwar Bahjat.

By its own account, since its launch, 11 Al Arabiya staff members have been killed, including five in a suicide car bombing of the channel's bureau in Baghdad in October 2006, and two by American occupation forces. Jawad Kazem, who escaped from an abduction attempt lost the use of both legs.

Iran indefinitely shut down Al Arabiya's Tehran office on June 21, 2009, accusing it of biased reporting. In contrast, as of June 2021, Al Jazeera reports directly from Iran, including daily accounts on the recent Iranian elections of June 18, 2021. Its news bulletins, for example, included academic experts on Iran who explained the process in great detail.

On October 26, 2019, Reuters reported that Iraq had suspended Al Hadath and Al Arabiya amid anti-government protests in which scores were killed.

Political Orientation of Al Arabiya

In 2004, Al Arabiya was placed under the management of Abdel Rahman Al Rashed, a Saudi who wrote opinion pieces against Islamists in the Saudi London pan-Arab newspaper *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*. Al-Rashed moved Al Arabiya away from the graphic images of the aftermath of bombings and the bloody casualty scenes of the wars on Iraq and Afghanistan that the U.S. military found objectionable toward a more sanitized version similar to what the American media were offering their viewers in the United States.

Under Al Rashed, Al Arabiya also took a turn to the right by discouraging the use of Leftist-leaning British papers in Al Arabiya's international press roundup. Anchors and correspondents were instructed to refer to American troops in Iraq as "multinational forces," not "occupying forces," and hosts were asked to prevent guests from digressing into anti-American rants (Shapiro, 2005). However, the instructions did not result in the total elimination of that terminology due to staff and guest resistance.

Al Rashed saw an opportunity for change through media use when Saudi Arabia announced in 2016 its Vision 2030 to reduce dependence on oil and to restructure education and the economy. Al Arabiya, along with other media holdings, have been recruited into an ambitious plan to loosen the hold of the conservative religious institutions on Saudi society. Al Rashed describes the mission as modernizing religious practice by turning it into a more tolerant "Al-Islam al-Wasati" (centrist Islam). He added that Islamic culture in Saudi Arabia had been more tolerant in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s before political Islam moved in. In the old days, women rode camels and horses, in contrast to the modern era in which, until June 2018, they were not allowed to drive.

Al Rashed exaggerated the liberalism of that era. Saudi Arabia was the last country among the Gulf nations to introduce secular education. The first school for girls was established in 1956. In September 1963, the Saudi government sent official forces to break up demonstrations in Buraydah, whose citizens were protesting the plan to educate women.

However, Al Rashed hoped that by adopting Islamic centrism as a narrative, Saudi Arabia could serve as the leader of the Muslim world. He added that Sunni Muslim countries with larger populations than Saudi Arabia, such as Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan, and Indonesia, are not in a

position to lead. He saw the adoption of Islamic Centrism, especially at a time when radical Islamist parties were on the rise, as enhancing Saudi Arabia's soft power, which it hopes to export to the world.

After 10 years as general manager at Al Arabiya, Al Rashed left that position in 2014. He then headed an editorial board at the station to guide policy and to streamline the business across multiple platforms and touchpoints.

To avoid losing its Palestinian audience, Al Arabiya has two nonpolitical programs geared to it. The first, Al Arabiya in the Galilee, deals with the beauty of the region where Palestinian Arabs live and explores the historical significance of some of its sites. The second, Palestine: The Beautiful Face, shows what various Arab cities of the occupied West Bank and those located beyond the Green Line that separates the West Bank from Israel have to offer.

Although Al Arabiya's owners and managers are more accepting of American foreign policy, that does not mean that pro-American opinions are always demanded, or can be. To gain credibility, Al Arabiya has had to employ respected veteran Arab journalists, such as Hisham Melhem, who demand freedom from censorship as a condition of employment. Melhem is the correspondent for Annahar, the leading Lebanese daily and also an analyst for Al Arabiya News Channel in Washington, DC. Melhem hosted *Across the Ocean*, for Al Arabiya, a weekly current affairs program on U.S.-Arab relations. In a February 2020 column, titled "Donald Trump's Train Wreck," he accused President Trump of trampling upon the principle of the separation of powers and of disrespecting the judiciary.

President George W. Bush was interviewed by the station twice, once to explain that abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq was an aberrant incident, not U.S. policy. President Barack Obama chose Al Arabiya to talk to the Arab world, at the invitation of Melhem, a move criticized by progressives who saw his shunning of Al Jazeera as bowing to the U.S. military who castigated the most watched Arab channel for showing the carnage of the invasion of Iraq, which American viewers did not see on American TV.

Similarly, although Al Arabiya, unlike Al Jazeera, avoids showing clashes between Israelis and Palestinians or the funerals of Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers, some of the footage found its way as background visuals to a song by a Palestinian woman in Al Arabiya's *The Ear Worships*, a program that presents noncommercial songs from all over the Arab world.

Al Arabiya regularly publishes and broadcasts anti-Iranian articles and programs. Inside Iran, for example, is a series of investigative reports on the politics, economics, and social life of Iran. When the U.S. government assassinated the leader of Al Quds Force, Qassem Soleimani, a headline read, "Iran Will Bury Its Pride in Soleimani's Grave." Al Arabiya's opinion on the assassination was in direct contrast to the way Al Manar TV covered it. In an article titled "Who Is Crying for Soleimani and Al Muhandes?" reprinted on January 6, 2020, from Asharq Al-Awsat (The Middle East), a Saudi pan-Arab daily published in London, the author stated that the assassination should have happened sooner. The author castigated those who shed tears for Soleimani's assassination at the hands of the United States, including Palestinian factions that mourned Soleimani's death, such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Leftist Popular front for the Liberation of Palestine. The article also criticized Michael Moore, President Obama, and Hillary Clinton because of their Iran policies.

Al Arabiya has also ridiculed Iran and its supporters. It claimed in a February 5, 2020, headline that an Iranian minister's space suit had been exposed as a $20 Halloween costume on Twitter. It noted on February 9, 2020, that hundreds of Iraqis took to social media to ridicule the call of a prominent Shia political leader, Muqtada al-Sadr, for gender segregation during protests. One Twitter user who drew a mustache on her face shared a video mocking al-Sadr's comments.

Al Arabiya is no friend of Hezbollah or the regime of Bashar al-Assad of Syria. Al Arabiya published disparaging accounts on the Syrian ruler and his wife, Asma, hiring a public relations firm to burnish the image of Syria after its crackdown on protesters, according to a HuffPost report on July 25, 2012. One headline noted that an Al Arabiya documentary had revealed Hezbollah's drug trade and money laundering links in 2020.

Programming

Al Arabiya programs are described in Arabic and in English. The station airs a news bulletin every hour around the clock. Al Arabiya has two all-news TV channels and nearly 30 offices around the world. It also has two press review programs: *The Fourth Estate* and *Last Edition. The Fourth Estate* reviews the opinions of the international print media on Middle East news and hosts international journalists who comment on current issues. The *Last Edition* reviews regional and Arab print media and interviews Arab journalists about their perspectives on regional and world events. It also has a program called *DNA, Daily News Analysis.*

Although Al Arabiya has a strong news presence, it also has more light "infotainment" items than Al Jazeera. For example, one item dealt with a man who divorced his new wife because she posted a photo that was trolled online, embarrassing him. Al Arabiya has printed photos of Hollywood actresses attending award ceremonies and parties wearing dresses designed by Arab-American designers. Al Jazeera has a program called *The Large Screen* that reports Hollywood gossip.

Saad Almatrafi, who joined the news channel in 2003, founded the channel's online portal AlArabiya.net. He later became the first Saudi news producer and helped set up Al Arabiya's first news bulletin to be solely dedicated to Saudi affairs. *From Iraq* interviews influential figures to gain insights into the daily problems and concerns of Iraqis, as well as on how they see their future. *Retracing Arab Footsteps* (Ala Khota al-Arab) narrates the biographies of the most prominent Arab figures in history and highlights the incidents and stories that happened during their era. *Ida'at* (Spotlight) hosts prominent guests from the Gulf region. *Political Memoirs* hosts prominent former politicians from across the Arab World. *Special Interview* features prominent figures discussing current affairs. Guests have included Wendy Sherman, the former U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. *Rawafid* (Tributaries) delves into the lives of artists and poets, directors, and historians. *Poll on Air* seeks to gauge the feelings of the Arab Street (i.e., of ordinary citizens, as opposed to politicians) through phone calls, emails and internet voting, and displays the results on a ticker on the screen. *Mahattat* (Stations) covers three segments of new or weird aspects of life. *Point of Order* hosts "controversial characters" (e.g., Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and French philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévy). *Under the Spotlight* hosts three or four guests from different countries with varying opinions to shed light on a hot topic. Al Arabiya's weekly show *Death Making* provides insights and analysis into the religious, social, economic, and political dimensions of terrorist attacks across the globe. In *Terror in KSA*, Al Arabiya explores how the country has fought terrorism and extremism over the years.

The channel's business website alaswaq.net, which translates to TheMarkets.net., covers financial and market news from the Middle East in Arabic. For example, Al Arabiya covered the "strategic consortium," which will extend a $500 million grant to African youth to build human capital, by speeding up digital communication and training. The website also reports extensively on the execution and progress of the Saudi Vision of 2030. According to BroadcastPro, October 1, 2020, Saudi Research and Marketing Group appointed veteran journalist and former Al Arabiya executive Nabil Khatib as general manager of the upcoming Asharq TV station, based in Dubai International Financial Centre. The project is the result of a cooperation agreement between Riyadh-based Saudi Research and Marketing Group and Bloomberg and is intended to be a multiplatform Arabic-language business and financial news service.

Awards

At a summit launched by leading Arab social media influencers at the Dubai World Trade Center, Al Arabiya English won the Arab Social Media Influencer Award for media under the category of institutions, according to a December 20, 2018, report by Al Arabiya.

Al Arabiya's Creative team won the Newscast Studio Award for Set of the Year in 2016, AR/VR category for its coverage of the U.S. elections. Al Arabiya was also selected for the Best of the Best Award in the Design Category between Vizrt

customers, numbering 3,500 customers worldwide, according to an Al Arabiya report on March 6, 2018.

Coverage of Religion

The station's current coverage of religion may be called *utilitarian* and *educational*, rather than doctrinaire. One of its programs covers the readers of the Quran from several Arab countries. Another devotes its segments to informing viewers on services available to them when they make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The station attempts to tell stories using a human-interest angle. After citing the 157,538 employees it took to make the 2017 Mecca Hajj (pilgrimage) successful, Al Arabiya English noted that the pilgrimage is about human stories. It gave the example of two Palestinian siblings who were torn apart 15 years earlier due to the occupation of the Palestinian territories. Bushra was reunited with her brother in Mecca after he left with his children to Australia. It is the story of an Omani elder who had saved up for years for his pilgrimage, only to die of a heart attack two nights before the Hajj officially began. The same article noted that Al Arabiya News Channel deployed the state-of-the-art Inspire Drone cameras to give the audience a bird's eye view of the pilgrimage.

The government's crackdown on extremely conservative Saudi clerics who issued controversial fatwas (religious rulings) freed citizens to criticize them on the Internet and on Al Arabiya. In February 2020, Sheikh Adel al-Kalbani, former Imam of Mecca Grand Mosque admitted on Rotana, the leading producer and distributor of Arabic music and film, that clerics, like politicians, make mistakes, but refused to change some of the old fatwas on women. He was met by a barrage of online criticism unthinkable in an exchange between a religious authority and a citizen only a few years earlier. A Twitter user accused the 1979 Awakening religious movement, of which he was a part, of being the main cause of women's suffering, and suggested he compensate the women hurt by that movement (Khalid, 2020). While Al Arabiya covers how crown prince and minister of defense Mohammad Bin Salman dealt with conservative clerics and with the rich members of society accused of corruption, it does not allow vigorous criticism of the severe measures he took against dissenting women and journalists.

Viewership

Over the years, polls have differed on how popular the station has been. A U.S. State Department poll in seven Iraqi cities in October 2003 found that among Iraqis with satellite dishes, 37% named Al Arabiya as their preferred news source, followed by Al Jazeera at 26%. A Zogby Poll conducted in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and United Arab Emirates in October 2005 asked which networks people chose for international broadcasts. The results revealed that 65% of respondents chose Al Jazeera, and 34%, Al Arabiya. However, the poll was criticized for not polling Iraqis.

Ipsos-Stat TV research revealed in November 2005 that Al Arabiya was the most watched news channel in Saudi Arabia. The report noted that the station enjoyed nearly 24% viewership during primetime, with a 1.4% lead over its closest competitor, Al Jazeera. This report prompted Marc Lynch, author of a 2015 book on Al Jazeera, to note that the headline was misleading and could easily mean that Al Jazeera appeared to be running almost even with Al Arabiya on its own home turf—only trailing by 1.4%, which may have been within the margin of error (which was not provided).

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Africa, North; Al Jazeera; Al-Manar; Middle East

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AL JAZEERA

Al Jazeera, specifically Al Jazeera Arabic, was the first global news channel broadcasting in Arabic from Qatar in the Middle East, rather than from Europe. It is the most-watched station in the Arab world, and in 2005 management consulting company Inter-Brand ranked it as the most recognizable and influential news brand globally.

The station has generally ignored Arab media laws that forbid criticism of rulers, other Arab countries, foreign ambassadors, the handling of the national currency, the army, and the frank discussion of sex and religion. Being true to its slogan, "the opinion and the other opinion," it allows both sides of any issue to be interviewed, a feat that has won it many fans formerly subjected to official censored broadcasts, but also many enemies not used to allowing freedom of speech to their opponents.

Al Jazeera, which means "the Peninsula," has brought the small country of Qatar to the fore of Arab and international politics, edging out Egypt and Saudi Arabia as the media leaders or funders in the Arab world. Critics and defenders agree that the station is important for

1. creating a vibrant pan-Arab and interregional news space in which viewers can discuss formerly taboo political and social issues authoritarian Arab governments can condemn, but not directly censor; and creating news bureaus that have been bombed several times but could not be silenced;
2. giving dissidents in the Arab world a forum denied them by their own governments;
3. making an Arab country an important source of international news, so that Arabs need not rely on the West for information about themselves;

4. instituting the "New World Information and Communication Order" discussed during the UNESCO debates of the 1960s and 1970s, thus reversing the direction of news transmission by making it move from East to East and West, and from South to South and North;

5. forcing Western governments to take account of Arab and Islamic public opinion, after years of relying solely on the opinion of Arab rulers;

6. forcing important U.S. government officials to play on Al Jazeera's own media turf by granting it interviews after initially ignoring the station;

7. enabling Arab viewers to confront the reality of Israel by interviewing Israeli officials.

After reviewing the history of Al Jazeera, this entry discusses its programming, its success in beating the international media to stories, as well as concerns for its employees. The entry ends by discussing other channels within its network, including Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera America, and AJ+.

History

The establishment of Qatar's Al Jazeera in 1996 came through a lucky set of events. The BBC, which has always had a strong Arabic section with staff drawn from several Arab countries, signed a deal with the Saudi-owned company Orbit Communications to provide Arabic newscasts for Orbit's main Middle East channel. When Orbit pulled out of the deal, the Prince of Qatar, Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, hired 150 out of the 250 BBC's Arabic service employees. The prince financed the station in an amount of $137 million annually, initially until November 2001, to ensure its quality. At the same time, he adopted a hands-off policy on its content, leaving that to its board of directors. Qatar continues to finance the station. By dedicating Al Jazeera to news, instead of entertainment, however, and by allowing the station editorial independence, the rulers of Qatar signaled to the Arab world that Qatar was radically departing from the Saudi practice of controlling the media they finance.

Andrew Hammond (2007), Senior Correspondent for Reuters news agency in Saudi Arabia, wrote that Saudi Arabia has expended great resources to ensure good coverage or no coverage of its politics and society. It has done that by buying or establishing media outlets abroad, and broadcasting entertainment and "soft religion." Saudi Arabia's main rival before Al Jazeera was Egypt's pre-Sadat Arab Nationalist ideology of former president Gamal Abdel-Nasser, which had not faded after his death. Hammond drew a contrast between the two approaches to media when he wrote that Nasser's "media of mobilization" (*i'lam ta'bawi*) gave way to Saudi Arabia's "media of pacification," or *i'lam tanwimi*. He added that, "If Abdel-Nasser wanted you *fi-[il]shari'* (on the streets), Al Saud wants you *fi-[il]sala* (in the living room)."

The station's embrace of dissidents from all over the Arab world led six Arab countries to withdraw their ambassadors from Qatar, while others, such as Saudi Arabia and Tunisia (before the Arab Spring in the early 2010s), refused to allow Al Jazeera to open offices in their countries. Israel also harassed Al Jazeera reporters and kept them from events others covered. Israel has attempted to ban Al Jazeera altogether.

In March 2006, Al Jazeera was formally named Al Jazeera Network. In 2020, it consists of the flagship Al Jazeera Arabic, Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Mubasher (Direct), Al Jazeera Documentary, Al Jazeera Balkans, and the digital platform AJ +. The network boasts having the largest news-gathering operations in the world, and bureaus in 80 countries.

By November 2007, Al Jazeera employed 41 on-air presenters, 15 of whom were women from various Arab countries, but none a Gulf national. Whereas in the past Arab stations depended on foreign news video to tell their stories, Al Jazeera relies on correspondents who represent different currents of thought drawn from all over the Arab world. An examination of staff biographies posted on Al Jazeera in 2020 shows that its reporters are a cosmopolitan and educated group who speak several languages. Al Jazeera's bureau chief for Palestine and Israel speaks Arabic, Hebrew, and English. Al Jazeera's correspondent in Russia is an Iraqi who received a PhD in nuclear physics from that country in 1993, and so speaks Russian. The channel's correspondent in China is a Palestinian medical doctor who studied traditional and nontraditional medicine in China after mastering the language in 1980–1981. He has worked in China,

Laos, and Korea as a diplomat before being hired by the station. He told the *People's Daily* that, in the past, Arabs saw China through Western eyes, but that no longer needs to be the case. Al Jazeera's journalists spent a week broadcasting from China and exploring its party structure, its development philosophy, its art, theatre, and architecture. Popular with Arab audiences, however, were interviews with Chinese students who showed mastery of the Arabic language they were studying. In May 2005, Al Jazeera signed an agreement of cooperation with China Central Television (CCTV), according to Xinhua News Agency.

Programming

Al Jazeera is primarily a news and public affairs channel. The station broadcasts daily press reviews and weekly roundups in which it summarizes news reports on Middle East issues in Arab and international papers. Al Jazeera also features documentaries such as *Our History and Their Archives*, a series in which Arab history is told through the archives of mostly European powers that colonized the area in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *The Book Is the Best Companion*, and *I Read for You*, deal mostly with academic books on Middle East politics. Both shows invite either the books' authors or professors to summarize and then discuss the selected works.

Al Jazeera was mostly known for its weekly political talk show programs, *More Than One Opinion*, *The Opinion and the Other Opinion*, and *No Limits*. Al Jazeera's popular program, *The Opposite Direction*, once pitted Safinaz Kazem, a religious woman from Egypt, against Toujan Faisal, a Jordanian feminist former member of parliament who had had run-ins with the Muslim Brothers in Jordan over her interpretation of Islam. Kazem, arguing the traditional view that marrying several wives is better than having a mistress, walked off the set while the show was on air when the discussion got heated.

Al Jazeera highlighted women's rights and their political and professional achievements in two programs, *For Women Only* and the one that replaced it, *Pioneers*. Both programs expanded women's programming beyond the kitchen and the nursery where it had resided for years. But the main contribution, according to Naomi Sakr

(2007), was their "taking as their starting point that qualified women should be aiming for decision-making jobs and that the subject of debate was not whether to aim for them but how" (p. 142).

The level of political interactivity of Al Jazeera in large part accounts for its popularity. Four broad issues occupy Al Jazeera: Palestine, Iraq, reform, and the United States, according to Marc Lynch (2006), a political scientist who is proficient in Arabic. Lynch wrote that, on the station's call-in shows he examined, "almost any voices could potentially be heard and individuals were placed into unscripted, uncensored dialogue over which hosts could exercise only some control" (p. 248). The contentious religious and ideological debates and confrontations may keep viewers coming back, but have lead some critics to accuse Al Jazeera of sensationalism. While Muhammad Ayish (2005) credited *The Opposite Direction* with revolutionizing the way programs are introduced, he concluded after analyzing 10 of its episodes that its host's use of brinkmanship to egg on participants is not useful to political culture because "such talk shows need to promote real dialogue rather than sensational shouting matches among participants" (p. 125).

Al Jazeera has always covered the United States extensively, including broadcasting U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) briefings in full. However, Al Jazeera's unedited on-air programs critical of the United States' wars and policies in the Middle East continue to get the station in trouble with Arab rulers allied to the United States and with the American administration. Lynch (2007) concluded in a study that examined the transcripts of 11 talk shows that despite various criticisms lodged against Al Jazeera, its diverse forums allow for dissenting views and reasoned analysis "albeit within a generally accepted [Arab] identity framework. These debates produced a consensus that was hostile not only to the American project, but also to the perspectives of the Arab regimes eager to stifle reform" (p. 116).

The U.S. government may object to Al Jazeera's coverage, but after September 11, 2001, its top officials have begun to address Arab public opinion which they had previously ignored. For example, during the George W. Bush administration, officials such as Secretary of Defense, Donald

Rumsfeld; National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice; and Secretary of State, Colin Powell; appeared on the station.

Candace Heckman reported in 2002 that the U.S. government's attempts to prevent Al Jazeera from airing the Bin Laden tapes failed, earning the station the wrath of the U.S. administration. In defense of the station, Hafez Al Mirazi, then host of *From Washington*, found that stance "ridiculous, especially coming from the leader of the free world" (Rose, 2003). British journalist Hugh Miles (2006) explained that "When Al Jazeera offers its estimated 50 million viewers exclusive interviews with Osama bin Laden, it's easy to confuse access with endorsement" (p. 20). Al Jazeera was a pioneer in interviewing Israelis; however, some of its Arab viewers accused it of being in the pay of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency or the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad.

Al Jazeera Scoops International Media

Two events of the early 21st century serve as examples of reporting by Al Jazeera that scooped the international media. The first is the War in Afghanistan, which started in October 2007, when the United States invaded to oust the Taliban who were protecting those believed responsible for the attacks of September 11, 2001. The second is the Iraq War, which began in 2003 when a coalition led by the United States invaded to overthrow the dictatorial rule of Saddam Hussein. The following subsections discuss these and other Al Jazeera scoops.

War in Afghanistan

Unlike Western media, Al Jazeera had opened an office in Afghanistan 2 years before September 11, 2001. Prior to that, Western media had been offered the opportunity to set up news bureaus there but declined. Since September 19, 2001, when the Taliban evacuated the last foreign journalist from the capital Kabul, only five reporters—two Al Jazeera correspondents in Kabul and Kandahar and three Afghan reporters working for Reuters, Agence France-Presse, and Associated Press news—have been allowed to stay, forcing all Western stations to use Al Jazeera footage. An examination of the footage and transcripts of Al Jazeera broadcasts of video of Afghani casualties in October 2001, however, reveals that CNN used the Al Jazeera footage, running only photos of physical damage, not the attendant human cost. In contrast, Al Jazeera went to hospitals, talked to the parents of those who had died, and showed close-ups of severely wounded and dead children.

Iraq War

During the Iraq War, Al Jazeera had eight teams all over Iraq, allowing it to scoop international media with its coverage. The staff of Al Jazeera had a hard time battling, first the Iraqi handlers before Saddam Hussein disappeared, and later, the U.S. military who detained several Iraqi Al Jazeera staff members. To answer a demand for coverage, Al Jazeera had launched an Arabic language website in 2001 to cover news of Afghanistan, and an English-language website in 2003 dedicated to special coverage of Iraq. The station concentrated on the loss of Iraqi lives, infrastructure, and culture due to the heavy bombing of Baghdad in March 2003.

When the United States bombed the Iraqi TV station, a lone former employee dug up 16 mm films from under the rubble and told Al Jazeera that the loss was not of Saddam Hussein's coverage but of the documentary history and culture of Iraq. Al Jazeera showed the destruction of the first theatre established in Iraq and the damage to the art gallery housing the works of Iraqi artists. It showed how Iraqi citizens were unknowingly using contaminated containers left by the U.S. forces, thus endangering their health.

Through its reporting, Al Jazeera neutralized some of the U.S. psychological operations (PSYOP). The coalition commanders, for example, claimed that Iraqi troops had been surrendering in droves, they reported that morale had collapsed in the south of Iraq, and that most of the Iraqi 51st Division had become prisoners of war (POWs). Al Jazeera's reports contradicted some of these claims. When a marine commander in Qatar described an Iraqi claim to have captured U.S. troops as "Iraqi lies," Al Jazeera broadcast pictures of five captured U.S. servicemen, according to Hugh Miles (2003). Al Jazeera even interviewed an Iraqi military leader the American spokesperson claimed had surrendered. The Iraqis also

made false claims of their own that Al Jazeera had broadcast and sometimes refuted.

At a time when the United States was projecting a "shock and awe" stance, Iraqi TV rebroadcast video of dead U.S. soldiers as well as video of American POWs. That, combined with the way the station covered the first Battle of Fallujah in 2004 by concentrating on civilian casualties and the plight of families who were forced to leave the city, earned the station the enmity of the American administration and some members of the American public. Such coverage led to resistance to allowing Al Jazeera to broadcast in the United States, although it was available through a Dish Network TV subscription.

The United States bombed Al Jazeera offices in Afghanistan in 2001, shelled the Basra hotel where Al Jazeera journalists were the only guests in April 2003, killed Al Jazeera's Iraq correspondent Tareq Ayoub and two Spanish journalists a few days later when it bombed the Palestine hotel in Baghdad. According to Jeremy Scahill (2005), Britain's *Daily Mirror* reported that during an April 16, 2004, White House meeting with British Prime Minister Tony Blair at the peak of the first U.S. siege of Fallujah, President Bush floated the idea of bombing Al Jazeera's headquarters in Qatar, according to a leaked "Top Secret" minutes of the Bush-Blair summit. Al Jazeera's exclusive footage was being broadcast by every major network, including CNN and BBC. The No. 10 memo raised doubts about U.S. claims that previous attacks against Al Jazeera staff were military errors.

Furthermore, following the "handover of sovereignty in Iraq" the U.S.-backed Iyad Allawi, prime minister, closed the offices of Al Jazeera and banned it from operating for a month on August 7, 2004. Al Jazeera broadcast a short clip in which accusations leveled against the station by the Saddam Hussein-era government officials were intercut with similar statements made by Allawi and his officials, suggesting that nothing had changed for the media in Iraq. Despite Allawi's antipathy toward the station and his placing his 2005 ads in Al Arabiya, its rival, when he wanted to reach the pan-Arab audience in August 2007, he chose Al Jazeera, and even submitted to an interview by a well-informed Iraqi presenter, Layla Sheikhali.

Additional Scoops

The station continues to scoop international media and even Arab media in different countries. For example, in July 2007, Al Jazeera showed ballot stuffing in Egypt, shot via a long lens through a window of a polling center.

Al Jazeera has had a profound effect on Arab public opinion. Demonstrations erupted in several Arab countries in support of Palestinians after Al Jazeera broadcast images of the 2002 Israeli siege of the city of Jenín. Its broadcast of the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 has been credited with giving those revolutions unprecedented real-time coverage. With contributions from Arab revolutionaries on the ground, the station was able to bypass two sources of marginalization of Arab public opinion: Arab governments that used to control traditional borders and prevent journalists from other Arab or foreign media from entering their countries; and Western news agencies, which many Arabs felt treated their issues unfairly.

Attacks Against Al Jazeera Employees

Most Arab countries as well as Israel have at one time or another censored Al Jazeera, expelled its correspondents, or closed its offices. In 2017, Bahrain, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates boycotted Qatar and imposed 13 conditions on the country, including closing Al Jazeera, in order to lift the boycott. Qatar, with the help of Iran and Turkey defied the boycott and the conditions imposed on it, and Al Jazeera remained open.

Israel, which in the past had excluded Al Jazeera reporters from official briefings, plans to ban the channel for good. In 2020, Israel's communications minister introduced a draft bill that would allow the government to close Al Jazeera's Israel bureau, revoke its license to broadcast on local cable and satellite channels, and strip its journalists of accreditation, according to an August 10, 2017, op ed column by Sherif Mansour in *The New York Times*, titled, "'The Mideast's Only Democracy' Goes to War on Press Freedom." In May 2021, Israel's military destroyed a tower in Gaza in which Al Jazeera had a bureau.

Al Jazeera photographer Sami Al-Hajj was kidnapped on his way to Afghanistan on assignment as an Al Jazeera cameraman on December 15, 2001. Even though he had a valid visa, he was held at Guantanamo as an "enemy combatant" for 6 years. His lawyer, Clive Stafford Smith, attested that he was tortured by U.S. interrogators. Stafford Smith noted that during 125 of 130 interviews, U.S. officials had questioned Al-Hajj on whether Al Jazeera was a front for terrorist organization al Qaeda, and were more interested in recruiting him as an informer than interrogating him for what he had supposedly done. He and others went on a 438-day hunger strike, during which they were force-fed, according to reporting from Reporters Without Borders (2006). Al-Hajj was released in 2007.

Daniel Marans, writing for HuffPost, noted in June 9, 2017, that Egyptian president Abdel-Fattah el-Sisi and his Saudi and Emirati backers accused Qatar of using Al Jazeera to promote the Muslim Brotherhood, which they deemed a terrorist organization. Al Jazeera argued that it was merely covering popular opposition to the el-Sisi coup and the victims of the government's repression. El-Sisi's forces nonetheless arrested three Al Jazeera English journalists in December 2013 on trumped-up charges of involvement with the Brotherhood. Egypt did not release them until 2015, after Al Jazeera shuttered its Arabic-language Egyptian channel Mubasher MISR [Egypt Direct] in December 2014.

Israeli Ha'aretz columnist Zvi Bar'el wrote on August 22, 2017, in a column titled, "It's Fun to Hate Al Jazeera," that while he believed that Al Jazeera was not objective because it does not criticize "the corruption and evils" of Qatar, he added that something similar may be said about the Israeli right-wing daily Israel Hayom, and Fox News, neither of which criticize their "lords and masters." He added that it was "too easy, very cowardly . . . to join the Arab and Israeli tradition of tarring and feathering Al Jazeera as the enemy of the world." While attempting to revoke the credentials of a senior Al Jazeera journalist in Jerusalem is a desperate move, "But at least Israelis will have Al Jazeera from which to learn about what's going on in their country and the areas it occupies."

A special issue devoted to Al Jazeera in *Al-Hadath* magazine in March 9, 2000, concluded that 50 years from that date, "historians would rate the establishment of Al Jazeera as one of the most important events in the Arab political arena at the end of the century." Others credit the station for loosening the stranglehold of Saudi money on Arab media globally, and many credit it with helping to spread the revolutionary message of the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt.

Al Jazeera English

Al Jazeera English (AJE) identifies itself as a channel that focuses on events that affect people's lives by highlighting topics that often go underreported, presenting all sides of the story and giving a voice to the voiceless. AJE boasts on its website that it is "reshaping global media and constantly working to strengthen our reputation as one of the world's most respected news and current affairs channels." The number of prestigious awards AJE has won in recent years attests to the accuracy of that boast.

On April 21, 2020, the New York Festival TV & Film Awards named AJE "Broadcaster of the Year" for the fourth consecutive year. The channel won 14 gold, 19 silver, and 23 bronze medals for its news coverage and programs as well as for its Investigative Unit and its Digital Division. In recent years, AJE has won a Peabody, an Emmy, an NRMA Kennedy award for Excellence in Journalism, and a Royal Television Society award. In 2020, one of its documentaries was nominated for an Academy Award. The channel was competing with entries from over 50 countries, according to an April 22, 2020, post by AJE. Al Jazeera Media Network has won four Webby awards. The network was competing with more than 13,000 entries from media organizations including The Washington Post, National Geographic, Disney, The New York Times, HuffPost, and Vox.

AJE started broadcasting as a 24-hour English-language news and current affairs channel on November 15, 2006. Even though it set as its original launch target 40 million cable and satellite homes, in 2020 it broadcast to more than 310 million households in more than 140 countries. Al Jazeera has more than 3,000 staff from over 70

nationalities, making its newsrooms the most diverse in the world. The channel covers Asia, Africa, and Latin America daily, not just when disasters strike.

AJE is now determined to obtain broad distribution in the highly competitive United States market, which has been closed to it due to conservative pressures on cable TV stations as well as commercial considerations. The news station has attracted veteran journalists from around the world. Delinda Hanley (2007) quotes Mark Seddon, AJE's UN and New York correspondent, that U.S. news has become "infotainment." He sees AJE as an alternative to American stations that chase ratings by catering to the lowest common denominator. Because Qatar's prince funds Al Jazeera Network, it is free from the economic pressures that drive U.S. media. AJE broadcasts from Doha, Qatar; London, Washington, DC; and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; and has 80 supporting bureaus—in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Australia. AJE has a strong presence in Africa through its bureaus in Egypt, Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, and it shares the resources of Al Jazeera Arabic channel's African bureaus located in Chad, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, and Sudan.

The station seeks out interesting stories neglected by the Western-oriented media in Latin America, Southeast Asia, the G8 countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States), and the Middle East. Half a million of Al Jazeera's viewers are Israeli. AJE is also seeking a deeper penetration in India and China. In the United States, the station may be seen via Buckeye Cable, Ohio; Burlington Cable, Vermont; Washington Cable; Fision (IPTV), a fiber-optic entertainment network seen only in Houston. Elsewhere, viewers may view the station on several Internet sources.

When the station first started, there was some dispute over its identity, with some in the Arab world suggesting that it is of no use to fund such a station if it would be no different than other Western TV stations regarding Arab issues, a view expressed by Khalid Amayreh (2006). But AJE sees itself as the world's first global English language news channel to be headquartered in the Middle East. Its website notes that

From this unique position, Al Jazeera English is destined to be the English-language channel of reference for Middle Eastern events, balancing the current typical information flow by reporting from the developing world back to the West . . . The channel gives voice to untold stories, promotes debate, and challenges established perceptions.

Al Jazeera's Digital Platforms

Al Jazeera English's entry into the digital media field started in 2014 with AJ+, whose short clips garnered over 5 billion views. That was followed by a pioneering effort by Dima Khatib who started AJ+ in Arabic, designed to attract Arab youth to Al Jazeera in platforms they use and understand.

According to Al Jazeera Management Profile (2020), Dima Khatib, who holds a master's degree in translation from Geneva University in Switzerland and speaks eight languages, is the Managing Director of AJ+ digital platform in its three languages: English, Arabic, and Spanish. Khatib started with Al Jazeera Arabic in 1997 as a broadcast journalist. She became a news producer, known for managing the coverage of the invasion of Iraq, was the first female bureau chief of Al Jazeera. Following her intensive coverage of Arab Revolutions on social media, Dima was classified as the most connected woman on Twitter in the Middle East in 2012. She used that skill in 2016 when she invited 100 young Arab media influencers to Qatar to launch AJ+ digital platform in Arabic. AJ+ won the Shorty award for the best presence on Facebook, and two Webby awards, one for news and the other for its coverage of refugees in Europe.

Al Jazeera's decision to establish and then strengthen its digital platforms attracted younger viewers, as it reported on March 25, 2020, had achieved a record of 1.4 billion viewers over the previous 90 days. This number represents an increase of 20.8% compared to the preceding 3 months, and an increase of 31% compared to the same period in 2019. Al Jazeera's digital section provides content in six languages, reaching its audience through various platforms and state-of-the-art applications. According to Al Jazeera Media Network, on June 19, 2019, Al Jazeera

Digital won a One World Media Award, for its interactive graphic novel *Lost Childhoods*, with its "skillful weave of investigations, videos, photos and illustrations that brings to light" disturbing physical, emotional, and religious abuse against children in Nigeria by branding them as witches.

Al Jazeera's interactive unit, AJLabs, not only produced this graphic novel but also worked with nongovernmental organizations to translate it into local languages for distribution in schools and churches in Nigeria, in an attempt to educate people and end the practice. *Lost Childhoods* won against shortlist nominees PBS *Frontline* and the BBC's *Africa Eye*. It was the second win for the interactive unit, which also won top prize in the innovation category at the Amnesty Media Awards ceremony on April 3, 2019.

Also in 2019, Al Jazeera entered the podcast market with four Arabic shows, including the Arab world's first daily news podcast. Al Jazeera teamed up with Wondery's flagship *Business Wars*, and introduced it to the Arabic-speaking markets.

Al Jazeera America

In an attempt to enter the American market in January 2013, Al Jazeera Media Network bought Current TV and started broadcasting on August 20, 2013. Despite its focus on American topics, the station's offerings were more hard news and documentary in nature than entertainment, and averaged only 28,000 viewers. The network ceased operations in April 2016 citing economic reasons, making it the only Al Jazeera Network project that to date has failed.

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Africa, North; Al Arabiya; Middle East

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AL-MANAR

Al-Manar (The Lighthouse) TV is the mouthpiece of Hezbollah (The Party of God), established between 1982 and 1986 as an umbrella organization uniting religious Shi'a groups in the wake of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Al-Manar plays an important role in resisting the alliance between Israel, the United States, and its regional rival Saudi Arabia. Despite being censored, blocked, and bombed at every turn, the station continued to broadcast to the Middle East and beyond with the help of the Internet, thus fulfilling its aim to be the voice of the voiceless. This entry discusses Al-Manar as mobilized media, as well as its programming, sources, and relations with Israel and the United States. The entry also examines attacks against Al-Manar and its use of language. The entry closes with a discussion of censorship of the channel.

Al-Manar started broadcasting on June 3, 1991, as a terrestrial channel. Muhsen writes in his 1998 book *The Information War: Examples of Resistance Media in Lebanon* that Hezbollah developed a strong information apparatus to serve international journalists. After the 1996 conflict with Israel, 1,200 journalists visited Hezbollah's information center, which also issued 474 briefings and distributed 200 videos to news agencies. Hezbollah played a major role in ending Israel's 22-year occupation of the South of Lebanon, with the exception of the Sheba'a farms which Israel still occupies in 2021. Al-Manar got a license for satellite transmission just in time for broadcasting the Israeli withdrawal from most of the South on May 24, 2000, and the Palestinian uprising against Israel in late 2000, both of which boosted its viewership in the Arab world.

Al-Manar as Mobilized Media

Al-Manar does not claim neutrality but bills itself as partisan to the cause of its constituents, initially, the disadvantaged and poor Shi'a of the South and the Beka'a valley; later expanded to include the Arab and Islamic worlds. As Al-Manar explained on its website when it was first established, the need for the channel arose because, even when 20% of Lebanon was still under Israeli occupation, it was not unusual for the south and Beka'a Valley to be under Israeli fire while existing TV stations were broadcasting frivolous programs. Al-Manar saw itself as providing programming that reflected the suffering of the occupied people in South Lebanon.

Its adopted slogan, "The channel for Arabs and Muslims," is a direct challenge to Saudi Arabia's stress on Islam, rather than Arabism, as well as a nod to its Lebanese audience, 38.4% of whom are Christian. Since 2006, Hezbollah has been in alliance with President Michel Aoun's Maronite Christian party, the Free Patriotic Movement. Al-Manar, however, is detested by another Lebanese Christian group, the right-wing Lebanese Forces political party.

Programming

While other Lebanese stations broadcast the equivalent of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire*,

Al-Manar aired in 2004 a game show called *The Mission*. In it, says Neil Macfarquhar, contestants from around the Arab world competed for cash and the chance to win a virtual trip to Jerusalem, the location of Al Aqsa Mosque. As of 2020, the station quizzes its contestants on Arab and Islamic history rather than on frivolous subjects. Al-Manar conducts regular viewer self-selected polls with leading questions that tackle issues of the day. For example, it asked in January 2020 whether Trump committed a major folly by assassinating Soleimani and Al-Muhandis in Iraq. Out of 919 responses, 90% answered "yes," while 10% answered "no." When President Trump tweeted a message to the Iranian people in Farsi, Al-Manar's headline on January 12, 2020, read: "Iran's Reaction to Trump's Tweet: Don't Dishonor our Language."

Under the "Main List" of program offerings, Al-Manar includes, News, Political Programs, General Programs, the Speeches of Hassan Nasrallah, Films, and Series. The second list contains Documentaries, Resistance, Health, Sports, Culture, and Varieties. The station forbids advertising for tobacco or alcohol or any advertising that treats women as sexual objects to sell products. Female announcers appear in head scarves, but are news presenters. Dr. Anne Marie Baylouny, in a paper to the George Marshall European Center for Security Studies, wrote in 2006 that the station highlights practical problems of women and offers solutions women propose.

Media Sources of Al-Manar

While other Lebanese stations depend on Western news agencies, Al-Manar mostly uses Syrian and Iranian news agencies for news and documentaries. Al-Manar also makes extensive use of Iranian dubbed films and television series, and Syrian series. The station archives the full speeches of the Lebanese Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah, as well as the speeches of the leader of the Iranian Revolution, Ali Khamenei.

Al-Manar's Relations With Israel

Al-Manar pioneered the idea of embedded videographers who accompanied Hezbollah fighters on their missions and showed them battling Israelis on Lebanese soil, then planting Hezbollah's yellow flag on abandoned Israeli positions. Photos of these exploits as well as news clippings in Arabic and Hebrew are included in Muhammad Muhsen's 1998 book, *The Information War: Examples of Resistance Media in Lebanon.* The channel admitted it was deliberately trying to sow fear into the hearts of Israeli mothers by convincing them, in Hebrew since 1996, that it was futile to fight against Hezbollah. The station showed video of dead Israeli soldiers and published a list with some blank spaces, then asked who was next. Israelis trusted the information Hezbollah gave them through Al-Manar during the 2006 Israeli attack on Lebanon more than the reports of their military spokespersons. A study by Dr. Uri Lebel of the Ben Gurion Institute, Beer Sheva University, has found the leader of Hezbollah often contradicted the Israeli spokespeople and was the first to announce the deaths of Israeli soldiers and the circumstances that led to their deaths. Lebel was quoted by Ynet.News.com, the English-language website of the Israeli daily *Yedioth Ahronoth*. In an opinion piece on June 12, 2019, David Daoud said Israeli leaders such as former IDF Deputy Chief of Staff Yair Golan, admitted that Hezbollah's most devastating threat to Israel was not its missiles, but its ability to sow fear. By amplifying its threats, he said, Hezbollah has learned how to turn them into military achievements.

Attacks Against Al-Manar

On July 12, 2006, Israeli warplanes demolished Al-Manar's five-story headquarters in Beirut's southern suburbs, injuring three staff members. They also hit the station's infrastructure in the Beqa'a valley. Al-Manar went off the air only for 2 minutes; the station's cadre of engineers kept the station broadcasting from an undisclosed location. Al-Manar points out with pride in documentaries how, with the help of Iran, Hezbollah rebuilt in record time what Israel had destroyed. The fact that Al-Manar continued to operate was considered a victory, even though Israeli hackers inserted on Al-Manar TV content ridiculing Hezbollah's leaders and fighters.

Al-Manar Website Team notes that its website launched in 2000 was its way of evading censorship of the victories of the Lebanese Resistance of

Hezbollah, and a way to expose the Zionist entity's crimes in countries where Al-Manar frequencies are blocked. Al-Manar notes that its website features the latest multimedia technologies and is available on several platforms and on phones.

As Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries started establishing relations with Israel, Al-Manar increased its attention to the Palestinian news it had long championed. The station extensively covered the Israeli attacks on Gaza in 2009, 2012, 2014 and the border clashes in Gaza of 2019 and 2020. While President Trump's advisor, Jared Kushner, was attempting to get Saudi Arabia's help funding and selling his proposal for Israeli-Palestinian peace, Al-Manar kept on its front page the August 10, 2019, speech Iranian leader Ali Khamenei delivered to the pilgrims of "the House of God" in Saudi Arabia, criticizing the American policy on Palestinians and urging all Muslims to support them against the Deal of the Century, which it called *a trick*.

Al-Manar's Relations With the United States

In April 1983, the U.S. embassy in Beirut was struck by a 400-pound suicide truck bomb which killed 63 people, including 17 Americans, and wiped out the Central Intelligence Agency's Middle East bureau. A truck full of explosives on October 23rd, 1983, killed 241 U.S. Marines and soldiers in their barracks, prompting President Reagan to pull troops out of Lebanon in February 1984. The same attack killed 58 French troops. At that time, Hezbollah accused the United States and France of taking sides in a Lebanese internal conflict, but those attacks have turned Hezbollah and its TV station into the enemy of both countries.

When Al-Manar covered the invasion of Iraq in 2003, it ridiculed the American military by juxtaposing its claims of precision bombing over photos of dead children. Al-Manar depicted the Statue of Liberty as a skeleton, brandishing a blade dripping with blood. After the Abu Ghraib torture photos were broadcast, Al-Manar taunted the United States over its human rights abuses. In one of its quiz shows, Al-Manar asked for the name of the structure built in 1792 that became the source of all oppressive decisions the world over. Its

answer was: The White House, according to a 2004 article by Kim Ghattas.

After the United States assassinated the leader of the foreign wing of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Qassem Soleimani, on January 3, 2020, Al-Manar went on a daily attack on U.S. policy on Iran and the region, promising revenge.

Al-Manar's Use of Language

Al-Manar is especially sensitive to the language of conflict. It objects to calling the 10-mile strip Israel still occupies in the South "the security zone" as Israel and the international media had been doing. While Israel calls its army, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), Al-Manar calls it the Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF). Sometimes, Al-Manar uses the terms the *Zionist Forces*, or the *Zionist Army*. Its Hot Topics section lists "The Israeli Enemy" as a search category. Al-Manar calls fighters Israel killed martyrs. Hezbollah fighters often leave archived video wills that explain why they chose martyrdom. The station also archives short video clips of family members or friends of martyrs praising their sacrifice and explaining why it benefits the country. The station glorified its martyrs on Martyr Day on November 11, 2019, with a speech by Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah, and in song and resistance videos.

Al-Manar's most potent assets are the political pronouncements and speeches of Hassan Nasrallah in which he adopts the stance of a family member who is telling intimate stories about other family members dear to the audience. In that way, Hezbollah, through Al-Manar, controls the narrative and reframes how events should be understood. For example, to dismiss the notion that the assassination of Soleimani was a victory for the United States, Nasrallah revealed that Soleimani had lamented to him that he had white hair but had not yet attained martyrdom and wished he would not die in bed. Nasrallah added that Hezbollah wins if it fights and no one gets martyred, but it also wins if a martyr "ascends" to heaven. But more than narrative, style matters. Nasrallah mixes classical Arabic with the more intimate Lebanese colloquial Arabic to keep audiences enthralled by his personal anecdotes. His use of colloquial

language is reminiscent of the late Egyptian president Gamal Abdul Nasser, known as a *master communicator*.

Although Al-Manar's enemies accuse it of serving as a voice for terrorism, Dr. Anne Marie Baylouny has written that one could also view Al-Manar as an opposition or resistance media that covers the nondominant perspective, by airing interviews with Palestinian rejectionist groups in Syria and with Hamas in Gaza and the West Bank.

Censorship

On December 14, 2004, the global satellite television operation, Al-Manar, was designated under section 212(a)(3)(B)(vi)(II) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, placing it on the Terrorist Exclusion List and preventing it from operating in the United States or receiving any funds from U.S. citizens, according to a U.S. Department of State Press Statement.

The crusade against Al-Manar TV would not have come about without outside pressure, however. Trish Schuh, in an article titled, "Free Speech 'Marked for Death': Lebanon's Al-Manar TV Targeted," wrote that Natan Sharansky and former Israeli Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom originated the idea of preventing Al-Manar from broadcasting via satellite. They teamed up with several organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League, CAMERA.org, American Jewish Congress and the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, and American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Furthermore, Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI) took credit for persuading Germany, Sweden, Australia, and France to outlaw Al-Manar. The Netherlands and European Union countries followed suit. The coalition against Al-Manar also coerced Spain into removing Al-Manar from Latin American programming. According to a Doreen Carvajal article in December 15, 2004, France's highest administrative court banned Al-Manar for repeatedly violating the country's hate laws. Al-Manar transmitted programs that included commentary accusing Jews of spreading AIDS, as well as a 26-part Syrian-produced series in which a Jewish man demanded the blood of a Christian child to bake Passover matza bread.

Jewish groups in France and the United States had pressed for a ban. Al-Manar's management apologized for airing the series, dropped it, and explained that the station had purchased it without first viewing the entire series, according to Franklin Lamb's article of January 1, 2010. Furthermore, the channel was the first to condemn the September 11, 2001, attack, as anti-Taliban and anti-bin Laden and cheered Hezbollah as it fought Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.

Reporters Without Borders has urged Washington and Paris not to confuse the fight against anti-Semitism with the fight against terrorism. While it found the anti-Semitic statements Al-Manar broadcast "inexcusable," it argued that putting Al-Manar in the same category as a terrorist organization was dangerous to those who work with it and those who report on it.

In November 2019, however, Twitter suspended all of Al-Manar's news accounts and shut down many of its reporters' accounts as well as the accounts of 1 million of its followers. Al-Manar TV accused Twitter of yielding to "political pressure" and stepped up carrying anti-American news on its website. On January 24, 2020, Al-Manar published the headline, "In Pictures: Huge Masses of Iraqis Protesting against US Presence." The photo showed Iraqi demonstrators with two large cutouts held on sticks, one of President Trump in a suit, the other of him in orange prison garb.

The issue of preventing the transmission of Al-Manar is seen by some Arabs and Muslims as an example of the hypocrisy of Israel and Western governments and the press who defend their right to broadcast anti-Muhammad cartoons and other anti-Arab offensive material in the name of free speech, but feel threatened and call for censorship when others transmit offensive programming. Meanwhile, Al-Manar continues functioning despite an advertising boycott, and despite the refusal of several international satellites to carry it. Al-Manar is now available on its own website in Arabic, English, French and Spanish, and on YouTube.

Orayb Aref Najjar

See also Al Arabiya

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ALTERNATIVE NEWS MEDIA

Alternative news media is a concept that describes and explains an ideologically diverse array of media activist and journalistic initiatives around the world. While the term has been used to retroactively analyze historical forms of activist reporting, including the abolitionist, labor, and women's movement presses of the 19th century, it was initially theorized in the latter half of the 20th century. It first became widely used in the 1980s among media scholars and activists interested in explaining or lending coherence to the historical proliferation of underground and left-radical periodicals during the 1960s and 1970s.

Less useful as an ontological category than as a description of a relation, the alternative press is often considered (and its practitioners often consider themselves) vis-a-vis a more dominant or "mainstream" press. Its conceptual underpinnings are typically rooted in Marxist and post-Marxist theoretical frameworks, often building upon Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony"—the notion that social and cultural norms, as well as the ideas that are taken as common sense by mainstream journalists, reflect the ideology of a society's ruling class. While typically associated with left-radical movements, alternative news media is an increasingly salient term in the study of right-wing and modern conservative media, both in the United States and beyond. This entry discusses the origins of the term and theories and practice surrounding alternative media. It concludes by looking at the categorization by some of right-wing media as alternative media.

Origins of the Term

There is no settled definition of the term *alternative media*, which has been variously defined by

scholars and activists united by a shared, if expanding, object of analysis.

David Armstrong developed the term in his 1981 book, *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America*. For Armstrong, a former editor of the underground weekly newspaper the *Berkeley Barb*, "alternative media" described journalists like him—those with an underdog disposition who blended reporting with political activism in promotion of idealistic visions of a better world. Armstrong employed the concept to link the work of his colleagues in U.S. counter-cultural periodicals with their, broadly conceived, historical predecessors—from U.S. Revolutionary War era pamphleteer Thomas Paine, to abolitionist journalists of the 19th century, to the muckraker reporters and socialist presses at the turn of the 20th century. He argued that these various journalistic endeavors shared common characteristics with the underground press of the 1960s and 1970s: They served as tools for community action and organizing. They rejected impartiality or neutrality. They amplified unheard or underrepresented peoples and their struggles. They often participated in the political movements they covered. Armstrong, therefore, saw alternative media as a historically recurring phenomenon serving a crucial function within movements for social and political change.

Armstrong conceded that there are considerable differences among alternative media. Most notably, the alternative media he studied employed a variety of funding models and organizational structures—some even relying upon advertising revenues and hierarchical decision-making practices that often contradicted the periodicals' editorial advancement of egalitarian and anti-consumerist ideals. This raised the question of exactly how alternative media differ from their mainstream counterparts—a question that has since sparked considerable debate among scholars and activists alike, as we will see below. In *A Trumpet to Arms*, Armstrong posited a two-way relationship between alternative media and the dominant society. "Not only do ideas introduced by alternative media modify society," he wrote, "they also are themselves modified in the course of being absorbed by mainstream culture" (1981, p. 25). He saw alternative media as a catalyst of social and cultural change, engaged in a struggle against an otherwise obdurate mainstream media over the contours of the prevailing political common sense and interpretations of the news of the day.

Drawing upon now-classic studies by media sociologists Herbert Gans (*Deciding What's News*, 1979) and Todd Gitlin (*The Whole World Is Watching*, 1980), Armstrong characterized the "mainstream" press in the United States as upholding small-c conservative political values—though not explicitly partisan, the mainstream press was generally supportive of capitalism and U.S. global military dominance, geared toward advancing the status quo interests of political, cultural, and business elites. This analysis was common of an influential strain of progressive media criticism that also emerged in the 1980s, led by journalist Ben Bagdikian and scholars Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. By and large, professional journalists working at commercial outlets in the United States during this time period still adhered to what historian Daniel Hallin has called *high modern* journalistic values—a commitment to objectivity in reporting and conveying the news in a straightforward, dispassionate tone.

Bagdikian, who wrote the preface to Armstrong's book, raised doubts about the putative impartiality of the mainstream press in his 1983 book *The Media Monopoly*. Rekindling structural media criticism first developed by progressive journalists in the 1940s, Bagdikian contended that increasing concentration of media ownership resulted in constraints on journalists' ability to challenge the status quo. Herman and Chomsky took this a step further in their 1988 book *Manufacturing Consent*, arguing that the mainstream media was unwittingly complicit in a propaganda campaign to legitimate capitalism and U.S. imperialism overseas. It was in this context that alternative news media first gained conceptual salience—as both a description of real-existing activist journalistic initiatives beyond the control of an increasingly concentrated corporate mass media, and as a normative theory for identifying reporting practices capable of challenging various interlocking systems of oppression.

Another key early study of alternative media was John D. H. Downing's *Radical Media: The Political Experience of Alternative Communication*, first published in 1984. Whereas Armstrong

had primarily focused on the alternative press (periodicals and radio programming geared toward news and commentary), Downing expanded the conception of alternative media to encompass radical media practices beyond news reporting and analysis—from street theater and murals to song and dance. Downing's study also extended the concept of alternative media geographically—comparing alternative media in the United States with examples in Portugal, Italy, and Eastern Europe. Engaging with anarchist and feminist theories of political organizing and communication, Downing attempted to theorize democratic communication beyond a highly reductive, Cold War era East-West binary. His resulting conception of alternative media was unusually broad and characterized by movement-oriented self-management, autonomy from both corporate and state influences, and a critical disposition toward the powers that be in a given society.

Theories of Alternative Media

If earlier studies of alternative media tended to use critical or left radical content as a basis for distinguishing the alternative press from its mainstream counterparts, media theorists in the early 21st century sought to develop more robust theoretical frameworks for defining and understanding the phenomenon.

Some, most notably Chris Atton, focus on the modes of production and organizational practices that make alternative media distinct as a form of communication. In *Alternative Media*, an influential work first published in 2001, Atton contends that content is one among many elements that make particular media projects alternative. Atton suggests defining alternative media according to their ability to generate nonstandard and subversive methods of creation, production, and distribution. Media that rely upon advertising revenues or hierarchical decision-making would not count as alternative, according to this view. Atton also extends the conception of "production" to include audiences, arguing that among alternative media's unique traits is their ability to offer a means of democratic communication to people who are normally excluded from engaging in media production—that is, they invite and enable audience

participation and reflexivity about their relationship to the production process.

Other scholars, most notably Jennifer Rauch, situate alternative media in the eye of the activist beholder. Audience-oriented approaches to understanding alternative media acknowledge that the interpretive strategies used to read, view, or listen to media play a role in distinguishing the alternative from the mainstream. Often audience perceptions of alternative media are less focused on production processes than on content, meaning that even corporate mass media might be considered alternative depending upon a particular audience member's vantage. While helpful in explaining common vernacular understandings of infotainment programs such as *The Daily Show* (1996–) or the cable channel Fox News as "alternative," audience-oriented approaches complicate clear cut distinctions between alternative and mainstream media.

Still other scholars, such as Leah Lievrouw and Joshua Atkinson, attempt to bridge the production/consumption divide by applying media genre theory. Genres operate according to conventions that structure the content that media makers produce, as well as the assumptions and expectations their audiences have about that media. In her 2011 book, *Alternative and Activist New Media*, Lievrouw outlined five distinct alternative and activist media genres, based upon their content and functionality: participatory journalism, mediated mobilization, commons knowledge, culture jamming, and alternative computing. The first three of these involve crowd- and audience-sourced newsgathering and circulation methods, as well as mobilization-oriented coverage of events or protests. In his work, Joshua Atkinson has noted that the first three are more applicable to the analysis of alternative (as opposed to activist) media. Building on Lievrouw's genres, Atkinson defines alternative media as distinct from other media in terms of content (critical or oppositional toward dominant power structures), production (employing participatory sourcing methods), and audience interpretation (as distinct from mainstream media).

Similarly focused on attending to alternative media's unique methods of production, distribution, and consumption are Olga Bailey, Bart Cammaerts, and Nico Carpentier. Their 2006 book,

Understanding Alternative Media draws upon post-structuralist and postmodernist theories to resist essentialist notions of alternative media as somehow inherently noncommercial or radical. They contend that alternative media's relationship to the mainstream is only one of several relations that shape its historically contingent forms and contents. They offer four interconnected theoretical approaches for understanding the full interventions of alternative media in a given society. First, they argue that alternative media serve communities, opening channels of communication for misrepresented, stigmatized, or repressed social groups with the goal of validating and empowering them. Second, they argue that alternative media are engaged in counter-hegemonic discursive struggles with the mainstream media over what constitutes common sense, erring on the side of self-representation for those excluded in conventional media narratives. Third, they see alternative media as providing a crucial link to civil society, offering a pathway for political participation previously unavailable to marginalized groups. Lastly, they theorize alternative media as a "rhizome," by which they mean that alternative media serve to link otherwise distinct democratic struggles, enabling new forms of political identity and solidarity to emerge.

Another, more recent, approach that similarly disrupts essentialist or fixed notions of alternative media is Linda Jean Kenix's continuum model. Kenix argues against thinking of alternative media as conceptually distinct from mainstream media. She theorizes the relationship between alternative and mainstream media not as a binary, but as a spectrum. While acknowledging important differences between alternative and mainstream news media outlets—in terms of individual motivations, organizational practices, media ownership, and ideological influences—Kenix points to shared norms and routines among alternative and mainstream journalists as well as the shared commercial pressures of sustaining a news outlet in a capitalist economy. These similarities result in a convergence among both mainstream and alternative media toward news practices that emphasize social networking and individual empowerment—values that were once more common among the alternative than the mainstream.

While scholars have taken pains to theorize the alternative press—how and why it functions as a social and cultural change agent, its capacity for counter-hegemonic struggle, its coproduction between alternative journalists and their audiences, its differences from the mainstream news media—they have often had practical case studies in mind while doing so. Activists themselves have shaped the meaning of the alternative press through praxis.

Alternative Media Praxis

There is a long history of journalistic endeavors, both in the United States and globally, that fit the alternative media mold, but precede it conceptually. Many political movements of world historical proportions—from the transnational struggle to abolish slavery to early feminist campaigns for suffrage and gender equality—were rooted in robust print cultures, with myriad periodicals designed to give voice to communities who were not at the time considered to be capable of full human agency or political citizenship. The reporters and commentators associated with these movements, as well as the socialist, anarchist, and labor presses that advocated for the concerns and rights of workers around the turn of the 20th century, were typically self-published or published by movement or party-aligned periodicals—building what theorist Nancy Fraser has termed "counterpublics," capable of developing oppositional or alternative discourses and framings of the news of the day in an effort to shift broader public sentiments. These radical print cultures persisted well into the 20th century, although they were variously impeded by periods of political repression. From the late 1940s onward, they were joined over the airwaves by the Pacifica radio network, which operates noncommercial, listener-supported radio stations known for airing progressive interpretations of the news of the day.

As noted earlier, the term *alternative media* was initially coined to explain the proliferation of underground newspapers and other radical periodicals associated with the global New Left and countercultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s. During those decades, youth movements emerged in countries around the world, aligning with popular and working-class struggles against

racism, colonialism, and war. These movements not only advanced radical (often Marxist or anarchist) social and political visions but also pushed for looser cultural norms around drug use, sexuality, and gender performance. They gave rise to hundreds of underground newspapers, whose role was not only to chronicle the movements but to give voice to a wide array of marginalized social groups with whom the movements were aligned politically and culturally.

By the end of the 1960s, approximately 500 underground newspapers were being published (most weekly or intermittently) in the United States alone, with most major cities laying claim to at least one. Among the first were the *Los Angeles Free Press*, or *Freep*, which began publication in 1964, and the *Berkeley Barb*, a particularly influential paper founded in 1965. At its peak in 1968, the *Barb* had a weekly circulation of 90,000. Both papers joined with 60 others in 1967 to form the Underground Press Syndicate, a wire service that enabled local underground newspapers to share information, commentary, and news to communities across the United States. Similar underground newspapers emerged in countries throughout the world, among them the *Black Dwarf* in the United Kingdom, *Sydney OZ* in Australia, and *Actuel* in France.

In the United States and Canada, many of these underground newspapers disappeared by the late 1970s and 1980s, as do-it-yourself punk and anarchist subcultures turned away from newspapers toward the production of zines. Those alternative newspapers that remained, most notably New York's *Village Voice* (which, founded in 1955, both preceded and outlasted its New Left underground counterparts) adapted to compete within their local commercial media markets—relying upon classified advertising revenues, and selling ad space to businesses deemed too unseemly by more mass audience daily newspapers (e.g., sex workers, night clubs, and drinking establishments). From the 1960s through the early 21st century, when they were starved of revenue as classified advertising migrated to free online platforms, alt-weekly newspapers could be found in most major U.S. cities, where they served as sites of journalistic innovation—specializing in critical arts and culture reporting, as well as more subjective, literary long-form pieces characteristic of New Journalism, and deep-dive investigative reporting into social and political issues of both local and national concern. By the end of the 20th century, these periodicals largely maintained their countercultural edginess but moderated somewhat politically. Still mostly liberal or progressive, few advanced the radical political visions of their underground predecessors.

The turn of the 21st century saw the emergence of a global justice movement, opposing the transnational expansion of corporate power enabled by international institutions such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. Initially sustained by underground newspapers, zines, and radical (often anarchist and/or feminist) publishers and info shops, the movement also benefited from widespread adoption of the Internet, which resulted in a flourishing of both digital and analog activist media projects around the world. Most notable was the Independent Media Center, or Indymedia, a network of activist journalist collectives launched in 1999. Originating in London and Sydney, the early 2000s saw the rise of networked local collectives in cities and college towns around the world—staffed by volunteers and not for profit, the Indymedia network covered protests around the globe and amplified the local impacts of corporate globalization. By the middle aughts, the Indymedia network included more than 150 collectives across the Americas, Western Europe, and Oceana.

While Indymedia declined in the 2010s, its model of radical participatory online media evolved and persisted with the rise of social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter. While not radical or alternative in their own right, activists have nevertheless used these for-profit, corporate-owned omnibus platforms to report and widely disseminate news and commentary that would have been traditionally relegated to a localized underground press or online activist sites. In 2011, the Canadian alternative magazine *Adbusters*—founded in 1989, and known for innovations in anti-consumerist culture jamming—put out a call for activists to "Occupy Wall Street," which New York-based activists heeded that September. What became known as the Occupy movement borrowed social media reporting practices, most notably livestreaming, from

Arab Spring activists—who had leveraged online media tools to promote democracy movements throughout North Africa and the Middle East earlier that year.

While the Occupy movement dissipated under police pressure, its grassroots participatory practices of news production and circulation have become a regular feature of new social movements in the 21st century. Bolstered by widespread popular adoption of cell phones with high quality camera and video functionality, as well as high-speed mobile broadband, the Black Lives Matter movement in particular reinvigorated longstanding struggles for Black freedom and against police brutality by documenting and widely disseminating evidence of police misconduct and murder of African Americans. As such, the alternative press has become less often associated with particular mediums or outlets, but remains robust in the highly participatory practices of ideologically driven social media reporting.

News on the Right

While most predominating theories and histories of alternative news media tend to focus on outlets and practices associated with left radical and other liberatory movements, the media activists associated with the modern conservative movement or "New Right" have long viewed their work through an alternative media lens. From its earliest iterations in the early 1950s, the modern conservative movement in the United States pitted itself against a dominant "liberal media." Understanding the mainstream news media to be biased against conservative ideas and interpretations of the news helped motivate media activists from William F. Buckley to Phyllis Schlafly to Richard Viguerie and Paul Weyrich to launch various conservative newsletters, magazines, direct mail campaigns, and even an upstart cable television channel. While more focused on commentary than reporting, these early movement-oriented right-wing media nevertheless framed the news for a growing audience of conservatives in the United States.

Initially funded by wealthy donors, by the late 1980s conservative media began showing signs of commercial viability in the United States. In 1987, the Federal Communications Commission revoked its fairness doctrine, which since 1949 had mandated balanced coverage of politically contentious issues over the airwaves, creating space for conservative talk radio innovators such as Rush Limbaugh. Throughout the 1990s, talk radio provided a crucial alternative medium for disseminating conservative interpretations of the news of the day in a format that invited the participation of audiences, who were encouraged to call in to express their views. By 1996, Rupert Murdoch and Roger Ailes capitalized on the active conservative news audience fostered by talk radio hosts, launching the Fox News cable channel with the promise of providing the "fair and balanced" reporting that conservatives felt was missing from the mainstream media.

Talk radio and Fox News would continue to dominate the right-wing alternative media sphere in the United States, but the early 21st century saw a flourishing of alternative news sites on the right globally. In the United States, Andrew Breitbart launched Breitbart in 2007 with the goal of making it "the Huffington Post of the right," referring to a then-popular liberal news aggregation and commentary site. Breitbart made a name for itself during the administration of U.S. President Barack Obama, breaking a series of dubiously reported stories and circulating selectively edited video clips that mixed culture jamming tactics with investigative reporting aesthetics. The site would shift further rightward upon the death of its founder in 2012, and under the leadership of Steve Bannon it played a leading role in promoting the Republican candidacy of Donald Trump for U.S. president in 2016. As of 2020, it remained among the most influential of an array of online conservative news ventures, including the Daily Caller, the *Washington Examiner*, the Washington Free Beacon, and TheBlaze, among others. Similar sites have also emerged across the globe, stoking resurgent right-wing nationalist movements throughout Europe as well as in Brazil and India. Sites such as Fria Tider in Sweden, *Junge Freiheit* in Germany, and Réinformation TV in France have provided alternative news sources for right-wing audiences frustrated by putative left bias in mainstream outlets. Like their left counterparts, right-wing activists have also taken to social media platforms, linking and sharing original content on omnibus platforms such as Facebook, YouTube,

and Twitter, as well as more niche discussion boards like 4chan and 8chan.

While conservative direct mail pioneer and magazine publisher Richard Viguerie has long framed conservative media activism in the United States as "alternative media," scholars have been slow to employ alternative media frameworks for explaining right-wing media. By 2019 that had changed, with scholars calling for more robust and interdisciplinary inquiries into the dynamics of "conservative news cultures," resulting from consistent patterns of meaning making that emerge between and among the sites of production, circulation, and consumption of conservative news in the United States, and more attention to the transnational similarities in how right-wing alternative media mobilize nationalist politics.

By 2020, high-choice media environments, combined with political economic headwinds facing mainstream news outlets, have increased the salience of alternative media around the world, while simultaneously disrupting the alternative/mainstream binary that has traditionally lent it conceptual utility. Some scholars have suggested "hyperpartisan news" as a conceptual replacement for "alternative news media," but it remains to be seen whether it will attract the same degree of scholarly and activist buy in.

A.J. Bauer

See also Advocacy Journalism; Democracy and the Media; Labor Journalism; Media Conglomerates; Social Media; Social Movements and Journalism; Weekly Newspapers

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ALUMNI MAGAZINES

Alumni magazines are magazines produced by colleges and universities for their largest constituencies. These publications have always done the work of journalism; they document, interpret, and contextualize changes on campuses and, in many ways, in the larger society.

In 1991, Ceil Cleveland wrote in the *Gannett Center Journal* about taking on the editorship of an alumni magazine, *Columbia College Today* at Columbia University. She was reflecting on, and

pushing back against, a formula that was adhered to in some places, but that increasingly was seeming outdated—a formula that supported unvarnished cheerleading and was built on a stream of alumni-submitted updates.

At the time Cleveland was writing, editors were beginning to approach alumni magazines with a fresh orientation. That meant not just the practice of good reporting and writing but also the embrace of the values of the academy: treating issues in depth, engaging with big ideas, and not shying away from debate.

This entry first reviews alumni magazine history. It then discusses how these magazines address issues important to the university society as well as society at large. This entry concludes by examining the future of alumni magazines.

An Alumni Magazine History

Also in 1991, another editor, Patricia Ann LaSalle, wrote a mini-history of alumni magazines for the Council for Advancement & Support of Education (CASE). At the time, LaSalle was editor of *SMU Magazine* at Southern Methodist University. She noted that alumni magazines were slow to arrive in higher education: Harvard University, the United States' first institution of higher education, was chartered in 1636; it became the first to charter an official alumni association, in 1840, and started publishing an alumni periodical in 1898, with the *Harvard Bulletin*. In 1891, Yale University began publishing a weekly alumni newspaper. Three years later, Princeton University unveiled the *Alumni Princetonian* as the Saturday edition of its student newspaper.

By the 1950s, colleges and universities were energized by postwar ambitiousness. Multimillion dollar fundraising campaigns helped provide the fuel for those ambitions. In turn, effective fundraising hinged on deepening alumni loyalty. The broad reach—all those magazines in all those mailboxes, generally several times a year—far exceeded that of the familiar alumni reunion weekends, homecomings, and programs in the regions. Through the vehicle of alumni magazines, the campus would come to alumni wherever they were in terms of geography and life cycle. The editor of *Johns Hopkins Magazine* in the 1950s, Corbin Gwaltney, was among the pioneers in resisting the traditional

parochialism of alumni magazines; he would go on to become founding editor of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

The emblematic events of the 1960s—demands to end the Vietnam War, equally vociferous demands for racial equity, a growing embrace among the young of their power as agents of change—often originated or found dramatic (even traumatic) expression on campus. The then-editor at Columbia, George Keller, wrote about Students for a Democratic Society in the context of Columbia; in a larger sense, he was probing the meaning of protests that were consequential far beyond one campus.

Around that time, images came to play a bigger role in storytelling for commercial magazines— and for alumni magazines as well. In 1988, Charles Michael Helmken, a longtime designer with CASE, produced a book called *Great Ideas*, which was a tribute to the growing visual sophistication of alumni magazines (and other campus publications). In the field of alumni magazines, he celebrated the use of vibrant color, fine paper, high-quality printing, and compelling photography and illustration.

The alumni magazine visuals reproduced in the volume are striking, even today. Many are magazine covers: an illustration of a two-headed woman, representing the dual roles of the "working mother," in Radford's magazine; a photo of a pure-white mouse against a pitch-black background, with the cover line "Immunology: Of Mice and Men," in Emory's magazine; the words, stacked in three lines, "Talk to/MMM/MMME, for a feature on stuttering, in Hollins' magazine; a blank sheet of ruled paper, for a story on writers and writing, in Columbia's magazine.

The story layouts reproduced in the volume include some eye-popping examples, along with some that are more subdued, even elegant. The mix seemed appropriate to higher education, which, after all, dedicates itself both to the very traditional act of conserving knowledge and to producing and disseminating fresh discoveries. Design in alumni magazines is itself a storytelling device, and, to make that point, the Helmken volume offers a photo series originally published in the Brown University magazine. Called *Tools of the University*, it features an empty classroom with chairs arranged, expectantly, in a circle;

hands positioned on a computer keyboard, with the hint of something on the cusp of being created; a professor taking up his position at a chalkboard, with the hint of something about to be explained; a stack of musical instruments ready to be played; and then a stack of books ready to be consulted.

Alumni Magazines Tracking the Times

Today, in an echo from the 1960s, a polarized political culture puts colleges and universities under intense scrutiny. A much-publicized Pew Survey from 2017 showed that just 37% of Republican-leaning respondents believed higher education had a positive effect on the direction of the country. Later surveys pointed in the same direction (though other reports found that Republicans and Democrats agreed on the value of a college degree). Analysts pinned those results on a range of factors—the college admissions scandal that, while affecting just a few schools, helped feed the critique that selective admissions programs favor the privileged; well-publicized incidents of controversial speakers being blocked from campus appearances, supporting the narrative of a rampaging political correctness; and rising tuition costs, contributing to the notion of campuses as elite bastions.

All of that speaks to the role of these magazines in addressing issues that pervade the campus, issues that often play out in society. Through honest exploration, the best alumni magazines build understanding of the academic enterprise and strengthen support for it as well.

In 2017, a talk by controversial political scientist Charles Murray was interrupted by demonstrations at Middlebury College. The college's alumni magazine ran a commentary from the president that helped readers grasp the tough balancing act of a campus leader. She made the case for listening to "arguments that offend us," even as she endorsed the work of advocating for "a better society" and of challenging offensive views "with better reason, better research, better logic, and better data" (DiGravio, 2017).

The *Carolina Alumni Review*, from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has documented the strange odyssey of "Silent Sam," the Confederate monument that was toppled after standing on campus for 105 years. Late in 2019,

members of the UNC System board of governors brokered a settlement with the Sons of Confederate Veterans; it would provide up to $2.5 million to display the statue on private property. The alumni magazine did not shy away from reporting that "the Faculty Council condemned the payment, social media lit up with dissent and questions, a legal group filed suit to overturn it, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation said it would not go forward with an anticipated $1.5 million grant."

When COVID-19 came to campuses, in the Spring of 2020, alumni magazines did the documenting. The Summer 2020 issue of *Johns Hopkins Magazine* offered this feature lineup: "Seeing Red," about an innovative dashboard created by Hopkins' engineers that showed how the pandemic played out in real time; "This Is Not a Drill," looking at how scientists and researchers at the university's Center for Health Security, who had long warned of the catastrophic impact of a pandemic, were using their expertise to help lessen the impact of one; "A View From Italy," providing the COVID-19-related perspective of a faculty member based in Hopkins' Italy campus; "On Writing History's First Draft," on how an undergraduate newspaper had covered the crisis through the voices of students; "Losing Touch," which charted the physical and emotional toll of COVID-19, through the experiences of a physician who fought the disease at home and on the frontlines; and "Then It All Changed," recalling how the Hopkins leadership made a series of gutwrenching decisions around the operations of the university.

Beyond a consequential pandemic, alumni magazines routinely grapple with matters that intellectually curious readers care about—and that the academy's intellectual firepower can unpack. In its Winter 2019–2020 issue, *Notre Dame Magazine* asked "What's Wrong With Experts?" reflecting on the devaluing of the wisdom and advice of authorities. In *Harvard Magazine*, March–April 2020 issue, "Healthy Plate, Healthy Planet" talked about obesity, malnutrition, and a warming planet from the vantage point of a Harvard nutrition scholar. The Winter 2020 *Carleton College Voice*'s "Character Driven" reflected on the efforts of a "multidisciplinary artist" brought to campus to help the community

explore gender, ethnicity, identity, religion, privilege, and social norms.

How do we acquire language? One answer is in the *Stanford Magazine* March 2020 story "What the Kids Are Saying These Days," about a Stanford scholar's work in that area. And what can one committed individual do to combat climate change? It turns out that a Yale graduate has led the charge to return to lower its carbon output—a story told in the *Yale Alumni Magazine* January/February 2020 article "The Climate in California."

Alumni Magazine Futures

Alumni show an enduring attachment to the physical alumni magazine; in its mix of words and images, it serves as a strong reminder of the physical campus. In a monograph for CASE published in 2020, Meredith Barnett, a communications consultant, referred to a survey from the Association of Magazine Media, from 2019, showing that 73% of adults say they enjoy reading a print magazine more than reading on an electronic device. Although in the commercial world, many print publications have foundered, data indicate that for alumni magazines, print remains powerful. Barnett noted that the digital space is crowded, with tweets, alerts, and emails all vying for readers' attention. According to a recent CASE Magazine Readership Survey—combining the surveying of 91,000 readers by 176 institutions—a quarter of readers say they are "not at all likely" to view additional alumni magazine content online. Only 10% are "very likely to."

The survey also finds that alumni learn about the campus chiefly through alumni magazines; in the strength of their influence, the magazines, as printed products, trump email, web-based content, or word of mouth. More than 80% of the alumni surveyed said they read all or most alumni magazine issues. Seventy percent of readers say they prefer to read that content in print; 11% prefer online, and 18% want both.

Still, alumni magazines, like journalism enterprises overall, have adjusted to changes in how readers consume information. Tighter printing budgets are likely to accelerate the rethinking. Between printed issues, in its "Web Extras" category, Dartmouth's magazine showcased stories about a young graduate's experience hiking in Nepal, which produced some health challenges along with some lessons in human connections; a photo series documenting an emptied-out campus during the time of COVID-19; and an archival plunge into life at Dartmouth when, during World War II, the college instituted the Navy V-12 program. As campuses were grappling with the coronavirus, the website for *LMU Magazine*, published by Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, featured podcasts that offered expert opinion on juveniles in detention who were at risk for COVID-19, the economic consequences of the pandemic for the region and the country, the future of U.S. relations with China, and the effectiveness of political leadership in managing a crisis.

Over time, the basic alumni magazine has become more nimble, flexible, and professional. What has not changed is that higher education is rich in storytelling potential, and that through shared stories, campuses and their constituencies are deeply connected.

Robert J. Bliwise

See also Advocacy Journalism; Arts Journalism; Design and Layout, Magazine; Education, Coverage of; Objectivity; Science and Technology Journalism; Trade Magazines

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU)

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is the oldest organization in the United States dedicated to promoting civil liberties. The ACLU appears in the Supreme Court more frequently than any other nongovernmental organization. In addition to litigation, it engages in education, lobbying, and other forms of activism. The organization comprises a national office with affiliate offices in 50 states and the District of Columbia. As of 2019, it claims 1.5 million members. This entry discusses the origins of the ACLU as well as its positions with respect to radicalism, communism, and anticommunism. The entry also examines the ACLU's work related to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly.

Origins

The ACLU arose in response to the federal government's repression of pacifists, radicals, and labor unions surrounding World War I. ACLU founder Roger Nash Baldwin, a Massachusetts-born social reformer, defended the rights of conscientious objectors during the war, first through the American Union Against Militarism and then through a spinoff organization, the National Civil Liberties Bureau (NCLB). The Justice Department investigated the NCLB, tapped its phones, placed an informant in its headquarters, seized its files, questioned Baldwin, and considered indicting Baldwin and other leaders under the Espionage Act for interfering with the draft. Although no Espionage Act prosecution was brought, Baldwin refused to be inducted into the military, and in 1918–1919, he served 8 months in prison.

After the war came the Palmer Raids of 1919–1920, when incidents of public disorder—including race riots, violent strikes, and a spate of bombings—prompted the Justice Department, led by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, to apprehend and deport immigrants who were suspected of harboring radical sentiments. Baldwin, out of prison and back at NCLB, considered it essential to defend the rights of radicals and the cause of civil liberties. He thought the NCLB was too closely identified with the issue of conscientious objectors, so in 1920, he converted it into a new organization, the ACLU. Baldwin ran the ACLU from 1920 to 1950.

Radicalism, Communism, and Anticommunism

Although the ACLU prides itself on placing constitutional principle above ideology, the organization and its leadership departed from neutrality in dealing with communism, first in one direction and then in the other. Like many on the Left in the 1920s, Roger Baldwin, who characterized his views as philosophical anarchism, sympathized with the Soviet Union and spent time there. In speeches and a book, *Liberty Under the Soviets* (1928), he said that the Soviet Union should not be held to the same standard as the United States because it had no tradition of civil liberties; because its violations of civil liberties were regrettable but temporary artifacts of a transition period; and because economic liberty was the foremost concern. According to Baldwin biographer Robert C. Cottrell, it is surprising that Baldwin's double standard did not discredit his work with the ACLU. Baldwin, once again like many on the Left, became much more critical of the Soviet Union in the late 1930s, particularly after the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 1939.

During the period of Baldwin's shift, the ACLU's guiding philosophy also changed. According to Laura Weinrib, the organization initially promoted free speech and other civil liberties not for their own sake but as tools for attaining radical political ends, particularly the empowerment of labor. Baldwin at the outset said that the ACLU would seek to advance free expression in order to advance the industrial struggle. ACLU founders believed that state authority customarily repressed labor on behalf of capital; therefore, labor could be strengthened by constraining state authority. But by the New Deal, the ACLU endorsed the use of governmental power, including labor legislation. In a 1936 publication, in fact, the ACLU declared that civil liberties were threatened less by government than by vigilantes, mobs, and other nongovernmental actors, sometimes backed (or at least not stopped) by law enforcement. The ACLU also came to value free expression for its own sake rather than for the sake of the class struggle,

which ultimately entailed the recognition of free speech for corporations.

As the ACLU moved away from its radical roots, the double standard in favor of Soviet communism became a double standard against Soviet communism. After the *American Mercury* in 1936 charged that the ACLU supported communism, the organization's board filed a libel suit against the magazine. (It would be nearly three decades before the U.S. Supreme Court applied the First Amendment to libel law, in the 1964 case *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*.) Pursuant to an out-of-court settlement, H. L. Mencken, the editor of the *Mercury*, wrote and published a more positive article about the ACLU, but it too charged that the organization was close to communists. Meanwhile, the predecessor of the House Un-American Activities Committee, a congressional committee chaired by Rep. Martin Dies, investigated the ACLU for communist influences. Baldwin submitted an affidavit to the committee in 1939 stating that the ACLU had never elected a Communist Party member to its board or its national committee, a statement that Judy Kutulas, in her ACLU history, characterizes as a flat-out lie.

With Baldwin's backing, ACLU counsel Morris Ernst then tried to purge ACLU leadership of anyone with communist connections. In 1940, the board passed a resolution saying that communists (and others who supported totalitarianism) were ineligible for leadership positions. Board member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the founding members of the ACLU, was also a member of the Communist Party, and the board ousted her. Samuel Walker, the preeminent historian of the organization, characterizes the incident as the ACLU's major deviation from principle.

Freedom of Expression and Assembly

The ACLU has been involved in landmark cases involving church-state separation, including the Scopes Monkey Trial of 1925, and equal protection under the law, including the challenge to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, as well as litigation and lobbying over the rights of criminal suspects, privacy rights, women's rights, LGBTQ rights, the right to abortion, and legislative apportionment. But the organization has been best known for its work in the area

of free speech. Its first substantial victory in the Supreme Court came in the 1925 case *Gitlow v. New York*, which involved a Communist Party founder convicted in New York of advocating the overthrow of the government. Although the Supreme Court affirmed the conviction, it made a landmark doctrinal shift by asserting that the Constitution prohibits state governments, and not just the federal government, from infringing free speech.

The ACLU's most noteworthy defense of free speech arose in 1977, when a small group of neo-Nazis announced plans to march through Skokie, Illinois. A largely Jewish suburb of Chicago, Skokie was home to about a thousand survivors of the Holocaust. The city of Skokie sought to prevent the march, and the ACLU represented the Nazis in litigation against the city. The action was highly contentious within the ACLU. Thousands of members resigned or declined to renew, and the organization fell into debt. Lawyers for the city of Skokie argued that the Nazi march would provoke a breach of the peace and thus fell outside First Amendment protection. The ACLU responded that the courts could not allow those offended by the marchers' message to exercise a heckler's veto, by which the opponents of a viewpoint can preempt its expression by threatening a violent response. The courts ultimately concluded that the Nazis had a constitutional right to march through Skokie. At that point, the Nazis, reportedly after negotiating with the Justice Department, decided they would not exercise their right to march there. Instead, they demonstrated in Chicago, without incident.

On another divisive issue of free speech, the ACLU opposed an anti-pornography ordinance enacted in 1984 in Indianapolis. The ordinance was largely the handiwork of feminist legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon, who called the pornography issue "women's Skokie," and Andrea Dworkin. It defined certain forms of pornography as "the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women" and provided that victims, including women who encountered the pornography in a public place, could seek monetary damages from the producers and distributors. (As part of their campaign against pornography, some conservative Christian groups also supported the Indianapolis law, despite their opposition to most of the

feminist agenda.) The ACLU filed an amicus brief on behalf of individuals and organizations challenging the ordinance. In 1985, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit struck it down as a violation of the First Amendment. When some charged the ACLU with complicity in the subjugation of women, ACLU president Nadine Strossen responded that women were more likely to be subjugated by censorship than by pornography. The conflict briefly revived in 1997, when Gloria Steinem denounced the ACLU for celebrating a film about a pornographer's First Amendment victory, *The People vs. Larry Flynt*.

Another controversy arose when the ACLU represented alt-right activist Jason Kessler in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017. Kessler organized what he termed a *Unite the Right* rally to protest the city's actions to stop honoring its Confederate past—specifically, renaming Lee Park as Emancipation Park and removing a statue of General Robert E. Lee. After first granting Kessler's group a permit to demonstrate in Emancipation Park, city officials rescinded it on the ground that the demonstration was likely to be much larger than originally planned. The Virginia chapter of the ACLU represented Kessler in court, and the judge ordered the city to allow the demonstration to proceed in Emancipation Park. Demonstrators, including neo-Nazis and KKK members, squared off against counterdemonstrators, a total of about 1,500 people. Fighting broke out, and a white supremacist drove his car into a crowd of counterdemonstrators, killing one person and injuring 19. The ACLU afterward announced a change in policy: It would no longer defend those who carry guns while exercising their First Amendment rights. Two months after Charlottesville, the College of William and Mary scheduled an address on freedom of speech by the executive director of the ACLU of Virginia, Claire Guthrie Gastañaga. Students from the Black Lives Matter chapter on campus prevented her from speaking; their chants included "ACLU, you protect Hitler too."

Case Selection Guidelines

Periodically, an issue pits the ACLU against its traditional allies: some Jewish organizations over the Skokie case, some feminists over the pornography statute, and some civil rights organizations over the Charlottesville case. ACLU leaders have defended the organization as dedicated single-mindedly to the promotion of free speech. At times, however, some have charged the organization with adopting a selective approach to free speech, particularly when the speech clashes with other constitutional values. Wendy Kaminer, a former member of the national ACLU board, has expressed this perspective in a book and a number of articles. In an article published in 2018, Kaminer reported on an internal document that had been leaked to her, titled "ACLU Case Selection Guidelines: Conflicts Between Competing Values or Priorities." This post-Charlottesville document says that the national ACLU office, in deciding whether to accept a case, will not automatically treat free speech as superior to other constitutional values; instead, it will consider, among other factors, the harm that the speech may inflict on the community where it occurs. In response to Kaminer's article, the ACLU posted the guidelines publicly and said its policy on free speech, set by its national board, remained unchanged. Nonetheless, some critics charge that under the guidelines, the ACLU probably would not take another Skokie-type case.

Stephen Bates

See also Censorship; First Amendment; Indecency and Obscenity

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AMPLIFICATION

When editors decide which stories to assign, publish, and promote, that editorial judgment is a decision about what content to amplify on their broadcasts, digital platforms, or print pages. While news judgment has always driven these decisions, the concept of amplification has taken on new meaning and urgency in recent years as the information ecosystem has become increasingly digital, user-driven, and saturated with misinformation, disinformation, and polarizing content. This entry discusses the risk of amplifying misinformation or polarizing content, even when the purpose is to correct misinformation, and possible ways to avoid this amplification or to minimize harm. The entry also looks at the journalistic practices that lead to amplification and the role of social media.

In today's media context, amplification is often used to describe a negative phenomenon. Sometimes unintentionally, editors and reporters can amplify misinformation, divisive narratives from politicians, or even hate speech from fringe players or nefarious actors domestic and abroad. There are several ways this can happen. Efforts to correct misinformation can have the unintended effect of amplifying it. Journalists can uncritically report false or divisive statements from politicians or officials by simply reporting what they said without providing any context. They also might give equal weight or emphasis to both sides of a public debate even when it is clear that one side is more accurate or morally grounded.

As journalists began to better understand this phenomenon and the interplay between mainstream and social media in the 2010s and into the 2020s, scholars and media critics alike pointed to the potentially negative effects on democracy and society of the amplification of false and polarizing content. Media and misinformation experts then started to identify new techniques for journalists to avoid amplification of negative content.

Important scholarship in this field was produced by Whitney M. Phillips while she served as an assistant professor of communication and rhetorical studies at Syracuse University. In her 2019 report, "The Oxygen of Amplification," for the nonprofit Data & Society Research Institute, Phillips explored how journalists view their role in amplifying the misinformation and manipulations that have found their way into the online world during and after the 2016 election. In talking with the journalists, Phillips discovered that they were ambivalent when it came to making decisions about amplifying problematic messages like misinformation, aware of the potential harms to public discourse but also aware of the dangers of not exposing them.

Among the challenges that Phillips and other scholars have illuminated are the methods that media manipulators often use to get news organizations to publish or air falsehoods, hoaxes, and divisive narratives in order to amplify them. These bad actors often prey on mainstream media during breaking news situations, when journalists and their audiences alike are hungry for new information and when getting that information out is paramount. Sadly, mass shootings or disasters that capture the public's attention are often cases in which media manipulators seek to plant misinformation about causes or responses in mainstream media outlets.

Amplification of Misinformation in Attempts to Correct It

Another major concern is that journalists can amplify misinformation even as they attempt to debunk it. This kind of amplification can occur in several ways.

When a news organization sees a falsehood circulating among people in its coverage area, such as on social media, it might try to use its own

platform to correct the falsehood. Such false information could range from misinformation about a local issue in a community to a state-sponsored effort to stoke division and undermine trust in democracy nationwide.

Because most journalists instinctively seek to correct false information when they see it, it is logical that they would try to cover the falsehood and call out its originators and spreaders. However, it might sometimes be better to avoid reporting on the misinformation altogether, to avoid amplifying it. In fact, when a mainstream media outlet chooses not to cover something, that is itself a statement to readers that the news organization does not consider the information worthy of coverage.

To deal with the amplification conundrum, First Draft, an organization that fights disinformation, has urged journalists covering a falsehood or a hoax on social media to identify a "tipping point," or the point at which it makes sense to report on the misinformation because it can no longer be ignored.

A classic example of a news organization applying the tipping point standard involved *The Washington Post*'s May 2019 decision to publish a story on a video that had been manipulated to make it seem as if U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi was drunk or somehow otherwise impaired. The video, which had been slowed down to make it appear that Pelosi was slurring her speech, and was then posted on social media, had gotten more than a million views on Facebook before the *Post* did its story.

Factors other than reach can also play into tipping point decisions. Take, for example, the news value such a story might carry given the prominence of the players involved. When the manipulated video was circulated, Pelosi was the highest ranking Democratic officeholder in the United States, second in the line of succession for the presidency, which made a video that falsely attacked her judgment especially newsworthy. Moreover, this was also a technology story: Facebook's refusal to take down the Pelosi video shed light on social media companies' policies involving manipulated content or misinformation at a time when those policies were under increasing scrutiny.

Inadvertent or Difficult-to-Avoid Amplification

Journalists can also inadvertently amplify misinformation by quoting without context or correction a politician who utters a falsehood, or by presenting the falsehood and the truth with equal weight rather than giving added emphasis to the truth.

Some journalists might simply report what officials say on the theory that it is inherently news because someone in power said it. To hold these politicians accountable, that thinking goes, they must be put on the record even if what they say is not immediately called out as false. The journalists might simply assume, absent any evidence, that most readers will understand that the politician's statement is false. They might think the notion of "fact-based" reporting supports the idea of first putting the statement out there; it is a fact that this person said this thing.

But in an accelerated news environment, in which politicians and their allies use social media to repeatedly boost their messages—sometimes false ones—online and over the air, the check on the veracity of their statements must be done instantly. Some news organizations, as a result, have taken to real-time fact-checking of major speeches such as the president's State of the Union message or other important appearances by political leaders. They are, in effect, downplaying, or de-amplifying, the falsehood by amplifying the correction.

A number of experts in media, rhetoric, and related fields have proposed ways that journalists can avoid amplifying misinformation and polarizing narratives. In addition to knowing their tipping point, journalists can adopt strategies to ensure that they do not give equal or even disproportionately heavy weight to a falsehood in an attempt to correct it. The idea is to ensure amplification of the truth, as opposed to the falsehood.

One strategy that gained currency starting in mid-2018 came from George Lakoff, a linguist who is professor emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley. Lakoff has urged journalists correcting misinformation to put the truth first, then the falsehood, then to repeat the truth. In a 2018 interview with Lakoff, CNN's Brian Stelter called that technique a "truth sandwich," and that

label took hold as a way to describe the technique.

Amplification of Fringe, Polarizing, and Divisive Content

A related concern is that news organizations can inadvertently stoke divisive messages, such as provocations from extremists or hardline partisans, by either quoting them uncritically or positioning their views opposite people who take a similarly hardline stance, but on the opposing side.

Journalists often explore tensions, as Tom Rosenstiel and Bill Kovach write in their book, *The Elements of Journalism*, first published in 2001. But, the authors note, journalists often wind up reporting on the extreme sides of those tensions, as a way of showing delineation between the two sides.

This dynamic has become more pronounced as more politicians use social media as a communications tool. Those platforms encourage or even require the message to be boiled down to its essence. There is little room for nuance. By emphasizing the "sides" of an issue—and the most extreme position on each side—journalists are essentially amplifying division as opposed to exploring the motives of the parties and the complexity of the issue. This can encourage audiences to take sides, and thus does not encourage them to seek a real understanding of an issue.

The Social Media Factor

It is impossible to consider news organizations' role in the amplification of falsehoods, disinformation, and polarizing narratives without taking into account the role of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. The advent and growth of these platforms have eroded traditional media outlets' control over what information the public is exposed to. Still, bad actors try to get these news organizations to amplify misinformation and disinformation, given their credibility and reach in the marketplace of ideas. Purveyors of falsehoods hope to manipulate mainstream media outlets to propel their cynical and misleading messages to the public. At the same time, mainstream news organizations also use social media to advance their own stories and their brands.

The degree to which the public can be influenced by social media was shown most prominently in the 2016 U.S. national elections, when Facebook and (Facebook-owned) Instagram groups that were controlled by the Russian Internet Research Agency acquired hundreds of thousands of U.S. followers, according to the report of special counsel Robert Mueller, who was investigating Russian influence on the elections. Facebook itself told Congress that an estimated 126 million people may have been served content from a page associated with the Internet Research Agency. Meanwhile, a growing number of people go to social media platforms for news, according to the Pew Research Center, which reported in 2019 that 55% of U.S. adults said they get news from social media either often or sometimes, up from 47% in 2018.

The mainstream media's entanglement with social media companies at once heightens and negates journalists' choices about what to amplify, what to correct, and what to ignore. The relationship is symbiotic: Mainstream news outlets use social media to amplify their stories, but those same social platforms spread the kind of misinformation that mainstream media outlets feel compelled to correct. For mainstream news organizations already under financial pressure because advertising has moved to the very social platforms that have eroded their gatekeeper role, this is a paradox likely to persist for years to come.

Susan Benkelman

See also Bias; Credibility; Deception; Fake News; Gatekeeping; News Values

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ANCHORS, TELEVISION

Television news anchors are among the few journalists known to the public on a national scale. In addition to keeping the public informed, viewers who watch a television newscast come to feel as though they *know* the people who report the news. Of all those practicing television journalism, the struggle between the time-honored principles of print and radio journalism and the elements of television appearance, personality, emotion, and celebrity is experienced to the greatest degree by network television news anchors.

Although TV news anchors often ascend to their network posts from local stations and from jobs as correspondents and reporters, they are soon distinguished by their status as the most recognizable figureheads on the nightly network news broadcasts. TV anchors' implicit associations with "hard news" as opposed to softer news

and entertainment formats also distinguish them from such other television personalities as program hosts or commentators. Critics note that while British television reporters are referred to as *news readers* (accurately reflecting what they actually do), a marked difference exists in the way they are regarded in the United States where "anchor" and "host" are often used interchangeably.

The prestige and notoriety of American television news anchors grew steadily between the inception of the phenomenon in the 1940s and the 1980s, the decade during which they reached their apex in terms of attention and autonomy. Since then, with the influx of competition for viewers' attention from other TV news channels, including cable and satellite, as well as from online media, the power of the network television news anchor has been somewhat diluted amid the sea of available news options, but the anchors are still regarded as an institution within TV news.

Emergence of TV Anchors

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

In 1948, NBC began a newsreel program that included film clips of news items spliced together. A year later, the program was expanded to 15 minutes and became the *Camel News Caravan,* anchored by John Cameron Swayze, and lasting until 1957. Swayze provided the introductions to, explanations of, and transitions between the film clips presented. CBS contracted with Telenews, a subsidiary of Hearst-MGM newsreel, for film, and in 1948 began a regular nightly bulletin, *CBS News with Douglas Edwards,* sponsored by General Motors. John Chancellor, anchor of *NBC Nightly News* from 1970 to 1982, is also credited with having helped define television news in these early days.

Discrepant accounts characterize early anchors as humble figures who merely read the news, yet,

at the same time, had some control over the broadcasts. Television journalists developed onscreen personas to connect with viewers by using strategies to mimic face-to-face interaction. These included the anchor looking into the camera (and thus directly into the eyes of the viewer), and speaking directly and personally to each viewer.

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

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

The introduction into the language of the new term *anchorman* took place at the 1952 political conventions in regard to Walter Cronkite, a seasoned wire service reporter who had been anchoring the local news for the CBS-owned Washington station since 1950. According to Barbara Matusow, author of the 1983 book *The Evening Stars,* in one of their preconvention meetings, Sig Mickelson, then head of CBS television news, and producer Don Hewitt discussed the need to have their strongest reporter holding together the coverage from the convention floor. Hewitt compared the arrangement to a relay team, where the strongest runner, who runs the final leg of the race, is called

the *anchorman*. Thus, Cronkite became sealed in history as the first and quintessential television anchor.

CNN's entry into cable television news in 1980 offered opportunities for new faces on TV news. For many ambitious young correspondents, the 1990–1991 Gulf War represented a big break. Bernard Shaw, Christiane Amanpour, Peter Arnett, and Wolf Blitzer were among the CNN correspondents who benefited from hours of wartime coverage. Shaw was a pioneering Black anchor, while Judy Woodruff, Paula Zahn, and Anderson Cooper are other well-known anchors who have been featured on CNN. Other cable news networks were founded and rose in the late 1980s and 1990s, including CNBC in 1989, MSNBC in 1996, and the Fox News Channel also in 1996. Each has featured notable anchors.

The Anchor's Role

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

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

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

TV Anchors Today

By 2005, most industry analysts agreed that the networks' morning news programs, which typified the hybridization of news and entertainment, were eclipsing the evening news programs in viewer popularity and thus value within their news organizations. There are a variety of reasons people watch network evening news less often today, including an increasing number of alternative news sources and altered commuting times. Younger news consumers are also less likely to get their news from evening television news programs.

Routes to entry and promotion within the TV news field have also changed over time. The generation of television reporters who came to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s often had been trained in the wire services or radio and gained experience as foreign or war correspondents or by working their way up through local station and network ranks. In contrast, the trajectory of TV journalists in the 1980s and 1990s was somewhat different. Some of these new anchors entered the field through journalism schools or by working up through the newsroom ranks, while others, such as Anderson Cooper, had a mix of broadcast experience that included news and entertainment.

Since 2010, anchor transitions at the U.S. broadcast networks have occurred more frequently, and by 2017, once again, the anchors of all three network evening news broadcasts were men. Then, in 2019, Norah O'Donnell was named anchor of the CBS *Evening News*. But their placement is no longer as significant among the proliferation of news outlets; the news anchor post has lost some of its cachet. The past decade of anchors also contained scandal. Brian Williams was removed from his post as anchor of NBC's *Nightly News* in 2015, after an internal investigation found he misreported his own role in several stories. Lester Holt replaced Williams, making him the second Black anchor on American network television news, and the first Black solo anchor of a nightly network newscast. At Fox News Channel, sexual harassment scandals involving host Bill O'Reilly and then Chairman and CEO Roger Ailes beset the company. Megyn Kelly, who made her name at Fox challenging then-presidential candidate Donald Trump in a debate prior to the 2016 election, was taken off of the *Today Show* and her own program at NBC in 2018 after making remarks on-air that were seen as racist.

Since the mid-2000s, many news organizations of all types, including television, have been producing more commentary and opinion, and niche programming. As audiences for traditional TV news broadcasts continue to decrease amid competition, there has been an increase in the blending of news and entertainment and the fluidity and transferability of individual TV personalities across formats and genres. Whereas for the first 50 years of television news, the network TV news anchors represented identification with the objective model of journalism and hard news, news anchors today may express partisan views that cater to particular audience segments. News anchor moves between soft news, or entertainment, and hard news can be traced back through the history of television news. The rise in opinionated hosts and commentators providing politically ideological views on evening TV programs, most prominently seen on cable television news, has yielded hosts who now rival—and at times surpass—news anchors as the most well-known personalities on network television. Even so, TV news anchors deliver information to people about the world around them in a visual, personal, emotional, and dramatic way that television made possible.

Notable American TV News Anchors

Tom Brokaw (1940–)

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

Connie Chung (1946–)

Connie Chung was hired by CBS during the women's movement of the early 1970s when the networks put more women on the air. By 1974, the three networks had added about a dozen

women reporters and were recruiting more. After working her way up from positions at local TV news stations to the network level, Chung was named coanchor of the *CBS Evening News* with Dan Rather in 1993. She was the second woman (after Barbara Walters) to become an anchor, but the pairing only lasted 2 years. Subsequently, Chung coanchored ABC News' *20/20* and *Connie Chung Tonight* on CNN. She is the only person (male or female) to have served as a substitute anchor for all three network nightly newscasts as well as all three network morning newscasts.

Katie Couric (1957–)

In 2006, Katie Couric moved from her post she held for 15 years as coanchor of NBC's *Today* to CBS where she anchored the *CBS Evening News with Katie Couric* until 2011. The move made her the first solo female anchor in network television evening news. Couric and NBC made the deliberate choice of calling her *Katie* from the onset of her *Today* show career, while she had previously been known as *Katherine* as a local TV reporter and as a reporter for CNN.

Walter Cronkite (1916–2009)

Walter Cronkite began as a United Press (later called *United Press International*) wire service reporter who then anchored local news for the CBS-owned Washington station in 1950. He rose to become a journalistic star with coverage of the 1952 political conventions. The first use of the term *anchorman* came at this time. From the late 1960s until his retirement in 1981, Cronkite presided over the top-rated network news program.

Two moments epitomized Cronkite's career and impact. His visibly emotional relay of the November 1963 assassination of President Kennedy's death included, according to communications researcher Barbie Zelizer (1992, p. 146) "removing his eyeglasses in a distracted fashion and forgetting to put on his suit jacket." In a sense, he shared the national shock at the event. Five years later, on his return from onsite reporting from Vietnam, he clearly expressed his opinion that the war would never be won on military grounds and that the only end was negotiation. The two-part editorial, broadcast on successive

days, was one catalyst for President Lyndon Johnson's decision to not run for reelection.

Charles Gibson (1943–)

Charles Gibson moved from hosting ABC's *Good Morning America* to solo anchoring *World News Tonight* from 2006 to 2009. He coanchored *Good Morning America* from 1987 to 1998 and 1999 to 2006. In addition, Gibson was also coanchor of *Primetime* and was a regular substitute anchor on *World News Tonight* before his permanent appointment.

Lester Holt (1959–)

Lester Holt was named first as interim anchor to replace Brian Williams in 2015, and then as permanent anchor of the *NBC Nightly News*, making him the second Black anchor on American network television news, and the first Black solo anchor of a nightly network newscast. Holt also continued anchoring *Dateline* on NBC.

Chet Huntley (1911–1974) and David Brinkley (1920–2003)

Chet Huntley and David Brinkley emerged as news stars with their coverage of the 1956 political convention coverage for NBC. Huntley had previously worked for Movietone News and then CBS radio in Los Angeles, as well as NBC TV in Los Angeles. Brinkley was a former United Press International reporter. The Huntley–Brinkley duo that dominated network news in the early and mid-1960s was created to appeal to viewers in all parts of the country, as Huntley was from the West and Brinkley hailed from the East. Their nightly *Huntley–Brinkley Report* ran on NBC until 1970.

Peter Jennings (1938–2005)

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

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

Robert MacNeil (1931–) and Jim Lehrer (1934–2020)

Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer began their television partnership in 1973 when they provided the National Public Affairs Center for Television's continuous live coverage of the Senate Watergate hearings, broadcast on PBS. Lehrer was the solo anchor for subsequent PBS coverage of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry of Richard Nixon. Lehrer had previously been a Texas newspaper reporter. Lehrer's newspaper career led him to public television, first in Dallas, as KERA-TV's executive director of public affairs, on-air host, and editor of a nightly news program. He subsequently moved to Washington, DC, to serve as the public affairs coordinator for PBS. Canadian born MacNeil had previously reported for Reuters news agency and NBC News and for the BBC.

In October 1975, the half-hour *Robert MacNeil Report*, with Jim Lehrer as the Washington correspondent, premiered on Thirteen/WNET New York. In September 1983, Lehrer and MacNeil launched *The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*. MacNeil departed the program in 1995 and Lehrer took stewardship of the program under a new title, *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*. In addition, Lehrer served as a moderator for 10 nationally televised debates among the candidates in the presidential elections since 1988. In 2013, Judy Woodruff and Gwen Ifill were named coanchors of the PBS *NewsHour*.

Roger Mudd (1928–2021)

Roger Mudd began his journalism career in 1953 as a reporter for the now-defunct *Richmond News-Leader* and was news director at WRNL-AM in Richmond. He also worked as a reporter for WTOP-TV in Washington. Mudd joined CBS News in 1961 and worked as a correspondent for 19 years. In 1980, Mudd moved to NBC as coanchor of the *NBC Nightly News* with Tom Brokaw (1982–1983), and coanchor of *Meet the Press*. Later, he became the primary anchor of The History Channel. From 1987 until 1992, he was an essayist and correspondent for the *McNeil-Lehrer NewsHour* on PBS. He left the program in 1992 and became a journalism professor at Princeton University.

David Muir (1973–)

David Muir replaced Diane Sawyer as anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* in 2014. He is also coanchor of ABC News' *20/20*. Muir has been with ABC News since 2003, joining *World News Tonight* as a weekend anchor and chief substitute for Sawyer in 2011 and coanchor of *20/20* in 2013. Prior to ABC, he was at local news stations WCVB in Boston and WTVH in Syracuse.

Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965)

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

Norah O'Donnell (1974–)

Norah O'Donnell became anchor of the CBS Evening News in 2019. She succeeded Jeff Glor. Previously, O'Donnell cohosted CBS *This Morning* and was a contributor to *60 Minutes*. Prior to that she served as chief White House

correspondent. Before joining CBS News, O'Donnell worked at NBC News for more than a decade, where she covered the Pentagon, Congress, and the White House. She began her career as a print reporter for *Roll Call.*

Scott Pelley (1957–)

Scott Pelley served as anchor of the CBS *Evening News* from 2011 to 2017. Pelley joined CBS as a reporter based in New York in 1989, and later served as a CBS News correspondent based in Dallas. He was named Chief White House Correspondent in 1997. He has been a correspondent for *60 Minutes* since 2004. Before joining *60 Minutes*, Pelley was a correspondent for *60 Minutes II.* Jeff Glor replaced Scott Pelley as CBS *Evening News* anchor from late 2017 until May 2019.

Dan Rather (1931–)

Dan Rather succeeded Walter Cronkite as anchor of the *CBS Evening News* in 1981. In the mid-1980s, the program was the leading evening newscast. An early groundbreaking moment for Rather was his televised exchange with President Nixon during a news conference, recounted in Rather's 1977 memoir, in which Nixon asked Rather, "Are you running for something?" and Rather replied, "No, Mr. President, are you?" This began a protracted grudge conservatives would hold toward Rather, and the first of many media tornadoes in which Rather would find himself. Among them was his 6-minute walk-out to protest that the U.S. Open Tennis tournament had cut into the *Evening News* in 1987. CBS struggled at times to manage and withstand the fallout from Rather's behavior over the years, yet stuck by him through his controversies. However, in 2006, Rather left CBS, having been unable to quell criticism brought on by a flawed broadcast report during the 2004 elections. He signed on to host a weekly news program on HDNet.

Harry Reasoner (1923–1991)

Harry Reasoner was a reporter, White House correspondent, and anchor while at CBS News from 1956 to 1970. In 1968, he became one of the original correspondents for CBS's news magazine program *60 Minutes.* In 1970, Reasoner left CBS

to become an evening news anchor for ABC, at first paired with Howard K. Smith, and later with Barbara Walters. He returned to CBS and *60 Minutes* in 1979, where he continued to work full time until 1991.

Frank Reynolds (1923–1983)

Frank Reynolds was the primary anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight,* with coanchors Peter Jennings in London and Max Robinson in Chicago, until his death in 1983. Reynolds began his career in local radio broadcasting and then local television broadcasting in Chicago for CBS and ABC affiliates. In 1965, he became the only Chicago television reporter to travel to South Vietnam to report from the battlefront. That same year, he became an ABC network correspondent in Washington. His first stint at anchoring the evening news took place in the late 1960s, ending in December 1970. For the next 8 years, he covered major stories for ABC News until he was made coanchor again in 1978.

Max Robinson (1939–1988)

Max Robinson became the first Black anchor on broadcast network television in 1981, as the Chicago-based coanchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* with Peter Jennings and Frank Reynolds. Robinson caused a stir when the press reported that, as part of a 1981 speech at Smith College, he remarked that TV networks discriminated against Black reporters and that "unconscious racism" existed at the decision-making levels in news media. Robinson then became anchor of the local news in Chicago, a reversal of the normal progression of an on-camera reporter's career.

Diane Sawyer (1945–)

Diane Sawyer was the anchor of ABC's *World News Tonight* from 2009 until 2014. She replaced Charles Gibson upon his retirement from ABC in 2009. The two previously coanchored *Good Morning America.* Sawyer joined ABC News in February 1989 as coanchor of *Primetime.* In addition to that role, she was named coanchor of *Good Morning America* in January 1999, and held the post until taking over the *World News* anchor chair. Prior to joining ABC News, Sawyer

spent 9 years at CBS News as the first female correspondent of *60 Minutes*. She also coanchored the CBS *Morning News* and was CBS News's State Department correspondent.

Bob Schieffer (1937–)

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

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

Elizabeth Vargas and Bob Woodruff were paired to anchor ABC's *World News Tonight* after Peter Jennings's death in 2005. ABC had scrambled to find a successor, and emerged with not one anchor, but two. This was ABC's attempt at returning to a multi-anchor format, although not by repeating the placement of one male and one female anchor side by side at a desk, but rather a tag-team format whereby one anchor reports from the desk in New York and one from assignment in the field. In 2006, Vargas thus became the first woman of Hispanic descent to achieve the network evening news anchor post. However, less than 6 months after the pairing, with Woodruff recovering from serious injuries sustained while on assignment in Iraq in January 2006, and Vargas preparing for maternity leave, ABC named Charles Gibson the sole anchor of its evening newscast.

Barbara Walters (1929–)

Barbara Walters left her job as the first female cohost of NBC's *Today* show in 1976 to become the first female coanchor of a network evening newscast, ABC's *Evening News* with Harry Reasoner, also becoming the first anchor on television to be offered a $1 million annual salary. Her "auction" brought into question the entire issue of the anchor as celebrity. Considering that journalism had been slow in promoting minorities and women, the fact that the first million-dollar anchor would be a woman made the announcement all the more sensational. When Walters' pairing with Reasoner ended in 1978, she continued hosting *The Barbara Walters Special,* which featured interviews with newsmakers and celebrities. Walters also cohosted the ABC news magazine show *20/20* beginning in 1979. In 1997, she became the main host and producer of the all-female ensemble-hosted morning talk show *The View* on ABC.

Brian Williams (1959–)

Williams started his journalism career at a small TV station in Kansas. After working as a reporter for a number of local East Coast stations, Williams moved to CBS in New York City. In 1993, he shifted to NBC and a year later became the network's chief White House correspondent. For 7 years beginning in 1996, he was anchor and managing editor of *The News with Brian Williams,* a nightly program on MSNBC and then on CNBC. Williams served as anchor and managing editor of the Saturday edition of NBC *Nightly News* for 6 years before becoming anchor of the weekday edition. He was named to succeed Tom Brokaw in 2004. From 2011 to 2013, Williams also hosted a news magazine program on NBC titled, "Rock Center."

Brian Williams was removed from his post as anchor of NBC's *Nightly News* amid scandal in 2015, after an internal investigation found he misreported his own role in several stories. Lester Holt replaced Williams. Williams became the host of MSNBC's political news show, *The 11th Hour with Brian Williams*. He announced in November 2021 that he would be leaving MSNBC and NBC News before the end of his contract the following month.

Judy Woodruff (1946–)
and Gwen Ifill (1955–2016)

In 2013, Judy Woodruff and Gwen Ifill were named coanchors of the PBS *NewsHour* and became the first two women to coanchor a national news broadcast. After Ifill's death in 2016, Woodruff was named sole anchor. At PBS from 1983–1993, Woodruff was the chief Washington correspondent for the McNeil/Lehrer NewsHour. Moving to CNN in 1993, she served as anchor and senior correspondent for 12 years;

among other duties, she anchored the weekday program *Inside Politics*. She returned to the *NewsHour* in 2007. At NBC News, Woodruff was White House correspondent from 1977 to 1982.

For 1 year after that she served as NBC's Today Show chief Washington correspondent. Ifill served as moderator and managing editor of *Washington Week* and coanchor and managing editor of PBS *NewsHour* until her death in November 2016. Before coming to PBS in 1999, Ifill was chief congressional and political correspondent for NBC News, White House correspondent for *The New York Times*, and a local and national political reporter for *The Washington Post*.

Kimberly Meltzer

See also Cable News; Hard Versus Soft News; Television Commentary

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Antitrust

Antitrust is a concept that stems out of the notion that there should be a way to promote equitable and healthy competition in the marketplace. In the United States, the first federal statute that prohibited activities that restricted interstate commerce and competition was the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. The act, passed during a time when many states had just passed their own antitrust laws, was broad in scope and prohibited attempts at monopolization of interstate trade or commerce. The act made such attempts a felony. Over the two decades that followed, the United States passed additional laws to ensure equitable competition and to prevent unfair trade practices. This entry reviews the Sherman Antitrust Act and then discusses several major antitrust cases involving the media.

Sherman Antitrust Act

Two key provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act were meant to curb situations where the concentration of power interferes with trade or reduces competition. One provision applies to cartels, or attempts by companies to limit industrial output, reduce competition within their market sector, and/or manipulate market share. A second provision, which is enforced by the Department of Justice, makes attempts to monopolize any part of commerce or trade within the United States illegal. When a firm is found to be in violation of the act, the Department of Justice can serve it with an injunction to prohibit further illegal action or, in

extreme cases, the courts can order that it be dissolved.

Typically, enforcement actions under the antitrust act are civil actions and violators may be punished by fines, but criminal penalties can be applied and may be severe. Criminal prosecutions are usually limited to intentional and clear violations of the law, such as price fixing or rigged bids. Criminal offenses may result in fines for corporations of up to $100 million and/or imprisonment of up to 10 years. Injured private parties may sue for triple the amount of damages incurred.

During the first two decades following passage of the act, most enforcement was against labor unions. This targeted action against unions created problems for workers who needed some way to balance the bargaining power of their employers. Some scholars speculate that this was because the language of the act was fairly vague and corporations used loopholes to their advantage. But by the turn of the century, the Progressive era movement led by President William McKinley and subsequently President Theodore Roosevelt breathed new life into the trust-busting action by the government. Congress first created the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in September 1914 and 1 month later passed the Clayton Antitrust Act, with the purpose of adding clarity and substance to the Sherman Antitrust Act. This legislation amplified or changed the Sherman antitrust law by providing greater regulatory supervision of price discrimination, corporate supervision, and mergers. It allowed the Department of Justice and the newly created FTC the ability to regulate all mergers and gives government the discretion to approve them or not.

The FTC was set up with the power to enforce U.S. civil antitrust law and promotion of consumer protection, giving it the unique dual mission to promote both consumer protection and promote competition.

The FTC protects consumers by stopping unfair, deceptive, and fraudulent practices in the marketplace. Criminal aspects of antitrust are handled by the Department of Justice, but the FTC shares jurisdiction over federal civil enforcement of the laws with the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. Within the FTC there are three major bureaus that oversee and carry out its regulatory responsibilities.

- *Bureau of Consumer Protection* enforces federal laws related to consumer affairs including advertising and marketing, telemarketing fraud, financial products and practices, and identity theft and protection. The bureau is also responsible for the Do Not Call Registry, which in the past few years has come under considerable scrutiny for its inability to contain robocalls.
- *Bureau of Competition* is charged with elimination and prevention of "anticompetitive" business practices. The bureau also reviews proposed mergers and investigates nonmerger practices that could include illegal agreements among businesses in the same industry, such as suppliers and commercial buyers.
- *Bureau of Economics* supports the other two bureaus by providing expert knowledge related to the state of the economy and the impacts of FTC's legislation and operation.

Antitrust laws attempt to regulate market forces that could lead to unwanted market power. Excessive market control by one company in a particular industry is called a *monopoly*, while control of an industry by two or three companies is called an *oligopoly*. In both cases, it is possible for one or a few entities to stifle competition and innovation by controlling production within an industry (or market sector) and set prices for goods or services within that industry.

Over the past 100 years, antitrust has played a prominent role in the regulation of many aspects of the media business. In some cases, government used antitrust laws to promote competition, to maintain a level playing field among different competitors or to curtail unwanted behavior. In other cases, the government chose not to regulate in an attempt to encourage development of new industries.

Major Antitrust Cases in the Media

This section presents several examples of the government's use of antitrust laws to regulate the media.

Associated Press

The U.S. Constitution guarantees the freedom to publish and freedom from government

interference for all, but it does not allow a cooperative association to prohibit one member of the cooperative from providing breaking news to nonmembers. During the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), five New York newspapers formed the New York Associated Press to share the cost of transmitting news from the war front. In 1892, it became the Associated Press (AP) and in 1900, it was found guilty of restraint of trade.

During the early 20th century, the cooperative grew rapidly. In 1945, the Supreme Court held that AP had been violating the Sherman Antitrust Act by prohibiting members from selling or providing news to nonmembers as well as making it very difficult for nonmember newspapers to join the AP. The resulting Court decision facilitated the growth of its main rival, United Press International.

Radio Corporation of America

The earliest days of broadcasting began when the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) was formed by General Electric (GE), Westinghouse, and the American Telegraph and Telephone Co. (AT&T). The newly formed company benefited from sharing patent and engineering expertise of all three companies, immediately gaining an advantage in the manufacture of radio sets for the newly developing field of broadcasting.

RCA also started the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) so that those who purchased radio sets would have something to listen to. Over the next 4 years, NBC developed several radio networks by stringing together radio affiliates across the United States using AT&T long-lines to make connections.

The Department of Justice began to examine the interlocking structure of this arrangement and after several years of litigation, Westinghouse and GE agreed to sell their interests in RCA, without admitting violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The outcome helped to establish competitive conditions for the manufacture of radio receivers. In the meantime, NBC continued to operate two radio networks, known as *NBC Red* and *NBC Blue*, simultaneously and benefited from advertising revenues.

NBC and CBS

In 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was formed to take over the duties of the Federal Radio Commission established in 1927. It, like the FTC, is an independent regulatory commission set up to license radio and television stations and oversee telecommunications. The FCC has the power to promulgate rules that have the effect of law. Throughout the 1930s, accusations were made against both NBC and its primary rival, CBS, that the two networks engaged in anticompetitive behavior by signing talent to their own in-house talent agencies and tying station affiliates to strict, onerous contracts. These and other network–affiliate practices came under scrutiny by the FCC in 1938 to see whether rules were needed to control network tendencies toward monopoly.

During this time, NBC held tight control on the radio markets in major metropolitan areas. In most large markets like New York, Boston, and Chicago, it owned two radio stations, each affiliated with one of the two NBC radio networks. These stations were usually the most powerful stations in the market, meaning they could reach larger audiences than smaller stations.

CBS radio, the other major network, also tended to own larger stations in the market. Mutual radio, the fourth commercial network, actually had more affiliates than either NBC or CBS, but these affiliate stations were smaller and less powerful and therefore unable to compete for listeners and advertisers.

By 1941, the FCC concluded that there had been abuses by the powerful networks and ordered NBC to sell one of the two stations it owned in each of the large metro markets. It also ordered NBC to divest itself of one of the two major networks. The Supreme Court upheld the FCC decision and as a result of the NBC network breakup, the ABC network was formed.

Cross-Ownership

During this era, the FCC began to examine whether ownership of radio stations by newspapers in the same community (cross-ownership) might stifle differing voices in the community. For example, in Syracuse, NY, both the morning and

evening newspaper and the NBC radio station were owned by the same company. After World War II, when television licenses were allocated, the same company received a channel allocation, which became the NBC TV affiliate. Critics wondered whether news about local politics could be negatively impacted or whether different points of view might be stifled by such close media cross-ownership.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the FCC seemed too busy getting television and the new FM radio band underway to deal with cross-ownership issues; however, in 1970 the commission limited ownership. Television stations had to divest any radio stations they owned in the same market. The commission also began a long investigation on newspaper-broadcast station cross-ownership. In 1975, the FCC prohibited new newspaper–television combinations and required newspapers to sell their television stations when there was only one TV station in the market. These rules were developed to prevent tying advertising across platforms and to encourage diversity of voices in the community.

American Telegraph and Telephone Co.

In 1885, AT&T was established. The company quickly expanded to create a nationwide long-distance network and began to acquire local and state telephone services. By 1913, most regarded AT&T a "natural" monopoly; that is, the immense cost of creating a nationwide service to compete with it was unlikely. State public utility commissions and the FCC regulated cost and structure of AT&T under Title II of the 1934 Communications Act. During this time AT&T was barred from entering new businesses, but it developed many new communications technologies in its famed Bell Laboratories. During most of the 20th century, AT&T firmly controlled many technologies but was stifled in introducing them in the telecommunications field.

In 1982, the company settled an 8-year antitrust suit with the Department of Justice that essentially broken up the conglomerate and allowed competition to enter a deregulated marketplace. The rapid growth of new technologies, such as cellular telephones, home computer services, the Internet, and mobile wireless services, has now merged media and wireless together.

In 2005, Bell South bought AT&T with the idea of creating new media provider of voice, web, and video services. AT&T purchased DirecTV in 2014 to give it access to the fast-growing Latin American market and in 2016, it announced plans to acquire Time-Warner Media. However, the Department of Justice informed AT&T that it would block the acquisition under the Clayton Act unless it agreed to sell either DirecTV or Turner Broadcasting (the group that included CNN). The Department of Justice claimed that vertical mergers between companies with complementary businesses would reduce competition and that the $108 billion acquisition would substantially lessen competition in the media field because it would give AT&T excessive control over many of the cable channels and film vaults owned by Time Warner. The result would be higher prices and less innovation for the consumer. However, after a 2-year review, the U.S. Court of Appeals rejected the government's claims and allowed the merger to proceed. Today the new AT&T owns DirecTV along with Time-Warner Media that includes HBO, CNN, TBS, and a host of cable networks. It is the world's largest media conglomerate.

Microsoft

The FTC and Department of Justice have had a long history of litigating large, high-profile cases involving monopolistic practices, unfair competition, or deceptive advertising. They have not won all the big cases. The Microsoft case is one example. In 1994, the FTC began an inquiry into whether Microsoft was abusing its monopoly on personal computer operating systems by tying its web-browser, Internet Explorer, to its operating system and making it more difficult for competitors to load their software on the Windows platform. In a high-profile trial, the court ordered a breakup of the company. However, the court's decision was reversed on appeal. In 2001, the Department of Justice reached a settlement with the company that required it to share its application program interfaces with third-party companies and to provide computer equipment to schools in states that had also sued the company.

Facebook

During the 2016 presidential campaign, Cambridge Analytica, a consulting company working for the Donald Trump campaign accessed data from tens of millions of Facebook users. The FTC was concerned that Facebook should have done more to prevent that breach of data and to protect user privacy. Earlier, in 2012, the FTC had sued Facebook for making misleading promises about to what extent consumers could keep their personal information private. Now, it appeared that Facebook had ignored that earlier agreement. After nearly 2 years, the FTC and Facebook reached a settlement, whereby Facebook would pay a $5 billion penalty for violating consumer privacy and be required to make fundamental changes to its privacy policies. While the FTC touted this settlement as unprecedented, many Facebook critics claimed that the settlement was too small relative to the company's massive profits.

YouTube and Google

Privacy is a growing concern for the FTC as Americans become more reliant on media services, apps that can automate daily routines and provide new ways to communicate with friends, work from home, or explore interests and hobbies. Under a 2019 settlement with the FTC, YouTube and Google agreed to pay $170 million for collecting data on children under 13 years of age without properly notifying parents or getting their permission before collecting and using the children's information for advertising purposes. As a result of the settlement, YouTube will be required to create a system for channels to identify their children-directed content and when implemented, viewer's information can no longer be tracked for advertising purposes.

Tech giants appear to be a growing concern for the FTC. In 2020, the FTC issued orders to major tech giants like Alphabet (Google), Apple, Amazon, Microsoft, and Facebook for information on terms and purposes of transactions and acquisitions of start-ups between 2010 and 2019.

Final Thoughts

Nearly 90 years after its passage, Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall dubbed the Sherman Antitrust Act the "Magna Carta" of our free enterprise economy. By that, he meant that antitrust laws are as important to the continuance and preservation of economic freedom and the free-enterprise system as the Bill of Rights is to the protection of fundamental personal freedoms. The United States is generally considered to be the first modern economy to develop comprehensive laws to address market abuses. Today, the European Union and many countries in the Asia-Pacific region have developed similar laws. On a global scale, implementation of antitrust laws can help consumers by keeping competition high, by preventing price fixing, and by encouraging innovations.

Fritz Messere

See also Federal Communications Commission (FCC); Telecommunications Act of 1996

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Artificial Intelligence and Journalism

In the fantasies of Hollywood, artificial intelligence (AI) is often portrayed in exaggerated ways. Software agents converse naturally with people. Robots navigate complex environments. People

fall in love with their AIs. And it generally makes for great entertainment. But the reality of AI is far from the idealized depictions seen in the media. Formally, *artificial intelligence* can be defined as a computer system able to perform a task normally requiring human intelligence. The current state-of-the-art in AI is typically limited to functioning in narrowly defined, well-engineered applications with lots of high-quality data. Modern AI often relies on *machine learning*, a technique that allows computers to learn patterns from data and then perform tasks based on those learned patterns. For instance, a system might use a large corpus of spoken and written material to learn the ways that patterns in speech translate to patterns in written text. Then it would be able to provide transcriptions of new spoken audio clips. In the domain of journalism, AI is changing a range of information work by helping to offload labor that typically requires mental effort by people. Rather than replacing human journalists, AI is more apt to augment them in narrow domains of work or to help them automate specific repetitive tasks. The strengths and weaknesses of AI are often complementary to those of people. Ultimately, AI is a tool that can be harnessed by journalists to enhance productivity, increase the scale, speed, and breadth of coverage by news organizations, and open up new possibilities for content adaptation, optimization, and personalization. This entry discusses editorial uses of AI as well as issues and opportunities for AI in journalism, including its limitations.

Editorial Uses of AI

AI approaches have impacted the entire news production chain, from newsgathering to content production and distribution.

Newsgathering

Newsgathering entails the identification of new stories, the monitoring of events, and the extraction of information—all things that AI can help with. For instance, a team at the Atlanta Journal Constitution newspaper used a machine-learning technique to help sift through more than 100,000 documents to help identify doctors throughout the United States who had been accused of sexual misconduct but were still practicing medicine. The team of journalists working on the project simply would not have been able to investigate the story at the same scale without the aid of AI.

Journalists can also use data mining techniques to monitor vast amounts of dynamic data for potentially interesting story leads. At *The Washington Post*, a system called *Lead Locator* helps national politics reporters identify interesting locations they might visit for their reporting. To do so it analyzes a massive data set of every registered voter in the United States in order to identify locations with interesting demographic characteristics and political relevance. At Reuters, a system called *Tracer* ingests millions of Tweets on a daily basis and uses a variety of machine learning models to help identify and rank newsworthy events. An evaluation of the tool showed that it was able to speed up news alerts in 84% of cases.

Content Production

AI can also contribute to the efficiency and scale of content production, such as by automatically writing articles, summarizing events, or tagging content. The Associated Press (AP) has automated financial earnings reports using automation since 2014. The system takes in data and uses pre-written templates to output short descriptive articles about the earnings of thousands of companies. The Associated Press also uses AI to help tag the thousands of photos it handles every day. The technology can help identify who or what is in an image, making it more findable and usable by editors.

Another form of automated content used by news media are the various bots that populate social media platforms. These newsbots can be thought of as the social face of news AI, because they typically embody a persona that interacts in a social way with users. People can use bots to disseminate news content, monitor for information, and express opinions in new ways. For instance, the @big_cases bot monitors for and then tweets about new filings in U.S. district or Supreme courts, helping to raise visibility for news about those cases among people following the bot on Twitter.

Distribution

AI technologies also affect the distribution of news content. Some news organizations include recommendation or personalization modules on their sites to increase engagement with content. For instance, in 2019 *The New York Times* introduced a dynamically localized version of the Editor's Picks section of their homepage. The system can select different articles for users who visit the page from different locations and helped drive a 55% increase in clicks from that section. Similar technology is used by news organizations to curate content for email newsletters. Content recommendation and personalization algorithms are also used by various online information intermediaries, such as Google and Facebook, in curating news and other content for consumers.

Another dimension of content distribution relates to the comment sections that are now available on many news sites. While the comments section can be a useful space for users to exchange viewpoints and information, it can also lead to negative interactions where people attack each other and their ideas. Comment moderators can help keep the spaces clean and safe, but it is hard to cope with the volume of comments made on a daily basis. At *The Washington Post*, this led to the development of an AI tool called *Mod Bot* which helps screen comments and accelerate the comment moderation process.

Issues and Opportunities for AI in Journalism

The Limitations of AI

Despite all the potential benefits of using AI in journalism, there are many limitations as well. Thankfully, people are complementary and can often fill in the gaps when AI is not fully up to the task. A fundamental concern is that AI must rely on a quantified version of reality. If data does not exist about some event or topic, then AI cannot "know" about it. And because AI cannot necessarily choose what to measure and how to measure something, nor can it adapt those measurements over time, it is always going to be limited in the highly dynamic domain of news. Another issue is that the data that are available could be noisy, contain errors, or express biases. Particularly in

the case of biased data, an AI system could end up perpetuating a societal bias that is hidden in the data it learned from. Another limitation of AI is that it is often brittle—it lacks the flexibility to operate beyond the bounds of its design. This makes it difficult for AI to adapt to new or changing conditions. Finally, many AI systems, and particularly those reliant on machine learning, operate with a degree of statistical uncertainty in their outputs. If an AI system suggests that a news lead is 75% likely to be credible, it may be problematic for journalists to interpret and incorporate that into their reporting.

Journalistic Values

Much like any technology, AI is designed and developed by people whose values come to be reflected in the technology. AI can therefore be thought of as a medium of expression which can allow for the embedding of various journalistic values and norms, such as a focus on values such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, and ethics. For instance, in the design of content recommendation algorithms, a journalist might value some balance of diversity of content exposure together with some amount of shared, broadly relevant content that everyone sees. These types of values can drive the design and development of the technology so long as they are carefully and faithfully translated into the language of data and algorithms. This can be accomplished through a process of value-sensitive design, and by maintaining an ongoing awareness of how AI technologies may come into alignment or tension with normative journalistic goals.

Investigating AI

The use of AI and algorithmic decision-making has become pervasive throughout both private and public sectors of society, including in domains such as employment, welfare management, educational rankings, and criminal justice, among others. When these systems make mistakes or are thoughtlessly deployed, issues of justice, fairness, and legitimacy are all at stake. This has created a new opportunity for journalists to scrutinize and investigate AI systems in a process known as *algorithmic accountability reporting*. Such reporting

can take many forms, from technical auditing of the inputs and outputs of systems to illustrating the impacts of AI on individual's lives by telling individual stories. The potential negative impact of AI in society also raises important questions about journalist's own use of such technologies and suggests the need for journalists to develop such technology with care and consideration for how to balance risks and harms to society.

Nicholas Diakopoulos

See also Automation; Bias; Bots; Digital Journalism Tools; Ethics; News Values

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ARTS JOURNALISM

Arts journalism involves examining and reporting on the arts, including music, dance, theater, film, literature, visual arts, and architecture. It is a specialty in journalism that has evolved over the past few centuries. Arts journalism encompasses unbiased reporting of arts news and events but also can include arts criticism, which claims a history reaching back to the writings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

Arts journalism takes an array of forms. These include feature stories such as personality profiles and performance or exhibit previews; business stories that cover the arts institutions' finances, public and private funding of artists and other arts workers, and policies and politics behind art; investigative work involving subjects such as mismanagement or crime in the art world; science stories about how the arts affect health or science; and articles that examine the impact of the arts on education.

The role of the arts journalist and the number of them working at various types of publications have changed over time—shaped by cultural shifts in the arts and revolutionary changes in technology. Arts journalists often have an education or other background in the arts (specifically the form they cover) as the subject requires understanding of the nuances of the art form, the artists and other cultural workers active in supporting and presenting it, and its history. They need to be able to execute core reporting skills including conducting interviews, researching, and writing. They also need to understand how arts organizations of various sizes function, both for-profit and not-for-profit. Today, they, like other journalists, also often need to have skills in several forms of media, including the use of social media.

This entry discusses the evolution of arts journalism in the United States since the 19th century, then looks in turn at coverage of architecture, dance, literature, music, theater, and visual art. The entry concludes with a discussion of institutions that offer support for, and recognition of, arts journalism.

Arts Journalism: An Evolving Canvas

Arts journalism has developed following two tracks—journalism and the arts. While journalists have always reported on the arts, specialized writing began to flourish when more news outlets brought on arts critics. The critics' work in many ways fulfilled a journalistic role of documenting history in the arts, and their work was infused with deep knowledge and passion. In addition, a

good number of critics also worked as journalists.

As the United States was developing, journalists wrote about many areas of the arts. Some work came as news through notices of what was happening in cities and towns through local press and other coverage came through academic outlets or periodicals. While some of the academic coverage was critical in nature, it contributed to the journalistic canon in that it documented history and the people involved.

Arts journalists and critics apply the principle of objectivity to much of their work, like their colleagues in other areas of journalism. Arts journalism, however, encompasses exemptions to the principle. A critic's work requires examination and assessment. Discernment also plays a role in an arts journalist's work when deciding on what artists, events, and issues to cover and at what particular moments. This particularly holds true for events outside those that denote breaking news. Also, many working in arts journalism have experience in the arts, and some have been practicing artists. Editors and audiences often regard that background as valuable expertise these arts journalists and critics bring to their work.

Like other areas of journalism, professional norms for arts journalists require them to maintain professional integrity that extends to their coverage and relationships. Most media organizations demand journalists follow conflict-of-interest policies. Arts journalists with personal or professional relationships with certain artists or entities are often required to refrain from covering them or their associated projects. If there is a vital reason to cover them, journalists must disclose any conflicts of interest. Critics are expected to embrace ideals of independence and fairness by supporting reviews with details and sound reasoning.

Growth in Arts and Arts Journalism

Throughout the 19th century, print publications in large cities, which had a more robust physical infrastructure for the arts, carried the most coverage. But as technology, including the use of train travel, rose by the century's close, this began to change. The press was growing. Art museums were opening in large cities across the country, and the number of touring performance groups, particularly those involved in vaudeville, spread out across the country. Journalists covered this growth and its impact on communities.

As travel to Europe increased by the turn of the century, arts journalists from Europe found audiences in the United States and American journalists stationed overseas began writing about the prospering art scene across the Atlantic. Artists from both sides of the ocean began to visit the other side as well, including modern dancers from the United States who were challenging the status quo.

Progressive Era, New Technologies Create Boom

By the start of the Progressive Era in the late 19th century, newspapers had proliferated, and a consolidation of the industry took publications from private hands into corporate ones. Newspapers and magazines had more space to fill. That space existed in the news pages as well as pages dedicated to the arts. The beginning of the 20th century saw arts journalists covering a large number and diverse array of artists, from high to middlebrow culture. There was the new music form of jazz and new technologies that included the production of photographic film, the phonograph, and moving images. Meanwhile, Broadway theater, which began in the late 1800s, was blooming in New York. People had more leisure time, which increased the demand for the arts and coverage and for arts criticism.

Arts Journalism Integrated Into the Newsroom

Through World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, arts coverage grew as opera houses opened across the country and radio and television expanded to include actors and the classical musicians. Networks often embraced these musicians as guests on programs and even as employees who led and played in network orchestras. Novelists, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, as well as visual and film artists of the era became cultural stars. Journalists covered their work as well as their personal lives. Arts coverage also encompassed the art, music theater, and writers' projects launched by the government under the Works Progress Administration, a New Deal agency that employed people during the Great Depression.

Arts journalists became steady employees at news outlets, mostly print publications, documenting a growing arts sector and some even covering artists affected by the investigations of Joseph McCarthy and The House Un-American Activities Committee. Their work coincided with the economic boom of the postwar years—all the way through the 1965 creation of the National Endowment for the Arts by the U.S. Congress. But during these latter years, some of the commercial arts, particularly popular music and film, was creating controversy by challenging long-held social mores.

Arts News Covers New Controversies

Arts reporters had a landscape laden with stories to report in the 1980s and 1990s with the AIDS crisis, which struck a significant proportion of gay men including many artists. Also, religious conservatives began objecting to public funding of art they found offensive. Among the art conservatives found objectionable was artist Andres Serrano's photograph titled Piss Christ featuring a plastic crucifix in a tawny liquid the artist described as his own urine. Other debated works included those of four performance artists who had received National Endowment for the Arts grants and a solo exhibit of works by artist Robert Mapplethorpe. Reminders of that era and arguments against using tax dollars for the arts are still grist for arts journalists as federal and state politicians have proposed and even pulled funding from public coffers.

Other topics emerged or intensified nearing 2020, such as sexism, sexual abuse, racism, and discrimination as seen in arts journalists' coverage of the #MeToo and Black Lives Matter movements in theater, film, and other arenas. An example of that reporting is *The New York Times*'s 2018 Pulitzer Prize-winning work that included longtime arts journalist Jodi Kantor. It covered sexual predators in Hollywood, including film producer Harvey Weinstein.

News Organization Cutbacks and New Arts Journalism Outlets

Traditional journalism earned lower revenues with the ascendency of the digital revolution spurring a crisis in the industry. In the first two decades of the 21st century, this forced publications to lay off staff and let go of many arts journalists first. Doug McLennan, editor in chief of ArtsJournal, which compiles articles about arts and culture, estimated that between 2000 and 2008 nearly 80% of arts journalists and critics were laid off. Dennis Scholl, John S. and James L. Knight Foundation's former vice president for arts, estimated that by 2011 as many as half of all local arts journalism jobs nationwide had been eliminated.

The layoffs and reduced arts coverage caused alarm. In April 2017, *American Theatre* magazine warned, "Arts journalism is fighting for its life." In Margaret Sullivan's 2020 book *Ghosting the News* about the decline of local news coverage, *The Washington Post* media columnist wrote about the important role of arts coverage to a city's cultural life and how it provides "a sense of community and of place." Shortly after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, the layoffs of arts journalists increased as the economic fallout severely affected both journalism and the fine and performing arts industries.

Many arts journalists have gone on to establish nonprofit digital publications in their own cities. These publications include journalism and criticism. Some focus on specific art forms, while others cover the range of arts offered in their communities. One of the oldest is *San Francisco Classical Voice* founded in 1998. Some such as *Oregon Arts Watch* and *Sightlines* in Austin, Texas, work to cover the full spectrum of the arts. Performing arts-focused publications include Atlanta's *Arts Atlanta*, *Theatre Jones* in Dallas/Fort Worth, and Philadelphia's *Broad Street Review*. Publications emphasizing visual arts coverage include *Glasstire*, which covers the visual arts throughout Texas, and Atlanta's *Burnaway*. Many of these publications depend on freelance writers.

Coverage Areas in Arts Journalism

Arts journalists work covering multiple art forms or specialize in specific areas including music, dance, theater, film, literature, visual arts, and architecture. This gives the field more specific specializations, and each has its own history that includes prominent journalists covering certain genres.

Architecture

A majority of current news in newspapers and news magazines on architecture comes from business journalists. However, some publications in large cities still have arts journalists who cover architecture, including *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. More often, arts journalists cover architecture among other topics. Prominent magazines in the field include those founded in the 1890s—*Architectural Forum*, *Architectural Record*, and *Architectural Review*. *Architectural Digest*, *The Architect's Newspaper*, and *Dwell* also are known for their arts journalism.

In their coverage, these journalists include the business aspects of architecture, such as the financial investments involved in construction, as they report on the influences on and background of designers and the effect their designs have on people in their private and public lives.

Their subjects encompass those in urban and suburban areas, and beyond. They have covered the placement and height of skyscrapers, the redesigning and rerouting of expressways, the design of arts facilities, the impact of arts districts as well as gated communities, access and the amenities in public parks, among other topics. Their coverage considers the social and political implications of architecture.

Heavyweights in this area, who have not primarily been critics, but have had a lasting effect on how journalists report on architecture, include writers Jane Jacobs and Robert Caro. Jacobs worked at *Architectural Forum*, where in the 1950s she covered the outcomes of urban revitalization, which she criticized. That led to her 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Caro, who began writing about urban planning and land use at *Newsday* in the 1960s, came to write *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*, which won him an award from the American Institute of Architects after its 1974 publication. The book described how Moses used his power to erect numerous highways and bridges around New York City and the consequences of that construction.

Many prominent critics also have also worked under the journalist title and shaped the field. They include Montgomery Schuyler, one of the earliest and most prominent architectural journalists in the United States, who worked at *The New York Times* and *Architectural Record*; *The New Yorker*'s Lewis Mumford, who wrote in the 1930s and 1940s; the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s Allan Temko; Ada Louise Huxtable who wrote for *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*; the *Chicago Tribune*'s Paul Gapp; and Paul Goldberger, who wrote for *The New Yorker* before contributing to *Vanity Fair*. *Chicago Tribune* journalist/critic Blair Kamin reports regularly, even in his work that features commentary, particularly the 1998 six-part series, "Reinventing the Lakefront." This Pulitzer Prize-winning series covered problems along the city's lakefront, including the inequalities between the North Side's rich and largely white population and the South Side's Black and poor neighborhoods.

Dance

Critics along with trade magazines have strongly influenced dance journalism, which require that these journalists know the technical aspects of the craft and choreographic history. While many writers wrote about Western dance prior to the early 1830s, poet and French journalist Théophile Gautier is often recognized as the first dance writer because he covered ballet for *La Presse* in Paris.

Later in 1918, influential writer André Levinson came to France from Russia where he also had covered dance. His wide range of work included writings about ballet, covering Michel Fokine and Sergei Diaghilev who founded Ballet Russe, as well as Isadora Duncan and various indigenous forms of dance.

In early 20th century America, dance received little attention due to its sexual and feminine inferences, although at *The New York Times* associate music critic Carl Van Vechten covered ballet from 1906 to 1913. Then with the evolution of modern dance in the United States, John Martin came to the newspaper in 1927, where he wrote at length about Martha Graham and the artists associated with Ballet Russe, including George Balanchine and his cofounding of the New York City Ballet. His tenure lasted until 1962, during which time he was joined by the notable poet and critic Edwin Denby, whose work hewed rather firmly to

criticism. Denby's work influenced dance journalism particularly and is featured in his books.

With the rise of ballet and modern dance in 20th century America came an increase in dance journalism through specialty publications, most aimed at industry insiders. After *Dance Magazine* launched in 1927 as *The American Dancer*, it introduced sister publications, including *Pointe*, *Dance Spirit*, *Dance Teacher*, and others. Other publications founded by journalists/critics include *Ballet Review*, launched by *The New Yorker*'s Arlene Croce in 1965 and closed in 2020, and *Dance Chronicle*, begun in 1977 under editors George Dorris and Jack Anderson until it ceased in 2007.

From the 1960s through the early 1980s, dance, particularly ballet, embraced a wave of popularity through an injection of political events and pop culture attention often covered by journalists. Modern dance increasingly took on contemporary themes including feminism and civil rights. Against the backdrop of the Cold War, in 1961, the legendary ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev fled the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for the West. Mikhail Baryshnikov defected from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Canada in 1974 and again created a flurry of media coverage that extended to dance.

Today, the spotlight on dance has declined in mainstream press with arts journalists increasingly covering dance as it relates to pop culture, such as when it appears in films or on television shows such as *So You Think You Can Dance* (2005–).

Literature

Arts journalists and critics have covered literature as long as the press and books have existed. These journalists cover news, trends, and review books. In the United States, the popularity of books ensured ample coverage in newspapers; magazines including *The New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*; and alternative newsweeklies such as *The Village Voice*. Some newspapers began publishing ample supplements, such as *The New York Times Book Review* (1896), which is akin to *The Times Literary Supplement* founded in the United Kingdom (1902). Publications specifically covering books, authors, and the

publishing industry also evolved, including the oldest trade publication, *Publishers Weekly*, founded in 1872, and *The New York Review of Books*, launched in 1963.

Since publishing has gone digital, more arts journalism is covering the world of literature with large outfits such as Buzzfeed, Slate, and Salon all including book sections. Also, the 21st century has ushered in publications dedicated to literature, including The Millions, launched in 2003 and The Rumpus, founded in 2009, which cultivated the career of writer Roxane Gay who went on to become a *New York Times* contributing opinion writer. Then there is *The Los Angeles Review of Books*, first published in 2012, which began by covering books in every genre and extended its mission to covering the arts.

Music

Music journalism has its roots in criticism and academic coverage of 19th century classical music and paralleled Romantic music's popularity. In the English-speaking world, *The Musical Times* and *Singing Class Circular* published in London held sway with musical producers and loyal music audiences.

In the United States, newspapers began to cover music in Horace Greeley's *New-York Tribune* in 1852 with journalist William Henry Fry's work in Europe as a foreign correspondent for a group of newspapers including the *Tribune*. Although Fry, the first music critic for a major American daily, also reported on music, his dual profession as a composer shaped his writings. Significant critics/journalists followed, particularly William James Henderson who wrote for *The New York Times* and *The Sun*, also based in New York City.

Over the following decades, music-focused magazines launched, including *Musical America* in 1897, which today reports on classical music news throughout the United States and often beyond. The rise of music recording brought *Gramophone*, established in 1923 in the United Kingdom, to cover classical recordings critically and cover news in that industry. Meanwhile, arts organizations began get into the arts journalism arena with the Metropolitan Opera Guild (a group dedicated to supporting the Metropolitan Opera and opera in general) taking on publishing

Opera News in 1936. The rise of jazz and blues brought *Downbeat* magazine founded in Chicago in 1934.

During these years, newspapers continued to report the news in music as technology helped create a larger music industry with more recordings and performances in many genres on an array of stages. The popularity of television, which also spotlighted classical music, conductors, and musicians, helped bolster that coverage.

With the explosion of rock 'n' roll music in the 1950s and 1960s came the rock journalist reporting in magazines, newspapers, and new publications later called alternative newsweeklies pioneered by New York City's *Village Voice*, founded in 1955. There, beginning the late 1960s, Robert Christgau established himself as the self-proclaimed "Dean of American Rock Critics." On the West Coast, *Rolling Stone* magazine launched in 1967 and ran the work of such journalists as its editor Ben Fong-Torres, Lester Bangs, who went on to become the editor of the Detroit-based *Creem* magazine, Greil Marcus, and Cameron Crowe.

As music mutated in subsequent decades giving rise to the proliferation of independent music, specific publications cropped up to cover it with the online magazine Pitchfork becoming a leader. Launched in 1995 in Minneapolis, Pitchfork's early journalism has been criticized for being unpolished. Pitchfork received praise, however, for its series work, such as that tackling issues of sexual assault in the music industry. Many newspapers also undertook this issue, including *Chicago Sun-Times* music critic Jim DeRogatis, who doggedly investigated the musician R. Kelly and his sexual abuse of minors for 19 years resulting in DeRogatis's 2019 book *The Case Against R Kelly*.

Theater

Journalism covering theater extends to reviews but also includes a range of subjects including upcoming productions; profiles of playwrights, actors, and other theater-makers; technical issues; and even sexual harassment.

Theater has been an ever-present art form in the United States. Europeans brought their version to colonial America and William Shakespeare's works were performed. The early press covered theatrical performances that were community events, particularly in larger cities that were near ports along the Atlantic.

Theater remained popular and saw increased popularity after the Civil War. In 1884, a New York theater began publishing Playbill magazine to include information about its shows. Decades later the *Playbill* began covering theater with feature stories about Broadway shows as the White Way prospered. By the 21st century, the *Playbill* was issuing an animated online publication that included podcasts and other features.

Through the 1900s, newspapers throughout the country, but particularly those in the heart of the country's theater scene of New York, dedicated staff to covering the art form. *The New York Times* took on a prominent role with writers that included Mel Gussow (1933–2005) and Frank Rich (1980–1993). But other New York newspapers and magazines regularly covered Broadway and other theater including the *New York Daily News*, the *New York Post*, *Time Out New York*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Yorker*, *New York* magazine, and even the Long Island newspaper *Newsday*. By 2020, some arts journalists from other metropolitan dailies were still traveling to New York to report on the industry and review productions, including those from *The Washington Post* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

On the West Coast, thriving theater scenes received coverage from the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *The Seattle Times*. Cities beyond the coastal regions of the United States also had arts journalists who covered the regional theater movement, which had brought professional theater to many communities. These journalists filled space with their reviews and a host of other stories related to theater including the work of theater productions in prisons, education, and other areas. By the 21st century, they were covering more stories about sexual harassment in some theater companies.

Stories like these were covered not just by newspapers but by alternative press, online publications, radio stations, and industry publications. One is *American Theatre* magazine, founded in 1984 by Theatre Communications Group, an organization promoting nonprofit professional theater. The print magazine that also publishes

online content covers a range of issues already mentioned. While the organization is not independent, like other journalistic institutions, the publication asserts principles of journalistic discourse.

Visual Art

The reporting and analysis inherent in academic writing, journalism, and criticism has been intertwined in coverage of visual art. Originally, art coverage encompassed sculpture and painting. In contemporary journalism, visual art also includes textiles, photography, film, graffiti or murals, mixed media works, and conceptual and performance art.

Criticism dates back to France and the writings of Denis Diderot (1713–1784) who covered art in Paris Salons and annual art exhibitions for a private newspaper called the *Correspondance Littéraire*. Diderot's work was admired by another critic, Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) whose writing extolled the work of Eugene Delacroix and Edouard Manet.

In the United States, visual arts coverage came with art production by local artists but received a boost when museums were established in the 19th century and through early in the next century as artists' colonies took root throughout the country. Most of the early arts news and criticism came out of New York where galleries were based. One of the first art-focused periodicals was *The Crayon* (1855–1861). Another publication, *The New Path* began publication in 1863 with the goal of advancing natural art. Members of the Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art included influential art critic Clarence Cook, who wrote for the *New-York Tribune*.

After the Civil War, an economic boom led journalists and wealthier Americans to travel to Europe where they were exposed to more visual art. In Paris in April 1874, journalist Louis Leroy wrote about an exhibit of 30 new artists and coined the description "Impressionism." Art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922) organized shows for the artists and worked to sell their works into private collections in the United States. American arts journalists later covered Impressionism. Prominent critic Clement Greenberg, *The Partisan Review* editorial staff member (1940–1942) and art critic at *The Nation* (1942–1949), wrote about how he viewed Claude Monet's Impressionism as a key advancement in painting.

The Armory Show of 1913 was an event that roused the journalism world to visual art. Covered extensively by the press in New York, the exhibit with nearly 1,400 works included Fauvism, Cubism, and Futurism and made its debut in the city before going to others. The exhibit's works caused an uproar reflected in the press. One famous piece was *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2.* by Marcel Duchamp. Journalists covered public reaction where it exhibited, and the public wrote in letters.

The event spurred wider curiosity about visual art, but the country already had specialty publications including *ARTnews*, launched in 1902. It covers the arts, curators, collectors, art dealers, museums, art houses, and other participants in the art market as well as trends internationally. *Art in America*, founded in 1913, was modeled after German academic journals and early issues covered the old masters in American collections and American folk art. The 21st century incarnation of *Art in America* focuses on art, artists, art criticism, and prevailing trends. *Artforum*, specializing in contemporary art, began publication in 1962 and includes coverage of conceptual and performance art, which rose in prominence during the era of its founding. With the 21st century has come the online for-profit magazine Hyperallergic, which has a wide breadth of coverage.

During the 20th century, major daily newspapers covered the visual arts. Among the publications regularly covering visual art and having a lot to cover in their communities are *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.

A 2002 study conducted by the National Arts Journalism Program at Columbia University found at least one visual art critic working for most major general-interest news publications. In 2017, Mary Louise Schumacher, an arts and culture fellow with the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University and former *Milwaukee Journal* art and architectural journalist/critic, published a study that found the number of visual arts journalists shrinking at a fast rate. (Schumacher was laid off from her Gannett-owned newspaper before she released the study.)

Institutions Supporting Arts Journalism

The specialized area of arts journalism has garnered a host of educational institutions and professional organizations to support those working in the field.

Universities Offering Education in Arts Journalism

Since the professionalism of journalism in 1908 with the opening of University of Missouri's School of Journalism, many journalism schools have offered arts journalism and criticism courses for undergraduates.

In 2003, Syracuse University began offering the first master's degree program in arts journalism at its S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications. Titled the Goldring Arts Journalism program, the 1-year program gives students access to arts and journalism courses taught by writers, academics, and artists.

Since then other universities have followed. Columbia University School of Journalism, which had previously run its National Arts Journalism program for mid-career professionals for nearly 10 years before closing in 2005, began offering its students a concentration in arts and cultural journalism that same year. In 2008, the University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism established its Master of Arts in Specialized Journalism for the arts and City University of New York's Craig Newmark Graduate School of Journalism opened its Arts and Culture Reporting program.

Professional Organizations and Prizes

While journalism organizations are prevalent for other specialty categories, including those covering education, environment, healthcare, science, and travel, none pertain to the arts overall. There is only the Jazz Journalists Association (1987). However, organizations exist for arts critics including the International Association of Art Critics (covering the visual arts and founded in 1950), the Music Critics Association of North America (1956), National Society of Film Critics (1966), the American Theatre Critics Association (1974), and the Dance Critics Association (1974). The prestigious Pulitzer Prize has a category for critics, where the work of arts critics often is recognized.

With arts journalism falling on difficult times in the early 21st century, a few organizations have taken steps to recognize and support arts journalists. One is The Dorothea and Leo Rabkin Foundation, which began giving eight annual awards to visual arts journalists across the country in 2017. Each journalist receives $50,000. The foundation also annually gives a lifetime achievement award to a visual arts journalist along with $50,000.

Elizabeth Kramer

See also Advocacy Journalism; Alternative News Media; Business Journalism; Conflicts of Interest; Diversity in Journalism; Entertainment Journalism; Investigative Journalism; Nonprofit Media

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Asia, Central

Central Asia stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to the border of China in the east and encompasses the five former Soviet Republics of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the region has been characterized by varying degrees of authoritarianism. Attitudes toward the practice of journalism, and media freedom more generally, in the decades since then have often been viewed by outside observers as key indicators of wider political ideologies.

This entry discusses the media systems in each of the five Central Asian countries. Few of these countries have been able to establish open and transparent media systems since gaining their independence. Critical reporting is frequently obstructed, with censorship rife across the region. A long tradition of political authoritarianism and centralization has led to a lack of freedom of speech and few independent journalistic outlets. However, there are some important exceptions that make generalizations about Central Asia somewhat difficult in terms of media policy and approaches. From the liberalism of Kyrgyzstan to the authoritarianism of Turkmenistan, the region defies an entirely reductive treatment, despite its outside reputation. In addition, with the continued penetration of web-based technology and the democratization associated with this, the region has gradually become more open in the post-web media environment. This evolution remains very slow and highly uneven across the region.

All Central Asian states, without exception, are highly diverse countries with sizeable minorities within them. While most are dominated by the ethnic group they take their name from, internal minorities have frequently been deemed a threat to the power of the center. The often repressive approach to the media must be seen in that context: it frequently derives from a desire to maintain centralized control. Ethnic violence has erupted at various times in most Central Asian countries over recent decades. The region is characterized by multiple ethnic and linguistic groups and a complex topography.

Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan has long had a reputation as a particularly repressive political and media environment. But in the late 2010s, the country began to allow formerly banned news services such as Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, Eurasianet, and the BBC's Uzbek service. Even more significantly, the websites of Reporters Without Borders and Amnesty International were also unblocked, in a move which seemed to indicate a new openness and approach to criticism.

Indeed, the unblocking might be viewed as a deliberate attempt to underscore a narrative of reform that the country has been keen to push to

the rest of the world since the death of its notoriously authoritarian president Islam Karimov in 2016. Karimov was the archetypal post-Soviet 'strongman', and his approach to the wider media typified the reputation that many Central Asian states had internationally since gaining their independence after the Soviet Union's collapse.

As with most other Central Asian states, the Uzbek Constitution under Karimov paid lip service to the concept of freedom of expression—but in reality there was always a high degree of state control over media outlets and overt bans on certain topics and viewpoints. Indeed, as the "Colour Revolutions" erupted across many post-Soviet states in the 2000s, Karimov adopted a strategy of repressing activists.

Karimov even publicly argued for something he called *Eastern democracy*, suggesting that Western news values and independence of the media are not appropriate for countries where there is a "strong and enduring" respect for authority. Press freedom and individual liberty, he said, should not extend beyond what is required to achieve economic development and national security. The vehemence with which Uzbekistan was prepared to stifle media freedoms points to the potential significance of recent change. Reforms since Karimov's death suggest that progress is possible even in the most repressive of environments across the region.

Leading Uzbek newspapers include *Khalq Sozi*, *Narodnove Solve*, and *Pravda Vostoka*—all of which are state-owned and predominately Russian-language. TV and radio are also mainly state run. There are several Uzbek news agencies, some of which publish in English.

Tajikistan

Like Uzbekistan, Tajikistan also has a poor international reputation, which has continued in recent years. At the end of the 2010s, numerous journalists on Radio Ozodi (the Tajik language service of Radio Free Europe, a crucial though controversial source of news across the region) lost their reporting credentials. This points to a wider truth about the region's media, with semi-private outlets often coming into conflict with the authorities for their willingness to challenge official narratives.

The state itself is somewhat atypical in the region, as it is dominated by the Tajiks, who are closely related to Iranians, unlike many of the other ethnic groups within Central Asia.

Tajikistan's newspaper landscape is a little more diverse than that of Uzbekistan, with more privately run, semi-independent titles like *Imruz News*. Most newspapers, however, are state-owned, like *Jumhuriyat* (Tajik language). There are also state-owned newspapers publishing in Russian and Uzbek, an illustration of the country's cultural and linguistic complexity, and the government's desire to control from the center.

Tajik TV is also generally state-controlled, with regional stations serving the markedly different north and south of the country. As with newspapers, Tajikistan's radio stations are a little more diverse than those of Uzbekistan, although that should be viewed in relative terms, with numerous privately run stations including Imruz and Vatan.

Kazakhstan

Some have suggested that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan began to move in opposite directions toward the end of the 2010s, with Kazakhstan—a more vibrant, albeit controlled, media environment—putting much-publicized blocks on a range of news websites. This was not the first time that the outgoing president Nursultan Nazarbayev had used illiberal tactics against media scrutiny, and in 2020 a further drive to limit access to online news sites coincided with parliamentary elections.

Quazaqstan is the Kazak state broadcaster, established in the 1950s during the Soviet era. In recent years, multiple private channels have been launched, by some measures over 100, with Channel 31 perhaps the largest and most influential. News websites are also common, a notable example being Nur.kz. Such sites are common across Central Asia, characteristic of a region which struggled to establish an independent print tradition postindependence.

Kyrgyzstan

In an interview with the *Daily Telegraph* in June 2012, former Kyrgyzstan President Roza Otunbayeva claimed that the overthrow of her predecessor, President Kurmanbek Bakiyev, in April

2010 acted as the catalyst for the Arab Spring that began in Tunisia later that year. Otunbayeva herself stood down in December 2011, and the revolution of 2010 was neither the first nor last political convulsion in the country since the start of the 21st century.

Her claim may not be as far-fetched as some observers believed. Global broadcaster Al Jazeera covered the 2010 Kyrgyz protests in some depth, providing wider exposure; and many of the protestors' demands were echoed later in those of protesters in the Arab world who focused on endemic corruption and lack of opportunities for the young.

As with the Arab Spring, demands also revolved around a desire for freedom of speech and a genuinely free press. While Kyrgyzstan has moved toward a free press and is held up as relatively democratic compared to its neighboring states, problems remain. Indeed, in the run-up to the highly significant 2017 election (said by many observers to be Central Asia's first peaceful handover of power between two democratically elected leaders), tensions rose and allegations of self-censorship were made.

This was not the first time that the Kyrgyz political system notched up a crucial Central Asian "first." Earlier in the decade, Otunbayeva's reign may have been short, but it was significant, because a referendum resulted in a power shift from the president to the parliament—leading numerous foreign commentators to argue that the country had become Central Asia's first parliamentary democracy. Indeed, Otunbayeva went as far as to suggest that street politics had a vital role to play in deposing corrupt and unpopular leaders.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Kyrgyzstan remains unusually "liberal" in the context of Central Asia. Equally, it is unsurprising that this makes it fundamentally unstable politically: the flip side to its "beacon of democracy" reputation is a very turbulent—at times chaotic—21st century history.

That turbulent recent history began, as with all the independent Central Asian states, with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 and reached an initial climax with the Tulip Revolution of 2005, which enhanced Kyrgyzstan's reputation as a country with an appetite for democracy and

protest in the heart of a notoriously authoritarian region. As early as 1999, John Anderson had dubbed it an "island of democracy," with a developed and lively civic society informed by an independent and vibrant media.

The Tulip Revolution itself was a seminal event that echoed Georgia's Rose Revolution (2003) and Ukraine's Orange Revolution (2004) to the west, with the three brought together under the "Colour Revolutions" banner. The underlying causes were similar, in certain senses a consequence of the natural dynamics of post-Soviet life, although the cultural and economic contexts were very different—with Kyrgyzstan a poverty-stricken, nonindustrial nation at the margins of the former Soviet Union, as was the rest of Central Asia. As in Ukraine and Georgia, opponents of the revolution argued that the events were largely orchestrated by the United States, although others argue that the Tulip Revolution was actually deeply rooted in Kyrgyz domestic politics and reflected widespread discontent, not just with the political elite but also in wider society.

Although Kyrgyzstan is a rather fascinating exception to the wider media rule in Central Asia, multiple caveats apply. Firstly, the situation elsewhere in the region is becoming less straightforwardly repressive and is a more complex picture than its international reputation sometimes suggests. Secondly, Kyrgyzstan's relative liberalism masks other problems, many of which revolve around coverage of minorities and the realities of life in Central Asia, which echoes the Balkans and the Caucasus in its complex admixture of ethnic and linguistic groups.

Kyrgyz journalists cite limitations on the sizeable Uzbek minority's freedom of expression, arguing that this is particularly noticeable in terms of mainstream journalism. The owners of three Uzbek-language TV stations and two Uzbek-language newspapers all fled Kyrgyzstan following the 2010 violence in the southern city of Osh. Even here, however, there are grounds for optimism and indications of open-minded liberalism, with Uzbek-language media quickly reestablished and donor-funded websites publishing news in Uzbek.

Vecherniy Bishkek is the most well-known Kyrgyz newspaper, based in the Kyrgyz capital, with Russian-language content. Some titles publish in

Kyrgyz: *Super Info* is perhaps the most high-profile example. There is also an important English language newspaper: *The Times of Central Asia*, which—as its name suggests—covers the entire region from its Bishkek base.

Kloop is a long-standing news agency, perhaps the most important single news source in the country. Established in 2007, it has adopted a range of innovative funding strategies to ensure its continued independence, although as these have included integrated sponsored advertising, its strategy is not without controversy.

In general, Kyrgyz TV and radio stations are, as might be expected, more diverse in terms of ownership than that of other Central Asian countries. The most influential continue to be those like Kyrgyz National TV that are state-run, however. Whatever its failings, the general prognosis of Kyrgyz media remains a positive one, and in many ways the country's media environment stands as one of the world's most exceptional and interesting.

Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan is, by some measures, the world's most repressive media regime. Indeed, in 2019 empirical weight was added to this long-term accusation by the Reporters without Borders World Press Freedom Index, which placed the country at the absolute bottom of the list, relegated below North Korea for the first time. In 2020, the index ranked Turkmenistan at 179 of 180, just above North Korea.

Criticism of the President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov is effectively banned. The previous president, Saparmurat Niyazov, who declared himself President for Life, became a byword for the worst aspects of Central Asian political life postindependence, famously totalitarian and promoting a cult of personality that was entirely resistant to any form of media or political criticism. Numerous examples of his despotism were widely covered by the international media as an indication of the regime's excesses, foremost among them the golden statue in Ashgabat which was placed atop a 75-meter high monument and rotated to face the sun.

TV remains the most popular medium in Turkmenistan, as it is in all Central Asian countries. All broadcasters are state-controlled, with repeats from Russian TV (for example) subject to strict censorship. There are numerous records of satellite dishes being removed from private households to prevent occupants from viewing Russian or Turkish television.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts in Turkmen under the name Radio Azatlyk. This is a crucial lifeline for some within the country, although U.S.-funded Radio Free Europe had always been a controversial feature of the post-Soviet media landscape across Central Asia. In Turkmenistan, however, the degree of state control is such that there are very few alternatives. Internet use has grown from a very low base but remains below 20% of the population. Foreign news and opposition websites are blocked, and social networks frequently censored. Both main newspapers—*Neytralnyy Turkmenistan* (published in Russian) and *Turkmenistan* (published in Turkmen)—are state-owned.

Berdimuhamedov has continued, and indeed worsened, the country's uniquely illiberal approach to media freedom. The contrast with Kyrgyzstan is stark, and goes some way to explain the caveat given earlier in this entry: Central Asia as a region is unusually difficult to generalize about in terms of media policy.

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See also Europe; Middle East; Press and Government Relations; Russian Federation

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ASIA, EAST AND SOUTHEAST

Asia is the largest continent on the planet, accounting for almost 30% of the Earth's landmass and nearly 60% of the global population. It reaches as far west as portions of Europe and North Africa and extends east all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It ranges north to encompass all of Russia and south to include many island nations in the South Pacific. East and Southeast Asia are a subset of this region that are defined not only geographically, but also ethno-culturally.

East Asia comprises China, Hong Kong, Macau, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. Southeast Asia includes Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

East and Southeast Asia have a vast array of media in various types and formats. The region possesses some of the most-read newspapers in the world with daily circulations reaching more than one million copies, such as Japan's newspapers *Yomuri Shimbun* and *Asahi Shimbun*. The region has also made significant advances in the rapidly changing technologies of communication. One of South Korea's television channels, OhMyNews, is one of the first large-scale citizen journalism networks. Since the widespread use of the Internet, middle-income countries, such as Indonesia and Vietnam, have started to embrace social media platforms as a way to gain access to information.

Despite the wide array of media platforms publicly available, one distinct feature of the region's media ecologies is the lack of independent reporting, where media are constrained from providing extensive coverage of the governments. Only a few countries, such as Taiwan and East Timor, adopted the idea of independent press. In most countries in the region, governmental authorities exert power to control news media in order to prevent criticism and cover their misconduct.

The governments' control on press freedom in most East and Southeast Asian countries seemed to intensify during the coronavirus pandemic that began in December 2019. Soon after the initial cases were reported in Wuhan, Chinese officials put pressure on journalists by ordering local media to broadcast only the country's progress and successes in containing the outbreak. Meanwhile, the governments of Thailand, Cambodia, and Myanmar took advantage of the crisis to tighten their grip on media freedom and double down on repressive actions against critics.

Government Censorship and Press Freedom

This section reviews the current state of government censorship and press freedom in various countries in the region.

East Asian State Censorship

North Korea

East and Southeast Asia may be home to countries with the strictest government censorship in the world. North Korea, for instance, remains one of the most heavily censored nations in the world. All local media in the country is run and led by the single-party government, causing the dissemination of information subjects to strict supervision.

China

Government control over the media could also be seen within its neighboring country, China. The core values of the government regime are inimical to democracy and press freedom despite constitutional provisions that say otherwise. The Chinese authorities restrict the country's media freedom using various tactics, including implementing strict monitoring of the published media content and arresting media personnel. In 2019, at least 48 journalists were imprisoned in China, more than in any other country in the world, which placed the country as the world's biggest jailer for journalists. Many of these reporters face "anti-state" charges or have been accused of producing "fake news." China has faced a progressively more restrictive media environment since Xi Jinping became president in 2013.

Mongolia

With the majority of Mongolian news organizations being affiliated with political parties, media face pressures not only from the government but also the politicians. Despite the

improving media environment over the past few years, such as the drafting of Media Freedom Law beginning in 2018, press freedom in the country is still crippled by the lack of information transparency by the government, and journalists are also pushed to conduct self-censorship, which hinders independent media reporting. While the Media Freedom Law drafting process is still underway, the law may include amendments to the government's restrictions on spreading false information. The term "false information" was not specifically defined, enabling those in power to exercise control over journalists. At least 100 reporters were charged, mostly by politicians, after a similar restriction was enacted in 2017.

Southeast Asian Autocratic States

Southeast Asian countries are still battling with journalistic freedom. Governments in several of these countries also exercise strict control over the media. Cambodia, Laos, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam are among the autocratic nations in the region, with governments limiting people's freedom of expression.

Cambodia

In Cambodia, the ruling Prime Minister Hun Sen and the Cambodian People's Party have put pressure on independent media, with pro-government media outlets remaining free. Media closures and the sale of a leading independent newspaper ahead of elections in 2018 meant that Cambodians only had access to news organizations linked to the prime minister. The Cambodian government regularly uses the legal system, oppressive taxation, and occasional violent attacks as methods of intimidating journalists.

Laos

The Lao People's Revolutionary Party in Laos imposes absolute restrictions on Laos media, placing the country on the 172nd of 179 nations in the 2020 World Press Freedom Index. Most of the country's media outlets are owned by the government, with some privately owned magazines only covering entertainment news without touching political topics.

Singapore

Singapore's media are highly developed and tightly controlled. There are two major players in Singapore media, Singapore Press Holdings (SPH) and Mediacorp. SPH is linked to the ruling party and has a near-monopoly of the press. Mediacorp is the national public broadcaster. The conglomerate is involved in radio, TV, and digital content. There is a reported "caste system" in the media. Frequently, SPH and Mediacorp receive government news releases hours or even days before private news outlets do. Also, the government frequently avoids requests for information on controversial issues. Newspapers occasionally publish critical content, but much self-censorship occurs and news coverage is generally pro-government.

Thailand

Similar to Laos, Thailand also experiences a tightened grip on the already-limited freedom of expression. Since the 2014 military coup, authorities have engaged in such activities as Internet surveillance and broadcast censorship. The government, including the military, holds control of almost all the national broadcast networks. The media are free to criticize government policies and cover instances of corruption and human rights abuses, but journalists tend to exercise self-censorship regarding the military, the monarchy, the judiciary, and other sensitive issues.

Vietnam

The Communist Party in Vietnam has a strong hold on the media and the state controls all print and broadcast outlets. Repressive laws constrain journalists and bloggers. Those who report or comment on controversial issues risk intimidation and physical attack. Bloggers and citizen journalists are the only sources of independent news, according to Reporters Without Borders. But they face "ever-harsher forms of persecution" (BBC News, 2018, para. 2).

Brunei

The sultan's family owns most of Brunei's media. The only television network and the primary radio channel, Radio Television Brunei, is state-owned, while the leading daily newspaper,

the Borneo Bulletin, is heavily controlled by the officials. In April 2019, the country introduced a stricter version of the existing Sharia (Islamic law) code, which includes a criminal defamation charge for bloggers and citizen journalists who publish independent-reporting information online even if the content has already been deleted after posting.

Indonesia

Indonesia has made significant improvements in its press freedom after the authoritarian leader, President Suharto, stepped down in 1998. However, the current laws and regulations are still hampering media freedom in the country. Despite claiming that they have lifted access restrictions on foreign journalists to report from Papua in 2015, the government still imposes rigorous screening and review before international media are allowed to perform their duties in the area.

Myanmar

The military coup on February 1, 2021, has caused press freedom in the country to decline rapidly. The government has exerted every effort to suppress independent reporting by raiding news media organizations, imposing Internet censorship, and arresting journalists. The military's attempt to control the flow of information included revoking press licenses of five independent news companies (Mizzima, the Democratic Voice of Burma, Myanmar Now, Khit Thit Media, and 7Day News), which had been extensively covering the protests that emerged following the February 1 coup. The crackdown could potentially revert media freedom in the country to the old system, the era before the government abolished prepublication censorship in August 2012.

Philippines

Media in the Philippines continuously face threats and attacks under the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte, placing the country as the most dangerous place for media personnel in Southeast Asia. The officials mainly target media companies and reporters who are overly critical to the government.

Press Freedoms

In East Asia, South Korea and Taiwan enjoy a higher degree of press freedom than other countries in the region.

South Korea

Media in South Korea have the capability to criticize the government and corporations with a certain degree of self-censorship. Press freedom in South Korea has been influenced by three main factors: advertisers who provide funding to news organizations, media ownership, and local press laws and ethics.

Taiwan

Despite being influenced by China, Taiwan has been considered to have the highest level of press freedom in the region.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong, a British protectorate for over 150 years, has long been a haven for materials censored in China—which became a communist country in 1947. China officially regained control of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom in 1997. This transfer was supposed to be mitigated by a 1984 agreement between China and the United Kingdom that would give Hong Kong some political and social autonomy for 50 years beyond 1997. Despite this policy, known as *one country, two systems*, China has been slowly assuming more and more control.

Macau

Macau, a Portuguese territory from 1887 to 1999, was returned to Chinese control in 1999—2 years after Hong Kong was returned to China by the British. Like Hong Kong, an agreement was made that Macau would remain partially autonomous for 50 years—until 2049. While Macau has operated for many years as another free speech zone, this may be starting to change under growing Chinese rule.

Japan

Japan's constitution guarantees press freedom in the country. However, a UN special rapporteur's

2017 report expressed concern that the government pressures journalists. Article 4 of the Broadcast Act allows the government to determine what is considered as "fair" information and which content is deemed acceptable to be broadcast, but this hinders independent news reporting. Although a recommendation to repeal the rule had been proposed, as of April 2021, it has yet to be implemented.

East Timor

Among Southeast Asia countries, East Timor (Timor-Leste) remains the highest in the rank for press freedom across the years, despite only being 20 years since its independence. In fact, a historic congress of Timor-Leste journalists held in Dili in 2013 voted in their first code of ethics, which affirmed the importance of free expression and media self-regulation.

Malaysia

Malaysia is the second highest-ranked nation in the region in terms of press freedom. The country has experienced less stringent censorship and government control of the press after the former Prime Minister Najib Razak was defeated in the 2018 general elections.

Key Events Influencing Journalism in East and Southeast Asia

In the 21st century, there have been many things that affected journalism in the region. Listed here are some of the key events.

Maguindanao Massacre

On November 23, 2009, 58 people were killed in Maguindanao, Philippines when a convoy was attacked on its way to certify a local candidate's election status. Among those who lost their lives, 34 were journalists. In its aftermath, the Committee to Protect Journalists characterized the attack as one of the worst recorded attacks on journalists in the world. An investigation revealed that the attack was orchestrated by the Ampatuan family, who ruled the southern part of Maguindanao. A decade after the massacre, five members of the Ampatuan family clan were found guilty of murder and sentenced to life in prison.

Thailand's 2014 Military Coup

A number of journalists were detained days after the military coup carried out by the National Peace and Order Maintaining Council on May 22, 2014, in Thailand. The military also intensified nationwide censorship and restrictions on all news media immediately after the coup. Radio and TV stations were ordered to halt their regular programs and broadcast the military's TV channels for almost 24 hours.

Myanmar Leader Dashes Hopes for Press Freedom

Since taking power in 2015 elections that were hailed by observers as a victory for democracy and freedom of expression, the government of Aung San Suu Kyi has targeted 44 journalists with legal action—both civil and criminal cases—for their reporting. Reporters were charged under colonial-era legislation that prohibits the publication of information which "causes fear or alarm" or "disrupts public tranquillity."

The Departure of Outspoken Japanese Anchors

Three prominent Japanese news broadcasters, Ichiro Furutachi, Hiroko Kuniya, and Shigetada Kishii, who were known for their critical commentaries to the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, were replaced almost simultaneously in 2016. The departure was believed to be the government's attempt to silence criticism toward the administration as the week before, the country's internal affairs minister, Sanae Takaichi, warned news organizations of the possible suspension of broadcasting programs that do not reflect political neutrality.

Vietnam's Force 47

In 2017, the Vietnamese government launched a cyber unit, named Force 47, in an effort to clamp down on free speech and censor online content. The cyber team consists of military officials who screen content on online platforms, particularly on the most popular social network in the country, Facebook. Their main tasks include countering online dissent and anti-regime content as

well as promoting their pro-government propaganda.

Erosion of Press Freedoms in Hong Kong and Macau

Beginning in 2014, only China-approved candidates were allowed to run in elections for Hong Kong leadership positions. This plus other punitive measures led to social unrest and a fear of a loss of press freedom in the region. For instance, since the change, journalists could be jailed or incur large fines if they reported information that resulted in vaguely defined "psychological harm" or "loss." Reporters have been increasingly steering clear of topics that might upset the Communist Party and large corporations. Hong Kong's national security law, passed on June 30, 2020, brought about a significant decline in the country's media landscape. Independent news outlets began to experience the effect of the law just a month after it was enacted, including the arrest of Apple Daily's executives, journalists' self-censorship as a safeguard, and foreign reporters' visa denials. Many fear that press freedom in Hong Kong will continue to erode at a rapid pace.

Similar events have been occurring in Macau. There is a growing trend of authorities to limit access to information and journalists have been expelled or denied entry. A recent survey of journalists in Macau found that they felt that press freedom still exists, but that their jobs are becoming more difficult.

Kim Jong-un Health Rumors

In the spring of 2020, many media outlets around the world speculated on the health—and even the life—of controversial North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, who had not been seen in public for some time. North Korean state media insisted he was fine. While much of the world wondered if he was gravely ill or had died, China, and perhaps more surprisingly, the South Korean government, downplayed these rumors.

The Closure of the Philippines' ABS-CBN

Press freedom has also eroded in the Philippines under Rodrigo Duterte's presidency. Duterte shuts down the nation's biggest broadcaster, ABS-CBN, in early May 2020, as an effort to silence media critics toward the government. The network reportedly triggered the president's anger after refusing to broadcast his presidential campaign commercials in 2016 and covering controversies surrounding Duterte, including his order to kill thousands of suspected drug dealers.

Asian Media During the Global Pandemic

The recent coronavirus outbreak that impacted global society has influenced media freedom in covering the public health crisis, particularly in Asia. Asian media tend to report figures that are conveniently accessible to the public, such as the number of new cases and deaths, which could be inaccurate. A recent analysis by Reporters Without Borders showed that China is one of the countries that exercise extensive censorship in coronavirus reporting. In December, 2019, the state suppressed the initial reporting and information on the outbreak in Wuhan and claimed that the country had the spread of the virus under control. The government prohibited local news to report the circumstances in the epicenter of the outbreak in Wuhan. It also removed digital documentation and social media posts from Wuhan residents that showed their struggles in obtaining access to medical treatments. On the other hand, the heavily controlled media in the neighboring country, North Korea, reported that no coronavirus infection had been found in the country, despite bordering with China and being a primary trading partner with China (accounting for around 80% of its trade).

On the contrary, Taiwan has shown achievement in containing the outbreak through its transparency and free flow of information related to the coronavirus for the public to access. Since the outbreak began in late December 2019, the Taiwan government established the Central Epidemic Command Center in January 2020 that holds a daily press conference and utilizes social networks to circulate recent updates on the pandemic. Their independent fact-check groups, such as Taiwan FactCheck Center and MyGoPen, actively take part in correcting false information circulating online. Similar to Taiwan, South Korea's success in

controlling the contagion is greatly influenced by the transparency of information that is available in various outlets, including local media.

Journalists in Southeast Asia countries face dilemmas when it comes to coronavirus reporting. The coronavirus that spreads across the region has prompted governments to continuously adopt new measures to contain the number of infections. These steps include establishing decrees to combat misinformation and disinformation that would potentially create public fear. Thailand authorities invoked an emergency decree in response to the outbreak on March 26, 2020, which prohibits the spread of fake news related to the coronavirus and allows public officials to censor and alter the information provided by media outlets that are deemed incorrect, with possible penalties for up to 5 years in prison for violators. On the other hand, Cambodia, under the autocratic leader Prime Minister Hun Sen, has tightened their grip on the free flow of independent news and information related to the coronavirus with more stringent surveillance and control of the media and social networks.

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See also Asia, Central; Asia, South; Censorship; China; Japan; Press Freedom

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ASIA, SOUTH

This entry discusses the state of journalism and challenges facing the profession in eight South Asian countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Almost 90% of the South Asian population lives in three countries—India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. These three countries dominate the media landscape as well. The population of South Asia, around 1.95 billion, is almost 25% of the global population. Almost two thirds of the population in South Asia lives in rural areas. Much of South Asia has relatively low rates of literacy, although the literacy rate is over 90% in both Sri Lanka and Maldives.

South Asia also accounts for nearly 30% of the global population living below the poverty line. These factors (rural-urban divide, low literacy, and poverty) have contributed to low newspaper readership. However, the privately owned news television industry has been booming in these countries since 2000. Monthly cable television subscriptions compared to buying a newspaper

daily. This entry provides an overview of the news industry and challenges facing the industry and journalists in South Asia.

India is the second largest country in the world by population and has a diverse, multilingual demographic with more newspaper consumers than any other country in the world. There are around 17,500 registered newspapers and over 100,000 periodicals in India alone. About 40% of these publications are in the national language (Hindi), 12% are in English, and the remaining publications are in regional languages. India is a unique case in a world where print journalism is generally on the decline. Several new titles of newspapers and periodicals are registered in India every year and the readership numbers as well as advertising revenue have shown an upward surge in recent years. There are more than 550 FM radio stations and around 900 television channels (including nearly 400 news and current affairs television stations). There are 58 big media outlets concentrated in major metropolitan areas. They own a majority of the market share and have tie-ups with regional news outlets as well.

In Bangladesh, there are over 3,000 print publications including 1,200 daily newspapers. Circulation rose steadily beginning in the 1990s but began to decline in 2017. Radio is not as popular (around 35 operational radio stations) because television has grabbed a majority of the electronic media audience share in Bangladesh. Since 2002, the government has awarded licenses to news and entertainment televisions mostly offering 24/7 broadcasts. There are 40 television channels in Bangladesh (including 30 news channels) and their collective viewership has doubled (from 42% to 90%) in the past two decades. Outside of India and Bangladesh, the print industry (local or national newspapers and magazines) and regional journalism (catering to a local city) are not as thriving in other South Asian countries. However, the popularity of news television at the expense of print publications is consistent in all these countries. News organizations are concentrated in major metropolitan areas as well.

There were just over 600 print publications of all types in Pakistan in 2020, down from 1,820 in 2007. The electronic media have seen a mushrooming growth in Pakistan since the formation of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority and award of licenses to private sector in 2002. As of 2020, Pakistan has around 200 radio stations and close to 100 satellite television stations, including over 40 TV channels dedicated to news and current affairs. None of the television news stations in Pakistan, other than the state-owned PTV, air English content. Most are broadcast in the national language, Urdu.

There are 175 newspapers (including 25 dailies) in Afghanistan but the print media readership is hardly 1% of the total population. The major market share goes to 196 radio stations (73% of the population) and 95 television stations (40% of the population). The radio and television audience are primarily urban based but penetration in rural areas is increasing each year. There are more than 30 daily newspapers and a similar number of television stations in Sri Lanka. However, the news readership has declined since 2016 and the audience base is shifting toward television. Similar trends were witnessed during the 2010s in the relatively smaller media markets of Nepal, Maldives, and Bhutan.

Digital Media Platforms

Only 36% of the total population in the South Asian region is urban while the majority lives in rural areas. Because of this reason, media markets are also primarily urban-centric, and the digital divide is very much a reality. The impact of digitization in media is not as widespread in South Asia as elsewhere in the world. The relative affordability and investment in infrastructure have seen an upsurge in internet users from 2% of the region in 2004 to almost 30% in 2019. However, Internet usage is dominated by the urban and literate demographic. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan have the lowest Internet usage (14–16% of the population) in the region, while only one third of the population in India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka have access to Internet. The two smaller countries in the region, Bhutan (48%) and Maldives (63%), have slightly higher rates of individuals using the Internet compared to neighboring countries.

There are close to 500 million social media users in South Asian countries. However, Internet-enabled smartphones are seen as a game changer in these countries and the governments are encouraging adoption and use of smartphone

applications. Mobile Internet subscription has increased to 51% of the total Internet users in the region and the social media penetration through smartphones in the South Asian region as a whole has risen from 9% to 27% between 2015 and 2019. Almost all the countries have shown a 50% jump during the 5-year period (2014–2019) in the Mobile Internet Connectivity 2020 factsheet for South Asia.

Recognizing this trend, most mainstream news organizations have made plans to increase their online presence and also started pushing tailor-made content to smartphone users. A Reuters Institute survey of English-speaking, online news users in India in 2019 reported 68% of respondents consumed news through smartphones. India's digital advertisement market grew by over 30% in 2020. The numbers are not as high in other countries (given the smaller population compared to India) but the trends related to online news consumption and shifting revenue from traditional to online platforms are quite similar.

Ownership Structures and Censorship

In all the South Asian countries, state-owned media dominated the landscape for a long time. The governments started deregulating at the start of the 21st century, coinciding with the introduction of Internet in the region. However, licenses were primarily awarded to big conglomerates with political connections. These licenses can be withdrawn at any time by the government's regulatory agencies. Even if these new media organizations don't make profits, the political clout and access to power corridors is considered a good enough reward by the business houses. Governments also provide advertisements and other business favors to media owners.

Cross-media ownership is common and the nexus between media owners, governments, and other pressure groups has contributed to high levels of censorship in South Asian countries. Several organizations monitoring media freedom globally have provided details of the concentration of media ownership in South Asian countries and how it results in censorship practices. In Pakistan, the powerful military and intelligence agencies keep the media under control. There are several reported cases of journalists who went missing or were tortured because their work raised questions about the government or other powerful groups. In other cases, they have been forced out of jobs.

Repression against journalists grew more severe in India after the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party assumed power in 2014. The conglomerates that bankrolled the party's election campaigns bought stakes in big news outlets and have made sure any criticism of the ruling party is either muted or shunted out. Several influential politicians have controlling stakes in the mainstream and regional news organizations in India. The situation in Bangladesh is similar. The reelection of Sheikh Hasina Wajid as the prime minister of Bangladesh in 2018 resulted in a considerable spike in press freedom violations. Several journalists were picked up and beaten by the supporters of the ruling party and critical media outlets were barred from covering official press conferences. There has been an upsurge in state-sponsored attacks against journalists in Sri Lanka and Nepal as well. The regime changes in Maldives and Bhutan after the 2018 elections promised improvement but any tangible steps to ensure press freedom have not been taken so far.

National Security Narrative

South Asian countries have been a hotbed of regional conflicts rooted in history. Since achieving independence from Britain in 1947, India and Pakistan have fought four wars. After the 1971 war, what was then East Pakistan was carved out as a separate country (Bangladesh) on the grounds of oppression from the military regime ruling Pakistan at the time. India and Sri Lanka have been engaged in a conflict over Tamil rebels while Nepal and other smaller neighbors also have grievances with the expansionist designs of India.

Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan have regularly traded accusations of cross-border terrorism. These complex regional dynamics have made journalists vulnerable and subservient to the national security narratives in each country. The decision by India's government in August 2019 to revoke the limited autonomy of its Kashmir region resulted in a 6-month communication back out, with Internet service shutdown. The reporting on the condition of Muslims and other

minority communities in India was labelled as anti-national by several politicians and the sentiment was also echoed in a section of the mainstream media. In Pakistan, coverage of opposition parties was banned by the government in July 2019 and it remained in effect for several months. The government had to relent after the protest lodged by prominent journalist and trade unions. Still, the protests of minority groups such as Pashtuns and Hazaras against the security forces in the restive tribal areas hardly receive any news coverage by the mainstream media. The editor of a newspaper in Bangladesh was arrested in 2019 for writing favorably about an opposition leader who was executed after being convicted of war crimes committed during Bangladesh's 1971 war of independence. Journalists are expected to follow the state narrative on national security without raising any questions. Any dissenting voice is quickly marginalized. Several journalists have lost jobs and faced threats for refusing to toe the line.

Safety Threats

South Asia is consistently ranked as one of the deadliest regions for journalists. Most countries in the region have traditionally ranked low on the press freedom indices published by international organizations. In Reporters Without Borders's 2020 World Press Freedom Index of 180 countries, 6 out of the 8 South Asian countries slid further down in the ranking compared to 2019. India was ranked 142 (two points down), Pakistan was ranked 145 (three points down), Bangladesh was ranked 151 (one point down), Afghanistan was ranked 122 (one point down), Sri Lanka was ranked 127 (one point down), and Nepal was ranked 112 (six points down). Only two smaller countries, Bhutan and Maldives, showed significant improvement in 2020 after the general elections and change of government in both countries during 2018. Bhutan was ranked 67 (13-point jump) and Maldives was ranked 79 (19-point jump).

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2011, 188 journalists have lost their lives in eight South Asian countries for known causes according to a database compiled by the Committee to Protect Journalists. Almost one third of these cases, 57, were in Pakistan alone followed by 51 in Afghanistan and 36 in India. Eighteen journalists were killed in India, 16 in Sri Lanka, 8 in Nepal, and 2 in Maldives from the period after 9/11 through 2020. Bhutan is the only country in South Asia that reported no deaths of journalists in the two decades after 9/11. In the high-profile case of *The Wall Street Journal*'s Daniel Pearl, who was killed in Karachi, Pakistan, in 2002, four accused were tried. The main accused, Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh, was sentenced to death and three others were given a life sentence. However, the Sindh high court in April 2020 commuted the death sentence of the main accused to 7 years in prison and acquitted the remaining three on the grounds of insufficient evidence. The sentence has been appealed to the Supreme Court by the government and Pearl's family. Hearings in the case continue but the Supreme Court as well as members of the legal and media community have criticized the flawed prosecution, raising suspicions of collusion. Hardly any of the perpetrators in other cases of journalists from the region have been brought to justice even though the motive was known in all these reported cases.

The assassination of outspoken Indian journalist Gauri Lankesh in September 2017 received global coverage. She had been receiving death threats from the right-wing Hindutva militant elements. The man who allegedly pulled the trigger in Lankesh's death told the police that he did so to save his religion. Sagar Sarowar and Meherun Runi, a married journalist couple in Bangladesh, were stabbed to death in their apartment in 2012. Since July 2018, 12 people have been arrested on the suspicion of having a role in the murder and as of April 2021 the case remained under investigation. In Afghanistan, most of the 51 journalists who lost their lives, including 18 foreign journalists, were either killed in crossfire or at the hands of militant groups. Eighteen journalists were killed in 2018 at the height of peace negotiations with the Taliban in Afghanistan.

South Asian journalists continue to face oppression from state governments and other powerful groups in the discharge of their duties. The International Federation of Journalists reported 14 journalists were killed in South Asia in 2020 alone. The organization's 2019–2020 South Asia press freedom report also highlighted

at least 219 cases of attacks on media freedom during the year under scrutiny. These included 52 cases where journalists were put behind bars, 90 threats to journalists' lives, 65 nonfatal attacks, 35 attacks on media institutions, 8 gender-based attacks, and 82 cases of threats or some kind of attack on journalists from rural, regional, or minority groups.

Regulatory Frameworks

The South Asian countries have used state machinery to undermine press freedom and introduced new regulations to suit their purposes. Recognizing the importance and popularity of online platforms as mediums of expression, these governments have moved to curb freedom of expression online as well. The 2018 digital security law in Bangladesh allows any "negative propaganda" to be punishable by up to 14 years in prison. In February 2021, the government of India also announced plans to regulate all digital media platforms under the ministry of Information Technology. The Pakistani parliament passed the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA) in 2016 that enabled the government to regulate Internet usage and censor online content in the country. Websites and online social media platforms were regularly blocked in almost all South Asian countries at various points in the 2010s. Journalists and social media users were picked up and beaten for writing social media posts against governments, security agencies, or other powerful groups. Some, including India's Jagendra Singh, Bangladesh's Mushtaq Ahmed, and Pakistan's Mashal Khan, were brutally killed. No action has been taken in any of these cases.

South Asian governments also have used social media to circulate fake news and propaganda in support of official positions. In December 2020, the EU DisinfoLab revealed a network of fake local media outlets and nongovernmental organizations that was circulating disinformation to serve the interests of India. Twitter in 2020 and Facebook in 2019 removed hundreds of fake Pakistani accounts for running propaganda campaigns for the country's security agencies. In 2020, as many as 30 news outlets called upon the Afghan government to implement the access to information law and ensure safety of journalists. Other than Afghanistan, all other South Asian countries (Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives) have access to information laws in one form or the other but these exist mainly on paper. None of these countries have taken practical steps to implement these laws for protecting independent journalism.

COVID-19 and Economic Losses

In the privately owned news organizations in South Asia, job security, training, and safety gear have never been prioritized. Internal and external pressures have made journalists in the region a vulnerable group. The COVID-19 pandemic further aggravated the situation during 2020. Press Emblem Campaign reported in April 2021 that 149 journalists had died in South Asia after getting infected by COVID-19 in the line of duty. These included 62 journalists who died in India, 48 in Bangladesh, 25 in Pakistan, 9 in Afghanistan, and 5 in Nepal. Dozens of journalists, mainly in rural India, were arrested for criticizing the government's response to the pandemic. The dip in revenues because of the adverse business climate and loss of advertising resulted in cost-cutting and job losses in almost all the South Asian media markets. More than 3,000 journalists in Pakistan and around 2,000 in India lost jobs. Mass layoffs and pay cuts or delays in paying news organizations' staff members were reported in other countries too. Several small media organizations in South Asia closed as a result of the pandemic. The impacts of the pandemic were predicted to reverberate for several years and the smaller news outlets were projected to be more adversely affected than the big players in the industry.

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See also Asia, Central; Asia, East and Southeast; India; Pakistan; Press Freedom

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ASIAN AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA

Asian American journalism can be defined in two ways: through publications and electronic media that focus expressly on Asian American interests and issues and through Asian American journalists who ply their craft in any medium. This subset of journalism is rising in importance, due to the large Asian immigration influx that has taken place in the United States over recent decades. Prior to the Hart-Celler Act of 1965, a set of preferences based upon "national origins" had established quotas that limited the number of immigrants arriving from Asia. Under the new law, these restrictions were lifted, leading to a sustained growth in arrivals from that region.

According to the Migration Policy Institute, in the period from 1960 to 2017, the number of U.S. immigrants born in Asia grew from 491,000 to 13,908,000. This represented a growth from 5.0% of the U.S. immigrant population to 31.2%.

This entry describes Asian Americans working as journalists and outlines the history and current state of media intended specifically for an Asian American audience.

Asians in the United States

Asian Americans are generally defined as persons who are descendants of immigrants or who are themselves immigrants from Asia and who are also either citizens of the United States or are permanent residents. However, the term *Asian American* cloaks an enormous diversity in cultures, religions, and other aspects of social life that characterizes those who come from the Asian region. (Usually persons from the Middle East are not considered Asian Americans, even though this region is conventionally viewed as part of Asia.) Asia is the world's largest continent and its total population exceeds that of the rest of the world combined. Hence the diversity of Asian Americans reflects the broad spectrum of immigrants originating from different countries of the continent, with their vast range of linguistic and ethnic identities.

Current estimates identify Chinese Americans and Philippine Americans as the largest groups, each at about 3.8 million, followed by Asian Indian Americans at about 2.8 million. Korean and Vietnamese immigrants and descendants each number more than 1 million.

The majority of Asian Americans reside in coastal states, and most live in major urban centers. According to the 2010 U.S. census, cities with the highest concentrations of Americans claiming Asian ethnic heritage were Honolulu, the population of which was made up of 43.9% of Asian Americans, while similar figures for Los Angeles and San Francisco were reported as 14.7% and 23.3%.

The racial prejudices that gave rise to the earlier immigration barriers have become less obvious, though critics continue to be outspoken in their complaints of persistent discrimination experienced by Asian Americans in journalism. According to a 2018 survey by the American Society of News Editors, 22.6% of newsroom staff are members of minorities, a figure that has changed little in the previous decade. This constitutes a serious concern in a nation whose ethnic diversity has

grown steadily for several decades and represents a significant disparity with the more than 35% of Americans who identify as minorities. Of these minorities, a relatively small proportion are Asian Americans. A 2019 study by the Radio Television Digital News Association found that only 2.0% of TV newsroom workers claimed Asian heritage, while radio journalists of Asian heritage amounted to 2.1%.

Development

The number of Asian Americans who have gained prominence in the news media has continued to grow despite the aforementioned barriers, and a number of these individuals have become familiar to most Americans. William Woo (1936–2006) was the first Asian American to become editor of a major U.S. newspaper when he was named to that post at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1986. He later joined the journalism faculty at Stanford. Among other leading Asian American journalists are Nancy Yoshihara, who served in various reporting and editorial capacities for the *Los Angeles Times*; Connie Chung, who coanchored the *CBS Evening News;* John Yang, correspondent for the *PBS Newshour*; Sanjay Gupta, CNN senior medical correspondent; and Fareed Zakaria, columnist editor of *Newsweek* and CNN host.

Newspapers serving Asian Americans have been published since the mid-19th century. In 1854, immigrants from China started publication of *Kim-Shan Jit San-Luk* (Golden Hills' News) in the San Francisco area. Before 1900, a number of other publications aimed at different communities appeared as well. Because of their diverse nature, media aimed at Asian Americans tend to be segmented according to country of origin or language. For the smaller population groups, publications can be newsletters rather than broadsheets or tabloids, and some of these may appear irregularly. Newspapers for each of the major immigrant groups as well as many smaller immigrant nationalities tend to be found where populations are concentrated around the United States.

Like the rest of the newspaper industry, publications aimed at Asian Americans currently face declining circulations and rising costs, but they also are affected by changing immigration patterns. As their readers become more fully integrated into U.S. society, newspapers must strive to remain relevant to their Asian American communities. Thus, as immigration from their host countries waxes and wanes, so does demand for their publications. An example of this trend is *Hokubei Mainichi* (North American Daily), a newspaper aimed at Japanese Americans. Published in San Francisco five times weekly, its distribution was mainly in northern California. It ceased publication in 2009, leaving only one bilingual Japanese American newspaper still operational on the West Coast. Another newspaper that ceased publication in 2009 was *AsianWeek*, a weekly aimed at readers among all Asian American communities. This tabloid enjoyed a circulation of about 60,000 when it closed, mostly in the San Francisco region where it was published. *AsianWeek* had become embroiled in controversy when in 2007 editor Kenneth Eng authored an inflammatory column titled "Why I Hate Blacks." The publisher later apologized for the column and the author was fired.

Nevertheless, many newspapers have survived, and some have thrived. Most successful Asian American newspapers do not publish daily, but rather are weekly or biweekly. For readers from the Indian subcontinent, the leading publication is *India Abroad,* which offers itself as "a window into the Indian-American world." This highly regarded weekly calls itself the largest and oldest of the South Asian American publications and has been in operation since 1970. It claims a circulation of more than 30,000, but it is also available online. Another weekly for persons of South Asian origin is the English *Lok News*. For Pakistani Americans, there is *Sada E Pakistan*, an Urdu-language weekly published in Brooklyn, New York. It focuses on metropolitan New York City but also offers national coverage of U.S. news concerning South Asia.

As noted, newspapers for Chinese Americans have had a long history in the United States, and they remain important today. Immigration from greater China has grown substantially in recent decades, and the number of Chinese Americans is almost seven times larger in 2020 than it was in 1980. The *World Journal* (*Shie Jie Yee Bao*) claims to be largest Chinese-language newspaper in the United States, with a reported daily circulation of 350,000. With headquarters in New York City, it publishes in a number of cities across the United States. It has ties to business and political interests in Taiwan.

For nearly every immigrant group, there are newspaper resources of some sort. For the Cambodian American community, there is *Nokor Thom* (Great Nation), a daily newspaper with a circulation of about 25,000, published in Long Beach, California. It was once the largest daily published in Phnom Penh but relocated to the United States after the Khmer Rouge takeover of Cambodia in the 1970s. The oldest Vietnamese language newspaper is *Nguoi Viet Daily News* (Vietnamese People Daily News) published since the mid-1970s in California. It was founded by Yen Do, who had been a war correspondent for American newspapers before Vietnamese reunification in 1975 when he immigrated to the United States. The daily currently has a circulation of 12,000 and weekly editions are published for Houston, San Francisco, Utah, and the northeastern United States. The *Korea Daily,* which promotes itself as having the largest readership among Korean Americans living in the United States, and the *Korea Times*, based in Los Angeles (not associated with *Korea Times* published in South Korea), are dailies published in a number of cities across the country.

By the end of the 1960s, a new generation of Asian American publications emerged based less on a single ethnic identity and presenting a more pan-ethnic perspective. These publications frequently presented themselves as alternative voices for all Asian Americans. The ensuing decades have continued to be politically turbulent, and many of these alternative publications have had a strong political agenda. Many have been short lived. Arising out of this period was *Amerasian Journal.* It is a scholarly publication for general subjects concerning the Asian American community and it calls itself the "leading interdisciplinary journal in Asian American Studies." Begun at Yale University in 1971, it is now hosted by UCLA. Its contents are devoted to serious scholarship on Asian American topics, especially on historical and current issues faced by Asian Americans.

Electronic Media

In addition to print publications serving the Asian American community, electronic media are important as well, and with the rise of online media these electronic channels have proliferated. In localities where large numbers of Asian Americans have settled, one can often find local radio broadcasts or television programs aimed at these communities. This trend has gained impetus from a growing fragmentation of broadcast audiences in the United States. As more and more radio and television stations and cable channels have opened, outlets have been forced to appeal to ever narrower audience segments.

Los Angeles leads in Asian American television audiences, with more than 700,000 viewers, followed by New York and San Francisco each with more than 600,000 and 500,000, respectively. The San Francisco area has enjoyed a comparatively large variety of Asian American media because Asian Americans make up nearly a third of the population in the city. One of the pioneers of Asian American broadcasting, Leo Chen, who has been dubbed the "father of Chinese television in America," was based there. He used his own financial resources to purchase airtime for his program *Asia-Am TV* on San Francisco's KEMO-TV beginning in 1973. Chen was producer and newscaster in the weekly telecasts.

Among several over-the-air television stations that provide programming for Asian Americans is KTSF in San Francisco, which makes broadcasts available throughout the Bay area. News is presented in a number of languages, including Mandarin, Cantonese, Tagalog, and Japanese. The station airs 12 hours of news each week and since 2016 has presented a morning news magazine show in Cantonese from 6:00 to 8:00 a.m. each weekday. In the Los Angeles area, KXLA labels itself as an independent ethnic broadcaster and offers television programming in Mandarin, Cantonese, and Korean. In the past, some communities have made use of public-access cable channels to provide local news programs in Asian languages. An advantage of these channels is that access to their schedules is free, or nearly so, and cable companies sometimes provide facilities and production support. In metropolitan New York City, WMBC offers programming for children in a variety of Asian languages, including Mandarin and Korean.

Even more radio stations present programming for Asian Americans. One radio station in Southern California that broadcasts to American Vietnamese audiences is KVNR-AM in Santa Ana. It

provides music and talk shows in Vietnamese and rebroadcasts programming from Radio France International and the BBC in Vietnamese. KVNR promotes itself as Little Saigon Radio, and in addition to local transmissions, it shares its programming with stations in the San Francisco and Houston areas. Another Santa Ana station serving the Vietnamese American community is KALI-FM, and it also offers a weekday talk show in Japanese.

Asian American audiences' news habits have changed along with those of the rest of the U.S. population, and this has included a shift to online news sources. Currently, very few if any major Asian American news organizations lack an online presence. As a result, many websites for the Asian American community, though certainly not all, are extensions of existing legacy media. For instance, *World Journal* provides a very rich and deep news website in Chinese with sections devoted to the arts and sports in addition to breaking news. For some weeklies, an online website is especially important, as it allows a newspaper to maintain contact with its readership between editions.

Not all Asian American online news sources are tied to traditional print or broadcast outlets, and those that are exclusively Internet-based tend to offer alternative perspectives to those of traditional media. *AsAm News* provides news stories that link in some particular way with various Asian American communities, drawing from sources across the Web as well as their own volunteer staff. One section of the news website is titled Bad Ass Asians and hosts stories about the lives of Asian Americans, mostly focusing on their positive achievements. Another news website, *Angry Asian Man*, provides news coverage that highlights contradictions to stereotypes about Asians and Asian Americans. *Hyphen*, another online only media news source, subtitles itself as "Asian America unabridged" and has a culture emphasis with stories on the arts and literature.

Naturally, the Internet makes available to Asian Americans a wide array of culturally and linguistically diverse news sources from across the world. Many Asian Americans follow closely events in their ethnically related countries via online sources from abroad. For instance, a Thai American might follow daily events in Thailand by watching the daily morning news show of one of the leading TV channels in Bangkok posted on YouTube.

Community

In 1981, the Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA) was formed as an organization to support Asian Americans working in the media and to encourage Asian Americans to consider careers in the news field. At the time, Asians were practically invisible in the media. This nonprofit organization has grown to become the predominant professional association for Asian Americans working in the media, and its membership numbers about 2,000. AAJA strives to support newsroom diversity and fair and accurate reportage of communities of color. The organization has more than a dozen chapters scattered across the United States, and it hosts a national annual convention. AAJA provides training for Asian American and Pacific Islander journalists so that they can promote positive change in the news field while building relationships with their communities.

The South Asian Journalists Association (SAJA) was established in New York in 1994 and today claims to serve more than 1,000 members. The organization asserts that it is not a competitor to AAJA, and many of its members belong to both. It is a volunteer organization that annually hosts a convention attended by participants numbering in the hundreds. It is an organization that serves not only Asian American journalists but also news staff who cover South Asia and the South Asian diaspora.

Research into the media preferences of Asian Americans has been somewhat limited, though the studies that are publicly available suggest, not surprisingly, differences in consumption preferences among various communities. Much as in the general U.S. population, Asian Americans tend to watch television, listen to radio, and read newspapers avidly. Asian Americans are digitally connected with 99% of their households having Internet access, as compared with 93% for U.S. Americans overall. Language appears to be a small factor in media; one report indicated that 95% of Asian Americans 35 years of age or younger speak English well, very well, or exclusively. Research has suggested that Asian Americans have a greater interest in technology than the

general population and are more likely to use social media in their daily lives. One study of Asian American women found that they often admitted to cyber dependence, though in building networks through social media were more restrictive in selecting members, possibly due to concerns about risking reputations or "saving face."

For Asian Americans, media tend to serve broad functions: First, Asian American media help build and sustain a sense of community, without which many immigrants would simply be swept into the general population. Such media present their readers with a reassuring affirmation of their identity and cultural heritage. Second, for some Asians, media of all types provide a valuable means to acquire language proficiency. Immigrants frequently arrive with limited ability to use English, and so media, especially television, can provide daily lessons in conversational U.S. American speech. Finally, community media offer recent immigrants an opportunity to become acquainted with the everyday concerns and interests of U.S. Americans—in short, to serve as a tool of acculturation. In this sense, these media serve an important purpose not only for the community but for the larger society as well, helping provide a smooth induction for immigrants into the national mainstream.

Drew O. McDaniel

See also Asia, East and Southeast; Asia, South; China; Émigré News Media; India; Japan

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press (AP), headquartered in New York City, is a nonprofit, global news organization that relies on factual newsgathering and reporting to provide news, photos, and graphics to member newspapers. Founded in 1848, the AP was the first private sector organization in the United States to operate on a national scale. Since its founding, the AP has been first to report to news consumers many of history's most important moments, from the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln and the bombing of Pearl Harbor to the death of Pope John Paul and the 9/11 terrorism on U.S. soil. In the 21st century, the AP remains a trusted source of fast, accurate, unbiased news in all media formats and the essential provider of the technology and services that are central to news dissemination. Journalists with the AP have been recognized with numerous awards, namely 54 Pulitzer Prizes that include 32 for photography since the award was established in 1917. The AP has 248 bureaus in 99 countries relaying breaking news, covering war and conflict, and producing enterprise reports. This entry briefly traces the development of the AP, its growth over the course of the 20th century, and its evolution during the 21st century. The entry also examines the role of the associated press in election and sports polls and closes with a discussion of the AP Stylebook.

Early Development of the AP

As part of an effort to share the increased costs of the growing news competition in the early nineteenth century, cooperative newsgathering took shape in the 1820s by New York City's newspapers, which decided to split the cost of news boats to the harbor. In 1848, the city's major newspapers agreed to share the bill of chartering a steamer from Boston to meet ships from Europe at Halifax, Nova Scotia, as well as the costs associated with telegraphing the news that the steamer obtained from Boston to New York.

The telegraph, developed in 1837 when Samuel F.B. Morse applied for a patent that was granted in 1844, uses electricity to send signals over wires. The first line connected Washington, DC, and Baltimore. Operators transcribed 25 to 30 words a minute and used code to send a message, including a news dispatch. The invention contributed to the growth in the railroads and reduced information costs for firms. It also gave rise to The AP as a cooperative wire service that sends news to member newspapers. In 1846, five New York City newspapers pooled together to fund a pony express route through Alabama to deliver news of the Mexican-American War.

The AP evolved from the old Harbor News Association that was established in 1848 by five New York daily newspapers when they agreed to pool information traffic and share the costs of covering the Mexican-American War. This included the expense of chartering a steamer from Boston to act as a news dispatch boat to meet ships from Europe at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the cost of telegraphing the news that the steamer obtained from Boston to New York. Moses Yale Beach (1800–1868), the second publisher of the *New York Sun*, organized the venture. The other four daily publications joining the *Sun* were the *New York Herald*, the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, *The Journal of Commerce*, and the *New York Evening Express*. Two other newspapers, the *New York Tribune* and *The New York Times*, joined later.

James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *Herald*, used the telegraph to advance in the New York circulation wars. Over the next several years, many cities across the United States were connected by the telegraph, including those in the west. Bennett's *Herald* was the first major newspaper on the East Coast to report the discovery of gold in California in the August 19, 1848, edition. The California Gold Rush officially began on January 24, 1848, with the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in Northern California. Yet most people in America at the time were not aware of the strike until seven months later, when the *Herald* reported on the rumors of gold in California. This announcement encouraged people to leave their homes and head west for the gold rush.

In 1850, the newspapers created the Telegraphic and General News Association of New York to receive telegraphic news from Boston, Washington, and other locations. The agency had two other name changes before becoming the New York Associated Press (NYAP) in 1858. The NYAP maintained access to its original members, representatives in other major American cities, and the Reuters news agency. It also contracted with other regional news agencies in other parts of the United States. By 1850, the group had its first paying customers, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and the *Baltimore Sun*, which were given access to wire service dispatches for a fee without becoming actual members of the cooperative. Over the next several years, the number of client newspapers outside of New York grew, and the agency was able to recover about half of its expenses. The NYAP maintained its transmission costs by sending news to each geographical area only one time. The newspapers in each area were left to distribute the news among themselves. This led to the formation of several regional associations modeled on the NYAP.

The NYAP faced competition from the Western Associated Press, which was organized in 1862 after several Midwestern daily newspapers criticized NYAP's monopolistic newsgathering and pricing methods. Other groups sprang up over the next few years, including the Northwestern Associated Press, the New England Associated Press, the Philadelphia Associated Press, and the New York State Associated Press. As the regional associations, especially the WAP, gained strength, friction developed between them and their New York parent. The Western papers felt they were being overcharged for European news, which by the 1860s was flowing steadily to the United States by underwater telegraph cable. Agreements were

made, leading to peace for several years. Several competitors to NYAP arose during the 1870s, but none were able to break the virtual monopoly NYAP held on the transmission of domestic and international news by wire. The first serious rival emerged in 1882 when the United Press (UP), led by William M. Laffan of the *New York Sun*, was formed.

In 1891, Victor Lawson of the *Chicago Daily News* produced evidence that top executives of the NYAP and UP had engaged in a secret agreement that gave UP free access to NYAP News. Angered by this revelation, NYAP's Western members broke from the association and established the AP of Illinois under the leadership of general manager Melville Stone in 1892. The NYAP folded and its original members defected to the UP. However, the AP's contracts put UP in an untenable position, and by 1897 the UP relented. All the New York dailies except the *Sun* and William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* were given memberships in the new AP. Meanwhile, the telegraph continued to improve. In 1899, the AP performed the first news test of the new wireless telegraph invented by Guglielmo Marconi when it covered the America's Cup yacht race at Sandy Hook, New Jersey.

In 1870, three major European news agencies—Reuters in Great Britain, Havas in France, and Germany's Wolff in Germany—combined efforts to divide world coverage. Reuters covered the British Empire, including China and India; Havas was responsible for the French empire, including much of Africa and all of South America. These three shared all the news they received. Under Stone's leadership, the AP joined the Reuters-Havas-Wolff news cartel in 1893, remaining with the arrangement until it dissolved in 1934. The AP, to compete with UP, concentrated on international expansion in the 1930s by establishing foreign news bureaus in other countries.

In 1900, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled in the case of Inter Ocean Publishing Co. v. Associated Press that the AP was a public utility operating in restraint of trade. This decision meant that the AP had to provide service to anyone who wanted it. The AP opted not to follow Illinois high court's ruling, and the AP of Illinois was dissolved. This resulted in the AP's move from Chicago to New York City, where the AP could organize as a nonprofit membership association. Stone continued in his role as general manager. Further, the AP could maintain control over who was accepted as a member. The new AP was a cooperative, in which the members shared news and the costs of maintaining staff to control the flow of news among members.

Growth in the 20th Century

By 1880, one-third of all dailies in the United States subscribed to the AP, which relied mostly on Western Union to carry its press reports over the wire. In 1893, the organization shortened its name to the AP. The AP provided coverage of the Spanish-American War that amounted to about $250,000 in expenses in 1898, including the costs of dispatch boats and wire charges. A year later, the AP used Guglielmo Marconi's wireless telegraph to report the America's Cup yacht race off Sandy Hook, New Jersey. This marked the first news test of the new telegraph.

By 1914, the AP had about 100 member newspapers. Until 1915, AP members were prohibited from buying news from other services. There were, by this time, two viable competitors from whom AP members could get additional news: the United Press Association, formed in 1907, and the International News Service, founded by Hearst in 1909. The original UP agency, after thriving for a few years, had collapsed by 1916.

From 1892 to 1921, Melville Stone, who had founded the *Chicago Daily News* in 1875, served as general manager of the AP when it was established in Illinois. Throughout his tenure, he embraced the standards of accuracy, impartiality, and integrity—journalistic qualities that continue to serve as the news agency's foundation. The AP became one of the world's most prominent news agencies under his leadership.

Under the tenure of Kent Cooper, an Indiana reporter who joined the AP in 1910, the AP cooperative evolved rapidly. Prior to joining the AP, Cooper approached Stone with a proposal to use telephone rather than telegraph to send news to newspapers. With the emergence of the teletype machine in 1913, the telephone approach was short-lived. However, because of his innovative spirit, Stone hired Cooper as AP's traffic chief. Cooper climbed the AP career ladder to assistant

general manager by 1920 and later led the AP from 1925 to 1948. During his leadership, he grew the bureau staffs in South America, Europe and, after World War II, the Middle East. He emphasized news reporting as a more effective prose style. He also incorporated new technology into the news dissemination process, introducing telegraph printing and the first system to transmit photographs via wire into the offices of the AP in 1927. He also advocated for the freedom of the press and the public's right to know.

One of Cooper's most significant contributions in the United States was the development of state bureaus as AP's primary operating units. He also expanded coverage to reflect the public's changing interests more effectively. This involved the addition of an afternoon sports service, as well as financial information and features. The AP also embraced human interest stories, which it had historically disdained, leading to the organization's first Pulitzer Prize awarded to Kirke L. Simpson in 1922 for a series on the Unknown Soldier buried in Washington, DC's Arlington Cemetery.

As modern media emerged in the first half of the 20th century, especially after World War II, the AP and other wire services used automated transmission equipment to create uniform news products sent to small towns and large cities, serving to standardize the formats of news articles. In 1914, Cooper introduced the telegraph typewriter, also known as the teletypewriter, into newsrooms. Member newspapers were equipped with the AP teletype machine that dispersed state, national, foreign, sports, and feature stories at 45 to 60 words a minute. The teletypewriter also was used by the United Press and International News Service. Styles in punctuation, capitalization, abbreviation, and other usage considerations differed among these news wire agencies. Together, in the 1950s, these news cooperatives agreed on a basic style and prepared a stylebook that set standards for style in the mainstream newspapers.

In addition, the AP started the Wirephoto network in 1935, which gave the news agency an advantage over other news outlets. This development allowed transmission of news photographs over leased private telephone lines on the day the photos were taken. The first photo to transfer over the wires was of a plane crash in Morehouseville, New York, on January 1, 1935. The photo network initially was among the major cities of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Eventually, the AP's photo service spanned across the United States.

Meanwhile, some newspapers attempted to restrain other newspapers, especially those from the same market, from subscribing to the AP. The AP kept out new members until 1945 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the AP had been violating the Sherman Antitrust Act by prohibiting member newspapers from selling or providing news to nonmember organizations as well as making it difficult for nonmember newspapers to join the AP. This legal decision particularly favored, for example, the *Chicago Sun*, which had been blocked from AP membership by the *Chicago Tribune*. Prior to the court ruling, newspapers with AP memberships had been allowed to refuse competing publications from subscribing to the AP. This meant that publishers either were forced to buy weak newspapers with existing AP memberships or subscribe to other wire services, such as the United Press International.

Challenges that involved the rise of radio also surfaced for the AP in the first half of the 20th century. In 1933, the American Newspaper Publishers Association pressured the AP and other wire services to stop providing news to radio stations, although brief bulletins were allowed to encourage people to read the newspaper. The effort was not successful, as radio networks established their own news operations. The AP started a service in 1940 for radio clients, expanding from print to radio broadcast news, and created its own radio network in 1974.

By the early 1980s, newspapers generated approximately half of AP's revenues. New media, especially cable television, began to minimize the newspaper's role in delivering news to Americans. In 1982, the AP amended its bylaws to allow the use of its news reports by member newspapers on cable systems. The AP also developed ways of transmitting news reports via satellite. By 1984, more than 300 news and photo bureaus throughout the world were part of AP's global network, delivering reports to 1,300 daily newspapers and 5,700 broadcast stations in the United States. In addition, there were 8,500 subscribers in foreign countries.

The United Press International was the AP's major competitor and longtime rival until it collapsed in 2000, leaving the AP as the only nationally oriented news service based in the United States. The other news services that had divisions to communicate their news reports, such as Reuters in Great Britain and Agence France-Presse in France, remained AP's rivals.

21st Century Developments

The AP practices a straightforward, "just-the-facts" writing style, often using the journalistic story structure known as the inverted pyramid to allow news stories to be edited to fit available space in a newspaper without losing the essence of the story. This can be attributed to the telegraph because publishers wanted as few words transmitted as possible to save on wire costs. This style of writing would prove to be useful for the AP as it would come to rely on the Internet and digital technology in the early 21st century. This time period reshaped how the AP distributed its news reports, evolving as an interactive endeavor between AP and its 1,400 U.S. newspaper members as well as broadcasters, international subscribers, and online customers. In 1994, the AP established the London-based Associated Press Television News (APTN), a global video news-gathering agency. The AP later purchased Worldwide Television News from the ABC News division of the Walt Disney Company. APTN then merged with Worldwide Television News in 1998 to establish APTN, which provides video to international broadcasters and websites. In 2003, the AP became the first news agency to offer a live video news service.

In early 2005, the AP launched a new website focusing on the Freedom of Information Act to help news consumers be more aware of their rights toward governmental disclosure. The AP also joined a group of journalists and newspaper organizations to form the Sunshine in Government Initiative, designed to fight increased secrecy in the government.

By 2016, the work of the AP was published and republished by more than 1,300 newspapers and broadcasters. The AP also operates the AP Radio Network, which provides newscasts twice hourly for broadcast and satellite radio and television stations. Along with APTN and AP Radio Network, other principal operating units are AP Ad Services, AP Broadcast, AP Digital, AP International, and AP Photo Services.

Many newspapers and broadcasters outside the United States are AP subscribers, paying a fee to use AP material without being contributing members of the cooperative. As part of their cooperative agreement with the AP, most member news organizations grant automatic permission for the AP to distribute their local news reports. In 2019, the AP produced 2,000 stories and 3,000 photos daily.

Election and Sports Polls

In 1848, presidential candidate Zachary Taylor and the Whig Party won the White House. The AP used the telegraph to declare Taylor the next president of the United States. Since then, the AP has tracked voting in U.S. elections, including national, state, and local races, plus key ballot measures. The AP collects and verifies returns in every county, parish, city, and town across the United States and declares winners in more than 5,000 contests.

The AP is the only organization that collects and verifies election results in every city and county across the United States for all political races on the local, state, and federal levels. Using a 50-state network of freelance "stringers" who collect votes from county clerks and other local officials, the nonprofit wire service is known for its integrity and accuracy, so much so that major news outlets rely on AP's polling data and results before declaring a winner in major political races, especially the presidential election. Early in U.S. history, elections took place over many days, and not all states voted on the same day. The advent of the telegraph contributed to the development of a single presidential election day in the country. Rather than learning the results in mid-December when the Electoral College representatives from each state meets to cast their votes, Americans and candidates often turn to the AP for the announcement of the victor based on the vote count.

The AP's complex process involves a reliance on a network of local reporters who have extensive knowledge of assigned territories and relationships with county clerks as well as other local

officials. Plus, other AP journalists monitor and gather data from county websites and electronic feeds provided by states. The research team made up of analysts further verifies the results by considering demographics, number of absentee ballots, and other political issues that might affect the final results.

In addition, the AP in 2018 began using a machine called *VoteCast* as an exit polling approach to survey people via phone and online surveys whether they voted, their ballot choices, and the reasons for their selections. The 2020 presidential election is the first time that the AP used VoteCast in a presidential election. Prior to the implementation of VoteCast, AP reporters surveyed people leaving their polling precincts after they voted to find out for whom they voted.

Along with election polls, the AP conducts college sports polls in the United States. Weekly rankings of the top 25 NCAA teams are provided in each of three Division I college sports: football, men's basketball, and women's basketball. The rankings are determined by 65 sportswriters and sports broadcasters who are polled across the nation. Voters provide their own ranking of the top 25 teams. The individual rankings then are calculated to produce the national ranking by giving a team 25 points for a first-place vote, 24 for a second-place vote, and so on, with 1 point for a 25th place vote. Ballots of the voting members in the AP Poll are made public.

The AP compiles preseason polls, regular season polls, and final season polls. The AP college football rankings were created in 1936 and began including the top 25 teams in 1989. Since 1969, the final poll of each season has been released after all bowl games have been played.

The AP college basketball poll launched in 1949. The college basketball poll started with 20 teams and was reduced to 10 during the 1960–1961 college basketball season. It returned to 20 teams in 1968–1969 and expanded to 25 beginning in 1989–1990. The final poll for each season is released prior to the conclusion of the NCAA tournament, so all data include regular season games only.

Although the AP sports polls focus mostly on collegiate sports, the AP began issuing a weekly pro football ranking, the AP Pro32 rankings, in 2012.

AP Stylebook

In the 1950s, the AP, the United Press International, and the International News Service produced a stylebook that reflected their agreement on how punctuation, capitalization, abbreviation, and other language matters should be treated. This stylebook set standards for mainstream newspapers to follow in their news copy. In August 1977, the AP printed its first edition of the AP Stylebook, which was 60 pages and bound together with staples. A basic guide for news writing, the AP Stylebook has evolved into a comprehensive reference manual and a resource for writers. Once published annually, the AP Stylebook began publishing biennially with the 2020–2022 edition.

The stylebook, which has become the standard for news writing in the United States, features basic rules on grammar, punctuation, usage, and journalistic style. In addition, the book is divided into sections about media law, social media, health and science, data journalism, business, sports, religion, and other topics. Plus, new entries are added to reflect changes in language. Throughout the year, top AP editors discuss possible updates and improvements to the stylebook. If the changes are approved, the updates are published immediately in the AP Stylebook online. The AP staff, member news organizations and subscribers, journalism teachers and students, and other individuals also contribute ideas for new or revised stylebook entries.

Melony Shemberger

See also United Press International

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AUDIENCE RESEARCH

Many journalism stakeholders believe they need to better understand and communicate with the news audience to accomplish their goals, a significant departure from the profession's previous approach to its readers. News organizations routinely draw on analytic data to quantify their audiences—and pursue a variety of techniques designed to engage with them—in hopes of shifting to more audience-supported revenue models, improving the quality of their journalism, and increasing the level of public trust in news media.

Journalism's privileging of the news audience has identified what some see as a need for journalism studies scholars to understand who the news audience comprises, who it excludes, and what its members actually want from the news. This entry uses the changing dynamic between news producers and consumers as an opportunity to review the primary methods researchers draw on to study news audiences and to describe each method's strengths and weaknesses. These methods include quantitative approaches such as surveys, digital trace data analyses, and experiments, as well as qualitative approaches such as interviews and focus groups. They also include more innovative, recently developed approaches to studying news audiences, including two-sided ethnography as well as data collected from observations of journalists and audience members interacting with one another.

The entry concludes by discussing potential research into the news audience. It suggests possible studies that could embrace mixed-methods, cross-national, longitudinal, and comparative approaches to help researchers better understand how news audiences differ from one context to another, whether their behaviors and attitudes align with or contradict journalists' assumptions, and even *if* news audiences' expectations of journalism can ever truly be known.

Quantitative Methods

Scholars utilize a number of quantitative methods when it comes to researching and understanding audiences. The most common approaches include surveys, experiments, and analyses of digital trace data. These approaches are typically aimed at understanding how frequently audiences interact with news, as well as how they feel about the news they are (or are not) consuming. Some of these methods are better suited for the former, and some for the latter.

Surveys

Studies that utilize surveys to understand news audiences tend to ask respondents to provide self-reports of their media use. Consequently, scholars who utilize surveys must reckon with the fact that news audiences are notoriously bad at accurately recalling where they get their news, as well as how much time they spend with it. Indeed, Markus Prior found that self-reports of news exposure can result in the inflation of the size of the news audience by more than 300%. However, surveys are useful for capturing how a large number of people feel about the news that they choose to consume. Scholars at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford, for example, regularly utilize surveys of people in countries throughout the world for their annual Digital News Reports. In doing so, they provide insight into some of the most pressing topics in journalism, such as people's trust in news media, concerns about fake news, and willingness to pay for news.

Experiments

Experimental studies allow scholars to overcome these issues of self-reporting that arise in surveys. They do so by creating an environment in which participants are asked to engage with news in some observable way. Consequently, in their effort to test a specific hypothesis, the researchers behind these experiments are only able to emulate a narrow slice of the actual news media environment. This methodological approach to audience research may therefore have the undesired effect of leading participants to act differently within these experiments than they would in real life. Additionally, because these experiments limit the number of available media options—typically to a number of news sites—they leave unanswered the question of whether the participants of these studies, if left to their own devices, would even choose to consume news in the first place.

The upside to this approach is that experiments can accomplish something outside the scope of other audience research methods: demonstrate a causal relationship. While other methods such as analyses of digital trace data and surveys reveal both how audiences engage with news and how they feel about the news, neither is as well-suited as experiments are for demonstrating the effect of specific interventions within journalism on altering news audience behavior or perceptions. Experiments have been successfully utilized to reveal how audiences respond to comment sections below news stories, framings of content within news stories, social media discussions about news stories, and assessments of when and how audiences choose to verify the news that they encounter.

The value of experimental studies of news audiences has become especially clear more recently, as this sort of research can be used to test the hypotheses people have for how best to improve journalism's financial and credibility challenges. For example, many within the news industry believe that audiences are more likely to find news stories credible if those stories are accompanied by demonstrations of journalistic transparency, such as reporter biographies, story labels, and explanations of how news stories get reported. Scholars at the Center for Media Engagement at the University of Texas at Austin have performed a variety of experimental studies that have shown which of these sorts of attempts at transparency impact audience trust—as well as which do not. At a moment when many within the news industry are convinced that drastic changes should be pursued to improve journalism's standing among the public—as well as its economic prospects—news audience research that utilizes experiments are increasingly indispensable as a means by which scholars and practitioners can uncover which of these changes may succeed.

Digital Trace Data

Finally, scholars using quantitative methods to study news audiences frequently draw on data derived from passive observations of actual audience behavior. These data—sometimes referred to as digital trace data—tend to derive from commercial firms such as Nielsen and Comscore, both of which passively monitor the media consumption of representative panels of citizens within specific countries and then uses those panels to provide reports of aggregate online audience behavior. Comscore data, for example, provide monthly reports of aggregate audience behavior that show which news sites audiences visit, how much time they spend on them, and the degree to which audiences to one news site also visit another.

Yet online audience data are valuable because, unlike self-reports and experiments, they show how audiences actually behave within the real world, thus allowing them to overcome some of the accuracy issues presented by these other methods of news audience research. These sorts of data can therefore be quite useful when it comes to answering important, ongoing questions throughout the field. For example, many believe that news audiences self-segregate into ideological "filter bubbles" or "echo chambers," wherein they only consume news from politically like-minded news sources. However, research drawing on data derived from actual observations of audience behavior consistently concludes that audiences instead tend to congregate among a small number of familiar, highly popular, and far less ideologically extreme news sources.

A significant downside of digital trace data is that, because these data are collected passively from actual people interacting with media within the real world, their ability to illustrate any sort of causal relationship is limited. Furthermore, although they reveal how audiences actually behave, they do not reveal *why*. To understand the motivations underlying audience behavior when it comes to news consumption—as well as how audiences feel about the news they choose to interact with—it is therefore helpful to turn to more qualitative methods.

Qualitative Methods

In addition to these quantitative methods, journalism studies scholars have increasingly begun pursuing a variety of qualitative methods to understand the motivations underlying audiences' approaches to news, as well as the assumptions they have about who news

organizations comprise, how the news gets reported and published, and how much (or how little) the news should ultimately be trusted. These methods typically take the form of interviews with individual audience members, as well as focus groups that assemble a number of audience members for the purpose of holding a discussion framed around how they feel about the news. These types of interview-dependent, qualitative methods have long been the norm within journalism studies for understanding news *production*—the discipline includes many influential ethnographies that draw on interviews and observations to assess how journalism gets made, as well as how journalists perceive their profession and the way in which it has changed over time. However, the application of these methods to understanding news *consumption* is a much more recent—and welcome—phenomenon.

These types of studies are especially useful for understanding how different types of people perceive the news, what they think journalists do well, and what they would like to see journalists do differently. Ruth Palmer, for example, interviewed ordinary citizens who became sources for news stories and, in doing so, discovered that how the public *perceives* of journalists is very different from how journalists tend to perceive themselves. This research is consequently much more effective at investigating the root causes of journalistic distrust than other methods of audience research and has become popular among scholars looking to better understand how people living within marginalized communities consider and approach the news. Although these methods suffer from the same limitations as qualitative studies of newsrooms—namely difficulty generalizing findings— they are remarkably effective when it comes to exploring underlying motivations, assumptions, and preferences that ultimately shape how news audience behavior unfolds. In short, while quantitative methods are highly useful for understanding the *what* and the *how* of audience behavior, these qualitative methods are well-equipped to explore the *why*.

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See also Audiences; Digital Journalism Tools

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AUDIENCES

Journalists, like all media producers, depend on their audiences for both societal relevance and economic stability. A news story that exposes government corruption, for example, is unlikely to result in any sort of reaction unless that story first grabs the attention of the public. And news organizations are unlikely to survive financially unless they reach a group of people large enough—or loyal enough—to make advertising- or subscription-supported revenue models feasible. Journalism does not solely comprise reporting, writing, and publishing the news—it also includes the act of building and maintaining audiences, groups of people who are willing and able to consume the news.

Consequently, journalists have always considered their audiences in one way or another as they have gone about performing their duties. Although the tools journalists rely on to understand, measure, and communicate with their audiences have changed over time, the sense that journalists must

give at least some thought to the people they hope to reach has held constant. Furthermore, in addition to navigating a seemingly endless amount of competition in the contest for audience attention, journalists now also must deal with historically low levels of trust in news as well, according to Megan Brenan (2019). The result is a situation in which it is perhaps more important than ever before for journalism scholars to understand how journalists perceive audiences, as well as how audiences perceive journalists.

This entry examines these two issues. It begins by exploring scholarship focused on how journalists perceive and approach audiences. It then explores scholarship focused on how audiences perceive and interact with journalism. It concludes by exploring the implications of both for the relationship between those who make the news and those who consume it.

Defining Audiences

Although the term *audience* is ubiquitous throughout journalism research and practice, its meaning lacks both an obvious and a universally agreed-upon meaning. At their most basic, audiences are collective entities. They comprise people who are at the receiving ends of message producers. However, the way that reception unfolds—specifically the extent to which that reception is either active or passive, has changed over time. Before the written word, message production and reception occurred at the same time, in the same place. Consequently, the interplay between media producers and the audiences assembled before them was both active and interactive. Equally important, the size and composition of audiences were more straightforward, as these audiences comprised the very real group of people assembled together to watch something.

The advent of the written word, followed by the printing press, and more recently digital communication, has both transformed and complicated the relationship between media producers and their audiences. Understandings of what makes an audience expanded to include not only groups of people standing before a performer but also any person reading a newspaper, listening to a news broadcast, or, more recently, reading or watching a news story online. In short, media reception expanded from being solely public, immediate, and communal to also involve something more asynchronous, private, and individual. The process by which determinations were made about who comprises the audience consequently grew less affixed to what media producers could see before them as they delivered their messages.

Instead, audiences became an abstraction. Audiences are *real* in the sense that how they are perceived and pursued by media-makers has real consequences both for those who create media and those who receive it; however, audiences are also artificial, man-made conceptualizations more than they are reflections of reality. The result is the ironic set of circumstances that continue to face journalism researchers and practitioners: Those on the receiving end of news are among journalism's most important stakeholders—yet they are also the most unknowable.

This "unknowability," combined with the necessity for journalists to find and maintain audiences, raises two questions within the profession that continues to be among the most significant—and consequently most studied—aspect of the relationship between those who made the news and those who consume it:

1. How do journalists determine who their audiences comprise and what they want from news?
2. How aligned are journalists' determinations about their audiences with their actual audiences?

Journalism's Perception of and Approach to Audiences

Historically, journalists have perceived their audiences through a fairly narrow lens. Because news audiences are in many ways unknowable, journalists rely on their own assumptions to fill in the gaps. What this means in practice is that journalists typically envision their audiences as looking much like themselves. Even when news audiences comprise a diverse mix of people across different geographic, socioeconomic, and political circumstances, journalists envision those audiences in ways that are much more homogenous.

For example, in the United States, journalists have traditionally written their stories for white,

middle-class citizens. A review of seminal ethnographies about journalism that were published throughout the 20th century reveals that, at least within the United States, journalists envisioned their audiences as extensions of themselves or their peers. This approach to news audiences is consistent across media platforms such as broadcast and print. It is also consistent when it comes to journalists within both national and local news organizations.

There are two reasons for this consistent perspective of the news audience. The first one is the tension between scale and imagination. Journalists have historically seen the audience as a large, homogenous mass of people. The advent of mass media (i.e., media that have the ability to read a large number of people) was accompanied by the notion of the mass audience (i.e., the large group of people on the receiving end of said media). It is therefore difficult—if not altogether impossible—for media producers to hold a comprehensive understanding of all the different kinds of people their media can reach. In the absence of such absolute knowledge about or understanding of these mass audiences, media-makers generally—and journalists specifically—instead tend to envision their audiences as comprising their peers, supervisors, and competitors.

The second reason that this narrow perspective of the audience has held constant even as the media environment has undergone significant changes over time is because of the demographics of those who actually make the news. Newsrooms have historically comprised reporters and editors who have overwhelmingly been white, middle class, and male. The demographics of newsroom staffs, in other words, have long been out-of-step with the demographics of the people they hope to reach. So, when journalists skew white and male, the prevailing understanding of the news audience follows suit.

Journalists have also traditionally perceived audiences as passive recipients of the news, rather than as active participants in the news. This perception of news audiences among journalists stems from two long-standing assumptions: first, that audiences lack the expertise and skills necessary to do more than simply consume news; and second, that audiences lack an interest in expanding their relationship with news beyond that of reception. Consequently, journalists have historically been dismissive of—and uninterested in—feedback from their audiences. In short, instead of conceptualizing their audiences as comprising a diverse mix of people with an interest in not only consuming the news but also more meaningfully participating in its production, journalists considered their audiences monolithic and passive.

Audiences in Transition

These circumstances have begun to change over the course of the first few decades of the 21st century as the news industry has confronted a much less hospitable set of circumstances in a digital environment from what the profession previously faced. Journalism faces a combination of economic, technological, and social obstacles that have caused the news industry to plunge into a period marked by uncertainty and instability. Journalism credibility and revenue are both low, as newsrooms struggle with limited resources to recapture the audience trust, attention, and support they took for granted throughout much of the 20th century.

These circumstances have led journalism stakeholders to consider different approaches to measuring, understanding, and approaching news audiences. Audience measurement tools, for example, have grown increasingly popular in newsrooms across the globe as news publishers look to better understand what their audiences were choosing to spend time with when it comes to journalism. Although news media publishers have previously drawn on measurement tools and services to quantify their audiences in one form or another (e.g., numbers of subscriptions for newspapers, television ratings for broadcast and cable news), the role of measurement has expanded due to financial necessity for and technological sophistication of digital audience analytics. Now, many news organizations maintain subscriptions to a number of online audience measurement providers, such as Google Analytics, Chartbeat, and Comscore. These measures are capable of tracking, among other things, the amount of time audiences spend with news, the size of the audience that a news site attracts, and the way in which audiences share news content via social media.

What these measures cannot do, however, is reveal audiences' underlying motivations. These measures reveal *what* audiences do, but not *why*. Consequently, even in an era of increasingly sophisticated audience data, journalists continue to rely on their gut instincts and intuition to draw conclusions about audience behavior. This explains why there is inconsistency throughout journalism surrounding what audiences want and expect from news. For example, while many journalists continue to believe that audiences want a relationship with news in which they are passive recipients of news content, a growing contingent of the news industry believes that audiences would like a more active role in journalism. Consequently, a number of journalism publishers, practitioners, funders, and researchers have begun advocating for the news industry to practice more "engagement" with their audiences, by explicitly offering audiences opportunities to participate in the news production process.

The pursuit of "engaged" journalism within the news industry, as well as its increasing acceptance in certain segments of the profession, illustrates the power and inconsistency of *perceptions* of the news audience, as well as the limitations of audience data. Because audiences can never truly be known, journalists will continue to draw on a variety of tools as well as their own instincts and intuition to fill in the blanks about the people they are attempting to reach.

Audiences' Perceptions of and Approaches to Journalism

While news audiences can never expect to be fully understood, a rich body of journalism and audience research has shed light on important and revealing elements about news audience behavior. Perhaps the most notable, overarching theme of this line of research is that, when it comes to news consumption, audiences are not driven solely by their tastes and preferences, nor are they pulled to news solely by mechanisms outside of their control. Instead, according to it is the interplay between the structures of everyday life and the preferences of individual audience members that shapes news audience behavior. Communication scholar James Webster refers to this approach to understanding how media audiences take shape as

a *structurational* approach—one that considers the interplay between agents and structures. This theory originates from sociologist Anthony Giddens's notion that the social world is mutually reproduced and altered by agents and structures through the process of "duality."

A number of studies have explored the implications of this dynamic as it relates to news audiences. For example, a growing body of research has concluded that news audiences tend to congregate among a small number of familiar brands, even as the news media environment continues to grow saturated with options. This phenomenon does not occur because audiences share widespread agreement regarding the best and worse news brands, nor does it occur because these news brands are best equipped to push their content onto unsuspecting news audiences. The answer instead is a bit of both. People privilege popularity when it comes to evaluating quality, as do structures such as social media platforms and search engine algorithms.

Why, in a news media environment where people can access all sorts of news media—including that which most aligns with their preferences—do so many congregate on a small number of familiar news brands? First, research has shown that audiences tend to stick to their media habits, even when the media environment undergoes significant changes, and these habits are predisposed toward popular content. In addition, the structures that comprise the news media environment, such as social media platforms and search engines—privilege popularity over most other media attributes. Finally, there is a vicious cycle effect, in that the news brands that comprise the largest audiences usually have more financial resources available, allowing them to invest in the means by which they can ensure their content is more prominent and available to audiences than that published by their smaller, less popular competitors.

While the audience research just described focuses on how audiences *consume* the news, other research has utilized a variety of innovative methods and theoretical frameworks to better understand how audiences *perceive* the news. For example, a number of scholars are interested in understanding what determines audience trust in news, as well as whether a relationship exists

between audience trust in news and loyalty to news. More recently, as many within the news industry pursue novel ways to improve their engagement with and representation of their audiences, a growing body of scholarship has explored what impact these interventions have on how news audiences perceive and approach the news.

In addition to seeking to understand how news audiences perceive the news, and how those perceptions shape their interactions with the news, scholars have also begun to study those who go out of their way to *avoid* being part of the news audience in the first place. Part of the reason this topic is attracting more attention is because the number of people who seek to remove themselves from the news audience appears to be growing. As economist Markus Prior found, the increasing variety of media options in a digital media environment means people now find themselves faced with a seemingly infinite number of alternatives to news. Consequently, it has grown much easier for people with little interest in news to remove news from their media diets and replace it instead with something they find more entertaining. Understanding the growth of this group is therefore increasingly important for those within journalism seeking to improve their relationship with their audiences and for those who study journalism seeking to understand what motivates audiences to tune in—or tune out—of the news. In addition, as the news industry becomes more audience-focused, news organizations become more determined to reach specific, niche audiences rather than a single, large, monolithic one. This shift raises important questions regarding which audiences journalists choose to pursue, which they do not, and why.

The news industry continues to grow more audience-focused in hopes of recovering audience trust and support necessary for the profession's continued survival. As this transition unfolds, journalism researchers and practitioners would do well to remember that, regardless of how much thought and attention is given to the audience, and how much data are collected from the audience, news audiences themselves can never be truly known. Consequently, the efforts by journalists to reach their audiences will always be based at least in part from their assumptions about the people they hope to reach. Furthermore, the extent to which audiences consume, interact with, or avoid news will stem not only from their own tastes and preferences about the news but also from the structures that comprise the news media environment.

Jacob L. Nelson

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Audio and Video News Services

An audio or video news service is usually a commercial entity that provides prerecorded sound or video for news media, general business corporations, or (more recently) individuals. In its overall purpose, it somewhat parallels the function of a photo agency. Some entities operate as a part of long-recognized news services (such as the Associated Press or CNN) that make their own reports or footage available, but increasingly, many are independent firms making use of the Internet for inexpensive distribution of both professional and amateur (or "home") audio or video recordings.

Audio and video news services developed as recording and playback technology made them possible. In the Internet era, much of the business lacks a formal structure—there are new companies popping up all the time. Some firms produce video news releases, while others focus on producing "stock" audio or video that can be used as background for station news programs.

Audio News Services

Audio news services appeared as effective means of analog sound recording made them possible. The earliest began in the 1950s as more and better reel-to-reel audio tape recording equipment became available, and as equipment prices dropped. The innovation of audio tape cartridges and cassettes in the 1960s and 1970s made the handling of sound recordings much easier for stations to use. Early automated radio station operations relied on such technology where music and advertisements could be preprogrammed, allowing occasional inserts of live news and other features.

Both United Press International (which was first, in 1958) and the Associated Press initiated audio services to serve their radio station subscribers with recorded hourly newscasts and sound actualities they could insert into their own news. Stations received a daily menu of recorded stories and features from which they could select. For the first time, even "local" radio news from smaller markets could feature a variety of audio features from across the country and around the world. Audio quality was a problem as the news agencies used telephone lines for distribution. AP Radio began in 1974 and became a 24-hour all-news operation two decades later. UPI Audio became the UPI Radio Network with extensive hourly feeds to local stations, but closed in 1999 as the parent agency began to wither.

Government agencies quickly joined what became an expanding audio services bandwagon. Many federal agencies maintain sources of sound bites and scripted reports for news media use (though others can also use them). The U.S. Department of the Interior, to cite one example, provides recordings concerning the national parks, as well as Native Americans. The Department of Education offers recorded reports on all aspects of primary and secondary education. Availability of such audio reports makes their use by broadcast stations more likely.

One type of specialized audio service that dates to the 1930s is the production and distribution of sound effects. While early stations and fledgling networks produced needed sounds in the studio (as in the network *March of Time* series), by the late 1930s, prerecorded sound effects of all types were coming on the market for use by radio journalists and others as needed. Indexed collections of 78-rpm discs provided almost any imaginable sound effect. Most were used in drama, as most radio broadcasters traditionally conceived of news

as using only sounds that might be actually present and not added later on.

Video News Services

Several factors contributed to the development of video news services, the first of which was technology, as had been the case with audio. News film was the only means of recording images for television for the medium's first decade. It was cumbersome to use and required extensive processing before it could be used on the air. Major news events—such as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in London in June 1953—were filmed and (in this one case) the film was developed aboard aircraft flying across the Atlantic to Canada. From there, developed pictures were sent to New York for transmission by the networks to their affiliates— all less than a day after the real events. Still, the process was time consuming and costly.

The transformative breakthrough came with video tape recording in 1956. While pricy and cumbersome at first, and thus used only on the network level (including for both the CBS and NBC evening newscasts), video equipment grew both smaller and less expensive. Development and use of time-base correctors and other devices made use of video recordings on the air easier. As programming (newscasts and documentaries) became widespread, demand by networks and stations for video clips and reports rose. By the 1970s, portable equipment further expanded video use. And in the next decade widespread availability of satellite distribution made transmission of video news and feature material to stations and cable systems almost cost-free.

As with audio recordings, federal departments (and many nonprofit organizations as well as commercial courses) soon provided video as well. The U.S. Department of Defense, for example, became a ready source for video clips, often completing narrated reports on weapons of land, sea, and air.

Developing Online Services

Just as technology had made earlier audio and video news services possible, development of the commercial Internet in the mid-1990s soon suggested new options. Audio was used first in an era of narrowband connections and limited capacity. Many organizational websites soon offered archives of audio news and related clips, chiefly for news media, but often available to anyone.

Adding broadband capabilities by the 2000s opened up the ability to syndicate speedily video to news media as well as individual consumers. Facebook and other popular networking websites soon flooded over with news clips. Advertisers, eager to reach a global audience, snapped up options to purchase space on such websites, which provided free consumer access.

Broadband distribution further blurred the one-time division between traditional journalism and wider civic participation and sharing of news. Such widespread distribution naturally raised questions of copyright. Websites made clear that material was copyrighted and placed limits on how it could be used (beyond individual viewing on personal computers or laptops).

MSN Video was by the mid-2000s the largest video-only streaming service on the web, offering 41 channels of content updated many times each day. In addition to streaming an average of 66 million news, entertainment, and sports video clips per month from more than 45 content partners, MSN Video provided an array of live events. Advertiser supported, MSN Video is available to consumers at no charge and is available in the United States, Canada, Japan, and Australia; and in beta testing in the United Kingdom.

Announced late in 2005, the Associated Press's Online Video Network (OVN) was launched early in 2006 and by mid-2007 was reaching 61 million unduplicated visitors and serving over 1,800 radio and television affiliates after having begun with less than 500. Using a Microsoft Network local video contribution option, OVN affiliates could use their own content to combine AP breaking news video with national advertising. Also by mid-2007, OVN was providing some 40 video clips per day covering national, international, technology, business, and entertainment news. At about the same time, CNN.com launched its own broadband video news service and the other cable and broadcast networks were soon active as well.

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See also Advertorials; Associated Press; Copyright; Digital Sound; Ethics; Feature Syndicates; Hard Versus Soft News; Infotainment; Photo Agencies; Podcasting; Recording; Spin; Streaming Media; United Press International; Video News Releases

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Audio Journalism

Since large-scale production of Guglielmo Marconi's radio began in the 1920s, audio journalism has played a prominent role in the way the world consumes news and information. Now, nearly a century since the first news reports were delivered via modulated radio wave, audio journalism is not simply relegated to traditional terrestrial radio stations, but is streamed via the web, delivered across cellular networks, and downloaded via mobile devices.

Although more than a century has passed since the invention of the radio, audio journalism finds itself in a renaissance period. With the ubiquity of smartphones, the speed of cellular data networks, and the plunging price point of professional audio equipment, there has been an explosion in the creation and demand of audio content. This entry discusses ways that audio journalism often differs from print journalism before looking at some of the features of radio journalism and digital audio journalism. It concludes by discussing some of the ways media convergence and digital technology have changed the work of an audio journalist.

How Audio Journalism Differs From Print

Writing for broadcast, podcast, or streaming media requires consideration of factors unique to aural media. Audio journalists are mindful that while a newspaper or digital article can be factual, grammatical, and readable, it may not be at all appropriate for a listening audience. Writing for the *ear* is different than writing for the eye. In a print article, a journalist can cram a significant amount of information into one sentence. If a reader becomes confused at any point, they can go back and reread the sentence. However, if the facts a radio correspondent is reporting are broadcast out of the speakers faster than a listener can absorb and process them, critical details can be misheard or lost entirely. Even with Internet archives, it is rare that a listener will take the time to relisten to an audio report after its original transmission. Additionally, print outlets have the luxury of a headline to alert readers what a story is about; no such device exists in the terrestrial broadcast form, so a strong introduction or lead-in is critical to engage the listener's attention.

To ensure maximum retention, audio journalists write in a style that may seem basic or unsophisticated on the printed page, but when read aloud, makes the salient points of the story clear and unambiguous. Simple sentence structure is stressed when writing for audio broadcast as is a basic vocabulary. Facts are presented in as direct and concise a manner as possible giving the listener an opportunity to absorb and register what is being delivered. Editors take great pains to ensure that information is given out at a pace that allows listeners to retain it.

Additionally, audio journalists are taught to write the way they speak. Listening is an innately personal activity. Often individuals are alone in their cars, by themselves at their desks, or tuning in through headphones when listening to the radio or a podcast. Audio journalists take advantage of this personal space by writing as if they are talking to a single person rather than the thousands of individuals who might be tuned in at any given moment. People generally do not speak the way they write; audio journalists craft scripts that feature similar syntax, vocabulary, cadence, and grammar to the way they speak, thus making their stories more personal. Additionally, by speaking in

their natural voice, rather than using the stereotypical "radio announcer" voice, audio journalists can foster connections with larger and more diverse audiences. Audio journalists entering the profession are coached to "forget" any preconceived notions of speaking on mic as well as most of the ways they learned to write in school, or at any of the print publications where they worked prior to their audio reporting career.

With the rapid growth of podcasting and other digital audio reporting platforms, many of the rules embraced by audio journalists for decades are changing. The core tenants of audio journalism have not changed, however: simple, clear, conversational writing. As this field of journalism continues to mature, the fundamentals central to writing for the ear will remain a key component of successful audio stories.

Radio Journalism

Newscasts

These short news reports are broadcast at least once each hour on many U.S. radio stations to update listeners on breaking news and other news headlines. Radio networks generally place newscasts at the top or bottom of an hour so listeners know exactly when they can tune in to hear what is happening. Newscasts can be as short as 60 seconds or up to 8 minutes in duration depending on the network and the time of day. Often newscasts are composed of short updates, lasting no longer than 20–30 seconds.

The most common types of stories in newscasts are "readers" where the newscaster reads a story from copy provided by a wire source, such as the Associated Press or Reuters. Newscasts can also feature submissions from reporters who file a "spot," or a story containing actualities and natural and ambient sound. On rare occasions, a newscaster may interview a reporter about a high-profile news story that is updating by the minute. Radio networks that broadcast newscasts are time sensitive, lasting a specific number of minutes, as the network needs to rejoin other programming at an exact time. In network newscasts, time often dictates not only the number of stories presented but also the order of the stories. Breaking news generally leads the newscast followed by news that will have the greatest impact on people, with other timely news presented afterward.

News Radio Stations—20-Minute Clock

Radio stations featuring an all-news format are generally programmed to deliver the day's major stories in approximately 20-minute cycles. This specific time is equivalent to the average commute length, allowing listeners to consume the day's most important news items in one sitting. Reporters and producers filing for a news radio station are generally given a specific length of time the story must fill by their editor ranging from 20 seconds to 2 minutes. When aired, these stories most commonly feature the anchor or host reading a brief lead into the story followed by the reporter delivering a report containing actualities and natural sound. Depending on the news cycle, these reports can be repeated numerous times over the span of several hours. As news radio stations often feature business, sports, entertainment, traffic, and weather reports along with advertisements, traditional news reporting might only account for 7 or 8 minutes of the 20-minute cycle. Editors at news stations must balance the mix of national and international news along with local and regional news to ensure listeners have an appropriate degree of coverage given the day's events.

Newsmagazine Long-Form Features

Many public radio listeners are familiar with long-form features as they are the most common program element presented in the flagship drive-time programs, *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*. Generally between 3 and 5 minutes in duration, these reports incorporate a reporter's audio copy along with a variety of outside voices, taken from interviews conducted for the piece, and natural and ambient sounds collected during the interviewing process. Unlike most reports filed for audio journalism outlets, newsmagazine stories are typically longer in length and take a more nuanced and in-depth look at a particular problem or issue. The result is these pieces feature actualities from interviews that are longer in length and provide more context than actualities or sound clips in shorter audio news reports.

A narrative style is generally utilized when reporting long-form features. This storytelling approach is often part documentary and part hard news. The scene in which the story takes place is generally a critical part of any long-form feature as it helps the listener establish a time and place in which to ground the report. The feature's characters are also critical to getting audience members to be willing to invest 3–5 minutes of their time listening to it. Long-form features are often framed as an argument, which allows the reporter to pose a problem at the beginning of the piece and feature voices from both sides of the issue to give the report as balanced a viewpoint as possible. This device assists the reporter in structuring a piece around the best interview recordings while maintaining a narrative flow that will be interesting and engaging when broadcast.

Two-Ways

Two-ways are how audio journalists refer to the on-air conversations between the host/anchor and the reporter. When news breaks and a report must be delivered quickly, it is logistically simpler for the host to ask the reporter on-site questions. Two-ways usually do not include the actualities or natural sound commonly found in reports filed for audio news outlets, but they do provide a sense of immediacy that is often absent from highly produced pieces. It is common for audio journalists to opt for a two-way when a deadline cannot be met or there is no audio to build a report around, as is the case when a statement is released but no one has yet commented on it.

Two-ways receive criticism when they come across as scripted. This stems from the fact that the journalists on site typically know the questions they will be asked beforehand; in some rare cases, the reporters write the questions for the hosts and script out their answers. This leads to additional detail that might be left out or forgotten in an unscripted conversation but sounds stilted and unnatural. Public radio reporters are commonly criticized for scripted two-ways. Two-ways work most effectively when the host and reporter confer beforehand and outline the topics to be covered during the interview. This leaves the host the flexibility to ask follow-up questions and the reporter the opportunity to provide additional context.

Digital Audio Journalism

The rapid growth of the Internet coupled with ever faster broadband connections and mobile data networks means traditional media—radio, television, and newspapers—are no longer the primary mechanisms of news delivery in the 21st century. While the web has changed the way audio reporters do their jobs, the fundamental tenets of audio journalism are still the same. In fact, audio itself is seeing renewed growth and interest with the rise of new digital media technologies.

Podcast Journalism

The concept of podcasting as we know it today originated in the early 2000s. Most early journalism podcasts were simply rips of radio feeds of news, sports, and entertainment features downloaded to a mobile MP3 player. By 2007, journalists from major outlets including the British Broadcasting Corporation, National Public Radio (NPR), and *The New York Times* were creating compelling and engaging audio content, but the reach of these podcast episodes initially was limited. In 2014, the syndicated public radio program *This American Life* broadcasts the first episode of *Serial*, a 10-episode podcast series, on-air in place of a regular *This American Life* episode. The producers encouraged listeners to subscribe to the *Serial* podcast and listen to additional episodes for free. The tactic worked; *Serial* quickly became the most downloaded podcast in history.

Serial's long-form storytelling approach resonated with listeners and the program won a Peabody Award in 2015. When presenting the *Serial* production team the award, the Peabody committee noted that the innovative approach utilized in the podcast's production had major implications to the way stories could be told in this new medium. The investigative journalism conducted in the production of the first season of *Serial* was quickly emulated and an entire genre of long-form nonfiction narrative-based true crime podcasts has since been released.

In 2017, *The New York Times* began production of the news podcast *The Daily*. Produced weekdays, *The Daily* calls upon vast resources of *The New York Times*, featuring interviews with staff reporters about the news topics of the day.

The podcast, usually 20–30 minutes, concludes with a brief summary of the day's news. *The Daily* immediately resonated with listeners and accumulated more than 100 million downloads in the first year of production. *The Daily*'s success is attributed to the candid conversations between journalists about the day's news. Additional insight and context can be provided in the podcast that would not be possible in a printed version of the same story.

It is common today to see podcasts produced by ABC News, NBC News, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, NPR, and public radio stations such as WNYC and WBUR to have productions at the top of charts tracking the most popular podcasts by download. Podcasts have provided an innovative way for listeners to understand truth, reality, and current events and news departments spanning radio, television, and print are beginning to take advantage of this new approach to storytelling.

Smartphones and Mobile Journalism

The ubiquity of smartphones and high-speed cellular networks provides distinct advantages for today's audio journalist. Given the storage capacity of most modern smartphones, they can easily double as a digital audio recorder. If equipped with enough battery life and an external microphone appropriate for high-quality recording, there is no reason that an audio journalist on assignment needs any additional pieces of equipment. Further, several smartphone applications exist that allow for advanced editing and mixing. While more cumbersome than audio-editing software that can be used on a personal computer, these technologies afford journalists the ability to produce, edit, and submit stories entirely from the field, making high-quality, fully produced up-to-the-minute reports possible.

Today's Audio Journalist

Given the rapid changes in technology and the ever-shifting media landscape, today's audio journalists must be mindful that their work will most likely not be limited solely to audio. There is a blurring of lines between traditional media companies; television stations are producing podcasts and newspapers have invested in video production departments. Audio-based outlets and the journalists who work for them are often required to file a web story to go along with any audio report they produce. In addition to still images, audio journalists are increasingly shooting video to integrate on social media. Large audio-based outlets are investing in web technologies to integrate data visualization applets into their websites. As technology changes and more tools become available, audio journalists remain, at their core, storytellers. The more tools they master to effectively tell stories, the more engagement they will have with their audience.

Dave Nourse

See also Mobile Journalism; Newscasters, Radio; Podcasting; Public Radio Journalism; Talk and News Radio

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AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

The neighboring countries of Australia and New Zealand in the South Pacific region share many similarities although in physical terms the two countries are significantly different. Australia is vast, 7 million square kilometers in area, much of

it sparsely populated semidesert. The population of 25 million mostly live in coastal cities, with each of the capitals of the six states containing at least half of their respective state's population. New Zealand, by contrast, is relatively small: 250,000 square kilometers covering two islands of almost equal area, well-watered, fertile, and mountainous. New Zealand's population of 5 million is more spread out, with the largest city, Auckland, holding less than a third of the national population.

However, as a result of history, economics, and personal connections, the journalistic cultures of the two countries are quite similar. This entry first discusses characteristics of the two countries that influence their media systems and journalistic practices before discussing the history of journalism in the two countries and present-day news media.

Where differences between the two countries' journalistic traditions are obvious, they are mainly due to the disparity in geographical size and population. In Australia's larger cities, especially Sydney and Melbourne, a competitive journalistic culture between several daily newspapers arose in the early 20th century. Both broadsheets and tabloids would compete for readers and advertisers, similar to the newspaper markets of London or the large American cities. By contrast, New Zealand's larger cities tended to have just one staid morning broadsheet newspaper, with a slightly racier afternoon publication, always separately owned. Australia's radio and television stations are mostly city- or state-based, whereas New Zealand radio is largely networked nationwide, and all television stations are national.

By the late 20th century, the rise of television, and the tendency of most workers to commute by private car, led to the demise of afternoon newspapers. For a brief period in the decade or so either side of the turn of the second millennium, each New Zealand city, and smaller Australian state capital, had just one daily newspaper. Sydney and Melbourne each had two, one a broadsheet and the other a tabloid, but there was plenty of advertising revenue to go around, largesse which one commentator called *rivers of gold*. Radio and television also thrived on advertising revenue, bringing constant changes and consolidation of ownership of stations in both countries. The

arrival of the Internet in the 1990s brought the first threat to that comfortable environment, and the loss of audience and revenue gained pace in the early 2000s.

Background

Australia's Aboriginal people first settled the continent by land from what is now Papua New Guinea some 60,000 years ago and had variegated into hundreds of language groups by the time the first Europeans arrived. New Zealand's Māori people arrived by sea from the central Pacific in the first centuries of the second millennium CE. Māori are closely related to the other Polynesians of the Pacific, such as those of Tahiti and Hawai'i, both ethnically and linguistically. The Māori language was spoken throughout New Zealand at the time of European exploration, with only minor dialectical variations.

Both countries' populations are now largely of European descent, with many of their ancestors having emigrated from Britain and Ireland, but much less so than in the middle of the 20th century. Immediately after World War II, Australia actively recruited immigrants from continental Europe, especially its south and east, making it much more multicultural than in earlier years. But due to an official "White Australia" policy, that was the limit of the cultural mix of its new arrivals, while Indigenous Australians were largely marginalized in the remote outback and small urban ghettoes.

During the 20th century, New Zealand continued to take immigrants mostly from Britain, but also the islands of the Pacific. Both countries broadened their migration intake considerably in the 1980s and subsequent years, taking immigrants in big numbers from all over the world, but especially east and south Asia. According to the 2016 census, 90% of Australians were of European descent, but a third of residents were born overseas, and 3% were Indigenous. In 2018, two-thirds of New Zealanders were of European ancestry, with a quarter of the population born overseas, and Indigenous Māori making up 17% of the population. The close historical ties between the two countries mean there is free movement between them for their respective citizens: More than half a million New Zealanders live in

Australia, while some 50,000 Australians call New Zealand home.

Australia and New Zealand are now both prosperous, modern societies, with strong democratic governments and high levels of social capital, based on largely state-funded health care and education. They are both consistently highly rated in international surveys of "liveability," ranking alongside Canada and the social democracies of Northern Europe. They both have a robust media sector based on a strong journalistic culture, with high levels of consumption of news in print, through broadcast, and online. But like the rest of the world, journalism in Australia and New Zealand, mostly funded by advertising, is facing strong challenges to its viability from digitization, the greater availability of offshore content from online providers, and the loss of advertising revenue to overseas digital providers. This prompted the Australian government to pass a law in early 2021 requiring Google and Facebook to pay Australian news providers for their content which the tech giants carry on their platforms.

The Australian and New Zealand economies are also closely linked, with a common market–style agreement, Closer Economic Relations in force since the 1980s. Large areas of New Zealand's economy are owned by Australian companies, including retail, banking, and, most significantly, media. Some New Zealand companies also have large investments in Australia, but the flow of income is mostly in the larger country's favor. These links have meant that there is a constant interchange of journalism practitioners between the two countries. Many of Australia's most prominent journalists have been born in New Zealand, and many Australians also work in New Zealand, although they are outnumbered by New Zealanders who have spent time gaining experience in Australia, then returned home.

History of Journalism

The first newspaper in Australia, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, was founded in 1803 and published for a further 39 years, initially under the stewardship of a convict, George Howe. It was a semiofficial publication of the New South Wales colonial government and was subject to official censorship for its first two decades. In 1831, three Gazette employees founded the *Sydney Herald*, which became the *Sydney Morning Herald* 11 years later, and under that name is Australia's oldest continuously published newspaper. Newspapers were founded in the other colonies in the 1850s, some of which are still printed today, although with name changes, such as the *Age* in Melbourne, the *Mercury* (Hobart), and the *Courier-Mail* (Queensland).

From the earliest days of Australian journalism, family dynasties of proprietors began to emerge. John Fairfax acquired the *Sydney Herald* in 1841, and the Fairfax family retained control of it and other newspapers in Australia's eastern states for almost 150 years. In the early 20th century, two new dynasties arose, which between them dominated the Australian media industry for most of that century: the Packers and the Murdochs. They competed fiercely in print and television, but followed different long-term strategies. The Packers concentrated on Australia alone, diversifying into pay television and gambling before selling out of news media altogether in the early 2000s. Meanwhile, under the scion of the second generation of Murdochs, Rupert, the family bought up media outlets across the English-speaking world. Rupert Murdoch also founded the country's first national newspaper, the *Australian*, in 1964.

All three family companies, and others, expanded into electronic media, with the Packers setting up Australia's first television station, Sydney's Channel Nine, in 1956. This made Australia unusual, in that television started under private ownership with populist, commercially funded programming, rather than with a state-owned public broadcaster such as the British Broadcasting Corporation or New Zealand's NZBC. Australia's equivalent of the BBC, the ABC, did not add television to its radio broadcasting fare until 1958. The addition of large numbers of television viewers to already avid newspaper readers and radio listeners gave the dynasts not only enormous financial income but also political power, with the endorsement of the Packer or Murdoch publications (television news was essentially apolitical) allegedly able to make or break governments. Both the Packer and Murdoch publications favored both major political groupings, the center-left Labor Party and the center-right Coalition, at various times. But both sets of publications more

often opposed Labor governments, or the party's attempts to win office, and backed the more business-friendly Coalition, both at the federal and state level.

New Zealand's early media, as befitting a much smaller country, were much more sedate. The first newspapers were founded in the middle of the 19th century, with some, such as Dunedin's *Otago Daily Times* and Auckland's *New Zealand Herald*, still appearing today. The mid-19th century also saw a number of Māori-language newspapers published, most notably *Te Karere* from 1842 to 1863 (with interruptions), while others stayed in print until the 1930s. Like Australia's early journals, New Zealand's were family owned, but did not expand to nationwide dynasties, rather taking on small town publications in their respective cities' hinterlands in an incremental manner.

Radio started under private ownership in the 1920s, but the stations were almost all nationalized by the first Labor government in the 1930s, and the resulting NZBC became the sole television broadcaster, starting in the largest city, Auckland, in 1960. Private radio only returned to the New Zealand airwaves in the 1970s, prompted by an offshore ship-based pirate station, Radio Hauraki, in the mid-1960s, itself inspired by the British pirates of the same era, such as Radio Caroline. Private television arrived in 1989 with TV3, but only after a long legal and political campaign by its backers, and soon found itself in financial distress, having underestimated the energy and innovation of its state-owned competitor, Television New Zealand, which had been put on a full commercial footing with the breakup of the NZBC in the mid-1980s.

New Zealand's tightly regulated media market started to open up with the repeal of the News Media Ownership Act in 1974. A process of consolidation of media properties then took place, first in print, then broadcast, as state-owned radio stations were privatized and new private stations launched. New Zealand's print sector is now dominated by two conglomerates, both in financial difficulties. Several attempts to merge them in recent years have failed due to political and legal hurdles, and one, Stuff, was sold in mid-2020 for $1 to its employees, who also took on its liabilities.

Journalism in the 21st Century

Coverage of politics in both Australia and New Zealand is heavily focused on personality, popularity, and polls, with serious examination of policy struggling for print space and broadcast time, even during election campaigns. The political agenda is often influenced, and sometimes set, by radio "shock jocks," mostly right-wing, with backgrounds in general broadcasting rather than serious journalism. News coverage of politics, especially by the dominant Murdoch tabloids in Australia, can be quite partisan, mostly in favor of the conservative side of politics. New Zealand newspapers are less biased, with impartial news coverage. Even the endorsement of political parties (as in Australia, usually conservative) on the eve of elections largely disappeared with the switch to a proportional voting system in the 1990s. Both television and radio news coverage is also impartial, overseen by broadcasting standards authorities in both countries.

Both Australia and New Zealand are frequently listed at the top of international surveys of social development and democratization, and also for one of the key components of those qualities, press freedom. The international watchdog, Freedom House, in its 2020 survey rated Australia and New Zealand both at 97 in its Global Freedom Score, compared to Norway at the top with 100, and the United States at 86. The international journalists' organization Reporters Without Borders placed New Zealand ninth, on a par with the Nordic countries, and Australia 26th, 10 places behind Canada, but almost 20 above the United States, out of the 180 countries in its 2020 survey.

With no national newspaper in Australia until the 1960s, and none in New Zealand, news agencies took on a prominent role in the business of newsgathering and distribution. Each country had a monopoly operator: Australia Associated Press (AAP), founded in 1935, and the New Zealand Press Association (NZPA), founded in 1879. Throughout the 20th century, they were both profitable, highly professional, and productive, but fell prey to digitization and consolidation in the early 2000s. NZPA folded in 2011, and AAP looked about to close in 2020, but was reprieved by a last-minute staff buyout.

Although geographically isolated at "the bottom of the world" from a Euro-American viewpoint, both Australia and New Zealand have always been outward looking, drawing societal and cultural influences from overseas, initially Europe, especially the "mother country" of Great Britain, and after World War II, the United States. This also applied to news and current affairs, with weekly and monthly periodicals from the United Kingdom and the United States having devoted readerships in both Australia and New Zealand. An additional facet of "imported news" was the large readership for Australian publications in New Zealand.

Both the total number and social makeup of journalism workers have changed considerably in recent decades. As with all developed nations, there has been a steady decline in the total number of workers describing themselves as "journalists" in Australian and New Zealand national censuses since the turn of the 21st century, as well as a decline in membership of journalists' professional associations and trade unions. The makeup of the profession has also changed. Many more women and ethnic minorities now work in journalism than 50 years ago, when it was overwhelmingly white and male. Just over half of journalists in both countries are women, but they tend to be younger and perform lower status roles than their male colleagues. But the proportions of people of color, especially members of the Indigenous minorities, in journalism are nowhere near those of the general population, and their share of jobs is even smaller in management and other highly paid positions.

The low representation of women and ethnic minorities in mainstream media in the late 20th century prompted some to found their own publications and broadcast outlets, with state assistance in the case of Indigenous broadcast media. While both Australia and New Zealand had a popular "women's magazine" sector from the 1930s, such as the *Australian Women's Weekly* and the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, these were largely apolitical general interest magazines, framing women in traditional housewife roles. The first feminist press appeared in the 1960s, initially as semiunderground publications, but then adopted by the print conglomerates in the 1970s. Non-English-language newspapers serving immigrant communities in Australia proliferated after World War II, as did ethnic radio stations. The Australian government founded a second public-service radio broadcaster, the Special Broadcasting Service, to serve ethnic communities in 1975, which expanded into television in 1980. It now broadcasts in 68 languages on radio and rebroadcasts news programs from around the world on television, as well as serving the Indigenous community through its National Indigenous Television (NITV) channel. In New Zealand, ethnic radio stations and print outlets have also expanded since the 1980s, as have Indigenous broadcasting ventures. The foundation in 1993 of a state-funded agency specifically to foster broadcasting in the Māori language led to the establishment of 25 iwi (tribal) radio stations, and in 2004, a Māori television service.

Journalists in both Australia and New Zealand face challenges from the state and corporate interests in freely supplying information to the public. Neither country has a law equivalent to the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech and publication. In Australia, there have been several high-profile raids on media organizations by the federal police in recent years, seeking evidence of leaking of government information. Both countries have defamation laws that favor the plaintiff more than similar laws in other countries. This can have a "chilling" effect on news outlets and enforce a prior restraint on publication rarely seen in other jurisdictions, such as the United States. In New Zealand, full reporting of the courts of law is often hampered by sweeping suppression orders, especially of defendants' names.

Journalists are not generally highly regarded by the general population in either country. A recent survey in New Zealand found positive public attitudes to journalists at only 23%, just a point higher than politicians, and around a quarter that of emergency workers such as firefighters and police. Historically, journalists in both Australia and New Zealand were trained on the job in the so-called *cadetships*, akin to an apprenticeship in manual trades. Although the first university-level journalism course in Australia started in the 1920s, widespread professionalization of the training of journalists did not begin in either country until the 1970s, initially with 6- to

12-month courses at trade training institutions, then development of full 3-year bachelor's degrees. More than half of the 43 Australian universities now have journalism courses, mostly as undergraduate degrees, although several also offer postgraduate diplomas, and one has a Masters of Journalism course. Journalism education is similar in New Zealand, with three of the country's eight universities and several polytechnics offering journalism training.

One area where the news media in both Australia and New Zealand are regarded as providing positive coverage that serves their communities is that of disasters, natural and man-made. Both countries have harsh environments, with Australia prone to devastating forest fires and flooding, and tropical storms, while New Zealand is geologically unstable, with regular earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. In addition, Australia and New Zealand each have suffered from rampages by lone gunmen, most notably the Port Arthur massacre in Australia in 1996 that killed 35 people and the Christchurch mosque shootings in New Zealand in 2019 that killed 51.

News coverage of disasters often emphasizes empathy and the importance of community, focusing on the role of political leaders as comforters and mourners-in-chief. Equally, leaders who are seen not to rise to those roles are the subject of strong public and media criticism, as the prime minister of Australia was when he was holidaying overseas during the devastating forest fires of late 2019. His reputation was largely redeemed by a much more empathetic performance, and favorable media coverage, in early 2020, as the coronavirus pandemic began to take hold. Similar "sensitive" coverage was also seen at the height of the coronavirus epidemic in early 2020, although both countries suffered relatively lightly compared to the rest of the world. Coverage in New Zealand particularly featured the unity of the "team of five million" (the entirety of the country's population) and the emphasis placed on "kindness" by Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern.

Both Australians and New Zealanders have traditionally been enthusiastic adopters of new technologies, and Internet usage grew rapidly after the introduction of the World Wide Web in the early 1990s. Commercialization of the Internet and professionalization of its news providers spread, with both specifically online sites, and traditional media across all means of communication offering online content, including convergent content such as audio and video on the sites of newspapers, and text from legacy broadcasters. The international accessibility of the Internet also meant that many subscribers spread their news consumption to offshore sites, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom. But the real effect on what had been the rich revenue streams for media companies in both countries was firstly, the loss of classified advertising to dedicated, easily searchable sites, especially those featuring listings for motor vehicle and real estate, then, with the arrival of search engines such as Google and social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram, the migration of display advertising to those companies, made more attractive by data-driven targeting of consumers.

Australian print newspaper circulations have been steadily declining since the early 2000s. In 2005, the total weekday circulation of national, state, and territory capital city newspapers was 2.3 million. By 2018, it had almost halved, to just over 1.2 million. A similar sample in New Zealand, of newspapers in four of the largest cities, saw a more than 20% decline in just 2 years to 2019. Readership fell even faster, as the younger members of households ignored the daily paper, even if their parents still subscribed. Revenues, both from sales and advertising, plummeted, and the inevitable staff layoffs and closures followed.

During the same period, Australian television news also lost viewership. In 2008, 17 news or current affairs programs were in the top 50 most viewed in the state capitals, with a peak audience of 2.4 million. The last year news made it into the top 50 was 2018, with a single program at 50th position with an audience of 1.4 million. New Zealand television viewership has been stronger, with the two main news programs maintaining a collective audience of close to 20% of the population.

Crisis and Challenges

By the start of the third decade of the 21st century, the outlook for traditional media in Australasia was uncertain, with continuing falls in the numbers of readers and viewers, and ever-increasing

budgetary pressures. Some glimmers of hope were evident, with new online offerings based on traditional titles, some of them new entrants from overseas, such as the Australian web versions of the British *Guardian* and *Daily Mail* sites, as well as those locally produced. But an already weak media sector in both Australia and New Zealand was dealt a body blow in early 2020 with the arrival of the COVID-19 virus and the resulting lockdowns of a large proportion of economic activity. Advertising revenues shrank, and in New Zealand many publications could not go to print because of lockdown restrictions. The most notable casualty was the German-owned Bauer Media Group, which had acquired many of the most iconic weekly and monthly magazine titles in both Australia and New Zealand in the early 2000s. Its Australian properties were sold in mid-2020 for a large loss of both equity and jobs, while the New Zealand titles were sold to a range of corporate and individual buyers in late 2020.

Mark Boyd

See also Comparative Models of Journalism; Media Ownership; Tabloid Newspapers; Women's Magazines

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AUTOMATION

In news production and journalism, automation can be divided into three broad areas: newspaper automation, in the area of layout and printing technology; broadcast automation, in the area of live directing and playback; and research/writing automation, in the area of news wire services and software for newsroom writing, collaboration, and editing. There has been a progression of convergence between these three aspects of automation as the technology of printing, broadcasting, and newsgathering continues to move further into electronic digital platforms, and older analog or physical formats become obsolete or artisanal. This entry discusses the origins and evolution of automation in the news industry, the implementation of automation in newsrooms, and uses of automation in the contemporary news industry.

Origins and Evolution of Automation

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the process of typesetting, printing, and finishing newspapers and magazines became increasingly industrialized. The wide-scale application of

steam-powered engines and precision manufactured presses sped the printing process and shortened the time required between news deadlines and distribution of finished newspapers. The technical evolution of linotype, off-set lithography, rotary presses, and flexography allowed for both increasing sophistication of typography and visual components, as well as faster layout of individual print runs. Phototypesetting, also referred to as *cold printing*, was perfected in the 1940s and made the process of page layout faster while calling for increasing automation processes in editorial oversight and the mechanical processes of printing. Early digital technologies in the 1960s and 1970s such as Digiset and VideoComp used cathode ray tubes (CRTs) as the light source for phototypesetting. Design software developed during this period automated both page layout and editorial workflow.

Continuing alongside this mechanical industrialization was process automation, which decreased the need for individual workers in the mechanical process of printing. As these new printing technologies did not require metal type plates, the physical location of the printing presses could be moved away from the location of the newsroom and layout. Throughout the late 20th century, this process of automation again decreased the production time for daily and weekly printing. By the mid-1980s software programs such as PageMaker and Quark allowed for layout and design to be done using desktop personal computers. Simultaneously, the wide-scale adoption of word processing software allowed for full workflow automation of print journalism from reporters and editors through layout and printing. Newspaper automation also changed the style of layout, advertising, and content editing of newspapers and magazines.

The process of automation in research and newsgathering arguably began with news pools in the early 19th century and continued with the establishment of newswire services in the mid-19th century. Individual reporters and editors had access to basic factual information gathered by other on-location reporters not necessarily directly employed by the newspaper or broadcast network. Early news pool stories were gathered by editors and physically posted in newsrooms. Wire services grew in sophistication together with the technology of telegraphy and later telephony and proto-Internet information services.

As wire stories were collected in newsrooms, stories could be assigned to reporters by editors. More importantly, text from the wire story could be integrated directly into the reporter's story. As information moved into newsrooms faster, the process of story assignment, research, and writing was increasingly automated. Wire services adopted Telex automation technologies in the mid-20th century, further speeding the process of newsgathering. Simultaneously, newspaper archives were cataloged using early electronic information storage and retrieval technologies allowing for fast, searchable databases of stories, topics, and newsbeats.

Together with electronic cataloging of public records, business information, and large academic libraries, the process of news research was increasingly automated using early database management software using a standardized programming language (e.g., COBOL) which allowed for early search functions by the 1980s using a standardized query language (SQL). Automation in news research and database search functions improved during the 1980s and 1990s with object-oriented database management, and moved online via open data formats such as HTML and XML.

The rise of radio and television broadcast networks in the early 20th century posed several logistical problems that were solved by automation. Among these problems were multiple live and playback sources, far tighter broadcast deadlines than print journalism, and the need to standardize the division of labor within broadcast facilities.

Early broadcast automation involved control of network switching and playback machines using simple electronic pulse control. This was further automated and standardized using SMPTE time code and network switching in television network newsgathering and distribution. (SMPTE is an abbreviation for Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers, which developed the time code standard.) Networks and individual television stations adopted master clocks that generate a time code to which all playback and routing devices are synced. A central control device, usually a broadcast switcher can then control live elements together with playback. Broadcast

automation expanded in the 1980s and 1990s to include graphics character generators and robotic cameras.

As media production moved away from technologies relying on magnetic tape and became digital, playback devices began using standardized transfer protocols such as Transmission Control Protocol/Internet Protocol (TCP/IP) to ensure the compatibility of hardware and software. Newsroom computer systems used in the 1990s were split into those for production automation, such as the BASYS system for tape control, and those for workflow automation, such as scheduling software.

With the evolution into full news automation, wire stories, production rundowns, and finished stories can be acquired, tracked, and loaded from individual reporters and editors into a central computer server for access by the all members of the production team. Key to this process is the addition of metadata and tags to each piece of information. This metadata allows each operator to determine if the information is relevant to their production or news story. During live broadcasts, directors and technical operators can control all linked machines using a single protocol for moving information using open Internet of Things (IoT) technologies, and XML standards for data control. Video-over-IP (VoIP) technologies allow backpack journalism, which originally required a story to be edited and transmitted or uploaded to the studio but can now be delivered by live on-air reporters using cellular connections and automation software.

During automated playback, a central control system operates all playbacks, cameras, and other studio devices with limited personnel. Broadcast automation made possible the specific techniques needed for vast interconnected global broadcast news operations. Automation systems also allow for inexpensive redundancy and archiving of productions and a more intuitive graphic interface.

Implementation of Newsroom Automation

Many broadcasters and newsgathering operations adopted automation in phases. The first phase is automation of playback devices and cameras. The second is the automation of rundowns and story editing along with wire services and teleprompters. The final phase is a complete switch to digital media and the addition of metadata to all media, stories, and rundown for control and oversight.

Newsroom automation has been resisted by some news professionals. Lisanne Bainbridge criticized the process in her article "The Irony of Automation" in 1983, noting the paradox that while more automation may reduce the number of workers in a system, it requires more attention from each worker and a higher level of both education and technical skill. Historically, it has been small and mid-sized newsgathering operations that first embraced news automation, and leveraged its benefits. Automation also evolved for simultaneous publishing to social media platforms, streaming services, podcast providers, and the use of RSS and other automatic syndication services. The BBC was an early adopter of these technologies and has made the RSS feed and archive searchable through its Juicer project, which allows for data visualization of large number sets.

Contemporary News Automation

Contemporary news automation takes many forms in digital research, editing, vetting, and even writing. The use of big data applications in journalism can be traced through early academic applications, then market research, then tagging and annotation of news sources, and finally for large data set analysis using artificial intelligence. The use of digital metatags in journalism began in the mid-1980s along with the rise of HTML and other hypertext-based organization. Although traditional journalism had used headwords and slug lines from the early days of mechanical printing, these new metatags could be easily accessed, sorted, and shared quickly by multiple individuals and across news publications.

Several national newspapers and chains began to utilize open-source applications for tagging articles, topics, and syntax structures from the mid-2000s. *The New York Times*'s Editor project made this process automated during the research and writing phases. *The Washington Post* created a Knowledge Map project involving automated metatagging to allow readers to follow articles and topics across years.

Automation has also been adopted in fact-checking, editorial oversight, and vetting of news sources. Recurrent neural networks are several artificial neural networks working in tandem to look at large data sets over time and predict specified patterns in very large data collections. In the case of automated vetting and fact-checking, these neural networks can be designed to detect the syntactic and narrative patterns of satire, hoaxes, and misinformation. As more and more journalists and editors come to rely on social media platforms to locate and investigate breaking news stories, these neural networks are frequently used to determine the likelihood of rumor, public relations spin, and misinformation before making a decision to further investigate a story. Very similar neural networks are used for speech-to-text automation that can be used for audience accessibility and by journalists as a means of input to replace transcription.

By the late 1990s, financial newswires were using automation and artificial intelligence to locate patterns in their databases of articles and financial data and produce journalistically useful information. These practices led to the evolution of data journalism and data visualization in the mid-2000s and their use in areas such as political polling and sports handicapping. Data journalism and data visualization rely on automation and artificial intelligence to analyze data before the narrative of the news story emerges.

The website FiveThirtyEight began as a sports data reporting publication using the automated Sabermetrics data analysis for baseball and other professional sports statistics. The creator, Nate Silver, used automated sports handicapping software applications to compare multiple political polls during the 2008, 2012, and 2016 U.S. presidential campaigns. In 2012, the site was licensed by *The New York Times*, and in 2013 it was purchased by ESPN. In 2018, the site was acquired by ABC News, although FiveThirtyEight was expected to continue participating in ESPN's sports coverage along with continuing to cover economics, politics, and other topics. Both ABC News and ESPN are divisions of the Walt Disney Company.

Starting with the use of automation and artificial intelligence for aggregation and data analytics, many news providers have begun to use the same system for automated writing of short recaps, news blurbs, and summaries. Some news organizations have begun experimenting with the use of neural networks to create narrative stories based on data sets. Automatic writing, sometimes called *robot journalism*, has been used to automate the story research and writing for minor league sports, local government and zoning decisions, and real estate and small-transaction financial information. The Associated Press began using technology from Automated Insights to produce earnings report stories in 2014, and in 2016 the wire service announced it would use the same technology to cover minor league baseball games. In 2014, the *Los Angeles Times* began publishing preliminary articles on earthquakes written by a software application it refers to as Quakebot, which uses data from U.S. Geological Survey sensors. A *Times* employee looks over each Quakebot article before it is published, and when an earthquake is significant reporters add more context to the article after it is first published online. The initial Quakebot articles sometimes reflect errors in the data the software application receives, sometimes with dramatic results: In 2017, Quakebot reported on a magnitude 6.8 earthquake from 1925 as though it had just occurred. *The Washington Post* began using its in-house artificial intelligence technology, Heliograf, in 2016 for short articles on the Rio Olympics, and subsequently used it for Election Day reports and to cover Washington, DC-area high school football games.

Virtual assistant and chatbot technologies are expected to begin playing a larger part in the automation of research, writing, and editorial oversight as well as news aggregation and consumption. The long-term trend in automation will likely involve the blurring of boundaries between authorship by humans and that by machines and artificial intelligence. In 2016, several news publications, including the *Guardian*, began experimentation with chatbots over Internet messaging systems (e.g., Facebook Messenger, WeChat) to create daily briefings and news digests for subscribers based on the technology used for newsroom automation, blurring the line between creation and consumption of news.

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See also Artificial Intelligence and Journalism; Associated Press; Bots; Data Journalism; Data Visualizations; News Aggregators; Printing; Reuters

Further Readings

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