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BANDWAGON JOURNALISM

Bandwagon journalism is when journalists follow the actions and storylines of other journalists or broad trends in media coverage as a result of journalism habits, mores, and culture. The term often refers to political news coverage, although the topic of coverage can vary, and it is often meant as a pejorative. The term is not widely used today, though *pack journalism* is still heard and has a similar meaning. This entry discusses the background of the term, its application to journalism, and its evolving usage.

Background

The term takes its name from the late 19th-century bandwagon, a large wagon pulled by draft animals that was part of political processions, sometimes even carrying a band and political figures. The term also refers to circus bandwagons, which carried circus animals, musicians, and supplies. To jump or hop on the bandwagon indicated one's willingness to join the winning political side or the side appearing to have momentum.

Bandwagon journalism should not be confused with the bandwagon effect in public opinion research. The bandwagon effect suggests voters are influenced in an election by their perception of which side is winning. The bandwagon effect holds that there is pressure on some audience members to alter their opinions to be in agreement

with those enjoying greater support, renewed interest, or greater enthusiasm for their cause.

Application to Journalism

Bandwagon journalism describes the behavior of journalists who, broadly speaking, appear to be following the lead of other journalists in their news coverage. In this way, bandwagon journalism is sometimes used interchangeably with the term *pack journalism*, which is the tendency of journalists to concentrate on the same stories and storylines. The term *pack journalism* originated in the 1970s and is now more widely used and understood than bandwagon journalism.

Bandwagon journalism differs from pack journalism by the emphasis on the reasons why the coverage looks the same across media outlets. Bandwagon journalism is when journalists cover a political candidate or social movement because it is seen to have momentum and growing support. One example of this is when a political candidate is considered likely to win political office and therefore attracts more news coverage than other candidates. Bandwagon journalism suggests that journalists react to political momentum by concentrating their coverage on the candidate who is benefiting from that momentum. Often this coverage is considered more favorable than that accorded others in the race.

At the same time, the favorable news coverage prompted by the bandwagon can be short lived. Once a candidate has moved to front-runner status or has received greater attention in the news,

journalists may resume a more critical “watch-dog” stance in their coverage.

Thomas Patterson has pointed to what he sees as the opposite of the bandwagon, the “losing-ground” candidate. When a candidate is seen to have lessening support in polls or a campaign in disarray, news coverage becomes steadily less favorable. In this case, the losing ground bandwagon takes place as journalists follow the lead of other journalists in writing about problems within the campaign and the likely loss of the election.

Several scholars have focused on examples of bandwagon journalism in presidential primary news coverage, which can move negative to positive nearly overnight and thrust candidates into the spotlight or consign them to also-ran status. A candidate perceived to be winning enjoys more coverage that is more positive. An example in recent history is the news coverage of Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean during 2003. Dean was the front-runner and presumptive nominee after raising more money than expected and engaging his supporters online, which was fairly new at the time. Polls predicted a victory, but his electoral support was thin and he quit the race a month after the first caucuses in Iowa in January 2004, never having won a caucus or primary. The criticism of bandwagon journalism was also made of the press coverage of Barack Obama, especially the 2008 presidential campaign. Critics argued that campaign coverage was disproportionate and overly positive because of the consistent lead Obama had in the polls, his charismatic candidacy, and the possibility he would make history as the first Black president.

Not all bandwagons are related to political campaigns. The U.S. media was criticized for bandwagon journalism prior to the 2003 Iraq War because of their failure to challenge false claims that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. There was broad political and public support for the war in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Sometimes the pressure is more overt. Bandwagon journalism has been used to describe self-censorship, journalism uncritical of government corruption, and blind support for those in power. For example, journalists and historians use the term *bandwagon journalism* to describe the lack of critical coverage of government corruption in

the domestic media of certain Latin American countries in the 1970s and 1980s. In this example, the pressures to jump on the bandwagon might include government closing media outlets or political violence.

The term pack journalism centers more on journalists' behavior in relation to each other. It is promoted by journalistic norms that reward reporters for obtaining “scoops,” or exclusive stories, and even more importantly, not being scooped by others. Journalists thus practice what has been called *defensive journalism*, or covering events mostly to preclude a competing media outlet from obtaining an exclusive. This practice discourages journalists from reporting on their own and encourages them to stay close to their competition. It may happen more often when journalists are forced to work closely together, such as during political campaigns or legal trials, where reporters may travel together and work side-by-side for long periods of time. The term pack journalism takes its name from journalists moving in a group (or pack) while covering a story.

Both pack journalism and bandwagon journalism share this tendency of journalists to adopt similar storylines in news coverage and to be unwilling to deviate from the accepted wisdom of the current coverage. Journalists may be risk averse, and shy away from coverage too dissimilar from their colleagues to avoid criticism. The same thing may take place among editors or broadcast producers who must compare journalists' output with that of other news sources. In doing so, both reporters and their editors or producers push coverage to greater sameness. The effects of both bandwagon and pack journalism are the same: similar news content from similar sources centered around widely accepted storylines. However, the reasons for this coverage differ between the two.

In common usage, the phrase *bandwagon journalism* is generally a pejorative. Occasionally, the phrase *bandwagon journalist* is used with the same intent. The terms are often a criticism of news media coverage or the behavior of journalists, and often used in a broad, general way. The terms suggest reporting that is lazy, unthinking, and shackled by journalism habits. They are often used by one side in a political race to downplay the reporting of the other side.

Evolving Usage

The evolving nature of journalism has influenced how we think of bandwagon journalism in several ways. Some critics have suggested bandwagon journalism in the 21st century is driven by easy Internet access to enormous information resources. Immediate access to prior media coverage encourages the repetition of sources, themes, and story lines, and sometimes even rumors and errors. The decline in the number of journalists at many media outlets suggests fewer media voices and less original reporting. Journalists with less time may feel pressure to follow common storylines. In addition, blogs and social media have challenged the definition of a journalist and professional practice more broadly. Untrained citizen journalists may amplify the echo chamber for a bandwagon, or may provide a new perspective outside the limitations of journalists' habits and practices. These changes suggest the criticism of bandwagon journalism will continue.

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See also Bias; Citizen Journalism; Ethics; Media Criticism

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BANGLADESH

This entry provides a brief overview of journalism in Bangladesh. It starts with a country profile and background. After presenting the early beginnings, it traces the development of journalism practice during the periods of state control, market liberalization, and digitization. It ends with a

presentation on journalism education and challenges in the profession of journalism in Bangladesh.

Background

Bangladesh is a nation situated on the Ganges River (Padma) delta on the Bay of Bengal in South Asia. It is surrounded by India (in the west, north, and east) and has a border with Myanmar in the southeast. The southern part of the country opens up to the Bay of Bengal. With a population of 168.1 million (2019 estimate of the United Nations Population Fund) and a territory of 147,570 square kilometers (55,598 square miles), it is the world's most densely populated country. The major religion is Islam (90%), followed by Hinduism (9%). Other religious groups in Bangladesh include Buddhists, Christians, and Animists.

According to the World Bank, in 2017, the life expectancy in the country was 72.43 years and the per capita income was US\$1,563.99. Around 98% of the population speak Bengali as their first language, making Bangladesh the only monolingual country in South Asia.

Bangladesh was part of British India during the colonial period, which lasted 190 years. In 1947, before its withdrawal, the British partitioned the subcontinent along religious lines in a hastily drawn up arrangement. Two countries then emerged: India (mostly Hindu) and Pakistan (mostly Muslim). Pakistan initially consisted of two parts: West Pakistan and East Pakistan, which later became Bangladesh. Historians likened Pakistan to an experiment given that the two territories were separated by 1,500 km of Indian land. Consisting largely of raw material producing regions as well as having a nonlocal civil service, East Pakistan became the subordinate partner to its western counterpart. It faced internal economic exploitation and attempts to suppress its mother tongue. In 1971, East Pakistan fought to gain its freedom. The Liberation War resulted in the independence of the People's Republic of Bangladesh with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as its founding father.

Soon after independence, Bangladesh spent 15 years under military rule until 1991, when parliamentary government was restored. Its economy has been growing rapidly since 2000 and it has

seen gains since then on the United Nations Human Development Index. In 2015, the World Bank reported that Bangladesh was among four formerly low-income countries that had become lower middle-income countries. However, it still beset with myriad problems such as poverty, unemployment, city and foreign migration, inadequate health facilities, poor transportation, family disintegration, and religious discrimination. The United Nations Development Programme identified fundamental challenges facing the country such as rapid industrialization, structural change, and substantial rural–urban migration. Environmental problems have remained significant and are expected to worsen as a result of climate change.

Beginnings of Journalism

The origin of journalism may be traced to British colonial times. In the late 18th century, *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* (which was in English) was published in Kolkata. This weekly publication was the first modern newspaper in the Indian subcontinent. In 1818, Bengali newspapers started to appear—the monthly *Digdarshan* (1818), the weekly *Samachar Darpan* (1818), and the weekly *Bengal Gazette* (1818).

In 1947, after British rule and with the partition of the Indian subcontinent, there was a lack of newspapers and broadcast facilities in Pakistan. However, newspapers that catered to Muslim readers soon transferred their operations from India. In East Pakistan, *Dainik Azad* (Daily Freedom) shifted from Kolkata to Dhaka in 1948. In 1949, an English daily the *Pakistan Observer* (renamed as *Bangladesh Observer* after independence in 1971) was published from Dhaka. Two other newspapers, *Dainik Sangbad* (Daily News) and *Dainik Ittefaq* (Daily Unity), were established in 1949 and 1953, respectively. These four dailies are regarded as the pioneers of the national press system.

Also, after British rule, there were only three radio stations located in Pakistan (Dhaka, Lahore, and Peshawar), which were a legacy of All India Radio. The radio broadcasting service was called Pakistan Broadcasting Service and in 1948, was renamed as Radio Pakistan. The Radio Pakistan Dhaka Centre started airing

from a house in Nazimuddin Road (located in the older part of the capital). In 1960, it moved close to Dhaka University in a building constructed specifically for broadcasting purposes. East Pakistan's first television station was launched in 1964 as part of the Pakistan Television Corporation. The corporation's objectives included disseminating information, entertaining, improving education, and motivating people to take part in developmental efforts. Both the radio and television stations were established based on the British Broadcasting Corporation model of public broadcasting.

Period of State-Controlled Media

After Bangladesh gained independence in 1971, the Bangladeshi press enjoyed some democratic space given the constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression. However, after consolidating its position, the new government increasingly became intolerant of criticisms from the press. The Printing Press and Publication Act of 1973 was then enacted to give the district magistrate the power to grant permission to publish newspapers, magazines, and so on. When Sheikh Mujibur Rahman imposed a one-party presidential system, he banned all newspapers except the four pioneers of the national press system. However, these newspapers were placed under strict government control and management.

In 1974, the Press Council Act was passed; the law established the Bangladesh Press Council with the authority to restrict the media, including the power to censor. With the change in government in 1975, more newspapers were given licenses to operate. Generally, the authoritarian regimes that followed continued the policy of strict censorship and regulation. Any newspaper critical of military rulers was closed down.

The state-run radio (renamed as Bangladesh Betar) and television (called *Bangladesh Television*) were extensively utilized as propaganda tools. During the one-party presidential system, state-run radio and television praised the achievements of national leaders. The succeeding military governments influenced broadcasting stations in an attempt to either sway the news or intimidate the broadcasters. In many instances, radio and television newsrooms were visited personally by

government ministers to ensure that the official line was followed.

Era of Market Liberalization

In 1990, Bangladesh became a democratic country once again. Soon after, economic reforms followed, which included the adoption of free market economic policies and the privatization of state-owned enterprises. With the change in the political and socioeconomic system, the private sector began to grow. This had positive implications for the newspaper and broadcast industries as wealthy businessmen invested in the media for the sustainability of their enterprises. These included large conglomerates such as Beximco, Globe, Karnaphuli, Transcom, Jamuna, Ha-meen, Bashundara, Gemcon, and Kazi Farm Group. These business groups targeted the burgeoning middle class as potential consumers of their products and services and accordingly expanded media holdings and advertisements to reach them. In addition, many of these conglomerates had either direct or indirect political interests.

As a result, there was a change in the nature of Bangladeshi media. In the past, the media were owned by the government and political parties. They propagated the ideologies of political parties, focusing on daily events and political analysis. News actors were mainly politicians. After market liberalization, corporate houses started dominating the media. With this, media reported on political issues as well as business matters and social activism. They diversified news genres and included investigative news and opinion columns. News actors consisted of politicians, business people, experts, nongovernmental organization activists, and civil society members.

The media likewise expanded its audience. AC Nielsen Bangladesh reported in 2005 that newspapers reached 24% of the population (48% in the urban and 16% in the rural areas), while magazines reached 6% (13% in the urban and 4% in the rural areas). Radio covered 22% of the population (16% in the urban and 25% in the rural areas), while television covered 64% (88% in the urban and 56% in the rural areas). In 2010, the Ministry of Information reported the number of media outlets as follows: 292 daily newspapers,

125 news weeklies, 23 private satellite television channels, two government-owned television channels, four private FM stations, one government-owned radio station, and 14 community radio stations to be in operation in the country. Competition among media outlets to reach the population and influence the public agenda has become very intense.

Rise of Digital Journalism

In 2005, Bangladesh became connected to the information superhighway via the SEA-ME-WE 4 submarine cable, which costs US\$35.2 million. As a result, there was a reduction in internet connectivity charges—leading to the expansion of digital media. It then became possible to launch a Bengali blogging site known as *Somewhere in... blog* in December 2005. The following year, the Norwegian telecommunication company Telenor opened 500 community information centers, which brought internet access to the rural areas. In the urban areas, internet cafes started to mushroom. After winning the December 2008 elections, the Awami League set out to fulfill its slogan “Digital Bangladesh.” The government advanced the conceptual development of “Digital Bangladesh” and published three documents on building an information society—*Digital Bangladesh Strategy in Action*, *National ICT Policy 2009*, and *Strategic Priorities of Digital Bangladesh*. These documents set into motion the roadmap for Bangladesh’s ICT development.

With this roadmap, access to the internet in the country drastically improved. The Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission (BTRC) reported that in 2000, only 0.07% of the population could access the internet. By 2015, the figure increased to 14.40%, and by 2018, it was 56.3%. The astronomical increase was due to mobile internet usage estimates. According to the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission’s November 2017 report, there were 143.106 million mobile phone subscribers. Among them, 74.736 million people used internet. Most of them spent a majority of their time online using social media, with Facebook the most popular site. As of 2017, there were approximately 25–30 million Facebook users in Bangladesh, with 72% of them male and 28% female.

With these advances in internet access, news websites (which catered to the urban educated youth) grew in popularity. The first news website is bdnews24.com, which features content free of charge in both Bengali and English. Established in October 2006, it is among the most visited websites in the country with an estimated 120 million page views per month. With the success of bdnews24.com, more news sites were established. Among these, the largest were bd24live, banglanews24, and banglatribune. Moreover, the print media started producing their own online versions. Among the Bengali newspapers were the *Prothom Alo*, *Bangladesh Protidin*, *Dainik Jugantor*, and *Kalerkontho*. Among the English newspapers were the *Financial Express*, *Daily Star*, *Independent*, *New Age*, and *Dhaka Tribune*. Media houses have begun to place more emphasis on new journalism skills such as video editing, mobile journalism, online journalism, live reporting, multiplatform writing, newsgathering, fact checking and search engine optimization.

Advent of Journalism Education

Akin to other countries, the training of journalists in Bangladesh started out informally, that is journalists learned on the job. Media houses later on saw the need for hiring people with more high-end skills and a holistic educational background. Hence, the first journalism program was established in 1962 at Dhaka University. In 1991, a second program was set up at Rajshahi University. Two years later, a third program was introduced by a private university, the Independent University of Bangladesh.

By the end of 2018, a Deutsche Welle Akademie Study listed 18 journalism and media-related programs in the country—nine from private and another nine from public universities. Among public universities, Chittagong University had the most students, with 370. Among private universities, the University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh was the largest with 770 students. In total, there were 4,509 journalism and media students in the country—52.8% coming from the private universities and 47.2% from public universities. Aside from universities, journalists get their training from institutes, which conduct postgraduate diploma programs and certificate courses. These included the

government-owned Press Institute Bangladesh (established 1976), National Institute of Mass Communication (established 1980), Management and Resources Development Initiative (established 2001), and Bangladesh Institute of Journalism and Electronic Media (established 2003).

Challenges in Journalism Practice

Three challenges facing journalists in Bangladesh are gender bias, job security and compensation, and safety and security.

Gender Bias. Several studies have depicted the challenges of women journalists in Bangladesh. These issues included being highly outnumbered by men in the profession, with the male:female ratio in entry-level positions estimated at 5:1; a lack of women journalists in leadership capacities, with the male:female ratio in decision-making roles estimated at 85:15; being allowed to only cover “soft” beats such as lifestyle and entertainment; and being unable to stay long in the profession (57% of women leave in their third year at work).

Job Security and Compensation. The 2019 Deutsche Welle Akademie Study showed that many journalists were pessimistic about their journalism careers given job insecurity, low salaries, and lack of financial incentives such as housing and transport allowances. There was a lack of standards regarding the compensation, regularization, and promotion of journalists among the media houses. Only a few media houses have written human resource policies, procedures, and guidelines.

Safety and Security. In the 2019 World Press Freedom Index, Bangladesh ranked 150th—dropping by four places from 2018’s 146th. Undertaken by Reporters Sans Frontieres (Reporters Without Borders), the index annually reviews 180 countries and their relationship with the media. One reason for the drop in ranking was the Bangladesh Digital Security Act 2018. Amnesty International warned that the law imposes restrictions on the freedom of expression, fueling a heightened level of fear among journalists.

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See also Asia; British Broadcasting Corporation; India; Internet: Impact on the Media; Pakistan

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BERNAYS, EDWARD L.

Edward Louis Bernays, among the early leaders in public relations, advertising, and propaganda, is often referred to as the “father of public relations.” Known for linking the theories of psychoanalysis and the practice of public relations, Bernays effectively popularized techniques that influenced public opinion and changed consumer behavior, as described in the sections that follow.

In 1935, *Time* magazine proclaimed Bernays as “America’s #1 Publicist.” Bernays published several notable books such as *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), *Propaganda* (1928), *Public Relations* (1945), and *The Engineering of Consent* (1955). *Propaganda* has been seen as a code of ethics for the profession of public relations, and *The Engineering of Consent* includes an eight-part formula that is widely utilized in modern public relations campaigns. These steps include 1) define objectives, 2) conduct research, 3) modify objectives based on research findings, 4) develop a strategy, 5) create themes, symbols, appeals, 6) create organization to execute strategy, 7) develop tactics, and 8) carry out plans. In *Crystallizing*

Public Opinion (1923), Bernays discusses how to identify and capitalize on heightening trends. He also oversaw the English translation of his famous uncle Sigmund Freud’s *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, a compilation of talks delivered by the pioneering analyst in Vienna between 1915 and 1917 that examined the relationship between the unconscious and conscious domains of the human psyche. Bernays also taught the first public relations university course at New York University in 1923.

Genealogy, Education, and Early Career

Edward Louis Bernays (November 22, 1891–March 9, 1995), of Austrian-Jewish descent, was born in Vienna and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts. At 1 year of age, in 1892, Edward moved with his family to New York City. He was one of five children of Ely Bernays and Anna Freud Bernays, sister of psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud. His father’s sister, Martha Bernays, was married to Sigmund Freud, making Edward Bernays a double nephew through both parents’ families of origin. In 1922, Bernays married Doris E. Fleischman, a childhood friend and a staff writer for his firm, with whom he would have two daughters, Doris Held and Anne Bernays. Once married, Fleischman and Bernays were equal partners at the firm of Edward L. Bernays, Counsel of Public Relations.

In February 1912, Edward Bernays graduated from Cornell University with a degree in agriculture, a career path heavily decided by his father, Ely Bernays, who believed that rural development was an important path for America’s future. Edward, however, who detested agriculture, chose instead to pursue a career in journalism and became a writer for the *National Nurseryman Journal*. Eventually, he became a medical coeditor for the *Medical Review of Reviews* and the *Dietetic and Hygienic Gazette*, two monthly journals owned by Bernays’s father. It was during this time that the persuasive techniques developed by Bernays to sway public opinion emerged.

Creative Press Agent and World War I Involvement

Two months into his editorial position, Bernays and his coeditor, Fred Robinson, were hired to

promote a play titled *Damaged Goods*, which addressed a topic that was taboo for its time—sexually transmitted diseases. Eugene Brieux’s play—which was about an engaged man who contracted syphilis from an affair but decides not to disclose this information to his fiancé—provided Bernays an opportunity to creatively promote a controversial topic. Specifically, Bernays’s strategy included reframing what once was a taboo topic into an opportunity to inform the public about venereal diseases. For example, Bernays created a *Medical Review of Reviews* sociological fund committee consisting of notable individuals such as John D. Rockefeller Jr., Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt Sr., Mr. and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Reverend John Haynes Holmes of New York’s Unitarian Community Church to endorse the play. He believed that soliciting the approval and testimonials of notable public role models would be an effective strategy in swaying public opinion. The play became a huge hit and was even performed before Supreme Court justices, members of the president’s cabinet, and congressional representatives.

As a press agent in the arts, Bernays also found success promoting other theatrical productions such as *Daddy Long-Legs* and the U.S. tour of Russian impresario Sergei Diaghilev’s *Ballet Russe*. *Daddy Long-Legs*, a play about a 12-year-old girl who goes to an orphanage, was successfully promoted by linking the play to a worthy cause. Bernays’s technique included collaborating with New York’s State Charities Aid Association to generate funds for orphans. This proved fruitful as colleges and high schools began to raise money for orphans. In addition, 10,000 *Daddy Long-Legs* dolls were manufactured, with proceeds going to the Aid Association. With Diaghilev’s *Ballet Russe*, Bernays was tasked with promoting ballet during a time when the United States was not very knowledgeable about European culture and skeptical about seeing male ballet dancers dressed in tights. This opportunity led Bernays to conduct public opinion research in order to obtain information on what the United States understood about ballet during that time. Results from public opinion research assisted Bernays to effectively write—under the pseudonym of Aybern Edwards—promotional pieces for *Vanity Fair* and run promotional materials in *Ladies Home Journal* to

educate and alter the public’s opinions about ballet. Additionally, Bernays also strategically transformed the principal ballerina in the production, Flores Revalles, into a national celebrity. Bernays was also able to generate additional publicity by having a seductive photo shoot featuring Revalles posing with a snake wrapped around her body at the Bronx Zoo. The stunt proved successful, and Revalles became a national celebrity; the pet snake was used as her trademark.

After his success as a press agent in the arts, Bernays attempted to enlist in the military when the United States declared war on Germany, but he was rejected for medical reasons. Undeterred, Bernays attempted to demonstrate his commitment to World War I in unconventional ways, such as volunteering to sell U.S. bonds and war savings stamps and promoting rallies to recruit individuals for the military. Eventually his publicity tactics earned Bernays an opportunity to become involved with the Committee of Public Information (CPI), also known as the Creel Committee. The Committee of Public Information, created by President Woodrow Wilson to influence the general public to support U.S. participation in the war, was an independent committee consisting of George Creel, Robert Lansing, and Josephus Daniels. Utilizing similar techniques from his experiences as a press agent, Bernays was successful in changing public opinion on United States involvement in World War I.

Notable Campaigns

In 1928, George Washington Hill, President of American Tobacco Company, hired Edward Bernays to promote Lucky Strike, America’s fastest-growing brand of cigarettes, to the female population, which, at the time, accounted for only 12% of the market share. Several notable campaigns emerged from Bernays’s involvement and success with Lucky Strike that other cigarette companies began to use similar persuasive tactics such as linking the product to a cause or belief. In the first Lucky Strike campaign, known as the Anti-Sweet Smoking campaign, Hill wanted Bernays to increase cigarette sales among the female population by creating a relationship between weight loss and cigarettes by using the slogan “Reach for a Lucky—instead of a sweet.” Bernays’s tactic, which he called *crystallizing public*

opinion, included creating and accentuating a “get-thin” trend by having “experts” and members of the press commenting on the appeal of thinness. Various photographers and artists, including Bernays’s photographer friend Nickolas Muray, were convinced to provide testimonials on the positive effects of being slender. Fashion editors also began publishing photos of haute couture-wearing slim Parisian models while news editors reported on expert medical testimonies on the benefits of smoking. For example, a former chief of the British Association of Medical Officers of Health put out a public health warning about the correlation between tooth decay and consumption of sweets. Specifically, Dr. George F. Buchan suggested that individuals should finish their meals with a cigarette instead of desserts. Bernays also strived to normalize cigarettes by elevating their everyday use to that of a household staple, similar to coffee. For instance, he urged homemakers to employ kitchen cabinetmakers to build physical spaces to hold cigarettes and encouraged hotels to include cigarettes on their menus. These tactics proved to be successful, as a letter from Hill to Bernays revealed that by December 1928, sales revenues for Lucky Strike cigarettes had risen by \$32 million.

In addition to successfully changing attitudes regarding the social taboo of female smokers, Bernays was next challenged to popularize outdoor smoking among females. Known as the Torches of Freedom campaign, Bernays used psychoanalysis to achieve insight into consumers’ motivation and insight and consulted with psychoanalyst Dr. A. A. Brill, a disciple of Sigmund Freud. Brill advised that a link between smoking cigarettes and women’s liberation could be made by promoting cigarettes as a social symbol of freedom from oppression. On March 31, 1929, Bernays coordinated an Easter Day parade featuring prominent females lighting “torches of freedom” as they walked down Fifth Avenue.

While Bernays was successful at changing societal taboos regarding female smokers, he also needed to strategically popularize the Lucky Strike brand to appeal to female smokers. Market research had indicated that the color green found on Lucky Strike packaging was unpopular among females. Bernays attempted to make green a fashionable color by targeting the fashion and

accessories industry. Tactics included hosting a Green Ball at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel that was attended by leading debutantes, each wearing green, which was hosted by Mrs. Frank A. Vanderbilt, chairwoman of the Woman’s Infirmary of New York. Bernays also had fashion magazines such as *Vogue* run advertisements featuring fashionable green-colored Parisian dresses. A Color Fashion Bureau, created by Bernays, also sent out 5,000 announcements about the appeal of green to various department stores and merchandise managers. Thus, his third campaign for Lucky Strike demonstrated that through repetition of an idea, such as redefining the color green as fashionable, Bernays was able to positively change attitudes among female smokers about the packaging on the Lucky Strike brand.

Similar persuasive tactics were also crafted for Beech-Nut Packing Company. As America’s eating habits changed after the Industrial Revolution and the simple slice of toast breakfast or packaged cereal became popular, Beech-Nut Packing Company seek Bernays’s expertise to increase their bacon sales. Through Bernays’s strategic use of endorsements from doctors on the importance of a hearty breakfast, he was able to persuade the public that a bacon-and-eggs breakfast was a staple of the all-American diet.

Political Campaigns

Prominent political figures also solicited Edward Bernays’s expertise in influencing public opinion during election campaigns. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge hired Bernays as a media advisor to assist with reshaping the president’s stiff image. Bernays suggested a breakfast meet-and-greet with the country’s leading celebrities at the White House and created one of the first publicity stunts for a U.S. president, known as the “pancake breakfasts.” Bernays also arranged for a White House concert featuring entertainers Al Jolson, Ed Wynn, The Dolly Sisters, Buddy deSylva, and approximately 40 Broadway performers. The *New York Times* reported the following headline: “Actors Eat Cake with the Coolidges . . . President Nearly Laughs.” President Coolidge subsequently defeated Democratic candidate John W. Davis, with 382 to 136 electoral votes.

Impressed with Bernays's success with Coolidge's campaign, Herbert Hoover hired Bernays to help with his 1932 presidential reelection campaign against Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then governor of New York. President Hoover was challenged with a depressed economy during his reelection efforts. Bernays's first persuasive tactic included the creation of a nonpartisan fact-finding committee consisting of 25,000 disinterested thought leaders, who suggested that the economic outlook was not as bleak as it appeared. Hoover lost, however, to Roosevelt, who offered the economic "New Deal" and won 472 electoral votes to Hoover's 59.

Other notable political figures who worked with Edward Bernays include Thomas E. Dewey, two-time presidential nominee for the Republican Party; first lady Eleanor Roosevelt and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who would succeed Harry S. Truman as president. Notable government campaigns included a national campaign for the War Department to find employment placements for veterans. In addition, under President Hoover, Bernays created the President's Emergency Committee for Employment, which helped U.S. citizens who were out of work during the early years of the Great Depression.

Propaganda and Politics

Bernays was highly successful in political campaigns because he understood the importance of appealing to the emotions of the public. In *Propaganda*, Bernays explains that three elements of emotional content are needed for a political campaign to be successful. First, he proposes that emotional content must coincide with all aspects of a campaign. For example, emotions must emerge both during large mass meetings and appear in the finer details of a campaign such as the candidates being photographed with children. Second, Bernays contends that emotional content in a campaign must be adaptable to each target audience. Specifically, he explains that the public is not only made up of specific groups such as Democrats and Republicans but that public groups overlap in economical, educational, racial, local, and hundreds of other domains. Thus, Bernays was able to create a voter portrait by categorizing voters according to specific attributes. This philosophy can be seen in Bernays's "pancake

breakfasts" publicity stunt and White House concerts during Calvin Coolidge's presidential campaign. Third, emotional content must be conveyed by the target media. Platforms such as radio and the press must do more than further the ideas of the campaign, they must engage the audience's emotions.

United Fruit Company

In the early 1940s, Samuel Zemurray, owner of the United Fruit Company, hired Bernays to increase banana sales in the United States. United Fruit Company, which controlled more than half of the U.S. market in imported bananas, was one of the largest U.S. companies, with earnings of \$54 million by 1949. Bernays successfully increased banana sales by persuading the public that bananas provided many health benefits. Specifically, he promoted scientific findings by Dr. Sidney Haas, a New York pediatrician, suggesting that the consumption of bananas assisted in curing celiac disease. Bernays also creatively promoted the positive health benefits claimed for bananas on Dr. Haas's 50th anniversary as a physician and mailed approximately 100,000 copies of Haas's findings to dietitians, medical doctors, editors, and librarians. Bernays was also able to connect the importance of bananas to U.S. National Defense and rallied to have bananas positioned everywhere from hotels to airplanes to movie studio cafeterias and to make bananas visible to the public by having large groups (i.e., Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts, professional and college football teams, and students) consume them. Bananas were also included in recipes for pastries and candy.

Legacy

Pioneering the profession of public relations, Edward Bernays lived until the age of 103; his career spanned more than 80 years. Bernays's mass persuasion techniques influenced U.S. Americans' eating habits, changed the social norms concerning female smokers, and manipulated both public opinion and consumer behavior. He pioneered several public relations tactics such as the focus on two-way communication with sectors of the public, propaganda, publicity events, and the use of testimonials and endorsements from

notable public figures. In 1990, *Life Magazine* named Edward L. Bernays as one of the 100 most influential people in the 20th century.

Linda Dam

See also Advertising; Lee, Ivy Ledbetter; Polls and Public Opinion; Propaganda; Public Relations; Public Relations, Ethics in; Public Relations, History of; Spin

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BERTELSMANN

Bertelsmann, or the Bertelsmann SE & Co. KGaA, is the largest media corporation in Germany and the country's only media conglomerate of global significance. Established in 1835 as a Protestant publishing house in the village of Gütersloh in Central Germany, the Bertelsmann group, as of 2021, employs more than 126,000 people in about 1,200 different companies. It holds shares in television and radio channels, magazines, newspapers, and websites in about 50 countries. The group's total revenue in 2019 amounted to 18 billion EUR. Its geographic core markets are Western Europe—in particular, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom—and the United States. In addition, Bertelsmann invests heavily in growth markets such as Brazil, India, and China. This entry opens with an overview of the company and its role in Nazi Germany. It then examines Bertelsmann's television and radio group, book and magazine divisions, and corporate strategies. The

entry closes with a discussion of the Bertelsmann Group's commitment to diversity and journalistic balance.

Company Overview

While Bertelsmann's list of business areas is long, its number one source of income is the RTL Group, which grew out of the Luxembourg-based station Radio Télévision Luxembourg (Radio Television Luxembourg, or RTL). With currently 68 television channels and 30 radio stations in 10 countries, it is the largest private television and radio operator in Europe. With a revenue of 6.65 billion EUR in 2019, the RTL Group generates about 36% of the total income of the Bertelsmann Group. By contrast, the total revenue of the German Public Broadcasting Station (ARD) was around 6.6 billion EUR in 2019.

As a decentralized organization, Bertelsmann is involved in a range of media and communication markets and services. Since 2016, the conglomerate has been divided into eight separate divisions. Besides the RTL Group, it includes the Bertelsmann Education Group, the Bertelsmann Printing Group, and Bertelsmann Investments. Bertelsmann BMG (music rights) is an international music company with 19 offices in 12 core music markets, representing more than 3 million songs and recordings. This includes, among others, the catalogs of Alberts Music, Broken Bow Music Group, and Trojan, as well as thousands of artists and songwriters (e.g., the rights in songs and recordings by artists such as Kylie Minogue, The Rolling Stones, and David Bowie). The Group also owns the service company Arvato with more than 65,000 employees working in a wide range of sectors in more than 40 countries worldwide. Since 2020, Bertelsmann is also the sole owner of the world's largest book publishing group (based on revenue), Penguin Random House, controlling a quarter of the world's book trade, and it owns the international publishing group Gruner + Jahr (G+J). While each division is largely independent, all divisions work together under the umbrella of Bertelsmann. As such, they take advantage of synergies where these exist (e.g., the Bertelsmann Content Alliance).

Like most German media corporations, Bertelsmann is a family-controlled business. After World

War II, it rose from being a medium-sized enterprise to a major conglomerate under the leadership of Reinhard Mohn. As of 2021, the Mohn family holds 19.1% of the company's shares and Mohn's widow Elisabeth and his son Christoph Mohn are on the group's supervisory board (next to Thomas Rabe who was appointed to the board in 2006, and has been its chairman and CEO since 2012). The majority of capital shares, 77.6%, belong to the Bertelsmann Stiftung, a foundation founded by Reinhard Mohn in 1977. Mohn (its long-term chairman) initiated this transfer in 1993. In doing so, he not only secured the long-term control of the family over the company but also saved it about 2 billion EUR in taxes. As of 2021, the Bertelsmann Stiftung is one of the largest and most influential foundations in Germany. Financed by the profits of the company, it spent a total of 90 million EUR in 2019 for nonprofit work (in areas such as education, health, and digital technology). Among its four executive board members are Elisabeth Mohn and her daughter Brigitte Mohn. The other 3.3% of Bertelsmann's shares belongs to foundations, namely the Reinhard Mohn Stiftung and the BVG Stiftung. Members of the Mohn family serve on the executive boards of both.

Bertelsmann's Nazi History

In 1998, when Bertelsmann acquired Random House (a former Jewish group of publishers), a commission of historians investigated the company's role in Nazi Germany. The commission published its results in 2000 in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), a conservative national newspaper. Calling Bertelsmann Hitler's best supplier, the FAZ stated that Bertelsmann topped the Nazi German production statistics due to the unusually high number of books it had produced for the Nazi German army. Due to its regime-friendly publishing policy, Bertelsmann thrived under the Nazis.

After 1945, Bertelsmann's market rise paralleled the more general economic boom in the Federal Republic of Germany. Bertelsmann soon became one of the country's largest book publishers. In the 1960s, the group extended its activities to other European countries; in the 1970s, it targeted the U.S. market (e.g., by acquiring 51% of

Bantam Books). In the 1980s, when West Germany allowed private broadcasting, Bertelsmann entered the commercial television sector. By the 1990s, Bertelsmann had become the world's second largest media conglomerate: It extended its business relations to Central and Eastern Europe, had about 350 direct subsidiaries, and about 45,000 employees. From 1990 to 1991 alone, Bertelsmann reached sales of 14.5 billion Deutsche Mark, and 63% of the sales involved business outside of Germany, mainly in the United States.

Television and Radio: The RTL Group

In addition to radio stations and television channels, the RTL Group offers eight national streaming services, content production, and other digital services. In 2019, the overall revenue of the RTL Group amounted to 6.651 billion EUR with an increase in profit by 10.1% to 864 million EUR.

Key business areas of the RTL Group are the Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland (Germany), Groupe M6 (France), Fremantle (United Kingdom), and the RTL channels in the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Croatia and Hungary, and Antena 3 in Spain. While the Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland (Germany) is the group's largest business unit, most profits lie with London-based Fremantle (a producer of drama and talent shows, such as *American Gods*, *American Idol*, *America's Got Talent: The Champions*) and streaming services (e.g., 300 YouTube channels). Thanks to Fremantle, the RTL Group is one of the world's leading producers of television content. Combining the catch-up TV (shows available online for viewing at any time) services of its broadcasters, its multichannel networks (BroadbandTV, StyleHaul, and Divimove) and Fremantle Media's YouTube channels, the RTL Group has also become the leading European media company in online video. Since 2013, the Group also operates in Southeast Asia. On the channels RTL CBS Entertainment and RTL CBS Extreme, it broadcasts for instance in Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines.

Initially one of many shareholding companies, Bertelsmann has been involved in what was to become the RTL Group since the 1990s. Over time and under the leadership of Thomas Middelhoff, Bertelsmann neutralized other shareholders

(such as Pearson TV in the United Kingdom and Groupe Bruxelles Lambert [GBL] in Belgium) and acquired the majority share in 2001. Since then, the RTL Group has been responsible for most of Bertelsmann's sales and profits, with an increase in shares to up to 90% by 2005. Attempts in 2002 and 2007 to take over completely failed due to financial and legal issues. After this, Bertelsmann changed strategies. In 2013, it sold part of its shares in free float, reducing its ownership share from 92.3% to 75.1% for a profit of 1.4 billion EUR. This profit financed the growth of Bertelsmann, particularly in the digital market.

Since 2019, Bertelsmann CEO Thomas Rabe has also served as the CEO of the RTL Group. While the RTL Group continues to grow in its core businesses (radio and television, partly by means of alliances and partnerships with other European media companies), it currently invests heavily in local streaming services and the development of advertising technologies.

Books and Magazines: Penguin Random House and Gruner + Jahr

Two other highly profitable divisions of the Bertelsmann Group are book publishing (Penguin Random House) and magazines (Gruner + Jahr, G+J). While G+J is one of the largest premium magazine publishing companies in Europe, Penguin Random House is the top player in the international book market, controlling a quarter of its production. Penguin Random House has had this role since July 2013, when Random House (Bertelsmann) and Penguin Books (Pearson Media Group) merged. For a long time, Bertelsmann held 53% of the shares, while Pearson held 47%. Since 2020, Bertelsmann has been its sole owner.

Penguin Random House is a conglomerate of publishers made up of more than 300 imprints across six continents. Its book brands include Doubleday, Riverhead, Viking, and Alfred A. Knopf (United States); Ebury, Hamish Hamilton, and Jonathan Cape (United Kingdom); Plaza & Janés and Alfaguara (Spain); Sudamericana (Argentina); and the international imprint DK. As of 2021, the publishing house employed more than 10,000 people in 23 countries and publishes about 15,000 new titles per year, selling around

600 million print books, e-books, and audio-books. In 2019, the company's turnover amounted to 3.6 billion EUR.

In 2019, Bertelsmann also invested heavily in strategic growth platforms such as the digital business of G+J. Similar to the RTL Group and Random House, the company, founded in 1965, was slowly acquired by Bertelsmann, whose influence grew steadily between 1969 and 1973. Having held the majority share until 2014, Bertelsmann has since been its sole owner. While in the 1990s, G+J was a big player also in the newspaper business (such as in the United States), at the turn of the millennium, the company sold several regional daily newspapers and refocused on the magazine market. As of 2021, G+J's activities primarily focus on Germany and France, where it publishes more than 500 magazines and digital products. Its main associated companies outside Germany include the Groupe Prisma Media (France), Brown Printing Company (United States), and BODA Publishing (China).

G+J, the Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland (RTL Group) and Random House are part of the Bertelsmann Content Alliance. Consisting also of the film production company UFA, RTL Radio Germany and BMG, the Alliance takes advantage of synergies by developing common media content and formats across different markets. As a first collective venture, the Audio Alliance produces podcasts and audio-on-demand offerings, and publishes new products exclusively on its own platform, Audio Now.

Corporate Strategies

Having taken over the RTL Group, G+J and Random House, Bertelsmann, for years, pursued a typical—not innovative—corporate strategy. It acquired and invested vast sums in new media and communications technologies of a market player that had already proved successful. This could also be said for the involvement of Bertelsmann in other media markets (e.g., music, services). As of 2021, the strategy of the group has shifted. Next to strengthening its core businesses, Bertelsmann invests heavily in digital transformation. In particular, G+J launches new magazines and develops digital journalistic pay models, such as Stern Crime Plus, its first paying subscriber

model for digital journalism. Bertelsmann also invests in expanding its other growth platforms (e.g., Fremantle, or the digital businesses of RTL Group, BMG, Arvato Systems), and into growth regions, such as India or China.

In particular, the RTL Group, as Bertelsmann's financial stronghold, aims to translate digital growth into its own business strategies. With massive transformations in the industry, traditional media companies, particularly in the United States, are spending billions of dollars in the battle with global platforms such as Netflix and Amazon. Disney, Apple, AT&T/WarnerMedia, and Comcast/NBCUniversal have launched—or plan to launch—new streaming services. In response to these so-called streaming wars, the RTL Group focuses on building national streaming champions in European countries where the Group already owns leading TV channels: TV Now in Germany, Videoland in the Netherlands, and Salto in France, where the RTL Group company Groupe M6 developed a technical platform for the pay streaming service it operates with TF1 and France Télévisions, stylized as france tv. Complementing global services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Disney+, the RTL Group plans on increasing its streaming content expenditures from 85 million EUR in 2019 to around 350 million EUR in 2025.

Thereby, its overall goal is a higher (linear and nonlinear) reach and the more effective monetization of that reach by means of significant investments in content, marketing, and state-of-the-art tech platforms. With higher investments in advertising technology and data, the group also aims for better targeting and an increased customization of content. The underlying financial requisite, however, is cost reduction. This means consolidations, a wide-ranging review to reduce costs, and the sale of several noncore assets.

Diversity and Journalistic Balance

Bertelsmann highlights its commitment to diversity—in its people, content, and businesses. The company's goal is to have one third of the top and senior management positions across all divisions be occupied by women by the end of 2021. A cross-divisional, international working group

has been issued with this task as well as with promoting diversity at other levels. The RTL Group, having adopted the goal of workplace diversity, broadened its scope. Next to gender diversity, it added ethnicity, disability, and socioeconomic status.

With regard to content, Bertelsmann's vision of diversity lies with journalistic balance. Its aim is to represent the range of opinions of the societies it serves. According to the Bertelsmann Code of Conduct, this means editorial and journalistic independence (within the company), the freedom of the press (from political and economic influence), artistic license, and a compliance with existing laws regarding the separation of editorial content and commercial advertising. In addition to this Code of Conduct, several subsidiaries have implemented their own individual editorial statutes and rules. These focus primarily on duties of journalistic care, respect for privacy, issues with the representation of violence, and the protection of minors.

One question for Bertelsmann and its subsidiaries is how to appeal to a mass market across national boundaries while including issues of cultural, ethnic, or gender diversity in content. While changing audience demands open new market niches (e.g., G+J's magazine *Brigitte Be Green* responds to the social trend toward sustainability), by default, content must be profitable while markets must be large (e.g., geographically, demographically). Bertelsmann's general answer to this question lies in digital transformation. With more investments going into marketing and state-of-the-art tech platforms and with higher investments in advertising technology and data, content offerings and new formats based on (advertising) data are to allow for more customized services. These are the driving forces also behind current transitions in the production in journalistic content under the Bertelsmann umbrella—a technology-driven journalism, individualized by ad-based algorithms.

Mandy Tröger

See also Diversity in Journalism; Germany; Media Conglomerates; Media Markets; Media Ownership; Publishers; Streaming Media

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BIAS

Journalists covering news in countries where freedom of the press is legally protected are expected to report on a range of issues with clarity, comprehensiveness, accuracy, and a balance of quoted viewpoints. A news story is expected to be free of the reporter's own overt opinions—to be objective. When a news story is judged less than comprehensive, accurate, or objective, the story might be interpreted as biased. Bias is an allegation usually reserved only for news journalists whose professional expectation is to quote others but to keep their own viewpoints out of the story, because of the long-standing cultural expectation of journalistic fairness, viewpoint balance, accuracy, and objectivity.

This entry provides an overview of different notions about news-media bias, the ways it has been formally studied, and what researchers have found. It then briefly points to recent changes in journalism and society that may call into question the traditional notion of news bias.

Background and Overview

Journalistic bias is a relatively recent concept, historically speaking. Journalistic *neutrality*—and therefore, news bias—could not have had any meaning in the earliest days of American journalism, when political partisanship in the press was the norm. It was only through the commercialization of the press, beginning in the United States in the 1830s, and the professionalization of news reporting, around the turn of the last century, that the gradual development of qualities such as objectivity, fairness, and viewpoint balance could be recognized as routine traits of news coverage. The door was finally open for allegations of news bias, since the public might now reasonably expect their news to be delivered “straight,” with no political or ideological taint one way or another.

Opinion pieces and editorials in traditional newspapers would not typically be the subject of bias because opinions—which routinely appear on op-ed pages clearly segregated from news pages—are persuasive by nature. Nor does so-called fake news fit within the concept of news bias because fake-news stories, appearing on digital media sites, are either purposely embellished or wholly fabricated, so to call these biased is beside the point.

Bias, then, is a potential problem existing within “straight” (putatively objective) news reporting, and might be deemed to exist when any news story is judged to not meet expected professional journalistic norms because it is alleged to be slanted or skewed favorably *toward* mostly just one political or ideological side of an issue, and slanted *against* one or more opposing sides. Bias might be in evidence when a news story's content or overall presentation is judged, fairly or not, to fall short of providing a fair, viewpoint-balanced, comprehensive, and objective account of a disputable issue. But bias might also be found in any individual's perception of it, regardless of whether a given story is biased in content or not. In other words, what may be biased for one news consumer may be fair and accurate for another.

Media bias has been studied for several decades by communication and political scholars using a wide range of methods and variables to attempt to document its existence in various news mediums. Media scholars and commentators point out that

the concept is hard to define in any stable way or to consistently document because of the different ways that scholars have theorized and studied it. But bias remains an enduring allegation against news media if only because large numbers of news consumers consistently allege its existence.

Trust in the news media has been low for decades, and this could partly explain why so many news consumers continue to think the news is biased. A 2018 study by the Pew Research Center found that only 47% of Americans, regardless of political or ideological affiliation, said the news media covers the news fairly, while slightly more, about 56%, thought the news was covered accurately. A 2019 national study by Pew that asked about trust in 30 well-known news outlets found self-identified Democrats were far more likely to trust most of the outlets than were Republicans, who trusted only a handful. Roughly the same divide was noted when respondents were asked about journalists' ethical standards: Republicans were far less willing to see high ethics among journalists than were Democrats.

The Nature of Media Bias

Academics have found it difficult to develop common measures of news bias because there are so many possible ways to conceive of and document it, with no single agreed-upon standard. Is news bias simply the existence of some aspect of coverage in a given story, such as a headline, deemed to be unfair, or too many partisan sources in a story depicting one side, but none or only a few sources included representing the other side? Or is it what might be left out of a story that someone believes should be in it? In this latter case, bias would be defined not by what is there but by what's not.

Others might think bias exists when, for example, a conservative-branded cable TV broadcast, such as Fox News, de-emphasizes a clearly relevant and politically charged story by giving it scant coverage on a given evening, while a competing liberal-oriented news program, such as MSNBC, gives the same story much more air-time and prominence. Any systematic emphasis or de-emphasis of this nature could possibly indicate bias on a given evening, but this would have to occur routinely to qualify as an enduring problem of news bias.

Scholarly studies looking at the *content* of coverage can only attempt to capture what kind of information is in a story, and from there attempt to discern how well or poorly a given set of stories meets some standard of bias, or, alternatively, non-bias. But other studies consider not so much (or not only) news content but the news *consumer* and his or her inherent political and ideological "cognitive" biases—the preexisting beliefs every person has that could lead to individual perceptions of news bias regardless of whether it exists in actual news content.

The Search for News-Centered Bias

Several decades of academic studies attempting to define and track news media bias provide conflicting means of measuring the concept. Regardless of the method, these studies generally find only weak and inconsistent, if not negligible, evidence of any enduring liberal or conservative bias among news outlets themselves. Some media scholars contend bias, if it exists, may be found not only among partisan journalists but also from within a newsroom's structure, such as too few reporters covering too many things or pressing deadlines leaving reporters with only so much time to cover a topic more fairly.

A frequently cited 1999 study found something like a self-fulfilling prophecy about bias—that the news media's persistent, critical coverage of the topic of bias *itself* seems to foster subsequent perceptions, among the public, of media bias, more often from Republicans than Democrats. Ironically, coverage of media bias may create the perception of media bias among news consumers.

Studies showing actual, persistent, overt bias in news media content, in general, have found only negligible support for it. A 2006 meta-analysis of nearly 60 scholarly media-bias studies focused on newspaper, newsmagazine, and television network news coverage of U.S. presidential elections found only weak support for any persistent content bias. A lingering problem in any study of news content bias is just what elements count as biased. Is bias the result of how news-media outlets select and prominently present, or, by contrast, *de-emphasize* different stories? Maybe it's the amount of print space or television air-time devoted to any story. Or, according

to another measure, bias could be evaluative in nature—how words or phrases themselves might subjectively slant a story. The lack of certainty about the existence of news media bias could easily stem from academics choosing different methods of documenting it.

Some studies track media content for unique indicators of bias—such things as how many paragraphs are devoted to one side or another; how many quotes are given to different sides; how the same news story is reported by different news outlets; and certain word choices that may reveal bias. These latter studies, dealing with the content of news stories via quantitative content analysis, are in search of what some scholars have called *partisan* bias, the partisanship being linked to the reporter or reporting organization, as revealed via one-sided content.

Also to be considered within content studies is what might be labeled “structural” bias—that journalistic work routines, constant deadlines, and daily pressures of simply putting a story together day in and day out may result in a story being biased just because there was inadequate time to make it more balanced and fair. A 2006 study along these lines, reviewing 2004 U.S. presidential election-coverage bias among the three major TV networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) found some arguably slight bias by CBS against incumbent candidate George W. Bush, but no statistically significant bias overall among the networks. Another content study, published in 2019, found that TV stations in four U.S. markets owned by the conservative Sinclair media chain did display a somewhat larger number of partisan (conservative) sources, compared to non-Sinclair stations in those same markets, but the study was limited to only those four markets. But other bias studies, not primarily focused on news content, take the *person* as the locus of bias.

Perception Biases Within the Individual

Many studies have found that the individual’s own assumption about the existence of bias is the predominant factor in “seeing” bias regardless of whether the content comes from traditional or social news media. The bulk of the available evidence from scholarly studies, especially in recent years, seems to show that the person, rather than

news media outlets and actual content produced, is the creator, or the *projector* of any perception of bias.

The basis of bias typically lies within a given person’s own preexisting political and ideological beliefs, especially among those with stronger partisan views one way or another. This was the case in a 2010 scholarly study that showed one’s own stated political ideology, during a high-profile governor’s race, was the key element behind any allegation of media bias; those with partisan views “projected” or created their own sense of news bias, and those favoring the candidate deemed most likely to win (in this case, the Democratic candidate) saw generally less news bias during the governor’s race than did Republicans, whose candidate was less likely to win. Other factors, such as one’s propensity to selectively expose oneself to ideologically “friendly” news outlets, or a person’s ongoing association with politically like-minded individuals, can also be factors in one’s finding bias in a story. Some studies review news consumers’ stated attitudes and assertions about the existence of bias revealed, for example, through surveys of news content keyed to a disputable issue over time. Individuals’ ideological and political preferences and affiliations, or more generally, psychological attributes, in other words, tend to result in individual or group allegations of biased content.

A phenomenon validated for over three decades, the “hostile media effect”—the idea that people “see” bias in news coverage against (i.e., hostile to) their own political side—is based in the person’s own closely held political attitudes and associations. In other words, a conservative will see a liberal bias in a story, and vice versa, though studies generally show that the effect is greater among conservatives than liberals. A related concept is “confirmation bias,” a similar psychological attribute in which a person selectively seeks information that confirms one’s already existing ideological beliefs, thereby “confirming” and strengthening the preexisting bias.

Some experimental studies, where certain test variables are manipulated in a lab setting, show that how a story is “framed” to focus on one or more significant thematic features may lead a person to see bias in it, especially when specific story attributes are “primed”—purposely

highlighted—which then might lead a person toward a certain heightened interpretation. It is important to note that what might be manipulated and tested in a lab setting, which might then lead test subjects to see news bias, is entirely different from the actual real-world setting in which each media consumer, carrying his or her own political, ideological, and psychological beliefs, has free selection over how much and what type of news media content to consume.

The Fracture of Consensus

With just over a decade of smartphone use and the continuing rise of partisan social media news, as well as, more recently, “fake news” proliferating through bots or ideologically driven digital sites that can alter existing news reports or even wholly create false content, the notion of news bias may itself be somewhat antiquated. The veracity of truth and facts as bedrocks of social understanding are now in question as information from an array of partisan and even false sources increases, leading to what some call a “post-truth” world. A 2017 study discovered a person’s “trust” in media, whether in traditional media, social media, or even citizen-created sites, did not grow regardless of the chosen medium, and that the greater a person’s perception of media bias the *less* one tends to consume news, regardless of news format.

Many persons now silo themselves into their own friendly ideological groups and partisan-based news outlets, thereby comfortably confirming their preexisting beliefs and personal biases. In a world of constant and highly selective digital news consumption, the concept of news bias—always difficult, at best, to demonstrate, whether sought for in news content, newsroom structure, or news consumers themselves—may have to be rethought alongside ever-changing notions regarding the nature, value, and reliability of information, facts, and truth itself.

Joseph C. Harry

See also Credibility; Fake News; Framing; Free Expression; History of; News Values; Objectivity

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BLACKLISTING

The relationship between news/public affairs broadcasting and political affairs has been close since radio’s launch in 1920. The ability to transmit messages to potentially large audiences made broadcasting a tantalizing prospect to politicians of all colors. The divisive political struggle between conservatives and liberals influenced broadcasting most visibly and negatively during the period

known as the *Red Scare* (1947–1957). Although news media are constitutionally protected from government influence in the United States, the historical reality is that broadcasting is frequently susceptible to political pressures.

The early cold war (1945–1960) following World War II saw a growing distrust of communism and a deep-seated fear that “Reds” were infiltrating the United States. Political conservatives sought and identified suspected Communists in every walk of life. Although anti-Communists vigorously asserted that they were responding to a threat to national security, historical evidence is ambiguous. Some historians interpret the Red Scare as a conservative backlash against liberals long in power. Recent research in the former Soviet Union, however, reveals that the country did successfully infiltrate several institutions in the United States during the 1940s and 1950s. At the time, however, with little evidence to support the Red denunciations but innuendo and blacklists, the fear of being labeled a Communist left the country nearly paralyzed.

Broadcasters were susceptible to politically motivated attacks for a number of reasons. Significantly, they are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which is overseen by the legislative branch. Further complicating their vulnerability to the Red Scare was broadcast dependence upon sponsors. Until about 1960, network entertainment programs were produced by sponsors and their advertising agencies. The considerable profits reaped by selling airtime enabled broadcast networks to subsidize news and public affairs programming. Accordingly, accusations of coddling Communists threatened that relationship. At the same time, the rapid transition from radio to television placed networks and stations under greater financial pressure.

Network Response

Although the influence of the Red Scare on broadcasting started as early as 1941, a single publication in June 1950 escalated political pressure on the industry. A conservative group issued a paperback book titled *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television* that took the form of a “blacklist” that publicly identified an individual with communism with the intent of

denying employment and socially alienating the accused. *Red Channels* listed the names of nearly 150 individuals, including 10 broadcast journalists. NBC and CBS took immediate notice of *Red Channels*, although the two networks responded differently.

NBC was undeterred by *Red Channels* or other blacklists and rarely denied employment to a person accused of being a Communist. NBC was a subsidiary of RCA, one of the most profitable and powerful corporations of the mid-20th century, and was led by David Sarnoff, whose power over NBC/RCA was unquestioned and whose conservative politics were indisputable. Further, NBC enjoyed the luxury of RCA's financial resources to support it through the transition from radio to television. For these reasons, NBC could financially and politically afford to risk criticism for failing to heed the blacklists; its corporate and political credentials were above reproach.

CBS was more vulnerable as it lacked the financial largesse that NBC enjoyed from RCA. By 1950, when *Red Channels* was published, CBS was involved in two very expensive endeavors: developing its television network and its consequent need for programming and affiliates, and the innovation of a color television system. Further complicating the situation was the perception that network chief William S. Paley was considered politically liberal. These factors prompted CBS to respond very differently to *Red Channels*. It developed a two-layer system of investigating alleged subversive activities of its employees. A “clearance” system vetted talent for “suspicious” activity and individuals whose names were blacklisted were fired or not hired by CBS. The second layer required employees to sign loyalty oaths on which they swore they were not and never had been Communists.

The elite corps of broadcast journalists at CBS, led by Edward R. Murrow and including Eric Sevareid, William Shirer, Charles Collingwood, Alexander Kendrick, and Don Hollenbeck, was incensed by the loyalty oaths. Nevertheless, Murrow encouraged his team of journalists to sign the oath, as he did himself. Murrow chose his battles carefully and was already considering future broadcast investigations of the Red Scare; thus he was willing to sign the loyalty oath. CBS's willingness to institute a loyalty oath for its employees

revealed the lengths to which the network went to protect itself and its business interests.

Broadcast Journalists

“Are you now, or have you ever been, a Communist?” Although relatively few broadcast journalists were asked this question before a congressional hearing, being labeled as suspected Communist or sympathizer was an anxiety that many endured. Radio commentators were an early target of *Counterattack*, the newsletter that began publishing in 1947 as, in the words of writer David Everitt, an “anti-Red muckraking publication that would drag not only Communists but all their defenders out into the light.” Anti-Communists feared journalists would use their access to the airwaves to broadcast views favoring Communist positions and responded by publicly naming journalists they believed to be Communist sympathizers.

In 1950, the publishers of *Counterattack* released *Red Channels* and identified 10 broadcast journalists whose political affiliations allegedly indicated Communist sympathies. The list included prominent journalists such as Kendrick and Shirer, as well as Howard K. Smith and Lisa Sergio. The evidence cited was questionable, largely depending upon the testimony of suspected Communists before congressional committees, or on the speeches, appearances, or organizational memberships of the journalists. For example, chief among Shirer’s “offenses” was that he signed a petition to the Supreme Court encouraging reversal of the convictions of the “Hollywood Ten” for refusing to testify as to their political beliefs. Smith allegedly criticized the U.S. government for meddling in the 1948 Italian elections. Kendrick’s offenses included publishing essays in *New Masses* and *Soviet Russia Today* and leading a panel discussion during a meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Sergio, a commentator and broadcast journalist for both NBC and ABC, was cited for signing a petition that urged outlawing anti-Semitism.

It is notable that none of the “evidence” that *Red Channels* listed against the 10 broadcast journalists included any actual broadcasts. Smith and Kendrick later reported that their inclusion on the blacklist did not affect their professional

or personal lives. Shirer, on the other hand, believed that being blacklisted had a significant impact on his career, and soon after his *Red Channels* appearance he left broadcasting and turned to freelance writing and lecturing. Interestingly, Soviet archives later revealed that one of the lesser-known journalists included in *Red Channels*, Johannes Steel, was, indeed, a Soviet agent.

Blacklisting was accomplished through other means in addition to *Red Channels*. Aware, Inc. was formed in 1953 to ferret out Communists from radio and television. It produced “Publication No. 12” in which suspected Communists were named and, as John Cogley writes in *Report on Blacklisting*, “decreed ‘unemployable.’” Other journalists were identified in the popular press. One of the tragic repercussions of blacklisting was the case of Don Hollenbeck, who worked for CBS News and was identified as a Communist-sympathizer by Jack O’Brian, a columnist for the Hearst-owned *New York Journal American*. Hollenbeck’s subsequent suicide in June 1954 was understood to be partly the result of being blacklisted. Whatever the means of public identification, the reputations and credibility of broadcast journalists suffered as a result of extreme political pressures.

News Programs

Fundamentally, the Red Scare in broadcasting came down to concerns about content. Although there is no evidence to suggest that any broadcast journalist communicated pro-Communist messages, blacklisters nonetheless feared that they might. Anti-Communists sought to prevent the spread of communism by creating a climate of fear in which journalists self-censored their material. Broadcast journalists who were blacklisted correctly understood that they were targeted because their personal convictions challenged conservative politics.

Although the networks and many advertisers capitulated to the atmosphere of fear, either tacitly like NBC or overtly like CBS, one voice of resistance was heard amid the silence. By the autumn of 1953, Murrow, arguably the most influential broadcast journalist of his time, decided to confront the Red Scare. In a series of reports

broadcast for his television program *See It Now*, Murrow hosted a number of investigations into prominent figures of the Red Scare, including Air Force Lieutenant Milo Radulovich and Pentagon employee Annie Lee Moss. Radulovich had been dismissed from the Air Force for maintaining close relationships with suspected Communists (his father and sister), while Moss was suspended from her clerical position for being a suspected Communist. The most influential and historically significant broadcast, however, was Murrow's March 1954 investigation of the tactics used by Senator Joseph McCarthy, in which Murrow used television clips to skillfully and publicly denounce the senator.

Although Murrow did not espouse a pro-Communist message, he adeptly used television to publicly challenge the power of the leading anti-Communist crusader. Even so, the business aspects of the broadcasts remained paramount. Murrow had to get his sponsor's permission to shift its commercials, and CBS refused to advertise the programs for fear of the political and commercial backlash. Nonetheless, many historians consider the Murrow–McCarthy broadcast to be one of the more important in the history of television as an early example of the medium's power, particularly in the hands of a skilled and credible journalist.

Implications

The Red Scare started to fade with the U.S. Senate's censure of McCarthy in 1954, and blacklisting was fully exposed and discredited in 1962 when *Aware, Inc.* was found guilty of libel when it blacklisted an actor. With enough political and historical distance, industry leaders such as Paley and Frank Stanton of CBS later regretted instituting the loyalty oaths and using blacklists. Certainly the lives of blacklisted figures were changed, some more than others.

The Red Scare period of blacklisting is a case study of the dangers of using political yardsticks to measure journalists. Although anti-Communists did not directly engage in prior restraint, their accusations and blacklists had a strongly chilling effect on broadcast journalists whose personal politics were used as "evidence" of their lack of objectivity and credibility. The end result was

that one of the most significant news stories of the 1950s received remarkably little broadcast news attention.

The tenuous relationship between politics and broadcasting reverberated after the decline of the Red Scare and continues today. Walter Cronkite's denunciation of the Vietnam War in 1968 was a turning point in the public's antiwar attitudes. Richard Nixon used the FCC to target television stations that opposed his politics. By the late 1990s, as American politics became more conservative and the FCC loosened station ownership restrictions and suspended its former fairness doctrine, the number of broadcast and cable outlets that carried conservative talk shows escalated while liberal voices remained largely unheard.

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See also Anchors, Television; CBS News; Censorship; Commentators, Radio; Congress and Journalism; Federal Communications Commission (FCC); NBC News; Newscasters, Radio; Paley, William S.

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BLOGS AND BLOGGERS

A blog (short for weblog) is a type of webpage format that generally utilizes a reverse-chronological order. However, there are strong definitional issues when attempting to elucidate blogs within a journalism context. Unlike traditional media, blogs refer to both the technological means of delivery and the content of that delivery. The means of delivery offers access to a greater proportion of the public than traditional media distribution methods and features, which in turn modifies the types of content created.

Despite not having a concrete definition that clearly separates blogs and bloggers from their traditional media counterparts, blogs and bloggers play a unique role within the modern journalism ecosystem. Blogs and bloggers are shifting the boundaries of what is considered acceptable from journalists, while also acting as a check on the media. Much research on participatory digital journalism has shifted to social media networks and big data as they have come to once again shift the overall atmosphere around online journalism since they came to prominence for the general public in the late 2000s onward. However, blogs and bloggers should not be discredited for their impact on the audience, their interplay with traditional media, the original reporting, and analyses that they have brought to view.

Some scholars have attempted to define the specific characteristics of journalism blogs as a genre or category within the larger journalism sphere while others have claimed that it is not possible to effectively define. In the same way that high-level questions and related concepts like “what is and is not considered journalism?” and “who are and are not considered journalists?” are contentiously debated, blogs and bloggers are not easy concepts to define. Blogs can be viewed within the specific contexts, wherein they reside or in relation to the more general journalism ecosystem. As such, this entry discusses various characteristics and elements that differentiate many (but

not all) journalism and journalism-adjacent blogs as well as people behind those blogs.

From their origins in the 1990s, blogs were initially an avenue for citizen and public journalism. Bloggers were often experts, insiders, and enthusiasts seeking an outlet for their knowledge. One such early example includes Matt Drudge and the *Drudge Report* that utilized Drudge’s political connections within right-wing circles as sources. As they grew in popularity, news organizations began to incorporate staff- and topical-based blogs into their offerings. At times, the traditional media created content aggregation agreements with or outright purchased blogs instead of creating their own, with a few such examples including *The New York Times* working with Freakonomics from 2007 to 2011 and Ziff Davis purchasing Mashable in 2017.

Blogs run the gamut of topics, ideologies, specialties, and approaches, although individual blogs generally take a specific niche or focus. Websites such as Crooks and Liars and RedState each cover news and politics, but from an outwardly progressive and conservative bias, respectively. Other sites take a different approach to what they add to the content, such as FiveThirtyEight, which covers a wide range of topics, including politics, sports, news, entertainment, but usually from a statistical analysis perspective. Similarly, sites like Pharyngula unabashedly examine science from the perspective of a “godless liberal,” which is in the blog’s tagline.

However, one need only look as far as the Huffington Post to understand the difficulty in defining what is and is not a blog and what is and is not a traditional media organization. The Huffington Post historically has had both staff journalists and unpaid contributors. The organization was the first digitally run platform to win a Pulitzer Prize in 2012. It continued to utilize unpaid contributors until it removed that platform in January 2018. Much of the content that is published is still not necessarily original reporting and functions like an aggregator. Some of the stories involve personal narratives and opinion mixed in with analysis and reporting. The website has specific sections that focus content for different audiences, including a “Communities” section with subsections for Black Voices, Queer Voices, Women, and more. There are still reporters and

editors, but the lines are significantly blurred compared to the traditional structure of newspapers. On top of that, it was acquired by AOL in 2011 and later AOL was acquired by Verizon in 2015, making it part of one of the largest telecommunication companies in the world. The website rebranded as HuffPost in 2017 and was again acquired by a different parent company, BuzzFeed, in 2020 after which numerous layoffs occurred. Many still consider the website a blog, however there are significant qualitative differences between it and countless other blogs. HuffPost still shares some qualities of a blog, including technological, tonal, and topical similarities but also has some elements of more traditional news, including utilizing wire services, limiting access for the comment section for posts to only registered users, and others.

Technological Characteristics

Although blogs are not necessarily built on content management systems (CMS), those CMSs have helped usher in the ease of use and availability of blogs, and websites with a blog component. Services such as Blogger (purchased by Google in 2003), Blogspot, and WordPress provide platforms that allow individuals and organizations to create and distribute blogs. Other forms of blogs, such as the centralized and pseudo-socially networked platform that Medium utilizes, have grown in popularity over time. In fact, WordPress has become such an important platform within the World Wide Web ecosystem that one survey by W3Techs.com estimates that around 35% of all websites are built on the CMS.

Common features include posts and pages, widgets, comment sections, and more. Blog posts and pages are often differentiated in terms of the timeliness (or timelessness) of the content. Posts are produced, published, and distributed within the main area of a blog in the reverse-chronological order, making up the timely nature of the content. These posts can be supplemented by pages, which are generally more timeless. Pages often include elements like contact information, privacy policies, an “about” page, and more.

Within the overall scope of blogs and blogging technology, a variety of approaches to content

creation have come to be. One such approach includes the idea of “live blogging” an event or story, wherein one or more reporters give short and quick updates on the story at hand so the audience can follow along in almost real time. Live blogs can take multiple forms depending on the type of story. Certain stories tend to lend themselves more readily to this format, including political debates and election night coverage. Blogs run by traditional media organizations, such as ABC or *The Washington Post*, may utilize a live blog to keep the audience apprised of the facts of the event while a nontraditional news organization, such as Politico or Daily Kos, may focus more on real-time analysis of those facts. Both are utilizing the same types of technology to create different content along organizational standard lines. Live blogging is also used to cover some press conferences and product releases. The website MacRumors publishes a live blog whenever Apple holds a press conference to announce new products. Those live blogs often incorporate text and images from the event.

Other technological aspects of blogs can be seen in the differentiation between blogs and microblogs. Microblogs such as Twitter limit the author’s communications to a small and restricted set of options. In the case of Twitter, one can only post a single tweet with up to 280 characters (up from the previous maximum of 140 characters when the service launched, which at the time aligned with the length of an SMS text message).

Comparisons and Connections With Traditional Media Organizations

Blogs that are independent of news organizations offer different types of coverage and analysis in comparison to those of most mainstream news organizations in the United States. One element that is significantly different is less of an emphasis on objectivity. In many cases, these blogs are not necessarily doing original reporting. However, much of the content is not that type of original reporting but instead an analysis of others’ reporting. One instance was when then-Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott resigned his leadership post after numerous blogs highlighted and focused on quotes wherein Lott had supported Strom Thurmond’s 1948 presidential candidacy that

highlighted numerous racist policy positions after they were originally underreported by other legacy outlets. Those legacy outlets, in turn, then covered the story again but focused on the angle highlighted by the bloggers. Other instances often involve augmenting the reporting with additional sources, context, opinion, and facts, among other elements. Examples of those blogs include the previously mentioned Crooks and Liars and RedState that generally bring together information from a variety of different sources and cases to analyze a news story from their specific political perspectives.

In that respect, blogs and bloggers do have distinct roles that often do not necessarily mirror that of traditional journalism outlets. One such shift is the distinction in that there is a different division of labor. If a blog is run by an individual, they would be handling all of the writing, editing, managing, distribution, advertising, and essential functions that are often separated across numerous individuals and roles within a traditional organization. One positive is that it allows a more nimble and agile approach that does not require numerous layers of reporters and editors prior to publication. With that, one might be more apt to make errors but with the added advantage of being able to publish more quickly when focusing on the timeliness of a story. Those same blurred lines can still occur even in organizations where the traditional structure may not apply. Generally, as blogs become more popular and post more frequently, they take on a different organizational structure that more closely mirrors that of traditional media. Such structure then leads those blogs to focus on highlighting traditional journalistic values, including focusing on original reporting and separating editorial and business operations.

Over the course of their existences, some blogs have gone from independent to aligned/converged with corporate media, including the website FiveThirtyEight. The website was founded in 2008 by Nate Silver, a statistician who had been working as a baseball analyst and blogging on the political site Daily Kos. He founded FiveThirtyEight as an independent blog, but formed a content agreement with *The New York Times* in 2010. With that agreement, some of the content characteristics (such as frequency of posting and length of articles) and authorship shifted, thereby

highlighting how traditional, corporate influence can either directly or indirectly manipulate a blog's content. ESPN then acquired FiveThirtyEight in 2013 with a plan to broaden the site to include sports and economics along with politics. In 2018, FiveThirtyEight moved to ABC News, which shares the corporate parent Disney with ESPN.

Blogs often invite direct communication with the audience in a way distinct from the traditional media. For traditional media, there are limited means wherein the audience can communicate with the organization, including letters to the editor, calling the office, commenting on the organization's website. Many traditional journalism providers, including NPR, *Popular Science*, and Reuters, have limited online comments as they work to determine how best to monitor and display comments. For blogs, the participatory nature of interaction between the audience and the authors is often viewed as a defining quality, particularly in the form of comments.

One must also consider the role of blogs within the sociopolitical arena to which they are compared. For blogs in countries that utilize state-run media, they can act as a voice against the hegemonic control of the government. The increasing access to the technology that makes the blogs possible allows for more dissenting opinions voiced. However, those blogs and the bloggers that write for them do still have to worry about attempted censorship and threats of violence.

Comparisons and Connections With Traditional Journalists

Blogs offer a different venue for individuals to counter the traditional gatekeeping role over which the mass media have generally had control. Markos Moulitsas, founder of Daily Kos, in part founded the blog as a means of challenging what he viewed as a lack of input from the average person in the dominant narrative coming from media organizations and elite journalists. Similarly, others have questioned whether blogs under the umbrella of corporate media organizations are qualitatively within the category of blogs as the bloggers themselves do not have as much freedom within the organization's editorial and ownership structure. From there, one role

that independent bloggers can have that is not duplicated by traditional journalists is that of the “fifth estate,” wherein bloggers act as a watchdog of the journalists. While there is the role of the ombudsperson or public editor for singular publications, a watchdog blogger can look for greater trends and issues across the journalism spectrum. A watchdog blogger can offer their critiques across different organizations to see if journalism as a whole—rather than within a single organization—is displaying a particular issue, concern, or trend.

There is a symbiotic relationship between traditional journalists and bloggers. That relationship can be more particularly pronounced in niche content areas. Topics such as science or business journalism that often require specific training and knowledge to communicate the often wonkish details or context of a story, while at the same time those areas receive relatively fewer resources within traditional media, can bring bloggers that do not view themselves as journalists to the fore. From there, journalists can learn from the expert bloggers to shift the agenda or practice their gatekeeping function differently. Research has also shown an intermedia agenda setting function of the traditional news organizations on bloggers with many posts linking back to corporate media websites. Additionally, as reported by Homero Gil de Zúñiga and colleagues in 2011, over time, more bloggers have come to view their work as journalism.

Although not unique to blogs, hyperlinks are a central element in the content of blogs. The hyperlinks act as a verifiable source for the audience to make decisions about the source material for themselves. Instead of simply quoting an original source without the full context of the surrounding information, the users can choose whether or not to follow the link and better understand the veracity of the author’s claim or statement. The hyperlinks support the type of content that many bloggers create: analysis and opinion based on facts and others’ original reporting. The bloggers can then contextualize and combine the various reports together to create something new. These links also function as a means of highlighting other, similar sources, which in turn can lead to those other sources linking back to the original blog. However, some have criticized this practice

as a means of creating echo chambers within the digital sphere.

In line with the shifting news values illustrated by blogs in comparison to traditional media, many bloggers also shift the lines in terms of what is generally considered acceptable behavior by newsmen. For example, many organizations have specific codes of ethics and conduct that outline what objectivity and subjectivity mean for the organization and what conduct is considered acceptable and unacceptable for its reporters. Bloggers, on the other hand, often include elements of their identity and self-presentation front and center in their coverage and analysis. There has been some loosening on those expectations for traditional journalists, which varies significantly by organization, beat, and medium. Additionally, traditional journalists may have more leeway around identity and self-presentation through personal social media channels rather than incorporated into pieces published by their organizations.

The audience’s reaction to the differentiation between bloggers and journalists is another important characteristic. Various studies have looked at the uses and gratifications for why the audience seeks out independent bloggers (either amateur or professional) in contrast to journalists. For some, there is a strong distrust for anything that is aligned with corporate media influence. Others want the analysis that is included with the specific slant of their choice. The genre, topic, and presentation of the blog also dictates how the audience views the credibility of the blogger. One example includes looking at amateur war bloggers—sometimes soldiers themselves—in contrast to war journalists. The journalists were viewed to have less credibility on the events of war as they are disconnected from the fighting and firsthand experience of the soldiers. However, the bloggers had more credibility as they could include personal narratives that described their experiences on the ground in a way that traditional journalism norms did not allow.

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See also Bias; Citizen Journalism; Digital Journalism Tools; Gatekeeping; Internet: Impact on the Media; Objectivity; Social Media

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BLOOMBERG

Bloomberg News is a news service based out of New York operated by Bloomberg L.P. that since its founding in the early 1980s has increased the competition among business news wires. Although it is best known for providing business and economic news to investors, it also carries content in other areas, including the arts and politics. In 2019, Bloomberg News had more than 2,700

reporters and editors in 130 countries and published more than 5,000 stories per day. It has become a well-known newsgathering organization that has won dozens of awards and now includes television, radio, magazines, and book publishing divisions. This entry discusses the company's history, its impact on journalism, its newsroom culture, the influence of its founder and namesake, and its expansion in the beginning of the 21st century.

Former Salomon Brothers general partner Michael Bloomberg founded the company that became Bloomberg L.P. with his severance pay in 1981. Originally, the company just sold computer terminals to Wall Street investment banks that included financial data about stocks, bonds, and other investments. Those financial data still provide the bulk of the company's revenue.

The name changed (1986) and the company began what was originally called *Bloomberg Business News* (1990) with a six-person editorial team. Bloomberg hired *Wall Street Journal* reporter Matthew Winkler, who had written a story about Bloomberg for the *Journal*, to run the operation. The news service was—and still is—provided on the terminals, which are leased for about \$2,000 per month. The first Bloomberg news story was published in June 1990.

During its first year, Bloomberg Business News opened bureaus in New York, Washington, London, Tokyo, Toronto, and Princeton, New Jersey, writing about the stock market and company news that had previously been covered by other wire services such as Dow Jones, the Associated Press, and Reuters. By early 1995, the organization had grown to 325 reporters and editors in 54 bureaus and had started an investing magazine called *Bloomberg Personal* that was distributed as a Sunday newspaper supplement. The two main newsrooms at that time were in Princeton—for business and company news—and New York—for markets and financial news.

In its early years, Bloomberg Business News distributed its editorial content to other media organizations to improve its name recognition, giving terminals for free to newspapers in virtually every U.S. city. Those newspapers then pulled Bloomberg stories off the wire and ran them in their business sections. In many cases, Bloomberg helped the newspapers by creating an index of

local stocks that could run each day in the business section.

Bloomberg attracted business journalists from daily newspapers and other media organizations by offering them higher salaries and stock certificates that fluctuated in value based on the number of terminals sold by the company. The number of installed terminals reached 10,000 in 1990 and doubled by 1992, the same year that the company introduced *Bloomberg Markets* magazine. The 50,000th terminal was installed in 1995, and the company leased its 75,000th terminal in 1997. In 2004, the company surpassed the 200,000 installed terminals mark. In 2019, it had more than 300,000 terminals.

The organization purchased WBBR-AM, a New York-based radio station with a business focus, and launched a show on several New York area television stations in the 1990s. WBBR is the flagship radio station of Bloomberg Radio (1993), which syndicates reports to radio stations around the world. Bloomberg Television (1994) operates 24 hours a day, competing against CNBC and Fox Business Network, operating in seven languages. In 2019, Bloomberg Television is available in more than 433 million homes in more than 70 countries.

In 1996, Bloomberg started Bloomberg Press, which publishes books for financial professions and the general public on investing, economics, and current affairs. One of the first books was based on the reporting of Bloomberg business journalists Carrick Mollenkamp, Joseph Menn, and Adam Levy.

In 1997, *Time* magazine's Wall Street columnist Daniel Kadlec criticized Bloomberg in a *Columbia Journalism Review* article for putting pressure on newspapers and other media outlets to use more of the media organization's content. Kadlec noted that Bloomberg had pulled its terminals out of some newsrooms that weren't using or attributing Bloomberg editorial content in their publications. Bloomberg's Winkler denied that the organization placed quotas on other news organizations. However, by the end of the decade, Bloomberg had stopped giving its terminals to other media organizations at no charge.

As Bloomberg grew in the business news world, its competitors became wary of its success. "Bloomberg found niches that Dow Jones and

Reuters didn't fill," wrote Bloomberg in his 1997 autobiography *Bloomberg by Bloomberg*, cowritten with Winkler. "From the start, it was easier for us to add to our basic product what they provided, than for them to add what we built to theirs." Dow Jones ended up selling its Telerate data operations (similar to the Bloomberg terminal in that they were leased to Wall Street traders and contained data about investments) because it couldn't compete with Bloomberg, and in 1998, Reuters employees were accused of stealing confidential data from Bloomberg in an attempt to copy some of its services. A competing service, Bridge Information Systems, started in the 1990s, but went out of business after the stock market bubble burst in 2000.

Bloomberg has been a major force behind changes in journalism. For example, Winkler was behind a push for Regulation Fair Disclosure, a law enacted by the Securities and Exchange Commission that requires public companies to disseminate important information to everyone at the same time. Previously, companies could choose to block investors, analysts, and journalists from listening to its conference calls discussing its earnings or other news, and from attending meetings where it discussed its operations. The new regulation gave business journalists access to more information about the companies they covered.

Bloomberg's newsrooms have traditionally included fish tanks with exotic fish from around the world for a soothing presence and snack bars filled with soft drinks, potato chips, cookies, and fruit designed to keep reporters and editors at their desks. The company also has a reputation of having an intense, editor-driven culture.

Business journalists who join Bloomberg are trained to write stories in a specific manner based on the internal stylebook, *The Bloomberg Way*. The book, which has been updated several times since its original publication in 1995, tells its reporters how to cover specific stories, such as company earnings and the daily stock market performance. Basic Bloomberg News stories are known for their four-paragraph lead structure, which includes the "nut" paragraph (the paragraph that explains the rationale for the story) as the third paragraph and a quote in the fourth paragraph.

The Bloomberg terminal has become a handy reporting tool for many business journalists around the country. The terminal provides access to information about millions of company executives, Wall Street analysts and investors, and industry consultants, including phone numbers and email addresses. It also provides Securities and Exchange Commission documents for all public companies, and a recent addition to the service includes lawsuits and legal rulings.

Michael Bloomberg's political career has caused issues for Bloomberg News, which has struggled with how to cover its owner. When Bloomberg was mayor of New York, the news service appointed one reporter to cover him. However, it does not include him in its billionaires list, which was launched in 2012, although he easily qualifies. His net worth is \$54.3 billion, according to *Forbes*. During his candidacy for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination, Bloomberg banned his reporters from aggressively covering his campaign or writing investigative stories about his rivals.

Business journalist Carol Loomis of *Fortune* estimated in 2007 that the company's 2006 operating profits were about \$1.5 billion with \$4.7 billion in revenues. Loomis also estimated that Bloomberg's stake in the company is worth more than \$13 billion, and that the overall company is worth about \$20 billion. Bloomberg L.P. reached \$10 billion in annual revenue in 2018, and it is the market share leader in financial market data, analysis and news, with 32.5%, according to Burton-Taylor International. Reuters is No. 2 with 22% market share.

Bloomberg acquired *BusinessWeek* magazine from McGraw-Hill in 2009 and renamed it *Bloomberg Businessweek*. It now has a global circulation of 600,000. Arlington, Virginia-based Bureau of National Affairs, which provides news to business executives and government officials, was acquired in August 2011 for \$990 million to bolster its existing Bloomberg Government and Bloomberg Law news services. *Economist* editor John Micklethwait replaced Winkler as editor in chief in 2014, and the news service won its first Pulitzer Prize the next year. Reporter Zachary Mider won the Pulitzer by documenting how U.S. corporations could lower their taxes and gain an edge on competitors

simply by claiming a new legal address in a foreign country.

Bloomberg began an expansion of Bloomberg Radio in 2016, and in 2018 it launched TicToc by Bloomberg, a news service available on Twitter. The same year it began charging for access to its content on the Internet, and it has greatly expanded its podcast strategy. With business news coverage growing in importance in the 21st century, it seems likely that Bloomberg News' stature will likely continue to grow.

Chris Roush

See also Business Journalism; Dow Jones; Reuters

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BLY, NELLIE

Although her newspaper career began in the 1880s, Nellie Bly remains one of the most remembered and romantic figures in the field of journalism. Under the tutelage of her editors and with the encouragement of publisher Joseph Pulitzer, Bly captivated readers with her journalistic adventures, which were often a mix of muckraking and sensationalism that led her from the depths of New York's notorious Blackwell's Island Asylum for women to a race around the world. At a time when female journalists were a rarity, especially outside the realm of women's publications or literary journals, Bly lent her distinctly female perspective to stories that otherwise would have often gone unnoticed or, at best, would have been covered by male journalists in a way that lacked her human connection with her subjects.

Bly is remembered even now for her bravery and her bravado. The iconic image of Bly in her checkered coat and jaunty hat, carrying her small valise, has been immortalized in children's books, games, and even an American Girl doll. Few figures in journalism, male or female, have managed to capture the public's imagination in the way that she did. Fewer still have had their legacy stay alive long enough to remain an inspiration to budding journalists, especially young women, for more than a century. This entry traces her career from its precocious start with the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* and her stories of subsequent travel in Mexico, to her relocation to New York City and the assignments for the *New York World* that would make her famous, her subsequent marriage and widowhood, and her work for the *New York Evening Journal*, which she continued until shortly before her life ended in 1922.

Beginnings

Nellie Bly's work carried her into the public eye at an early age, and as she gained popularity, her early life story quickly became part and parcel of her persona and only added to her intrigue. Bly began life as Elizabeth Jane Cochran when she was born on May 5, 1864, in Cochran's Mills, Pennsylvania, a small town near Pittsburgh aptly named after her father, Michael Cochran. Her mother, Mary Jane, who was Cochran's second wife, clearly doted on Elizabeth and dressed her in pink to the extent that the little girl soon took "Pink" as her moniker, a harbinger of changes to come. Her life was drastically altered, though, after her father's death in 1870 left her mother and her siblings in tight financial straits.

Although her mother struggled to support the family, Pink was able to begin attending the Indiana State Normal School in 1879, when she was 15 years old. It was at this time that she added an "e" to her last name, making it Cochrane. The move was never really explained, but nonetheless followed by her mother and younger brothers. Soon after, Pink's chance for an education disappeared as her family's financial situation became dire. Pink was forced to leave school and move to Pittsburgh with her family, where they would be closer to her older brothers and find greater opportunities for work. These were formative years for Bly, as she never forgot her mother's financial struggles, intensified by her gender, as she sought some of the few avenues of employment available to women of that time.

Early Newspaper Work

Although she did not finish her formal education after leaving the Indiana Normal School, Pink was drawn to reading the local newspapers in Pittsburgh, including the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, which published Erasmus Wilson's regular column, "Quiet Observations." It was in one of those columns that Wilson criticized women who ventured outside the realm of the home to work, thereby, he alleged, ignoring the needs of their husbands and families. After reading his words, Pink took it upon herself to defend women who, like her mother, were forced by circumstances beyond their control to find ways to feed their families,

and so she wrote Wilson a letter. She chided him for ignoring the realities of so many women's lives, and then, in closing, she signed her name as "Lonely Orphan Girl." Clearly, as would happen so often in her life, Pink caught the eye of an editor, and the *Dispatch* printed a query asking for "Lonely Orphan Girl" to reply. Rather than send another letter, Pink showed up at the newspaper's office, and in no short time, despite her problems with spelling and grammar, she found herself with a job and a way to aid her family's fortunes. The *Dispatch's* managing editor at the time, George Madden, decided she would need a better byline than "Pink," and after throwing out the question in the newsroom, the name Nellie Bly was suggested and adopted. Although its origin is unsure, it appears likely to have come from a popular Stephen Foster song at the time, "Nelly Bly," with a slightly different spelling. With her new name in tow, Pink began to hunt down and write stories that zeroed in on the social ills of the day, including the perils of young girls working in local factories, archaic divorce laws that disgraced women, and labor laws that disproportionately penalized them. It was 1885, and 21-year-old Nellie Bly, as she would now forever be known, was off and running to her future.

The World Awaits

Bly stayed with the *Dispatch* about 9 months before deciding she wanted to broaden her horizons. In just one instance of her audacity, Bly, without even a year under her belt at the paper, complained to her editors about the inconsequential articles she was expected to write. So, without much thought to what she would do, she left the *Dispatch*, although articles continued with her byline, probably the result of freelance work. But, in January 1886, with her mother in tow, Bly headed south. While with the *Dispatch*, she had been part of an "entertainment" committee for a delegation from Mexico that had visited Pittsburgh. The country and its culture intrigued her, so Mexico was where she decided to land. Bly kept detailed notes of her trip, commenting on the people, other journalists, the country's culture, and its politics. She learned the ropes of how to censor her stories to get them past Mexican

authorities, and she saved some truths for when she would return to the states. She traveled the country extensively, not endearing herself to the local governments, and returned to Pittsburgh in late June, earlier than anticipated. She returned to the *Dispatch* to write her most honest impressions from the trip, resulting in the publication of *Six Months in Mexico* (1888), the first of her books chronicling her journalistic adventures.

Although glad to be back in Pittsburgh at the time, it did not take long for Bly's restless nature to take over again. Deciding to seek even greater opportunities, she boldly made the decision to move to New York City in May 1877 and try her hand with one of the big newspapers there. She went without the offer of a job, so to make money while she searched for employment, she brilliantly proposed a series of interviews with New York City newspaper editors, which the *Dispatch* then agreed to publish. It was an inspired move, as Bly introduced herself by way of the interviews, including one with the editor of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, who offered her a job with the paper. It was here, with the *World*, that Bly's career would take off as she undertook one of her most famous assignments, reporting on the mistreatment of patients at New York City's notorious Women's Lunatic Asylum, located on Blackwell's Island in the East River. Although it has never been clear which one of them proposed the idea, either the *World's* managing editor, Colonel John Cockerill, or its publisher, Joseph Pulitzer, asked Bly to pose as an insane woman and have herself committed to the asylum, so she could investigate the veracity of reports on the conditions there.

Bly threw herself into the assignment, taking on a disguise and the name Nellie Brown, as she exhibited behavior that landed her in Bellevue Hospital and ultimately Blackwell's Island. Her experience was horrific, even as she no longer acted as though insane. She made notes on the substandard care, food, and treatment and left after 10 days when a lawyer for the *World* came to arrange her release. Bly's stories from her experience ran as columns in the *World* in October 1887, and the attention they received surpassed anything she or her editors could have imagined. There were immediate cries for reform at Blackwell's Island, and the asylum and other

institutions like it came under intense scrutiny. Before the end of the year, Bly's columns were released in book form and sold under the title *Ten Days in a Madhouse* (1887). At 23, Bly had made a legitimate journalistic name for herself and acquired a reading public thirsty for more.

In the months that followed, Bly would go on to use her newfound fame to continue reporting on societal ills, especially those facing working girls and women in the city. She even took on stories investigating government corruption and she always seemed to find a way to gather proof, much to the chagrin of her subjects. Her writing was often referred to as *sensational*, in a demeaning way that portrayed it as inappropriate work for a woman. Bly paid such charges no mind and continued reporting and writing on what she wanted. Her dogged determination would lead to another story that solidified her reputation even more, but this time her name would be heard around the world.

Travels With Nellie

Joseph Pulitzer and his *World* were always on the lookout for ways to sell more newspapers and outstrip their competition, especially the Hearst papers. Again, there are discrepancies as to exactly who first thought up the idea, but the paper pounced on sending a reporter to try and recreate the journey in Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in 80 Days* (1872). Bly insisted that she be chosen for the trip, but there were reservations about sending the young (age 25) woman without a chaperone on such a journey. The discussion was cut short by Bly's assertion that she would go to work for another newspaper if not given the assignment, and she was soon preparing for her trip. One interesting side note that has never been fully explained is that Bly wrote down the wrong year for her birth on her passport. Instead of 1864, she wrote 1867 and did not correct the record when her age was reported as 22 on the trip. It was an error she would let stand until her death.

On November 14, 1889, Bly set sail on the *Augusta Victoria* and began the trip that would have readers eagerly awaiting every word she wrote about her travels. She was the talk of the town and the country as the *World* challenged

readers to guess her arrival times at her various destinations and offered money to the winners. Although *Cosmopolitan* had its own female reporter, Elizabeth Bisland, making a similar journey, it was Bly who captured the country's imagination. Much to Pulitzer's pleasure, the trip was a resounding success as Bly bested Verne's character, Phileas Fogg, by 8 days. The *World's* circulation skyrocketed as New Yorkers greatly anticipated her arrival back home on January 25, 1890. In the same way as *Madhouse*, Bly's newspaper stories of her journey were quickly compiled into a book, *Nellie Bly's Book: Around the World in Seventy-Two Days* (1890), which became an instant success.

It was this adventure that sealed Bly's reputation as a popular culture figure, and her likeness could be found on games, trading cards, paper dolls, and numerous other collectables. She found herself in demand for lectures, as people wanted to hear directly from her about her experiences. She also had other offers of money to write, and so by the end of 1890, she had left the *World* to pursue these other ventures. It would not last, though, as she ended up back at the *World* in 1893, again pretty much writing whatever stories caught her attention, from government malfeasance to high society, and on occasion being accused of taking license with some of her facts.

Post-World

In her late 20s and early 30s, Bly did progressively less of her journalistic work and, for a period beginning in 1895, she was married to Robert Seaman, a millionaire businessman who, at 69, was 39 years older than Bly. The marriage got off to a rough start, but the two stayed together until his death, at age 80, in 1904. Bly, who was almost 40 at the time, was left to handle his failing business ventures and spent several years in Europe trying to raise capital to keep things afloat. When World War I broke out, she turned once again to the skill that had never failed her, and she wrote stories as a foreign correspondent covering the war in Europe, one of the few female journalists to do so. When she did finally return to New York in 1919, she wrote regularly for the *New York Evening Journal*, whose publisher, William Randolph Hearst, was

a nemesis of her old boss, Joseph Pulitzer, who had died in 1911. She would write until the end of her life, with her last article being published on January 9, 1922, a little over 2 weeks before her death from pneumonia on January 27.

Bly's rise to fame and her journalistic record are astounding even without taking into consideration the time period. But, in light of her limited education, her family's subsequent poverty, and society's limitations on women, her achievements are even more impressive. In an industry completely dominated by men, Bly held her ground, fought for stories, and stood up for better pay for herself. She was a champion for women who struggled to work and survive in this time, and although she died relatively young at 57, she did live long enough to see women gain the right to vote. Her name has not lost its cachet, as her image is still found today in the form of dolls, new books, and games. Her early journalistic career can be described as a form of muckraking, investigative journalism that would thrive in the early 1900s, as her writing resulted in societal change and advanced opportunities for women in journalism. In her iconic travel coat and hat, Nellie Bly, who was always moving forward and never shied away from the attention she garnered, left a journalistic legacy that continues to inspire and encourage young women today.

Dianne M. Bragg

See also Investigative Journalism; Muckrakers; Sensationalism; Stunt Journalism

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BOTS

Bots are software programs that are programmed to achieve predetermined missions. Bots range from simplistic script bots to more sophisticated smart bots that can aid in server processing functions. Bots are automated technology that can perform uniquely human functions, which operate without the need for human assistance once programmed. Bots can be used to follow or interact with profiles on social media platforms such as Twitter. Bots are increasingly a visible and invisible force in the production of news, social media, the spread of misinformation, aggregation, customer service, and artificial intelligence (AI). This entry examines bots in the context of newsgathering and discusses different types of bots. The entry also discusses past and potential future bots.

Newsgathering

Newsgathering operations use bots to gather stories from specific outlets for distribution on an aggregate website, wherein bots are employed to skim the web for stories. This example is foundational to the functioning of aggregate news websites. One of the primary reasons for the advent of bots is to accomplish the goal of executing repetitive tasks without the need for human operators, as bots are often faster than humans with regard to repetitive tasks. Bots are used to execute workflows without the need for extensive human interaction or oversight, enabling organizations to save money on human labor and capital. Companies use bots for instant chat services that, for example, automate answers to questions for customer support. This ability to execute repetitive tasks in an efficient manner makes bots valuable tools, especially when applied to the Internet and through social media networks. Bots that interact with the Internet sphere are used to comb through data, analyze content on web pages, and interact with human users. Users interact with bots online every time a query is made or an input rendered. With the increase of social media platforms as aggregators of news information and the circulation of news, the interaction between bots as nonhuman actors and human accounts is complicated by a lack of transparency.

Bots spread information to human actors and attempt to push conversations, narratives, news stories, and trending topics in programmed directions. As a kind of AI, voice-activated bots such as Google Assistant or Siri can respond to human prompts and provide answers to questions. While not all bots are manipulative, people can use bots for nefarious purposes such as scamming human users, breaking into accounts, and spreading malware, misinformation, disinformation, or spam. People can use bots to spread “fake news” as well as propagate opinions that masquerade as facts on social media and that ultimately may be true or untrue. Another emergent use for bots in this same vein is to promote products, services, or even currency, such as forex trading, cryptocurrency trading, and mobile and web-based gaming applications. Since bots can often execute functions more efficiently and expediently than human actors, bots are able to buy up or control commodities and deny the ability of the market to

service the needs of the consumer as intended. For instance, people can employ bots to auto-buy consumer electronics or other desired retail products, which has been an issue in terms of scarcity caused by a high demand for products such as new video game consoles.

Types

There are several different types of bots with specific umbrellas of purpose and scope that vary depending on their affordances and capabilities outlined below.

Chatbots

Chatbots are one of the most commonly used types of bots and are the most frequently encountered by human users. People often use chatbots in customer and technical support applications. These bots respond to inputs established by programmers to aid users without the presence of human intervention. The outputs of chatbots are uniform and regular and, in some ways, can eliminate some innate human biases that exist in interactions. Organizations also use chatbots to offer users 24/7 support in whatever application the bots service. Transactions between organizations and consumers are an executable task for chatbots; for example, chatbots can complete certain transactions with cable providers or banks.

Web Crawlers

Another type of bot is the web crawler. Web crawlers are bots that analyze data and content over a wide spectrum of domains on the Internet. Web crawlers are sometimes referred to as *spiders* or *spider bots*. The intention of these spider bot missions is to index pages across the Internet. This work is integral for research purposes, and for many types of Internet research to be efficient, researchers need web crawlers to function as the organic workforce necessary to index and retrieve pages in a cost-effective manner. For example, web crawlers are used extensively in university research systems as well as medical research systems. Web crawlers index pages that aid search engines in more effectively collecting and organizing web pages, which gives users a more orderly search

and research experience. Users are on the receiving end of the work of web crawlers when they input queries into search engines. The results rendered are the work of web crawlers and algorithms, despite the user never directly interacting with web crawlers. People also use crawlers for image indexing in addition to data and text indexing. Image indexing performed by web crawlers is augmented by AI applications that aid in the work of categorization and filtration of content. This is evident in reverse image lookup applications, and this action is only possible through the use of web crawlers and other skimming bots. Reverse image lookup allows users to input an image, rather than words, to obtain search results.

Social Bots

Social bots are commonly seen on social media platforms such as Twitter or Instagram. One can classify these profiles, operated by social bots, as “fake” accounts. These accounts garner “followers” to artificially inflate the influence and value of other real or artificial user accounts. Social bots can challenge the perceived authenticity of interactions on social media platforms. Many social bots have integrated the behaviors of chatbots, making it difficult to distinguish between real and artificial accounts for users who are aiming to interact with other human actors on social media platforms. Social bots can work to shape public opinions and attitudes of users who interact directly or indirectly with social media platforms, similar to the role that Internet influencers perform in popular culture. These social bots are used to post comments on news platforms as well as video hosting platforms. Companies responding to the rise of social bots, especially around election time, have tried to limit this infiltration by employing various safety measures and protocols. For example, Yahoo has at times disabled their comments section entirely to protect the user experience. Other sites such as *The New York Times* and *Fox News* have tried to employ bot detection through the Completely Automated Public Turing Test to Tell Computers and Humans Apart, as well as the periodic culling of inactive accounts to avoid having comments sections be compromised by bots. Further complicated by regulation, even if the use of social bots becomes

illegal, it will still be a strategy used by influencers around the world, as virtual private networks and other proxy mechanisms can easily mask the origin of bots and their “owners.”

Malicious Bots

The last major classification of bots is the malicious bot. These bots distribute spam, scrape content, obtain financial information and passwords, monitor and log keystrokes, and participate in the infiltration of secure information and the scamming of users. Financial institutions, such as brokerages, have to take extreme precautions and security measures to safeguard sensitive information. Companies such as Sony and Target, for instance, have been compromised by coordinated bot attacks, which have resulted in the credit card numbers and password information of users being stolen.

Malicious bots are also used in denial of service (DoS) attacks. DoS attacks are a crucial component of cyber warfare. These attacks are often carried out by bot “swarms” that seek to degrade the integrity of the network connection between specific vulnerable systems. For example, malicious bot swarms could be used in this capacity by disrupting the connection of a regional airbase communication network to the Internet and, therefore, the larger military communication infrastructure. To combat these bot swarms, other bots are employed to stop these attacks by identifying malicious behavior from unknown sources. However, there are some positive uses for bot swarms. People can use bot swarms to analyze information from automated drones in search and rescue operations to find stranded hikers, sailors lost at sea, as well people impacted by the chaos of natural disasters. Medically, bot swarms can be integrated with nanomachines to analyze physiological phenomena within the body in real time and give researchers and medical professionals insight that previously has been unable to be gleaned.

Past and Future

Although one can trace the first recognizable instances of bots back to Alan Turing and the Turing test (e.g., tests related to the presence of mind, thought, or intelligence) and Joseph Weizenbaum’s

creation of ELIZA (one of the first chatbots), bots entered the realm of social networking with Internet relay chats (IRC) and the rise of instant messaging. The reason for the employment of these early bots was to keep IRCs open even when users were absent. These webcrawler bots operated to index varying web pages and service search engines and platforms such as America Online. However, by the mid-2000s, bots were so prevalent and had infected so many computers and networks that hackers were able to use these newly established botnets to carry out criminal activity, such as the infiltration and acquisition of information on secure sites and the explosion of spam through email.

Bots are now highly influential in the emergence of social media platforms globally and can be problematically deployed when left unregulated. A prime example is the bot infestation on platforms such as Facebook during the 2016 U.S. election cycle, as well as the elections of many other nations, intended to spread misinformation and shape public opinion and perception. Bots have transformed rapidly across platforms, and laws are unevenly applied with regard to bots. Before leaving office, President Barack Obama signed into law on December 14, 2016, the “Better Online Ticket Sales (BOTS) Act of 2016,” which makes it illegal to use automated software, so-called ticket bots, to purchase tickets to popular events. Bots continue to become more prevalent as the amount of data on the Internet continues to expand. Bots aided by AI entities will continue to evolve and adapt to the vast quantities of information that they can encounter. For example, bots and AI work in conjunction in the reverse lookup of images. As of 2021, it is logical to believe that the same function used with regard to images may be used to reverse lookup other content such as video content and gifs. This would require bots that are more sophisticated than the ones that are already in common employ. The continued evolution of bots into intelligent agents could usher in new applications and methods of aiding users and new challenges within the realms of security and privacy. Bots are an integral, vital pillar upon which many of society’s digital experiences rely.

Benjamin Burroughs

See also Artificial Intelligence and Journalism; Clickbait; Deception; Fake News; Internet: Impact on the Media; New Media; Social Media; Twitter

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BOYCOTTS

A boycott is an organized refusal to purchase from, trade with, or work for an organization in an effort to influence or reform it or otherwise draw attention to an issue that it represents. Boycotts are publicized and sometimes organized by news organizations, as well as targeted at them. After considering the history of boycotts, this entry describes different kinds of boycotts aimed

at or originating from news organizations, notes how boycotts have proliferated due to the affordances of digital and social media, and concludes with an examination of the politics of boycotts, in terms of their effectiveness and their structural role in the media system.

Histories of the Boycott

The term *boycott* was coined in 1880 in the wake of a community-wide withdrawal of labor and trade from English land agent Captain Charles C. Boycott. Organized by the Irish Land League, the withdrawal was a response to Boycott refusing to negotiate reduced rents for struggling Irish farmers and moving to evict them. The idea of using *boycott* as a term to describe this form of protest was arrived at by a local priest and an American journalist reporting on the Irish land troubles. As it became publicized in the press, the term *boycott* quickly entered common parlance, was translated into other languages, and appeared in *Webster's Dictionary* by 1882.

Its rapid adoption likely occurred because while the term was new, the practice was not. The origin story of boycotts as a practice is frequently located in pre-Revolutionary America, when non-importation and nonconsumption of British goods was a key way that colonists expressed their displeasure at British rule, as well as built common cause and a unified political identity across different social groups. This movement highlighted the political potential of consumer power, dramatically illustrated by the Boston Tea Party of 1773, during which protestors tossed imported tea—that most British and imperial of drinks—into Boston Harbor to protest British tax policy in the American colonies. The notion that boycotts are particularly American in nature has persisted, particularly given the prominence of boycotting in the mid-20th century Civil Rights movement, when African American activists organized a mass withdrawal of patronage from the Montgomery Bus system in Alabama, as well as in Don't Buy Where You Can't Work campaigns against discriminatory employers, to name just two examples.

However, boycotting as a social practice has a longer and broader history. Boycotting foreign goods has been a feature of several resistance movements to colonization, just one example

being the Indian practice of *swadeshi*, a movement originating in the 19th century where people boycotted foreign-produced goods, particularly clothing, in favor of domestic products.

Boycotts and American Journalism

The American media, including news organizations, are mostly for-profit enterprises that depend on some combination of consumer purchase, subscription, and advertiser support. When Americans are unhappy with what they see in media, boycotts are one of the tools they use to express their displeasure and attempt to change it.

The most direct kind of media boycott occurs when audiences stop purchasing a particular media product. This occurred in the early days of the American press in 1731, when clergy encouraged people not to purchase Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* or patronize his printing business in protest of an advertisement he had printed, for a ship offering berth for passengers to Barbados, that stated clergymen would not be admitted. Franklin's "Apology for Printers," a letter he published on the front page of the *Gazette*, made it clear that such threats to withdraw support from his newspaper arose on a regular basis. He went on to offer a full-throated defense of his right as a printer to publish what he saw fit, given both his need to make a living and his bedrock belief that truth would vanquish falsehood when subjected to public debate, and that such judgments ought to be made by the public and not the printer.

Franklin's passionate defense of press freedom may well have bolstered the many publications that would be on the receiving end of public disapprobation via boycott in years to come. For example, in the early 1930s, the *Baltimore Sun* and *Evening Sun* papers were widely boycotted because their most famous columnist, H. L. Mencken, vigorously denounced two lynchings that took place on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and the lack of criminal accountability for those who had perpetrated them.

While editorial positions have inspired boycotts against news organizations, investigative reporting has been another cause. For example, General Motors withdrew its advertising from the *Los Angeles Times* in 2005 for 4 months to protest its unflattering coverage of the company,

returning only once they felt convinced the paper had come to understand its point of view. This kind of advertiser boycott illustrates one of the reasons why, as Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky argued in their book *Manufacturing Consent*, a mostly advertiser-supported media system has a systemic pro-business bias. Even if these kinds of boycotts are not frequent, they create an incentive for journalists to self-censor in order to avoid conflicts with important advertisers.

Another type of media-targeted boycott leverages advertisers by pressuring them to withdraw ad dollars from objectionable content. While this type of boycott is more indirect, it is often favored when targeting media funded completely or in part by advertisers. Activists realize that media organizations will react more quickly to a loss in ad revenue than a loss in audiences. Further, it is easier to influence the behavior of a few large advertisers, who tend to be sensitive to bad press or a dip in sales, than to change people's media habits. This strategy is particularly relevant if the audience of the target media does not share the politics of the activist organization, as when the socially conservative American Family Association pressured the Ford Motor Company in 2005 and 2006 to stop advertising in publications serving gay and lesbian readers, such as *The Advocate*. The American right-wing cable channel Fox News has been a frequent target of this boycotting strategy. Bill O'Reilly, *Fox News*' leading star for many years, was fired in 2017 after a campaign encouraged advertisers to withdraw their support for his program *The O'Reilly Factor*, in light of revelations that the network had arranged settlements with a number of women due to an ongoing pattern of sexual harassment by Mr. O'Reilly. Other Fox News personalities have been reprimanded or temporarily taken off the air for comments deemed offensive or inaccurate, in response to pressure from advertisers who, in turn, are responding to pressure from individuals and liberal advocacy organizations such as Media Matters.

The converse also happens, when consumers threaten to boycott a company if they withdraw their advertising support from a favored program or publication. In 2017, USAA, a financial services and insurance company that serves the members of the military and veterans, withdrew its

advertising dollars from *Hannity* on Fox News due to the host's continued repetition of disinformation about the murder of a Democratic National Committee staffer but then reinstated its support due to customer complaints and threats to boycott, encouraged by right-wing advocacy groups such as the Media Research Center.

News organizations can themselves be instrumental in advocating a boycott. This was the case in the late 1970s, when the gay press rallied gay and lesbian consumers to boycott Florida oranges and orange juice, because the Florida Juice Commission's spokesperson, Anita Bryant, was a prominent opponent of gay rights. In 2002, a coalition of six African American newspapers promoted a boycott of the *Philadelphia Daily News* to protest racially insensitive reporting. And in 2016, the far-right online publication *Breitbart* called for a tit-for-tat boycott of Kellogg's products because the company had pulled its advertising from the site due to content deemed offensive.

Even when news organizations do not themselves initiate a boycott, their coverage is crucial to boycotts gaining attention and public support, especially since the impact of boycotts can be as much through damaging an organization's reputation as on its bottom line. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were even alternative press publications in the United States devoted solely to reporting on consumer boycotts at the national level.

Boycotts, Digital Media, and News

The rise of digital media has escalated the frequency, speed, and geographic reach of boycotts. The greater ease of publicizing boycotts via websites and email, eventually enhanced by social media platforms, creates a more even playing field where boycotts emerging from the grassroots can gain widespread public attention without having to go through journalistic gatekeepers. However, the ease of calling for boycotts online has also meant that their proliferation can hurt the impact of a single campaign. When many boycotts compete for consumers' attention and when they seem to come and go with great frequency, the seriousness of their threat can diminish.

The rise of digital has also changed how advertising space is sold, leading many advertisers to

find their marketing messages placed next to offensive and misleading content, often on sites that are, or claim to be, doing journalism. Programmatic advertising means that advertisers increasingly do not buy ad space in particular publications but participate in automated marketplaces that sell ad impressions for particular demographics or individual users wherever they may be online. As a result, more politically extreme and journalistically questionable publications have earned significant advertising revenue online in a way that was not possible in a print world. Some activists, such as those affiliated with the organization Sleeping Giants, now inform brands in a very public way on social media when their ads appear next to offensive or misleading content, giving them an opportunity to remove their ad support in order to prevent a consumer boycott.

In 2020, a coalition of civil rights organizations called for a pause on advertising on Facebook, a campaign called *#StopHateforProfit*. More than 1,000 advertisers, including large brands such as Adidas, Unilever, Microsoft, and Ford, pulled their ad dollars to pressure Facebook to take the elimination of hate speech and the spread of disinformation on its platform more seriously. The campaign pointed to the role of hate speech and disinformation in the genocide of the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar, starting in 2016, as one example, and conspiracy theories about the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020 as another. While much of this content appears on Facebook in posts from individuals and ads, some of what passes for news also perpetuates disinformation.

The Politics of Boycotts

Boycotts are a strategy of protest used across the political spectrum, ranging from small collectives on the local level to large corporations, nation states, and even transnational coalitions. Their effectiveness varies tremendously. Some boycotts actually lead to more sales or bigger audiences for the target, as they unintentionally provide free publicity and activate those from opposing perspectives. Some boycotts have no discernible impact, while others do lasting damage. Even when a boycott does not impact sales, the resulting

damage to an organization's reputation can hurt its share price, its standing with regulators, and its relationships with business partners.

Beyond the politics of a particular boycott, or whether it achieves its goals, are the meta-politics of boycotts, especially in relation to journalism. News organizations that have been the target of boycotts appeal to the principles of free expression and freedom of the press, as Franklin did in the first half of the 18th century. Franklin's concern that journalists and publishers receive undue pressure that stifles novel or unpopular content continues to be relevant in 2021. In the American media system, self-censorship and chilling effects have been more likely to occur as the result of advertiser or corporate pressure than from government action. The proliferation of boycotts in recent decades targeted at advertisers in order to reform media content reflects the reality of U.S. media economics and reinforces the power of advertisers in the news ecosystem, rather than challenging that structure. Boycotts are a market-based form of activism that position audiences as consumers rather than citizens and strengthen the market-based nature of journalism rather than question it.

Emily West

See also Advertising; Audiences; Breitbart; Censorship; Digital Advertising; Facebook; Fox News; *Los Angeles Times*

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BRADY, MATHEW B.

Mathew B. Brady (1823/1834–1896), the father of photojournalism in America. While portraiture was the centerpiece of Brady's early work, he is best known for his studio's work documenting the American Civil War.

For someone whose work depended entirely on sunlight, Brady lived his life largely in the shadows of history. According to historians, he left either three or zero letters written in his own hand, no diary, papers, or any other sort of written record of his experiences, thoughts, or observations. If it could not be said with silver nitrate on a piece of glass, he was essentially mute. Furthermore, he personally was responsible for shooting only a fraction of all the thousands of Daguerreotypes and glass plates he left behind.

Early Years

Brady's birthplace and year have never been firmly established, nor does anyone—including Brady himself—know what his middle initial stood for. Even his birth is something of a mystery. Brady claimed in an 1861 interview with George Townsend of the *New York World* to have been born in upstate New York in Warren County, but he demurred at giving his actual age. He even chided Townsend for asking him how old he was. Brady replied to the question of his age, "Never ask that of a lady or a photographer; they are

sensitive" (Townsend, 1891). The photographer continued by saying that he would tell the reporter, for fear he would find out some other way, that he had been born in Warren County, NY, between 1823 and 1824 to Irish immigrants Andrew and Julia Brady. Despite his claim in the interview, on his 1863 draft form and in prewar census records, Brady is listed as having been born in Ireland. Some historians have speculated Brady disavowed his Irish birth because of anti-Irish sentiment.

Absolutely nothing is known of his earliest years—no information survives regarding his schooling, how his family made its livelihood or how many siblings he had, though one historian claims he was the youngest of three. Historians disagree even over whether Brady could write, though they do seem to agree that he could read. One historian points out that three existent letters signed by Brady were clearly written by another party. It is known that when he was about 16 years of age, he suffered an eye ailment and traveled to Saratoga, NY, for treatment. Brady received the treatment, though he would be plagued by weak eyesight his entire life. However, the trip changed the trajectory of his life.

In Saratoga, he met painter William Page, who offered to give him drawing lessons at his studio in Albany. Page eventually moved to New York City, he opened a studio near what is today New York University, where he had studied with Samuel F. B. Morse, better known to journalists as the inventor of the telegraph, but who worked as a professor of art and design at the college and had been one of Page's instructors. Page introduced Brady to Morse who showed the boy a new art form he had learned about on a trip to France to patent his telegraph—the Daguerreotype, an image affixed chemically to a copper plate. The process produced a living image rather than a piece of art. Morse brought back one of Louis Daguerre's cameras and used it to open a school of Daguerreotype photography in order to supplement his meager university salary. Brady was one of his first students.

Portraiture Projects

Brady, wearing blue-tinted spectacles that helped his weakened eyes, worked as a department store clerk for Irish-American immigrant Alexander

Turney Stewart and studied with Morse for several years before opening his first studio, the Daugerrean Miniature Gallery, in 1844, at around the age of 21. The gallery was on the top floor of the building. He chose this location so that he could install skylights. He had noticed that Morse had built his house to let in as much sunlight as possible. Brady added the skylights to accomplish the same objective in his gallery's Operating Room (studio).

Unlike New York's other famous 19th-century photographer, Jacob Riis, who made his reputation photographing the squalor and plight of New York City's poorest residents, Brady focused on American success stories by specializing in portraiture of prominent politicians and other famous individuals. A year after opening his first gallery, Brady conceived a massive project of photographing all the prominent Americans he could for a work to be titled the *Gallery of Illustrious Americans*. His manuscript included portraits of noteworthy politicians of the day such as Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and an aged Andrew Jackson. The portrait of Jackson may have been taken by Nashville photographer Don Adams. The custom of the day was for the gallery owner to receive credit for photographs taken by members of his staff or, apparently, even contract employees.

Another of his early projects was undertaken in either 1845 or 1846. Brady worked with feminist author Eliza Wood Farnham, warden of the female prison at Sing Sing, to illustrate a book she was bringing out. Originally published in England, the book, *The Rationale of Crime* by Marmaduke B. Sampson in 1841, dealt with phrenology and crime. Brady took headshots to illustrate the manuscript.

Published in 1850, the *Gallery of Illustrious Americans* was a huge book weighing nearly 5 pounds. It was bound in brown leather with gold lettering and sold for \$30. Probably because of the price, the book was never much of a financial success, but it did receive excellent reviews, which helped draw attention to Brady's work and contributed to his winning multiple awards at the 1851 World's Fair in London and establish American superiority in the field of Daguerreotype photography. As he had worked on the project, he also began entering his portraits into different

competitions. He won competitions so frequently that one Daguerreotype journal commented in 1848 drolly, "Mr. B. has won again" (Horan, 1955, p. 9).

Brady was in London for the World's Fair because overwork had worsened his eyesight and he needed a break to recover. Also, he had married Julia Hardy, daughter of a Maryland plantation owner in 1849, and a trip abroad would give them the opportunity to take a delayed honeymoon.

At the World's Fair, American photographers took three of the top five awards; Brady himself received the award for general excellence. The European press grudgingly admitted that the Americans had perfected an art, developed in France, to the point that they surpassed European practitioners. Some claimed the reason for American superiority in the art was the country's superior atmosphere. Others claimed the Americans won because they were not constrained by the same patents that bound what European photographers could do with the art. Despite the reviewers' comments, as Brady and his wife made their trip across Europe, they continually saw advertisements from European Daguerreotypists who claimed they used "the American process" (Horan, 2015, p. 19). Other critics admitted that Brady's work was far superior to that of European artists.

When he returned from Europe in 1852, Brady began experimenting with blue skylights and even blue filters for his lenses. Blue filters help bring out highlights in black-and-white photography, which is presumably why Brady wanted to use them. Brady also trained in a new photography technique called *wet plate*. The wet plate technique, developed by English sculptor Frederick Scott Archer, used a chemical process to create light-sensitive glass plates that could be used to make multiple exposures. This technique would eventually make Daguerreotype obsolete. While in Europe, Brady had met Scotsman Alexander Gardner, who would eventually follow Brady to America and become part of the gallery staff. Gardner was a particularly valuable addition because of his expertise in the wet plate technique. The new process was both faster and more profitable than Daguerreotype, which allowed only one picture to

be made from an exposure. Gardner and Brady produced some 30,000 portraits annually.

Brady's success allowed him to move to bigger quarters on Bleacher Street in March 1860. This new studio was the largest and most luxurious in the city. It featured velvet drapes embroidered in gold, a frescoed ceiling, and glass chandeliers. Business grew quickly, and before long, Brady realized he needed an even larger space. He moved to the corner of Tenth and Broadway and opened a new gallery that was furnished with the most modern gas lamps and the best heating system available. The new gallery was so impressive, that in January 1861 *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* declared that, were the facility in England, it would be named the Royal Gallery.

Given his success in New York, Brady opened a second gallery in Washington, DC, in 1858. He called that facility the National Photographic Gallery. It was in this gallery where Brady shot multiple portraits of President Abraham Lincoln, and even his son Tad. Lincoln's image on the \$5 bill is a reproduction from a Brady photograph.

By 1850, Mathew Brady, a farm boy from upstate New York, had become one of the most renowned photographers in the world. His fortunes would climax in that decade, though the Civil War would put an end to that. His reputation as a photographic historian would expand with his work as a pictorial war correspondent.

War Photography

In the 1891 interview with Townsend, Brady said he had decided to document the war because he felt called to do so by destiny. "A spirit in my feet said, 'Go, and I went' . . ." (Townsend, 1891). Going, however, meant getting the approval of military authorities as well as the War Department. Brady approached his old friend Winfield Scott, at that point commander of the Union armies, and asked for permission to cover the war at the front. Scott told Brady that he was soon to be removed from command and suggested Brady go see his replacement, General George McDowell. Instead, the photographer headed to the White House to see another old acquaintance, Abraham Lincoln, whose inauguration he and his staff had just photographed.

The president did grant Brady permission, including a handwritten pass, to cover the war—with one proviso: he had to cover all costs himself. Brady believed at the time that he would eventually be able to sell the photographic record he planned to the government and recoup his losses. That was a dreadful miscalculation. Brady would spend \$100,000 to put more than 20 teams of photographers and "Whatisit" (traveling dark-rooms) wagons in the field in the different theatres. They would shoot more than 10,000 plates. The pictures sold well during the war, but afterward, neither the government nor the public was interested in pictures of the bloody carnage that had left 750,000 Americans dead or maimed.

Not knowing what the future would hold, in early July, Brady began making preparations to head to Virginia, the anticipated site of the first major battle of the war. He equipped his black-hooded wagon with light-proof doors and walls, donned a linen duster and broad-brimmed hat and headed toward Manassas with Dick McCormick, a veteran war correspondent who had covered the Crimean War, *Harper's* artist Al Waud, and his chief darkroom assistant Ned House. As McDowell prepared his men for battle, Brady prepared his equipment to record the anticipated Union victory for history.

Unfortunately for both, the Confederates routed the Union troops, who retired from the battlefield in disarray. In the disorderly retreat, made even more difficult by the many civilians who had come to watch the battle, Brady became separated from the rest of his team. He spent the night wandering the woods. The photographer eventually made his way back to Washington after 3 days, with his plates.

Humphrey's Journal, a photography journal, commended Brady for his shots of "grim-visaged war." They wrote that his were the only reliable records of the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas). They opined that newspaper reporters were unreliable liars but that Brady could be counted on to capture the truth. The *American Journal of Photography*, in its August 1, 1861 edition, referred to him as the *irrepressible photographer*.

Brady's next major foray into the battlefield was for Antietam in the fall of 1862. With him were Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan. The pictures they took of that bloodiest 1-day

battle of the war brought home to Americans for the first time the realities of war. Brady and Gardner traveled with General Joseph Hooker's troops, and they shot numerous pictures of dead Confederate soldiers after the battle. Gardner is credited with moving one body six times to pose it so as to capture the drama of the day. Gardner was photographing as a burial team was working to inter the dead—he may have only had the one body to work with, or he may merely have moved the body around out of convenience. In any case, the same body appears in at least six photos taken by Brady's team that day. There is no indication that this was done at Brady's instruction, but neither did he stop Gardner. The pictures taken that day at Antietam stunned Americans.

Brady went on to photograph with his teams the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. He had a team with General William Tecumseh Sherman during the March to the Sea, both of whom were under orders from the Quartermaster to photograph all infrastructure they encountered. Brady also went back into the field during the Siege of Petersburg and photographed a duel between Confederate and Union artillery. His horse bolted when the cannon began firing, but Brady continued to shoot while under fire.

One of Brady's proudest accomplishments occurred just a few days after the war. Neither he nor any of his teams had been at Appomattox Court to photograph Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender. Brady had known Lee since the Mexican-American War, and he wanted a picture of the defeated Confederate commander, so he went to Lee's home and with the help of Lee's wife persuaded him to don his uniform for a picture. This is the well-known picture of Lee standing on the porch of his house (see Figure 1).

Brady also wanted a picture of Sherman after the war, but the irascible general refused to be photographed alone. He would only pose for a picture with his entire staff, and they had all scattered home to their families. Brady persuaded Sherman to come to his studio the next day at 2 p.m. if he could get all of Sherman's staff there by then. The general agreed, and Brady sent his staff scurrying to get messages to the general's staff. All agreed to participate in the picture, so Sherman arrived at the studio the next day at the arranged



Figure 1 Photograph of Robert E. Lee

Source: Mathew B. Brady/National Archives 525769. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/525769>

time. The only problem: one of his men, General Francis Preston Blair Jr., was missing. To compound matters, a mother arrived to keep an appointment to have her 3-year-old daughter photographed. Brady asked her to wait, and she agreed. Blair did not arrive until 3 p.m., but Sherman spent the ensuing hour happily playing with the 3-year-old.

At the end of the war, Brady was deeply in debt, and the War Department refused to purchase his collection of war photographs. Brady disbanded his teams and put his images in storage. After getting the pictures of Sherman and Lee, he stopped shooting with the exception of a few photographs taken of Lincoln's funeral cortege, and a portrait of the new president, Andrew Johnson. Brady tried to make up some of his losses with an exhibit of war photographs at the New York Historical Society in 1866, but the public was not interested in pictures of the war. He kept his studio running, but he was mired in debt. In 1875, Congress purchased several thousand of his images for \$25,000, an amount that was insufficient to relieve all his debt.

Anthony and Sons, his chief creditor, took possession of his negatives. To compound matters, Brady's wife had developed a heart ailment that would make her an invalid until her death in 1887.

Legacy

Despite Brady's renown as a photographer, his finances never recovered from the Civil War. However, he continued his photography business in partnership with his nephew, Levin Handy. Handy would take the business over completely in 1896 after Brady's death. In April 1896, Brady had been hit by a street car. His death was hastened by a kidney ailment he developed later that year. Brady died alone in Presbyterian Hospital in New York City on January 15, 1896. He was buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC.

Brady was a tireless worker and a gifted photographer. The first issue of *Photographic Art-Journal* referred to Brady as the *fountain-head* of photography. Others have also lauded his work. Brady likely would not have considered himself either a journalist or a photojournalist, yet he was both, and while much of his work has been lost, enough has survived to demonstrate the horrors not just of the American Civil War but of civil war generally.

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See also Photography; Photojournalists; War and Military Journalisms; War Correspondents

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BRAZIL

Since 1808, Brazilian journalism has demonstrated its relevance, not only to public news consumption in the largest country in South America but also in its coverage of different Latin-American and global topics. As of 2021, Brazil is classified as the ninth richest country in the world based on its gross domestic product, which reflects a country's purchasing power, current prices, and international dollars. However, this wealth was not enough to ensure job security for many journalists when economic crises struck in 2008, 2012, and 2016, changing the course of the industry throughout the country.

This entry covers the main advances in Brazilian journalism since its beginnings and highlights important aspects of this field that have arrived in the first part of the 21st century. It suggests the practice of traditional journalism is no longer enough in Brazil, as of 2021, and the field has been forced to adapt to changes, particularly those of the technological, economic, and political varieties. Brazilian publications have rapidly evolved; what was once an "opinionated" attribute of publications has given way to objectivity and more informative types of coverage. The creation of different newspapers, radio stations, and television channels has altered the course of journalism in Brazil and provided another face to the field. The increasing recognition of Brazilian journalists as serious and competent professionals signals why Brazilian journalism is important to research.

Brief History of Traditional Brazilian Journalism

In relation to journalism in other countries, Brazilian journalism had a relatively late start. In 1808, Hipólito da Costa created the *Correio Braziliense* (*The Brazilian Post*), a Rio de Janeiro newspaper that circulated in the country until 1822 and informed Brazilians about the news in the Portuguese court in Lisbon. Even though the *Correio Braziliense* is considered the first newspaper in Brazil, the publication had some particular characteristics, such as being in the shape of a book and including 100 pages in each edition. The content of the monthly publication included news

from Portugal, literature, arts, science articles, poems, and international news. Another peculiarity of this publication was its circulation, which consisted of only 500 subscribers. Because of these characteristics, the *Correio Braziliense* is considered a modern publication despite the era in which it was printed. Currently, there is another publication with the same name (*Correio Braziliense*) which was created in 1960 and continues to circulate in Brazil. This newspaper also has an online version and focuses on informing the population about national news. The newspaper often criticizes the government.

Other Brazilian publications were created throughout the early 19th century such as *A Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (*The Rio de Janeiro Gazette*), which differed greatly from the *Correio Braziliense*. Contrary to the modern vibe of the *Correio Braziliense*, *A Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* was created to focus on positive news about the Portuguese Court. In a tabloid format, the publication was known as the *official* newspaper of the Portuguese Court and ran opinionated articles and a large volume of propaganda. All editions were published every Wednesday and Saturday and required approval by the court before publication. Later, after Prince Dom Pedro declared Brazil's independence from Portugal on September 7th 1822, Brazilian intellectuals created different publications with the intention of covering local news in Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil at the time.

The 100th anniversary of Brazilian independence in 1922 also marked the beginning of radio transmission in the country. Radio was the communication vehicle used by the government to transmit and celebrate the independence of Brazil. Other radio stations were soon created with the intention of informing the population about local news, politics, and sports. Brazilian journalism at the time, influenced by Portuguese-style journalism, instituted a tradition of covering specific facts in an opinionated fashion, but also had the focus of informing the population while exploring both sides of a story to ensure the validity and objectivity of the text.

Attributes of Traditional and Contemporary Brazilian Journalism

Family Business

A small group of intellectuals and businesspeople created and traditionally operated the majority of newspapers, radio stations, and television channels in the country. These businesses, considered family traditions, tend to be inherited by subsequent generations in order to maintain control of the field of journalism without changing the main characteristics (such as logos, coverage preferences, and other aspects of branding and news production) of the publications.

Five families, including the Marinho, Abravanel, Macedo, Saad, and Dallevo families, are part of the intellectuals and businesspeople who control half of the 50 media markets—including newspapers, radio stations, and television channels—with the largest audience in southeastern Brazil, particularly the state of São Paulo. Media ownership information was released in a larger study conducted by the Media Ownership Monitor and subsidized by the German government in 2017. The Marinho family owns the largest media network in Brazil, with a total of 26 of the 50 largest communication markets in the country. The Marinhos opened their business in 1965 with a single television channel and over the years expanded to include radio stations, newspapers, magazines, and online platforms. Brazilian radio stations followed the same pattern of monopolization. Between 1930 and 1950, Brazil saw the creation and consolidation of the main radio stations in Brazil, creating monopolies of the market which have persisted until today.

Monopolies

When discussing traditional journalism in Brazil, it is important to highlight the fact that it had—and continues to have—monopolist tendencies. Major news companies, such as *Grupo Estado* and *Grupo Globo*, traditionally owned print journalism. With affiliated companies throughout the country, these larger outlets have the greatest market share of print journalism in Brazil. They are responsible for the coverage of national topics as well as state and local issues.

In the traditional Brazilian news environment, the media and smaller markets were responsible for a share of the market that does not have much space in the industry and is often suffocated by the power of larger markets. However, economic crises changed the course of many businesses and the larger media markets. Media outlets were forced to shed their traditional strategies to keep their doors open during and after the crises. Print newspapers were obligated to layoff workers, which caused a great impact in the field. Many journalists lost their jobs, and thousands of employees did not have any sources of income. With that, traditional journalism failed to meet information needs, and the Brazilian population met a new type of journalism.

New Directions in Brazilian Journalism

Economic crises have a tendency to promote the reinvention of journalism in Brazil, and many of the characteristics of what was once considered traditional mainstream journalism practices have been left behind. Brazil's economy grew quickly from 2004 through 2008 and then stagnated as the world sank deeply into economic recession. Along with this recession came the downsizing of traditional media, which included laying off and firing journalists. With thousands of Brazilian journalists unemployed and many seeking employment in the market, reporters, photographers, editors, and other professionals of the field created their own businesses, becoming entrepreneurs in new forms of journalism. Independent agencies created by journalists had to find ways to fulfill the information needs of the population that mainstream media could not, while surviving without assistance from the government.

In 2011, three journalists founded the independent journalism outlet *Agência Pública* (*Public Agency*), which was the first nonprofit investigative journalism agency in Brazil. Along with independent journalism came citizen journalism through the award-winning network *Mídia Ninja*, an acronym for *Narrativas Independentes, Jornalismo e Ação* (Independent Narratives, Journalism, and Action), independent stories, journalism, and action. *Mídia Ninja* began in São Paulo in 2011, covered a good deal of Indigenous activism and police injustice, and featured a livestream. In

2020, it had more than 2.5 million followers and had more than 30,000 posts.

This new means of producing journalism spread to other parts of the country and in about a year, a variety of independent media were operating throughout the country. For instance, the independent agency *Real Amazon* covers topics and issues that involve the Amazon rainforest, such as Indigenous people, property conflicts, wildfires, political, and economic issues. Another example of independent media is *Ground Zero Content*, an investigative journalism collective focused on approaching three topics: power relations, urbanism, and the semi-arid northeastern region of Brazil. Other independent media focus on specific topics, such as politics, economy, and environmental issues in the country.

Independent Media Move Online

Independent media caused a revolution in Brazilian journalism. This new approach to dealing in information was an avenue through which recently unemployed journalists could continue working in the field and inform the population. More importantly, the independent media have had powerful impacts on larger Brazilian markets. With the success of the first wave of independent media, other journalists increasingly embraced the idea and moved to create their own communication channels. Smaller radio stations, podcast channels, and websites were created with the intention of informing the population about specific topics. This approach transformed traditional journalism in Brazil, as the manipulation of the news and the concentration of power in the hands of a small number of families dissipated into smaller markets that were capable of creating stories with greater details, local relevance, and accuracy. The rush of the big markets gave space to longer interviews and richer information being associated with news stories disseminated largely through websites. As of 2021, one can find opinions in journalistic articles, however they are always identified as opinionated articles so the public understands the bias.

The independent media also brought new challenges and obstacles to those working in the field. To be a media entrepreneur required many hours of work and large budgets to cover equipment,

photographers, and editing expenses. The greatest challenge regarding this new type of journalism is that the Brazilian population is not traditionally accustomed to seeking information in small markets. Although there is an increase in the number of Brazilians using online platforms to gather information, the majority of the population relies on television channels, radio stations, and print newspapers, as of 2021. To overcome these difficulties, many journalists have worked together to create websites and other online platforms, such as podcasts, to cut costs and provide accurate information to their audiences. As a result, independent media increased in its influence and more online platforms were created with the intention of spreading news and information. Print newspapers decreased their circulation and began publishing most of their content online. Television channels also created websites with their content. Radio stations soon followed suit and created online platforms to complement the traditional format.

Attacks on Journalism and the Industry's Response

A serious trend affecting Brazilian journalism includes reputational, online, and even physical attacks on journalists. Many of the government's attacks take the form of defamation and slander charges against journalists. Some attacks come from other elements in the population and have included knifing attempts on victims (e.g., staff of *TV Globo*), shooting victims (e.g., Vamberto Teixeira, Fábio Márcio), and, in the case of journalist Patricia Campos Mello, extensive and coordinated online harassment. More Brazilian journalists were attacked (and killed) between 2010 and 2020 than in the previous 20 years combined. Although the trend is distressing, collaboration and decentralization have emerged as strategies to continue coverage in what may be an increasingly hostile environment. These strategies have brought other benefits as well. While financing originally played a role in collaboration, Brazilian journalists have discovered that collaboration also increases the reach of various stories while enhancing the quality of content.

In light of journalists finding themselves increasingly under attack and discredited by Brazilian state officials, collaboration has been beneficial to Brazilian journalism. Collaboration is predicted to become a core value in Brazilian journalism in the coming years as journalists work more closely with citizens and one another. This process creates a certain transparency that may help the practice survive government-sanctioned discrediting and other attacks on the credibility of the profession.

Diversity and Journalism in Brazil

Men have traditionally dominated journalism around the world. Around 2014, Brazil began passing initiatives to not only enhance workplace diversity, but to provide databases of diverse sources for journalists to contact for information. Universities, collectives, and intellectuals have heavily promoted such initiatives. The coronavirus pandemic altered the course of history.

During the pandemic, various media outlets were forced, as they were during periods of financial crisis, to cut staff. Due to the trajectory of the spread of the virus, particularly through poorer communities, the pandemic led to a de facto de-diversification of news organizations in 2020. Yet calls for increased diversity in journalism and journalistic sources continue in 2021, as Brazil also has seen Black Lives Matter protests related to police killings, racial disparities, and injustice, much as the United States saw in 2020.

Journalism in Brazil has changed considerably over the years, particularly during the first part of the 21st century. Economic crises and changes in political paradigms have directly influenced the practice of journalism in the largest country in South America. The old-fashioned journalism practiced following the traditional American format based on objectivity with a strong lead, an impactful title, and a supportive subtitle has been replaced by less restricted formats. Journalism in Brazil has also sought diversity in voices and technologies, among journalists, sources, and formats, which have allowed for more creativity in incorporating different elements—photographs, recorded interviews, text, and illustrations—into news production. Although the influence of independent media is relatively new in Brazil, these communication channels have garnered lucrative

audiences and more people search for information on these platforms every day.

To ensure a stable future for journalism in Brazil, reporters and journalists in general may continue to invest in smaller markets and eventually build strong reputations, as media outlets in the larger Brazilian markets have over the past two centuries. Although the transformative process continues in Brazilian journalism, news consumers expect more from journalists every day. Traditional journalism has proven to be no longer enough to satisfy the increasing information needs of media-savvy and sophisticated populations.

Leticia Pires and T. Phillip Madison

See also Bias; Blogs and Bloggers; Citizen Journalism; Convergence; Editorials; Environmental Journalism; Human-Interest Journalism; Internet: Impact on the Media; Investigative Journalism; Media Ownership; News Values; Social Movements and Journalism; Streaming Media

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BREITBART

Breitbart is a conservative news website that primarily focuses on American politics, media, and culture. Founded in 2005, Breitbart established itself as one of the primary voices of the emergent Tea Party movement on the American Right, focusing on stories critical of immigration, the mainstream media, and liberal influence on American culture. In 2016, Breitbart rose to mainstream prominence after becoming one of the most vocal backers of Donald Trump's successful campaign for the U.S. presidency, with former Breitbart staff moving to roles within the Trump administration after his victory.

Since establishing itself as a significant voice within American journalism, Breitbart has seen a significant number of advertisers dissociate themselves from the platform due to its controversial editorial stances as well as the departure of influential chief executive Steve Bannon, casting doubts over the future of the site. Nevertheless, the

influence of the site over a relatively short period of time renders it an important object of study for those interested in the study of alternative and partisan media, as well as those interested in media during the Trump presidency. This entry discusses the formation and history of Breitbart, its relationship to the alt-right, and its role in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

Formation and Early Years

Breitbart was founded by Andrew Breitbart, initially as a news aggregator that would harvest links from other sites onto the main page. Within 2 years, he sought to evolve the site into a conservative version of the Huffington Post (now HuffPost), another tabloid-style website that he helped establish. Breitbart began producing his own stories that attacked not only Democratic and establishment politicians but perceptions of institutional liberal bias within American cultural institutions, mainly the mainstream media and Hollywood.

The aggressive tone of Breitbart's stories would go on to become not only a hallmark of their journalistic output but of their early journalistic practices too. In 2009, one of the earliest breakthroughs for Breitbart involved the "exposing" of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), a community-based social advocacy group for low- and middle-income people working largely within inner cities of the United States. An undercover recording appeared to show two Breitbart contributors posing as a prostitute and a pimp, attempting to seek advice from ACORN employees on how to traffic underage girls into the country, as well as how to claim government benefits for them.

The Breitbart story on ACORN caused a national controversy. Although the video was later revealed to have been misleadingly edited, and ACORN and its staff were exonerated from any wrongdoing, the organization lost the overwhelming majority of its funding and was forced to fold. Breitbart would also heavily doctor a video depicting government official Shirley Sherrod speaking at an NAACP event, professing a reluctance to provide aid to a farmer because he was white. Although this video was again misleading, Sherrod was initially fired and the NAACP was heavily criticized.

However, in spite of these occasional controversies, Breitbart remained a relatively minor and oft-unknown figure both within the American news sphere and among the American public. By the time of Andrew Breitbart's death in 2012, U.S. President Barack Obama, a Democrat, had been reelected for a second term in an election in which Breitbart struggled to challenge and influence mainstream media coverage. The site appeared to face an uncertain future, without its most important figurehead.

A Platform for the Alt-Right?

After Breitbart's death, the leadership hierarchy of the organization was restructured, during which time Bannon, a Breitbart board member since the founding of the site, was named executive chairman. Media scholars and commentators would later identify Bannon's appointment as an evolution of Breitbart's journalistic style toward one that aggressively pursued anti-immigrant, anti-globalist positions, and one that would result in Bannon later referring to Breitbart as "the platform for the alt-right." Here, it is useful to reflect on what constitutes the alt-right, the extent to which Breitbart can be seen as a platform for the alt-right, and the importance of this in relation to the influence of Breitbart upon both the media and political landscapes in the United States.

The alt-right is problematic to define, largely because various scholars, commentators, and others have attempted to group a number of conservative political ideologies under the broad banner of "the alt-right," a move that has arguably normalized political views formerly considered extreme. The most widely accepted starting point, however, is that the alt-right is a branch of right-wing conservatism that emphasizes white supremacy, as well as implicit or explicit forms of racism. Primarily an online movement that began to emerge around 2010, the alt-right rose to prominence in 2016 as the Trump presidential campaign gathered momentum, with prominent self-identifying members of the movement publicly supporting Trump's "Make America Great Again" message.

Similarly, Breitbart's association with the alt-right and white identitarianism is complicated to parse. Breitbart has at times intentionally

obfuscated their positions, identifying with particular elements of the movement and decrying others, only to alter their stance at a later date. As an institution, they have often attempted to publicly dissociate themselves from the most overt white supremacist elements of the movement, such as neo-Nazism or the Ku Klux Klan, with Bannon referring to prominent American neo-Nazi Richard Spencer as a self-promoting “freak,” as well as accusing former KKK leader David Duke of using the Trump presidency as a means of staying in the public eye. However, Breitbart published a piece in 2016 titled “An Establishment Conservative’s Guide To The Alt-Right” that softened elements of the movement (the article characterizes one subgroup by comparing it to “the more reasonable white identitarians”) while affirming that many alt-righters “would rather [neo-Nazis] didn’t exist” (Bokhari & Yiannopoulos, 2016).

The combination of Breitbart’s appeals to some elements of the alt-right movement combined with their refusal to promote outright white supremacy, as well as a larger difficulty with trying to effectively categorize the alt-right, have led many to consider Breitbart as part of what has been termed the “alt-light.” Presenting as separate from both mainstream conservatism and the extreme elements of the alt-right, the “alt-light” will often publicly repudiate the most extreme white nationalist elements of the alt-right movement, while offering support for other parts of the movement, such as strict anti-immigrant policies. By presenting themselves as distinct from the alt-right, but willing to engage with some ideas offered by extreme elements of the Right, the alt-light can traverse both mainstream and fringe political discourses, providing channels for extremist ideas to enter the political mainstream.

Role During the 2016 Election

It is difficult to overstate the level of support that Breitbart provided to Trump over the course of his 2016 election campaign. While Trump’s upset in the general election against Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton is widely remembered, it is perhaps less well-remembered how Trump emerged from a large Republican field in the primaries to become the nominee and how Breitbart assisted him in doing so.

Trump initially distinguished himself from the rest of the field in a campaign speech that depicted the United States as a failing power on the world stage, directing anger at the politicians who had allowed this to happen, as well as immigrants from Mexico whom he referred to as “rapists” as well as “bringing drugs and crime.” Breitbart soon began to back Trump explicitly over many of the more moderate Republican candidates, not only in terms of positive coverage for his campaign but by making overt attacks on candidates who were depicted as part of the Republican establishment and out of touch with the feelings of the average American citizen. These emotional, populist appeals to “left-behind” voters perfectly aligned with the anti-globalist, anti-immigrant politics of Breitbart and galvanized Trump as a candidate distinct from the rest of the Republican field.

Having secured the Republican nomination, in August 2016, Trump hired Bannon as the chief executive of his campaign. Breitbart and Trump continued a similar strategy in the campaign against Hillary Clinton, by attacking her—as well as her husband, former President Bill Clinton—as part of the elite American political establishment who had failed the American people. Additionally, Breitbart began to increase attacks on mainstream media institutions, whom it routinely depicted as inherently biased toward Hillary Clinton instead of adhering to traditional norms of journalistic impartiality. These attacks were echoed by Trump, who routinely argued that he received unfair treatment from the press in comparison to Clinton. Not only did this affect conservative media outlets’ coverage of the election, which largely echoed Breitbart’s attacks, but it pressured mainstream media into drawing equivalencies between Clinton’s indiscretions and Trump’s. In this way, Breitbart was significantly influential in altering perceptions of Trump and Clinton in ways that reached far beyond its online audience. Trump’s eventual victory was not only celebrated as a political victory for Republicans but as a major triumph for Breitbart and conservative alternative media over established mainstream media institutions.

Breitbart Today

After the 2016 election, it appeared that Breitbart would continue ascendant for the duration of Trump's inaugural term, and possibly further beyond. Bannon was hired as Trump's chief strategist and special counsel, while contributors Julia Hahn and Sebastian Gorka also took positions within the Trump administration, forging an even closer link between the organization and the president. Yet as the administration was engulfed in controversies, from speculation over Russian interference in the election to backlash over Trump's draconian immigration policies, the relationship between Bannon and Trump began to deteriorate.

Press speculation over Bannon's disdain for many of Trump's White House staff, alongside Trump's resentment for Bannon receiving too much credit for his role in the administration, saw Bannon allegedly fired from his post in August 2017. Bannon returned to Breitbart but stepped down swiftly in January 2018 after it was revealed that he had spoken to author Michael Wolff for the book *Fire and Fury*, an insider account of the Trump White House in which Bannon referred to Trump's meetings with Russians before the 2016 election as "treasonous." By the spring of 2018, Bannon was doing consulting work for far-right political parties across Europe as part of a wider effort to further the nationalist-populist cause and was no longer involved with Breitbart in an official capacity.

Bannon's departure has led some to speculate that Breitbart has subsequently pursued a slightly more subdued editorial tone, but it is far from the only reason that Breitbart has attempted to tone down. Another reason was the emergence of the Sleeping Giants group, an activist organization that lobbies advertisers to boycott right-wing news sites such as Breitbart, which has significantly impacted Breitbart's economic viability. Additionally, algorithmic changes to Facebook's News Feed have limited the number of people that Breitbart can reach with their content, making their product less valuable to the advertisers that are attracted to them. There are signs that this shift in tone has benefited Breitbart.

As of late 2020, Breitbart found itself in an unusual position. It could no longer easily claim to

be a brash voice outside the echelons of mainstream American journalism, considering its close links with the administration of a sitting U.S. president. Nor could it—or would it want to—legitimately claim to be part of that mainstream, as much of the mainstream press was fundamentally at odds with Breitbart's predominantly pro-Trump messaging. Perhaps most crucially, by 2020, Breitbart was no longer the only outlet willing to bridge the ideological gap from the alt-right into mainstream Trumpian politics.

Numerous competitors have emerged online, each willing to put forth similar anti-immigrant, "pro-Western" views that mirror the output of Breitbart under Bannon. Even mainstream broadcast outlets such as Fox News have been accused of shifting further to the right in order to appeal to viewers who see traditional conservatism as too liberal. Whatever the future holds for Breitbart, it is perhaps its success in shifting conservative politics and conservative media in the United States toward an overtly nationalist-populist stance, as well as undermining public confidence in American mainstream media, that will be its lasting legacy.

Jason Roberts

See also Alternative News Media; Bias; Digital Journalism Ethics; Election Coverage, U.S.; Emotion in Journalism; Immigration, Coverage of; Internet: Impact on the Media; New Journalism; Presidents, Coverage of

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BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is a British public service broadcaster, comprising television, radio, and other electronic media outlets whose primary mission is to serve public needs for information and entertainment. Established by Royal Charter in 1922, the BBC is the world's oldest broadcaster headquartered at Broadcasting House in Westminster, London. It is also among the largest broadcasters in the world, employing more than 28,500 staff in 2019. Operating under an Agreement with the Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, the work of the BBC is primarily funded by an annual television licensing fee paid by companies and British households that use any type of equipment to receive or record live broadcasts. The BBC's domestic broadcasting services are financed by television licenses and the government sets the level of the license fee, which is also used to fund the BBC's television, radio, and online services that cover United Kingdom, nationally. This also funds the BBC World Service, which broadcasts internationally in 28 languages, reaching an average of 279 million people a week in 2020.

The BBC has a governing body called the BBC Trust, which issues a service license to every BBC service and sets the key direction through four strategic objectives for the BBC. It works to uphold the independence and standards of the

corporation. As a body it is separate from the BBC executive body that manages the key delivery of BBC's services and is led by the director general. This entry discusses the growth and evolution of the BBC from a radio company to a globally influential broadcaster. In the process, it also traces many milestones and controversies that have contributed to its expansion and reputation.

Founding Years: Establishing a Presence

Renowned for its high journalistic standards, the BBC plays an important role in the lives of British people as well as loyal listeners around the world. Colloquially referred to as Auntie Beeb or The Beeb, it has been described as the most visible international identity of any British institution. It is a curious behemoth, being a conglomerate while remaining in the public sector with a worldwide reputation for its programs and reportage. John Reith, a Scottish Calvinist, appointed general manager in 1922, a few weeks after its first official broadcast, set what is known as the Reithian directives and which the BBC still follows—inform, educate, and entertain.

From the beginning Reith was keen that the BBC remained a public service entity rather than a corporate or commercial one. The 1926 general strike in the United Kingdom proved to be a turning point in the growth of the BBC. Called by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, it was an unsuccessful attempt to force the government to implement better working conditions and wage protection for the beleaguered coal miners. The government was ready and ensured that essential services were not hit, but the production and printing of newspapers was affected in a way that left the BBC as the main source of news. There was a bit of a tussle between Winston Churchill, who wanted to use the broadcasting prowess of the BBC to best advantage, and Reith, who wanted to postulate an impartial character to the BBC. The coverage of the miners by the BBC impressed the public who were largely unaware that broadcasts from the Labor Party had been banned by government orders. The miners nicknamed the BBC the "BFC" for British Falsehood Company. Official BBC Historian and Professor of Media History, Jean Seaton, has described this

as the start of “modern propaganda in its British form” (Curran & Seaton, 2003). Churchill remained one of the BBC’s fiercest critics, and much had been written about his battle with the entity. Feeling excluded from the airwaves prior to World War II, Churchill “complained that he had been very badly treated . . . and that he was always muzzled by the BBC” (Robinson, 2012). This has largely been considered the motive behind the Television Act 1954 that permitted the creation of ITV, Britain’s first commercial network, which is today considered a competitor.

In its long and distinguished history, this was the earliest controversy the BBC faced but it certainly was not the last. Arguments over its impartiality has risen since 1927, the time it became a public body. During the Cold War, the BBC had MI5 (United Kingdom’s domestic counterintelligence and security agency and is part of its intelligence machinery) officers vetting applications. As a 2006 report in *The Observer* said, various secret files showed that when the conflict with the Nazis was at its zenith, the BBC was infused by anti-communist suspicion bordering on paranoia to remove so-called subversives. Documents later made public by MI5 show that folk singer Ewan MacColl and his wife and theatre producer, Joan Littlewood, had been banned. Scholars have compared this to the CBS newsroom at the height of McCarthyism in the United States.

Reith’s legacy is not without its fair share of quibbles either. In her 2006 book *My Father—Reith of the BBC*, Marista Leishman, his daughter, said that he banned the playing of jazz music on the BBC, writing a diary entry that said, “Germany has banned hot jazz and I’m sorry that we should be behind in dealing with this filthy product of modernity” (Leishman, 2006, p. 148). This had little impact on the prominence of jazz, which as a 2019 survey showed was beating classical music in audience preferences. During the war, there was strict censoring of music from Axis nations. Today, the organization has an extremely strict stance on editorializing matters whether on air or on social media. In 1933, Vernon Bartlett’s on-air commentary on the Nation’s Disarmament Conference invoked intense criticism leading to his resignation.

The BBC has been criticized as being supportive of elite views long before the 2019 Naga

Munchetty controversy, in which the celebrated presenter of programs like *BBC Breakfast News* was reprimanded for her comments on racism. In 1965, *The War Game*, a British pseudo-documentary film on nuclear war and its devastation, written and directed by Peter Watkins, was withdrawn because its contents were deemed much too alarming to be broadcast. In 1967, the film won an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature. Despite such complaints, the BBC remains one of the most trusted sources of news in the United Kingdom. For example, during major incidents with global ramifications, such as the 2005 London bombings, audiences turn overwhelmingly to the BBC.

While these incidents may seem against the spirit of unbiased reporting that the BBC adopts, impartiality, for the BBC, is extremely important. Reith, in his book *Broadcast Over Britain* (1924), had mentioned that persuading the public about concepts of impartiality would not be easy but was extremely necessary. These views were amply supported by Tony Hall, who was director general from 2013 to 2020 and believed that in how the venerable conventions of journalism work under the pressures and demands that changing times bring must be considered. Perhaps, the 1940 explosion that rocked the building while Bruce Belfrage read the 9 p.m. news is an indicator of the way the organization values news and audiences. Seven BBC staff members were killed. Audiences heard the explosion as Belfrage paused for a moment in the dust-covered studio before completing the bulletin.

The BBC has grown not just nationally but internationally as well with its World Service. The BBC News is the largest newsgathering procedure in the world. This system provides service to network services such as the BBC News service and BBC World News. To reach audiences and increase its reach, the corporation has applications, podcasts, and its famed BBC Mobile as well as email and other digital alerts.

To ensure seamless service, the BBC has built a strong online presence that includes an easy-to-search archive and a well updated website, which has grown from the BBC Networking Club, its first online service launched on May 11, 1994. BBC figures say that this is Europe’s most popular site, visited by millions in the United Kingdom

alone. The site is funded by licensing fees, but advertisers can display ads that can be viewed by audiences outside the United Kingdom and Europe.

Constituting International Services

The world's largest international broadcasting service, BBC World Service, is owned and operated by the BBC. Funded by the profits of BBC Studios, the United Kingdom's television license fee, and limited advertising, the BBC broadcasts in over 40 languages, reaching an average of 279 million people, per week, via television, radio, and online. This licensing fee has often been criticized by other broadcasters as being unfair advantage that prevents fair competition. This service that broadcasts 24 hours was inaugurated December 19, 1932, as the BBC Empire Service. At the outset, not much was expected from this and Reith had his doubts, thinking that they may not be very intriguing. The first disruptions to the service happened in 1985 due to protests when workers rallied against the British government's decision to ban the documentary featuring an interview with Martin McGuinness, the Irish republican Sinn Féin politician who was the deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland from May 2007 to January 2017, but the project reconvened and recent figures show that it returned profits amounting to £210.5 million to the BBC.

Today, the BBC World Service encompasses a 24-hour English global radio network and other services in 27 other languages. Most of these programs are available on the BBC website and mobile applications. As its website says, its primary role is to use BBC brands and shows to build its reputation among audiences and champion British creativity globally. The UK government allocated the service £289 million (over a 5-year period ending in 2020), and in its largest expansion since the 1940s, in November 2016, the BBC announced that it would start broadcasting in languages like Amharic and Igbo. In 2017, figures from the BBC showed that the BBC Natural History, premium drama, and local adaptations of hit UK shows were globally its most popular programs. Besides, the impact of *Planet Earth II*, *Sherlock* and *Doctor Foster* can be felt

in different parts of the world. For example, *Father Brown* and *DCI Banks* are popular in Sweden. News is at the core of BBC's identity. The *Global News* podcast is broadcast twice a day, and figures from the BBC show that it was downloaded more than 300 million times.

In Africa, the BBC World Service website lists 80 FM stations broadcasting content from the United Kingdom, South Africa, Ascension Island, Cyprus, and the BBC Atlantic Relay Station with much of the schedule focusing on Africa-specific programs like *Africa, Have Your Say* and *Focus Africa*.

In Asia, the largest audiences are those listening in the languages of English, Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, Bengali, Sinhala, Tamil, Marathi, and other major languages of South Asia. But censorship in Russia, Iran, Iraq, Burma, and China have often resulted in BBC World services, especially programs cast in English and Mandarin, being jammed. In a 2012 World Service submission to the Foreign Affairs Select Committee inquiry into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Performance and Finances, the BBC had included a section on media freedom and noted that "concerns have been growing about the global threat to impartial and independent news through censorship and intimidation" (p. EV 52). Strict censorship at the BBC existed during World War II when nothing could be added to predecided news casts. Its wide radio channels across Europe were used to transmit American broadcasts across Europe.

Strong Regional Broadcasting

When the Second World War broke out, the BBC replaced its national regional programming with a single channel called the BBC Home Service. The BBC's international broadcasts are popular, but as a broadcasting organization, it also has a strong focus on regional programming. In the document *Extending Choice*, its preliminary contribution to the public debate, the corporation unambiguously stated that the BBC is the British Broadcasting Corporation, not to be mistaken as the London Broadcasting Corporation. It made clear that keeping in touch with the views, changing tastes, and priorities of audiences throughout the United Kingdom was imperative and that programming

had to reflect the diversity that different regions and cultures in the country had.

In July 2020, the organization announced that nearly 450 jobs in its English regional TV news and current affairs, local radio, and online news were to be cut. New program changes are also on the chopping block. The magazine program *Inside Out* will be replaced by 30-min investigative episodes made in Newcastle, London, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol and Norwich.

Important Milestones

CNN has described the BBC as “one of the biggest commissioners of content in the world and an important global launching pad for seminal shows and creators from Dr. Who to Phoebe Waller-Bridge (Gold, 2020).” With 75 bureaus in the world, the BBC has many milestones to its credit beginning from its first broadcast in 1922 to its television launched in 1936 but suspended till 1939 for World War II. It was among the earliest broadcasters in 1948 to televise the Olympic Games. Its live broadcast of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 was watched by more than 27 million people. In July 1985, the BBC Live Aid concerts were among the largest satellite link-ups with an estimated global viewership of 400 million viewers. In 1951, *The Archers*, the world’s longest running drama with over 19,200 episodes, first aired. In the *EastEnders*, on air since 1985, the BBC used concepts of entertainment and education to talk about AIDS and its aftermath. The BBC aired in color in 1967. In a recent report, the Office of Communications (Ofcom) said that the BBC must do much more to ensure relevance to audiences that are used to YouTube and social media for news.

Young people are an important aspect of the BBC and few organizations have done as much as the BBC to bring computers, coding, and programming to young people in the United Kingdom. In 2015, BBC launched the Make it Digital, a major UK-wide initiative focused on encouraging young people to create digital products. Aimed at addressing the severe digital skills shortage, the project ensured that school students in England and Wales received a micro:bit, a pocket-sized codable computer, developed by the BBC to become more active media consumers. Created in

conjunction with 29 other organizations, the BBC worked with Computing at School to equip teachers with the skills to use micro:bit effectively in classrooms.

In keeping with the times, on April 2020, the BBC announced that it will provide daily programming comprising quizzes, articles, podcasts, and other children’s lessons to help students with schoolwork during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. The BBC has collaborated with companies such as the Royal Shakespeare Company and Puffin Books to support education in the United Kingdom. This is among the largest education efforts the BBC has ever initiated.

The BBC is also following and seeking out audiences online and on social media. The BBC’s approach to social media has been visual, and through the BBC shorts, short 15-second videos about trending stories, the organization plans to draw viewers to social media sites such as Instagram, Twitter, and Tumblr. A 2019 Ofcom report has stated that audiences on social media seek out the BBC as a reliable and authoritative source of news often giving BBC news and stories more likes and shares than *The Guardian*, its nearest competitor. Although comments online are almost always positive, audiences tend to vent about current affairs rather than the stories posted on social media. As its presence on social media show, the BBC appears to be valued for its documentaries and humanistic coverage of issues. The BBC’s famed impartiality is present online as well, as personal views and editorializing are not allowed online. It has a very strict approach to trolls especially in the sports section, stating that they will block offenders and report issues to the authorities, in a special move to maintain and ensure equality in the coverage of sports, including women’s sports.

Criticisms of Relevance

Yet the BBC’s in-depth reporting, investigative journalism, holding officials accountable, creative programming and reflecting the diversity of the country is important in the current polarized and uncivil environment. Politics is more populist, and streaming services and over-the-top media platforms are posing a serious challenge to the ways audiences consume news. Many have asked, Is the BBC still

relevant and how is it poised to handle the disruptions of the digital age? The BBC's losses provide impetus to those opposed to the public service model of broadcasting. In its early years, its competition was the concert halls and other media like theater and the recording companies. Today, its closest competitors are other broadcasters such as CNN, ITV, Channel 4, Sky PLC, and Viacom.

Once accused of dismally underserving minority populations, the organization has emerged a strong supporter of diversity. The BBC announced in June 2020, that it plans to spend \$124 million on more diverse programming. Now the corporation has a rule that as of April 2021 all new programming must have at least 20% diverse talent. Apprenticeship programs have been expanded to appeal to those from all backgrounds and include 10% differently abled people. Emphasizing their dedication to diversity and representation, the BBC Director-General has also, recently, made clear that the strength of the BBC lies in its breadth and reach in the United Kingdom, which puts it in a unique position to lead and show by example how to address and work with the demands of changing times and effect true and lasting social change.

Paromita Pain

See also British Commercial News Broadcasting; Broadcast, or Broadcasting

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BRITISH BROADCASTING REGULATION

Regulation has played a major role in the development of British broadcast journalism. In a number of areas, British broadcasting regulation has been more rigorous and extensive than that in other Western democracies. British regulators have set high standards for broadcast content—not only in traditional areas for regulation such as taste and offense (the portrayal of sex and violence, offensive language) but also in journalism—requiring broadcast news and current affairs to be both accurate and impartial.

As well as setting content standards, regulators have also been closely involved in determining the structure of British broadcasting and assessing the quality of its program output. Regulation has extended to the scheduling and length of news programs, their resources and budgets, as well as the amount of current affairs programming. At the same time, the regulatory bodies, in a country that does not have the same constitutional protection of freedom of expression as the United States, have had to maintain their own independence from political and commercial influence and protect the independence of the broadcasters.

For much of the 20th century, this approach to broadcasting regulation helped ensure high programming standards in both publicly funded and commercial broadcasters. The benefits of this competition were most clearly seen in journalism, where the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and its commercial counterparts were encouraged to devote substantial resources and air time to high-quality journalism. But with the growth of a more competitive media market in multichannel television and online media at the end of the century, the traditional British model came under severe pressure, and the role of regulation in commercial broadcasting began to weaken, although it continued to have a major role in publicly

funded broadcasting such as the BBC. The implications for British broadcast journalism were significant. This entry opens with a discussion of the BBC, and then examines commercial television, independence and impartiality in British broadcasting regulation, as well as harm and offense standards. The entry also comments on the effects of multichannel television with respect to regulation, a 21st-century shift in the structure of regulation, and editorial and managerial scandals that led the BBC into crisis. The entry closes with a look at the structure of regulation recommended by a government-appointed independent committee and its implementation.

The BBC

British broadcasting regulation began in 1926 with the first BBC charter. The BBC at the time had a monopoly on radio, and politicians wanted to ensure that it could not be captured by any special interest. The BBC charter gave the job of regulating to the BBC Board of Governors, 12 men and women appointed by the Crown on the advice of the government to ensure that the BBC was properly managed, that its programs met the required standards, and that it remained independent. The charter was renewed and reviewed every 10 years until the replacement of the governors by a new body—the BBC Trust—in 2006.

From the start, the BBC was expected to be impartial in its coverage of public affairs and not broadcast its own or its staff's opinions. Impartiality became an essential part of the BBC's culture, and the governors were responsible for regulating it. The 1996 charter reinforced this by formally requiring the governors to ensure that controversial subjects were treated with due impartiality, but it was only making explicit a requirement that had existed for more than 70 years.

The governors combined these regulatory responsibilities with the strategic direction of the BBC—hiring and firing the director-general (chief executive) and approving the BBC's budget. Constitutionally, the governors *were* the BBC, putting them in the unusual position of being both regulator and part of the organization they were regulating. This led, at the end of the century, to growing criticisms that their regulation of the BBC was insufficiently independent and rigorous—that in

arguments over BBC news coverage, for example, or the way the BBC's growing commercial activities affected its competitors, the governors had been “captured” by the management and would support it against valid outside criticism.

Commercial Television

The arrival of commercial Independent Television (ITV) in Britain in 1955 meant the BBC faced competition for the first time. A separate regulatory structure was created to ensure that the new commercial stations were in some ways as tightly regulated as the publicly funded BBC. Initially, the regulators—first the Independent Television Authority and, from 1972, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA)—were legally the broadcasters and had the right to decide what could be broadcast. The regulators also had enormous power over the regional companies that made up the ITV Network. The regulators awarded and renewed their licenses on the basis of the companies' promises to deliver high-quality programming in areas such as regional and national news, education, current affairs, and documentaries.

The regulators would set quotas for the amount of programming in different categories and for the amount of regionally based production—local news and documentaries, for example. In addition, the commercial broadcasters were subject to the same content regulation as the BBC in areas such as taste and offense—as well as the same obligations of accuracy and impartiality in news.

When a second commercial channel—Channel 4—was launched in 1982, it was again subject to tight regulatory control. Although its role was to innovate, it was also clearly part of public service broadcasting. The regulator set out the channel's program content in some detail, including the minimum amounts of time to be devoted to different genres—such as news, documentaries, and education. The result was the launch of Channel 4 News in 1982, a 50-minute-long nightly news analysis program combining news and current affairs that rapidly became one of the channel's iconic programs.

When the license for the third commercial broadcaster—Channel 5—was awarded in 1996, the regulator gave the license to the company that had the most ambitious news plans, and *Five*

News, with a new, informal, style of presentation, rapidly became one of the key programs on the new network. The *Five News* newscaster, Kirsty Young, the first woman to be the principal newscaster of a UK network, presented while perched on a desk in the newsroom or walking around, rather than seated behind a conventional desk on a conventional news set. *Five News* also made more use of video diaries and user-generated content than its competitors. Both of these new news services were subject to the same regulatory obligations on impartiality.

A similar regulatory model was adopted when commercial radio was introduced into the United Kingdom in 1973. Licenses were awarded on promises of performance, and stations were encouraged to provide current affairs programming and news as well as music. Radio journalism too was required to be impartial.

In 1990, the Broadcasting Act set up two new regulators for commercial television. The Independent Television Commission (ITC) took over most of the IBA's functions but no longer had the right to censor programs before they were broadcast. And somewhat confusingly, the ITC had to share responsibility for content standards and complaints with a new, separate regulator, the Broadcasting Standards Council, whose authority was also extended to hearing standards complaints about BBC programs (except for those related to impartiality and accuracy). Radio received its own regulator, the Radio Authority. The multiplicity of commercial regulators was all replaced in 2003 by a new single regulator, the Office of Communications (Ofcom).

Independence

A key objective of British broadcasting regulation, in addition to high programming standards, is independence. The BBC governors and the members of the various commercial regulators were mainly independent figures from the professions—such as lawyers and academics, business executives from media and nonmedia industries, and people with experience in creative arts, such as writers and directors—rather than politicians. They were expected to operate in the public interest rather than as representatives of any party. As politicians became more aware of the growing

influence of television, from the 1960s onward, there were tensions between broadcasters and the government that often found expression in arguments over regulation.

Generally, regulators tried to maintain their own independence as well as that of the broadcasters, but there have been occasions where they were seen to bow to government pressure, particularly over coverage of the tense political and religious situation in Northern Ireland. In 1978, the government of James Callaghan persuaded the IBA to use its powers of pretransmission censorship to pull from the schedule a current affairs documentary by Thames Television, the biggest ITV company at the time, on allegations of ill treatment of suspected members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in the Castlereagh interrogation center in Northern Ireland.

In 1985, the BBC governors, under pressure from the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, previewed and stopped transmission of *At the Edge of the Union*, a documentary that featured the Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness. Sinn Fein was the political wing of the IRA and McGuinness, as well as being a prominent figure in Sinn Fein, was also believed at the time to be an IRA commander. The decision of the governors led to a protest strike by BBC staff. At the insistence of the director-general, who argued that as editor in chief of the BBC the final decision was his, the program was later broadcast.

On other occasions, the regulators stood firm. In 1986, the IBA defied a government request to ban the transmission of *Death on the Rock*, a current affairs documentary by Thames that challenged the official version of the killing by British security forces of three IRA terrorists in Gibraltar. In 1988, after the Thatcher government had failed to persuade the broadcasters and the regulators to stop programs carrying interviews with members of Sinn Fein, the government bypassed the regulators and ordered a ban on Sinn Fein and other republican voices heard on the airwaves. The broadcasters, with the support of their regulators, continued to interview republicans, but had their words voiced by actors. The ban was eventually lifted in 1994.

In 2003, the BBC governors backed a BBC broadcast that alleged that Prime Minister Tony Blair's government had deliberately misled the

public when it claimed before the Iraq War that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. The BBC's source, a government scientist, Dr. David Kelly, was revealed and committed suicide. A judicial inquiry into the affair by Lord Hutton found that the most damaging part of the story—the allegation of dishonesty—was untrue. The BBC's management and governors were severely criticized. The publication of the Hutton Report in January 2004 provoked the biggest crisis in the BBC's history. Gavyn Davies, the chairman, resigned on the day of publication. The next day, Greg Dyke, the director-general, resigned, having failed to win the full support of the Board of Governors.

Impartiality

One of the most striking characteristics of British broadcasting regulation is its insistence that news and current affairs should report on controversial subjects with *due impartiality*—that is, not show any bias in favor of any argument or party. This obligation was actively policed by the regulators, who also acted as the final court of appeal in the event of any complaint that a program had failed to show impartiality. The BBC governors and their replacement, the BBC Trust, were responsible for impartiality on the BBC; the commercial regulators had similar responsibilities for all other broadcasting.

Impartiality was an essential part of the culture of British broadcasting from the start and continued to be a key value into the 21st century. It was recognized and appreciated by the audience—surveys of public opinion show that broadcast journalism was far ahead of print journalism in its reputation with the public for accuracy and fairness. As trust in many British institutions and professions—including politicians—declined in the last quarter of the 20th century, public trust in broadcast journalism remained high. In 2004, a major independent review of UK government communications by Bob Phillis, the chief executive of the Guardian Media Group, reported research that showed 74% of the British public trusted television newscasters to tell the truth, compared with 36% for civil servants and 29% for business leaders. The report also pointed out that in the 2003 Iraq War, 70% of the British

public thought television news was the most trustworthy source of information, compared with 14% for radio and just 6% for newspapers.

The notion of impartiality is a controversial one. Some critics argue that it is unachievable—that what the broadcasters call *impartiality* is simply their preferred bias—though critics disagree over whether the bias is too liberal or too conservative. At the start of the 21st century, a new criticism of impartiality arose—that it was irrelevant in a world of multiple news sources where plurality mattered more than impartiality. It was argued that impartiality rules should only apply to the traditional UK public service broadcasters and not to foreign news channels such as Fox News and Al Jazeera.

Harm and Offense

British broadcasting regulation has always set content standards in areas such as harm and offense—bad language, portrayal of sex and violence, the protection of children from inappropriate content at times when they were likely to be watching television—as well as fairness in the way broadcasters behave regarding issues such as respecting individuals' right to privacy and proper treatment of interviewees and contributors. The regulators' role has been to try and strike a balance between freedom of expression and the rights of broadcasters to be creative and experimental. They and the broadcasters evolved a system of programming codes and guidelines to make clear what was permitted, and the regulators acted as the court of final appeal in the case of complaints about programs.

The regulators also have the role of policing the “watershed” in British television. This is a rule that material unsuitable for family viewing is not shown on broadcast channels before 9:00 p.m. In making their judgments on taste, the regulators have always taken into account the time at which programs were broadcast and the likely composition and expectations of the audience.

Regulators have substantial powers to punish broadcasters who break their codes and guidelines. They can require the offending program to be re-edited, prevent its retransmission, and, in many cases, fine the broadcasters. They are particularly concerned about the honesty of

broadcast journalism. In 1999, the ITC fined Carlton Television, a leading ITV company, the record sum of £2 million for broadcasting *The Connection*, a documentary on the cocaine trade that had faked a number of sequences.

The End of the Duopoly

The unique British experiment in regulating all broadcasting as a public service could only exist as long as there was effectively a duopoly of the BBC and the commercial broadcasters, who in turn enjoyed a monopoly on advertising revenue. The arrival of multichannel television—particularly Rupert Murdoch’s BSkyB in 1990—changed that stable situation, as satellite and cable television services were subject to much lighter regulation. The commercial television regulators were responsible, however, for ensuring that news programs on multichannel television (such as Sky News, the first 24-hour British news channel) met existing national standards for impartiality.

Margaret Thatcher’s 1980–1991 government used regulation to inject further competition into what it saw as a complacent and overmanned industry. The 1990 Broadcasting Act marked the beginning of the end of the long British experiment in public service broadcasting. The new commercial regulator, the ITC, was given the job of awarding new ITV licenses when they came up for renewal in 1992, not on the basis of program promises, as in the past, but in a blind auction where once a minimum-quality threshold had been met the highest bidder received the license.

The new ITV companies lobbied the ITC to be allowed to make cost savings through mergers and to be relieved of the most expensive of their surviving public service obligations. By 2003, ITV in England and Wales was one company. Although some programming obligations remained, these were seen as living on borrowed time as Britain moved toward its digital transition (planned for 2008–2012) at the end of which, the ITV companies argued, their licenses were no longer worth enough to justify providing expensive programming such as regional news. They had agreed to invest in these genres when their licenses, in an era of spectrum scarcity, gave them a near monopoly of television advertising. The move to digital meant that their competitors could take channels

on the new platforms without having to make expensive promises to the regulator.

In the new, more commercial environment, regulators allowed broadcasters, particularly ITV, to cut back on their commitments to news and current affairs. ITV lost its dominant position in regional news to the BBC. ITV also fought a long battle with the regulators in the 1990s to move its most successful network news program, *News at Ten*, from its regular weeknight slot to make way for entertainment programming. The move proved a disaster for ITV, which eventually restored the news to its traditional slot in 2008, by which time it had lost much of its news audience to the BBC.

The New Age of Regulation

At the start of the 21st century, two new institutions were created that marked a significant shift in the structure of British broadcast regulation. In 2003, the Blair government (1995–2007) set up a new telecommunications and broadcasting regulator, the Office of Communications, or Ofcom. This agency policed surviving public service obligations such as regional production quotas and was given an overarching role as a “converged” regulator, to consider long-term policy in the telecoms and broadcasting fields as the two industries came closer together. It was responsible for all content standards in commercial television and all standards, except impartiality and accuracy, for the BBC.

Ofcom published a series of far-reaching reviews of public service broadcasting from 2004 to 2008 that suggested a difficult future for commercial broadcast journalism. In particular, in its analysis of the future of news in 2007, it put forward that ITV, the main commercial channel, would not be able to afford regional news in the long term. Ofcom offered various options for broadcast financing in the future—including the possibility of some of the BBC license fee being “top-sliced” (taking some of the license fee income that had always been given only to the BBC and giving it to Channel 4 and others) to help subsidize commercial public service broadcasters.

An equally significant change took place in BBC regulation. When the BBC’s charter was renewed in 2006, the governors were replaced by a new body, the BBC Trust, tasked with

representing the interests of licence fee payers (the British audience) and being more clearly independent of BBC management. It retained the governors' old responsibility for accuracy and impartiality.

The new system's first real test was a series of scandals in 2007 involving dishonest programming by both BBC and commercial broadcasters. Radio programs had been broadcasting faked calls from viewers. The results of television competitions had been rigged. Viewers had been encouraged to take part in phone competitions (and charged high tariffs for the privilege) when the competition had already closed and their calls had no chance of winning or being counted.

Ofcom and the BBC Trust both commissioned independent investigations into what had gone wrong. A number of producers lost their jobs; commercial companies and the BBC were fined; and new and tougher guidelines and rules were introduced. The scandals did not involve journalistic programs, and public trust in broadcast journalism was not undermined.

BBC in Crisis

However, a few years later, the BBC Trust was itself overwhelmed by editorial and managerial scandals. In 2012, one of the BBC's most famous entertainment figures, Jimmy Savile, was exposed to have been a serial pedophile, raping and abusing hundreds of children he met through his BBC work over a period of more than 20 years. Savile had died in 2011 and his victims began to tell their stories. BBC journalists on the main news analysis program, *Newsnight*, had started work on an exposé, but their editors had stopped it. ITV then took up the story and transmitted a documentary on Savile that was seen as the journalistic scoop of the year. To make matters worse, another team on the same *Newsnight* program then falsely implicated a wholly innocent politician in an unrelated sex abuse scandal. The BBC's newly appointed director-general, George Entwistle, was forced to resign after 54 days on the job. Independent investigations cleared the BBC management of deliberate cover-ups, but were highly critical of the decision not to run the story and of the BBC's failure over many years to spot the evidence of what Savile had been doing. The BBC management and

the Trust then came under further fire for their handling of a controversial series of senior executive pay-offs and the apparent lack of control and accountability. A UK parliamentary committee, which investigated the debacle in 2013, concluded that the BBC's governance system was broken.

A New Structure

The government appointed an independent committee to recommend a future structure. It proposed that the Trust be replaced by a unitary board of executives and nonexecutives which would manage the BBC, with Ofcom as the external regulatory responsible both for its overall strategy and its editorial content, including the accuracy and impartiality of its news and current affairs. This was an historic decision for BBC journalism. It meant that for the first time, the BBC was no longer the final arbiter of the impartiality and accuracy of its news coverage. The new system took over in 2017 with the start of the BBC's renewed 10-year charter and began with some signs of strain. Sharon White, the chief executive of Ofcom, noted a fundamental tension in the relationship between Ofcom and the corporation. However, Ofcom's early decisions did not suggest, as some had feared, that it would curb the BBC's editorial independence. It defended the BBC's journalism from complaints by pro-Leave politicians about its coverage of Brexit after the 2016 referendum. Its first review of the BBC's journalism, in 2019, was notable for criticizing the BBC for not being bold enough in its approach to fake news and what it called the *false equivalence* between accurate and inaccurate information.

The new structure of regulation meant all British broadcasting was under the same regulator, though with very different obligations, reflecting the fact that the commercial and publicly funded parts of British broadcasting were parting ways at the start of the 21st century. The BBC was to continue to be tightly regulated, as an organization paid for by the public through the television license fee. The commercial sector could look forward to lighter regulation. However, public and political support for high-quality, impartial broadcast news, guaranteed by external regulation, remained as perhaps the last enduring journalistic

legacy of the British experience with public service broadcasting.

Richard Graham Tait

See also Al Jazeera; Bias; British Broadcasting Corporation; British Commercial News Broadcasting; Fox News; Indecency and Obscenity

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BRITISH COMMERCIAL NEWS BROADCASTING

Since 1955, British commercial broadcast journalism services have provided an alternative to and competition for the publicly funded British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). For 60 years, that competition has resulted in high levels of investment in broadcast journalism, both news and current affairs, and high standards of editorial and production quality together with a commitment, in the main, to a quality editorial agenda. Journalism on commercial networks has been supported by a regulatory regime that rewarded investment in high-quality news and current affairs and insisted on impartiality and accuracy as the key journalistic values. For most of the period, commercial broadcast journalism enjoyed a reputation for enterprising and investigative reporting and was seen to match the BBC for quality. At the end of the 20th century, however, growing competition for audiences and the progressive deregulation of British television led to a decline in the significance of broadcast journalism in commercial television. By the early 21st century, one of the major issues as Britain switched to digital television was how much of that journalist heritage would survive. However, British commercial news broadcasting has so far proved the pessimists wrong and, as of 2021, remains an important source of impartial and accurate journalism. This entry examines network news on the Independent Television Authority (ITA) and discusses the *News at Ten*, *Channel 4 News*, and *Five News* broadcasts, as well as current affairs and regional news. The entry also presents a brief overview of British cable and satellite news and radio news. Finally, the entry looks at effects of the deregulation of the British television market and the arrival of digital television, the direction of British commercial public service broadcasting in the digital age, and major changes in the sector of British commercial broadcast journalism.

Network News on Independent Television

When commercial television was launched in the United Kingdom in 1955, it was as a network of regional companies. None of them had the resources or expertise to produce national and international news. Despite that, the then regulator, the ITA, insisted that the Independent Television (ITV) companies provide high-quality national and international news as part of their license obligations. With the regulator's encouragement, they set up a separate company, Independent Television News (ITN), to provide the network news service. It soon established itself as an enterprising and innovative operation. Geoffrey Cox, ITN's editor from 1956 to 1968, was one of the creators of modern television news in the United Kingdom. Where the BBC had used presenters to read the news, he hired experienced journalists to write as well as read news stories. ITN soon also employed the first woman newscaster (Barbara Mandell) in British television.

Cox introduced interviews into news programs, making headlines with a controversial interview by his star interviewer, Robin Day (later the BBC's main current affairs interviewer), with President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt in 1957, a few months after British forces had temporarily seized the Suez Canal. ITN's news coverage was equally enterprising and daring. When the Soviet Union crushed an uprising in Hungary in 1956, ITN's cameraman shot the classic pictures of the column of Soviet T34 tanks heading for Budapest. During the 1960s, ITN developed the technique of the "reporter package"—cutting pictures to match the correspondent's commentary—which had been pioneered by CBS and other American broadcasters. Cox was convinced that television news should be accurate and impartial and have the same high ethical standards as the BBC. He helped ensure that the culture of impartiality was deeply embedded in British broadcast journalism.

News at Ten

Cox's most important innovation came at the end of his editorship. In 1967, he persuaded the regulator and the skeptical ITV companies to experiment with a 30-minute news program in prime

time—at 10 p.m. on weeknights. The broadcast was called *News at Ten* and it immediately established itself as one of the most important programs on the network, with audiences regularly in the top 20 or even top 10 ITV programs of the week. In 1968, it was the most popular show on British television on three occasions, and for 30 years, it remained a fixed point in the ITV schedule. Its newscasters from Alastair Burnet to Trevor McDonald—the first Black journalist to be a British television network's principal newscaster—became household names. Its style of presentation owed something to American network news at the time with a combination of serious, frontline reporting and stories with a popular touch—the program often ending with a lighter, human interest item introduced with the words “and finally . . .”

Starting in the 1970s, ITN offered three main newscasts each weekday—at lunchtime, in the early evening, and *News at Ten*. The company had a reputation for technical innovation—making effective use of lightweight electronic newsgathering cameras, video editing, computer graphics, and satellite newsgathering. ITN usually matched and sometimes beat the BBC in its coverage of major events—elections, space shots, the fall of European communism, and the 1990–1991 Gulf War. However, its owners did not allow it to diversify into current affairs or regional news, and it entered the 1990s too dependent on its contract with ITV and on the reputation and prestige of *News at Ten*.

Channel 4 News

When Channel 4 was launched in 1982, its remit was to provide a commercially funded alternative to both the BBC and ITV. Nowhere was that more evident than in its news service. Channel 4 was a publisher/broadcaster—it did not make its own programs but commissioned them from independent producers. It commissioned its news from ITN, but with the brief to be very different from the ITV service. Where ITV was appealing to the mass audience, *Channel 4 News*, at 7:00 p.m. each weeknight, was unashamedly highbrow—combining news and current affairs in an hour-long program with specialist reporting, in-depth analysis, and studio interviews.

After a disastrous start with zero ratings, *Channel 4 News* was turned around by its second editor, Stewart Purvis, who soon made it one of the channel's most respected programs and a key part of its assignment from the regulator. Like *News at Ten*, it became a fixed point in its channel's schedule and its investigative, in-depth approach to journalism won it numerous industry awards. In 1992, a joint *Channel 4 News/News at Ten* team discovered the Bosnian Serb detention camps at Trnopolje and Omarska. The pictures of emaciated Bosnian Muslim prisoners, which were rapidly distributed around the world, caused an international outcry.

Five News

The last over-the-air television network, free to air to audiences with an antenna, to launch in Britain was *Five News*. It had a much smaller budget than ITV and Channel 4, but the company that had won the license had promised the regulator a high-quality news service with a distinctive approach to news, aimed at a younger audience than its competitors. *Five News* initially commissioned ITN to produce the program, presented by Kirsty Young, the first woman to be chosen as principal presenter of any British network's news service. While her (predominantly male) rivals sat behind desks in conventional news studios, she perched on a desk in the middle of the newsroom.

The program launched in the middle of the British general election in 1997 and rapidly established itself as one of *Five News's* most distinctive and admired offerings, with an appeal to younger viewers who were turning away from more conventional newscasts. A number of its innovative approaches to news production—video diaries and deconstructing the reporter package—were copied by other programs.

Current Affairs

From the early days of ITV, the regional companies were obliged by the regulator to produce and broadcast serious current affairs programming in prime time. Over the first 40 years of its history, ITV produced an impressive amount of analytical

and investigative journalism—notably two flagship programs in prime time.

The first, *This Week*, began in 1956. It was produced by the company that held the London weekday franchise, initially Associated Rediffusion and then its successor, Thames Television. It specialized in controversy and investigations—bringing it into conflict with the British government, particularly over tensions within Northern Ireland. In 1977, a program criticizing the treatment of Irish terrorist suspects was pulled from the schedules by the regulator under government pressure. In 1988, a program titled *Death on the Rock* challenged the official version of the circumstances in which three members of an Irish Republican Army (IRA) unit had been killed by British security forces in Gibraltar. There was speculation that *Death on the Rock* was a factor in the government of Margaret Thatcher deciding to have a blind auction for ITV licenses in 1991, as a result of which Thames lost its license and stopped broadcasting in 1992.

From 1963, *This Week* was joined by *World in Action*, produced by Granada, which held the franchise for the northwest of England. *World in Action* also produced a string of hard-hitting programs. It investigated miscarriages of justice such as the Birmingham Six—a group of men wrongly convicted of an IRA Birmingham pub bombing in 1974 who were eventually released in 1991.

ITV also produced more populist current affairs, particularly consumer investigations such as *The Cook Report*, which usually ended with a dramatic confrontation between the reporter and the alleged villains. And an impressive roster of current affairs programming was completed by the more cerebral *Weekend World*, produced by London Weekend for a Sunday lunchtime slot, which from 1972 to 1988 offered an hour's analysis of an issue of the week, including an extended interview with a key figure in the news (usually a politician), rather like the American networks' Sunday morning programs.

Channel 4 was also under a regulatory obligation to carry serious current affairs in prime time. After a number of experiments, it found a format that worked—*Dispatches*. This was a 45-minute program that looked in depth at a single subject each week. Each edition was produced by a different independent production company. It focused

on investigative journalism and international stories and won numerous industry awards for its analytical reporting.

Regional News

ITV had begun as a network of regional companies, so the regulator required them as a condition of their licenses to produce high-quality regional news and current affairs programming. For many of the smaller companies in the network, these local programs were the most important output they produced and a key factor in retaining their lucrative licenses when they came up for review. ITV was the most important broadcaster of regional news in the United Kingdom. Its programs were better resourced and had larger audiences than their BBC counterparts. Their newscasters were important personalities in their local communities. Many, if not all, of the senior executives in the ITV system began their careers in local newsrooms.

The regional companies also fed pictures and stories to ITN for incorporation in the network news, but resisted any attempts to merge the different operations. Their programs carried the names of their companies—*Granada Reports* and *Thames News*—rather than any reference to the ITV network as a whole. The regions they served were determined by the location of the regional transmitter network, so the companies began to split some of their regions into subregions. At the system's peak, ITV was running 17 different early evening news programs to its regions and subregions. At the end of the century, the British government established a Scottish Parliament and similar assemblies in Northern Ireland and Wales, with new powers to run major parts of domestic policy such as health and education. This led to a wave of investment in broadcast journalism (facilities and programs) in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland to match the transfer of responsibilities from the Westminster Parliament to the new bodies.

Cable and Satellite News

In 1989, Rupert Murdoch launched Sky News as Britain's first 24-hour news channel. Although produced at a loss and with small audiences

compared with the terrestrial newscasts, it brought credibility to the emerging satellite and cable sector. Its fast-moving, popular style of journalism gradually won it greater respect and it established itself as a channel with a reputation for frontline reporting and innovative techniques.

Until 1997, when the BBC launched its news channel, Sky's only competition was from international news channels such as CNN International. Sky was able to position itself as the first place for viewers to go for breaking news. It benefited from consistent and heavy investment by the Murdoch empire. By the turn of the century, BSkyB, a satellite operation, was spending more on its news service than terrestrial ITV, and Sky News was beginning to compete head-to-head with the BBC and ITN for industry awards.

Throughout the 1990s, Sky News tried hard to persuade the terrestrial broadcasters to move their news contracts from ITN to Sky when they came up for renewal. The competition helped the terrestrial broadcasters force down the price of their news from ITN at a time when they were trying to cut costs. ITV and Channel 4 stayed with ITN. But in 2005, *Five News* moved the contract for its news service to Sky, giving Sky News a significant foothold in public service broadcasting. However, the contract moved back to ITN in 2012.

In 2000, ITN entered the news channel market with its own 24-hour channel, ITN News. After 2 years of losses, ITV bought the channel and renamed it *ITV News*. But it continued to lose money, falling third in the ratings behind Sky and the BBC. ITV closed it in 2005.

Radio News

When British commercial radio was launched in 1973, it was as a growing group of local stations, which were required by their licenses to provide local, national, and international news. They decided to provide their own local news services, but to take their network news from a new company, Independent Radio News (IRN), which was run by the main London radio station, the London Broadcasting Company (LBC).

IRN and LBC were pioneers of new approaches to radio journalism with much greater use of location reporting and introducing program

techniques such as the phone-in during which correspondents and presenters could discuss the news with listeners. They borrowed formats from North America and Australia, and many of their editorial staff were Australian and New Zealand journalists. IRN became a training ground for many reporters and producers who went on to great success in commercial television. But British commercial radio lacked network service, and there was never a 24-hour news and information station to support further expansion of the news service beyond mostly short newscasts aired on music stations.

In 1991, after LBC ran into financial problems, the IRN service was contracted out to ITN. This was one of the first “bi-media”—combined radio and television—operations in British journalism, with ITN television staff providing material for radio bulletins. As BBC Radio expanded its news and current affairs output, the gap between publicly funded and commercially funded journalism in radio was much more pronounced than in television.

The System in Decline

The range and quality of commercial broadcast journalism had been protected by spectrum scarcity that had limited competition and by a regulatory system that actively encouraged and rewarded investment in and commitment to high-quality journalism. The deregulation of the British television market in the 1990s and the arrival of digital television undermined the business model that had supported commercial broadcast journalism as a match, on television at least, for the journalism produced by the publicly funded BBC.

The first sector to show the strain was ITV current affairs programming. A senior executive of one of the new ITV companies that won the blind auction in 1991 said that it was not the job of ITV programs to get innocent people out of jail. In an environment in which entertainment and ratings were the priorities, the network’s serious current affairs programming began to decline. In 1992, after Thames Television lost its license, *This Week* disappeared from ITV schedules, to be replaced by less successful and less demanding programs such as *The Big Story*. Six years later, *World in Action* was replaced by a more populist program, *Tonight*,

with a similar agenda and approach to U.S. news magazines of the period such as *Dateline NBC*. The new regulator, the Independent Television Commission (ITC), allowed ITV to cut the number of network current affairs programs and cut back radically on regional current affairs and factual programming.

Equally dramatic changes took place in network news. From 1992 to 2001, ITV halved ITN’s budget for national and international news in real terms. In 1998, it shut down its most important journalistic brand, *News at Ten*. This proved to be a disastrous decision. When the regulator, alarmed at collapsing news audiences, tried to get ITV to reinstate it a year later, the result was an unsatisfactory compromise where the program started sometimes at 10 p.m. and sometimes at 10:30, leading it to be branded “News at When.” ITV then got the regulator to agree to move its news to 10:30 p.m. again in 2002, only for *News at Ten* to be revived by new ITV management in 2008. But by that time, the BBC had moved its flagship news to 10 p.m., and ITV found it very difficult to get viewers back to a program it had abandoned.

The picture in regional news was equally grim. ITV changed its early evening schedule and began to cut back on regional news budgets. By the end of the century, the BBC had for the first time overtaken the early evening ITV regional news audience in every region of the United Kingdom. ITV executives warned that their commitment to regional news could not be guaranteed after digital switchover, where all viewers would have access to multichannel television and ITV no longer enjoyed the advantages of being one of the five terrestrial networks.

Uncertain Future

The beginning of the 21st century saw government, industry, and regulators engage in a complex debate and negotiation about the future of British commercial public service broadcasting. Many of those discussions centered on how much of commercial television’s journalistic heritage could be preserved for the digital age.

Analysis by the Office of Communication (Ofcom), the ITC’s successor in 2004 as commercial broadcasting’s regulator, suggested that

network news of high quality on ITV, Channel 4, and *Five News* would probably survive digital switchover and there would still be room in the schedules for some current affairs. But Ofcom was much more pessimistic about the regional news services on ITV—which might have needed to cut back the network to a smaller group of big regions and even in that case might have required some form of public subsidy to survive.

There was also the beginning of a debate about whether the obligations of impartiality should still apply to commercially funded news and current affairs, with some politicians, regulators, and broadcasters arguing that in a world of digital media, plurality of opinion and approach to news was more important than adherence to the strict rules of impartiality at least as far as commercial broadcasting was concerned.

New Approaches and New Owners

However, over the first two decades of the 21st century, news has survived on UK commercial television far better than the most pessimistic forecasts. British audiences had always expected high-quality news as part of their main commercial channels, and the broadcasters realized news helped differentiate their brands from the growing competition of multichannel television and video on demand. Digital technology helped reduced costs. ITV, after the dramas of the past, continued to run a flagship *News at Ten* and reorganized its regional news service to provide the BBC with effective competition. ITV's current affairs and documentaries continued to make waves—in 2012 ITV's *Exposure* program broke one of the biggest stories in British broadcasting history—the revelation that one of the BBC's top entertainers, Jimmy Savile, had been a serial pedophile who abused hundreds of children on BBC premises. *Channel 4 News* remained the channel's most respected program, with exclusives such as the investigation into Cambridge Analytica.

The commitment to news has also survived changes of ownership with both Channel 5 and Sky being taken over by major U.S. media companies. When Channel 5 was bought by Viacom in 2014, its new owners stressed the importance of journalism by increasing its commitment to 5 News. In 2018, Comcast bought the Sky network after a bitter battle for control with Rupert

Murdoch's NewsCorp. As part of the takeover, it gave assurances that it would maintain the budget of Sky News at its current level for 10 years and announced an independent editorial board to safeguard the channel's journalism.

Despite the major changes in the sector, British commercial broadcast journalism remains more diverse, better resourced, and more committed to high standards than in many other Western democracies, where commercial pressures and deregulation have resulted in a more marked decline. And the strong program culture of British broadcast journalism—a commitment to impartiality and accuracy and to a less tabloid agenda than many mass circulation newspapers—ensures that in many ways those standards have been maintained into the digital age. The longer term challenge may come from the spectacular growth of social media as a source of news and the switch to on-demand viewing, especially among younger audiences.

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See also British Broadcasting Corporation; British Broadcasting Regulation

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BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers play a significant role in British social life. They are, generally, highly regarded by the readers in providing important social, cultural, financial, and political perspectives. As a result, newspapers play a critical role in ensuring the functioning of British democracy. The national, regional, and local newspapers in the United Kingdom continue to be influential in shaping the public debate by reaching the vast majority of the people. On an average weekday, 5.7 million national newspapers were sold in the United Kingdom in December 2017; between October 2016 and September 2017, national dailies reached on average 11.3 million adults, 21.5% of the United Kingdom under 21 years old. In this context, British newspapers effectively provide a plurality of views on current issues and reporting on matters that are deemed to be in the public interest.

As of December 2019, there are 10 “national” daily newspapers and Sunday-only weekly newspapers circulated in England and Wales. National daily newspapers publish every day except Sundays and Christmas Day.

Scotland, however, has a distinct tradition of newspaper readership. In addition to Scottish editions of national newspapers, Scotland has its own quality and tabloid newspapers. As of November 2019, there are four national daily newspaper in Scotland: *Daily Record*, *The Scotsman*, *The Herald*, and *The National*. Sunday newspapers include the *Sunday Mail*, the *Sunday Herald*, and *Scotland on Sunday*.

General Characteristics

British newspapers are among the oldest, readily recognized, and highly respected in the world. *The Times* was established in 1785, *The Observer* began publishing in 1791, and *The Guardian*

published its first print in 1821. The *Daily Telegraph* was established in 1855 and *Daily Mail* was founded in 1896.

The modern newspaper industry in the United Kingdom remains a significant force in the political, social, and economic life of the nation. From the temperate analysis of the *Financial Times* and *The Guardian* to the tub-thumping of the tabloid press, the British public has access to a healthy mixture of domestic, foreign, and investigative reporting.

One of most important characteristics of the British newspaper industry is that, in both sales and reputation, the national papers published in London dominate. London’s Fleet Street was once considered the most important location for journalism in the world, with Britain’s national newspaper making the street its home for centuries. Although most newspapers have moved away from the location, Fleet Street remains the embodiment of the British newspaper industry. The Fleet Street demise began in 1986 when Rupert Murdoch moved publication of his newspapers—*The Times*, *News of the World*, and *The Sun*—to new premises in East End of London. However, Fleet Street’s legacy lives on, as a byword for the United Kingdom’s national newspapers.

The next prominent characteristics of the British newspapers relate to “classification” of the papers. British newspapers can generally be split into three distinct categories: the broadsheets, the tabloids, and the free press.

Broadsheets

The first category relates to the more serious and highbrow newspapers; they are usually referred to as the *broadsheets*. This category of newspapers is also known collectively as the *quality press*. The titles normally associated with this category are *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Telegraph on Sunday*, and *The Observer*.

The Guardian, for example, is one of Britain’s more trustworthy newspapers and is the newspaper most associated with liberal middle-class and university-educated readers. At the core of the paper’s organizational ethos lies concern over the environment and sustainability as well as trepidations about social, economic, and political

inequality. *The Guardian's* investigative journalism is some of the best in the industry, and the newspaper won the Pulitzer Prize for public-service reporting in 2014. Winning a Pulitzer Prize is the highest accolade in U.S. Journalism and is recognized globally.

While *The Guardian* represents the social democratic elements of British politics, *The Daily Telegraph* is more aligned with Conservative politics. Through the 1970s and 1980s, *The Daily Telegraph* remained relatively free of labor disputes and maintained financial stability under its group ownership headed by Lord Hartwell. In 1985, Canadian financier Conrad Black bought a majority interest in *The Telegraph*. Questions about Black's management of the newspaper, combined with financial scandals, forced change of ownership. In July 2004, the paper was acquired by twin brothers Sir David and Sir Fredrick Barclay who also owned *The Scotsman*.

Unlike *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent* and *The Times* have changed in recent years to a compact format, the same size as the tabloids. *The Guardian* moved in September 2005 to what is described as a "Berliner" format, slightly larger than a compact. Its Sunday stablemate *The Observer* followed suit. Both *The Guardian* and *The Observer* now use the tabloid format, having done so since January 2018. Despite these format changes, these newspapers are all still considered broadsheets.

Other Sunday broadsheets, including *The Sunday Times*, which tend to have a large amount of supplementary sections, have kept their larger sized format. The national Sunday titles usually have a different layout and style from their weekly sister papers and are produced by separate journalistic and editorial staff.

Tabloids

The second category is assigned to what is generally known as the *tabloids* and is collectively referred to as the *popular press*. The British tabloid newspapers mostly tend to focus on celebrity news and human interest stories rather than political or reporting the news from abroad. The tabloids in turn have been divided into the more sensationalist mass market titles, or "red tops," such as *The Sun*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Daily*

Star and the middle-market papers such as the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail*.

In the tabloids category, *The Sun* occupies a special place in the industry. The paper was for a long period Britain's most-read newspaper and is currently owned by Rupert Murdoch's News UK, the same group that also owns *The Times*. *The Sun* dominated the circulation market for daily newspapers from the late 1970s to the late 1990s. However, as of September 2019, *The Sun* has an average daily circulation of 1.2 million and, therefore, has lost its claim to be the most read newspaper in Britain. *The Sun* has been involved in numerous controversies in its history, including the trial of six of its senior editors and journalists for misconduct in a public office in 2014.

Free Press

The third category is the free newspapers and is now collectively known as the *new business model* in British newspaper industry. The most notable free papers in the United Kingdom are *Metro*, *Evening Standard*, and *City A.M.* These newspapers collectively reach around 2 million commuters across the United Kingdom. According to figures published in 2019, *Metro* now has the largest circulation of any British newspaper, with 1.5 million copies handed out every weekday.

Metro, which is available in multiple cities across the United Kingdom, is a morning "commuters" newspaper. The free newspaper is distributed from Monday to Friday mornings on trains and buses, and at railway and underground stations, airports, and hospitals across selected urban areas of England, Wales, and Scotland. *Metro* follows a very similar journalistic style to other British tabloids. Most of the stories are rather brief and the main focus is on entertainment, sports, and celebrity news. However, unlike tabloids, there are no editorial or opinion columns in *Metro* and news is presented without a political pitch.

Metro was launched by Daily Mail and General Trust, the owner of the *Daily Mail* in 1999. For much of its life, it was seen to be too insignificant by most media commentators. But *Metro* is turning a growing profit and is now the most-read in the country.

While *Metro* has succeeded in reaching high circulation figures in 2019, the paid-for

newspapers are under increasing pressure to compete in paid-for market. One reason for the decline of the paid-for press relates to a particular episode in British newspaper history that is now regarded as the defining moment in the industry, that is, the scandal that engulfed a popular Sunday newspaper, the *News of the World*.

News of the World: A Special Case in the History of the British Newspaper Industry

The *News of the World* is a particularly interesting case in the long history of the British newspaper industry. The paper was a weekly national newspaper published every Sunday from 1843 to 2011. It was at one time the world's highest selling English-language newspaper, and at the time of closure still had one of the highest circulations in the country. The paper was originally established as a quality broadsheet by John Browne Bell in 1843 and was generally regarded as a respected Sunday paper. Rupert Murdoch's News Limited acquired the paper in 1969 and initially retained its broadsheet format until 1984 when it was launched as a red-top tabloid for the first time. *News of the World* later became the Sunday sister publication of *The Sun*.

In many ways, *News of the World* had all the traits of a paper passionately committed to issues related to public interest. It cleverly addressed the readers directly by giving space to their opinions. This was a hugely successful commercial, enabling *News of the World* to claim 2.6 million regular sales every Sunday.

From 2006, however, the paper was increasingly entangled in allegations of phone hacking. The allegations were initially related to the revelation that the paper had hired a private investigator to intercept the voicemails of a missing teenager, Milly Dowler, who was later found murdered. In 2011, it eventually became clear that the paper had hacked into the phones of many people who were deemed as "subjects of interest" or seen as "news worthy." They included the families of British military personnel killed in action, celebrities, and high-profile politicians. As further allegations against the paper were made public, a number of senior editors of *News of the World* were arrested, convicted, and jailed for phone hacking.

News International announced on 7 July 2011 that, after 168 years in print, *News of the World* would print its final edition on 10 July 2011 with the loss of 200 jobs. In the paper's final editorial, the paper admitted that "phones were hacked, and for that this newspaper is truly sorry . . . there is no justification for this appalling wrongdoing." The final edition of *News of the World* sold 3.8 million copies, about 1 million more than usual.

The *News of the World*'s absence from the Sunday market represents an unprecedented episode in the history of the British newspaper industry. The phone hacking by the paper's journalists led to the closure of a historically significant media establishment and had formed the basis of a parliamentary inquiry and the launch of three police investigations. Furthermore, the phone hacking episode led the Conservative government to instruct Lord Justice Leveson to conduct a two-part inquiry to assess the culture, practices, and ethics of the British press and its relationships with the police, the public, and the politicians. The Leveson report concluded that there was recklessness in the way *News of the World* had prioritized sensational stories irrespective of the harm the stories could cause the rights of those who would be affected. The Leveson report has since become synonymous with the way regulatory bodies failed to prevent the journalists working for *News of the World* to act unlawfully, and unethically, by using their profession to intrude into private citizens' lives.

Recent Structural Transformations in the National Newspaper Industry

The *News of the World*'s demise and *Metro*'s recent success underline a much deeper institutional and structural transformation in the British newspaper industry. During the first two decades of the 21st century, British newspapers, and the provision of news as a whole, has gone through considerable changes. Fueled by shifts in reader behavior and preferences, and by technological innovation, particularly among younger age groups, readers are now able to access news via multiple means from a wide variety of sources and often at no cost. Increasingly, news is also mediated by social and search platforms, which,

despite the availability of tools and practices to help publisher's monetize their content on their platforms, do not necessarily compensate the original producers of much of the news journalism surfaced online.

Overall, national newspaper readership has dropped by one fifth since the 1990s, according to the National Readership Survey. Circulation of national newspaper titles has decreased from almost 30 million in 2003 to 12.4 million in 2017. National Sunday titles have gone from 13.9 to 5.4 million and national daily titles from 13.3 to 7 million.

The most significant implication of this trend has been in the way advertisers have shifted to other media to get their messages across. According to *Press Gazette*, the national newspapers' share of advertising spending has decreased from 21% in 1985 to 10% in 2018.

Another major impact of the falling readership trend is related to young people's consumption of news brands. The young are just not buying newspapers the way their parents did. The number of newspaper readers under the age of 24 had shrunk by a considerable size since the 1990s. According to Ofcom, only 21% of 16- to 24-year-olds are prepared to buy newspapers in 2018. When young Britons do read newspapers, they tend to like the ones without much news. Richard Desmond, the former owner of Express Newspapers and publisher of titles ranging from *Women on Top* to the *Daily Star*, managed to reinvent this end of the market by relying heavily on celebrity news, often jointly with *OK!*, a specialist weekly magazine published by the same group.

All the major British newspapers currently have websites, some of which provide free access. *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* have a paywall requiring payment on a per-day or per-month basis by nonsubscribers. The *Financial Times* business daily also has limited access for nonsubscribers. *The Independent* became available online only upon its last printed edition on 26 March 2016. However, unlike the previously mentioned newspapers, it does not require any payment to access its news content. Instead, the newspaper offers extras for those wishing to sign up to a payment subscription, such as crosswords, puzzles, weekend supplements, and the ability to

automatically download each daily edition to read offline.

Regional Newspapers

Most towns and cities in the United Kingdom have at least one local newspaper, such as the *Evening Post* in Bristol and *The Echo* in Cardiff. They are not known nationally for their journalism in the way that some city-based newspapers in the United States are (e.g., *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Boston Globe*). An exception to this was *The Manchester Guardian*, which dropped the "Manchester" from its name in 1959 and relocated its main operations to London in 1964. The Guardian Media Group produced a Mancunian paper, *The Manchester Evening News*, until 2010 when along with its other local newspapers in the Greater Manchester area it was sold to Trinity Mirror.

As of July 2017, the Audit Bureau of Circulation reported a total of 982 local and regional newspapers being printed in the United Kingdom. However, according to a document published by the UK Government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport in 2018, there are a further 61 titles, bringing the total to 1,043.

Research carried out by the Mediatique in 2018 indicates that the local and regional press is characterized by a relatively high level of market concentration. In July 2017, the top 20 newspaper groups collectively published 76% (792) of all the local and regional titles in the United Kingdom and accounted for 97% of the total weekly circulation, with the top six groups alone accounting for 81% of the weekly circulation of local and regional newspapers in the United Kingdom. As of December 2019, the top six newspaper groups dominating the circulation of regional newspaper are respectively: *Trinity Mirror*, *London Evening Standard*, *News Quest*, *Associated Newspapers*, *Johnston Press*, and *Archant*.

On the 1,043 local and regional newspapers identified by the Mediatique, about 77% (737) are published weekly or even less frequently. A total of 605 (58%) local and regional newspapers charge a cover price, with 438 (42%) being free of charge.

In addition to publishing printed material, most local and regional publishers in the United

Kingdom have dedicated websites; however, in recent years, publishers have launched local digital-only news brands. As of January 2020, there are eight such websites operating in areas such as Oldham.

The regional newspapers have benefited from digitalization of their products. However, new opportunities arising from digital technologies have not compensated for the losses suffered in print revenues. Circulation declines have had two impacts—a drop in unit sales that cover price increases have not fully offset and a decline in advertising revenues reflecting lower readership.

Partisan Press

The British newspaper market dynamics are increasingly pushing paid-for papers in a more partisan direction. While circulation of newspapers has declined considerably, this has not diminished national newspapers' influence on British politics.

Generally, national newspapers are not formally tied to specific political parties. However, most papers display clear political alignments that are usually determined by their owners. The *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* have consistently supported the Conservative Party, whereas *The Daily Mirror* and *The Guardian* have normally supported the Labour Party. *The Sun*—one of the most popular newspapers in the United Kingdom—supported Labour in the early 1970s, switched to the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher in 1979, and switched back again to Labour in the late 1990s only to return to the Conservatives by the early 21st century.

These political alignments by the national newspapers are particularly evident during, and after, the referendum on Britain's European Union (EU) membership in 2016. The referendum on Britain's EU membership (Brexit) highlighted two very important issues: It had become the biggest political event in Britain in recent memory and that news media, particularly newspapers, responded proactively with their extensive coverage, editorials, and in-depth discussion of various issues related to benefits or disadvantages of Britain's membership. National newspapers'

involvement was hugely influential in providing the people with relevant information; however, various studies have shown that the newspaper coverage of the campaign was biased toward "Leave."

Moreover, it was found that those who voted for "Remain" were more likely than before to expect their favorite newspaper to reflect their political views.

The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford, for example, showed that newspaper coverage of the referendum campaign was biased toward Brexit. After analyzing 2,378 articles, the Reuters Institute report reveals that of media pieces focused on the referendum, 41% were pro-Leave while 27% had a pro-Remain frame. This trend is further exacerbated when factoring in the reach of different outlets, with 48% of all articles showing a pro-Leave leaning and 22% pro-Remain line.

The British newspapers have long been seen as "experts" in "setting the agenda" for all other forms of media to follow. In the general election held on 12 December 2019, most national newspapers supported the Conservative Party and Boris Johnson's election mantra, "get Brexit done." The *Sunday Express*, for example, proclaimed "Vote Tory If You Really Want Brexit Done." Media researchers at Loughborough University examined the extent to which different newspapers ran positive or negative reports about different political parties in the first week of the 2019 general election campaign. They found that the Labour Party was overwhelmingly targeted with negative coverage by the national newspapers, while in certain papers, positive stories were almost exclusively reserved for Johnson's Conservative Party. The study also showed that the most positive coverage of the Conservative Party came from the highest circulation newspapers, with journalists at *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail* relied upon to publish deferential and pro-government reports. There is debate as to what extent newspaper coverage influences public opinion. One study carried out at the London School of Economics found that a boycott of *The Sun* on Merseyside (Liverpool, England) in the wake of a local incident appears to have led to lower levels of Euroscepticism in the region.

Migration to Online Platforms

The British newspapers industry remains highly influential in the social, political, and economic life of the nation. The national newspapers remain rather effective at two levels. In the tabloid sector, *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* are vital forces in British social and political life. The popular tabloid newspapers have a reputation for exposing corruption and wrongdoings at all levels of society. This point was discussed in relation to *The News of the World*.

The British national newspapers can also compete at a global level. According to Omniture (an online marketing and web analytics firm based in Utah in the United States) MailOnline is one of the world's largest English-language newspaper websites with more than 24.9 million monthly unique visitors, each spending an average of 49 minutes on the site per month. Furthermore, according to the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport survey, MailOnline has retained its position as one of the most visited newspaper websites in the United Kingdom.

In the broadsheet category, Britain is home to a cluster of globally reputable newspapers such as the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*. According to the *Financial Times* website, digital subscriptions now account for more than three quarters of the newspaper's circulation and 70% of its readers are outside the United Kingdom, illustrating the publication's global reach. Similarly, *The Economist* claims on its website that its current circulation is over 1.4 million, more than four fifths of it outside Britain. The American circulation accounts for over half of the total.

However, the national newspaper industry in Britain has been under sustained pressure for more than 20 years. The constant shift in readers' preferences and a greater migration to online platforms has had a detrimental impact on advertising revenue. Recent developments have transformed the traditional consumption of content via print products, forcing the industry to increasingly prepare for further migration of readers to online formats. Fundamentally, these changes have severely impaired news brands' traditional revenue streams which include circulation, print display advertising, and classifieds.

David Vahid Khabaz

See also British Broadcasting Corporation; Broadsheet Newspapers; Free Daily Newspapers; Media Ownership; Murdoch, Rupert; Pulitzer Prize; Tabloid Newspapers

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BROADCAST, OR BROADCASTING

Within the very broad context of the development of American journalism, the beginnings of broadcast news have often been regarded as a by-product of technical innovation in the field of radio. The early experimentation in radio tended to concentrate on relaying entertainment content including singers and musicians with an effort to demonstrate the medium's commercial potential to attract sponsorship. By way of comparison, one often hears that the early newspaper press developed and then expanded in America because of the need to exchange and propagate important ideas, often related to party politics, economics, or some important social movements or agendas. This entry discusses the development of radio broadcasting and the beginnings of broadcast journalism, as well as broadcast journalists. The entry also examines television development and

the evening news. The entry closes with a discussion of the video era.

Radio broadcasting was part of the movement to advance technical development and innovation often taking place in isolation on a college campus or in someone's attic or basement, usually in a setting in which a lone inventor experimented and then made claim to advancing the medium's technical characteristics. For this reason, the preponderance of the attention regarding broadcasting's development has been given to the technical side of things with an emphasis on entertainment, while broadcast news advanced in more limited ways, mostly fits and starts, and usually related to a breaking news event. Once the medium advanced beyond the experimentation stage when radio sets were constructed at home, the development of individual radio stations including the first commercially licensed station, KDKA in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, others emerged, usually with commercial backing of big city business, often joining developing networks, with some of them leading a movement to advance the field of news by radio.

Among the many inventors in the field of broadcasting, worth noting are Guglielmo Marconi who demonstrated wireless telegraphy across the Atlantic Ocean, Lee DeForest who pioneered experimentation using an Audion tube in an experimental radiophone base in New York, and Nathan B. Stubblefield of Kentucky, who improved the status of wireless telegraphy and then broadcast to more than 1,000 people from his small, local community in Murray, Kentucky, in 1890. Stubblefield's demonstration of wireless telegraphy covered a number of miles and was reported widely because of a first-hand account of the exhibition appearing in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and later republished and retold in other print news outlets. Stubblefield received a patent for his invention in 1908, and within a decade, he was already predicting use of radio for news transmission. His prediction notably predated David Sarnoff's early "Radio Music Box" memo of 1915, the prescient occasion in which the future RCA President explained how radio would be used. Sarnoff further predicted how the medium was likely to assume a special place in America for both entertainment potential and in sharing news and information.

Radio Development

Radio grew very rapidly once the various inventions related to the establishment of radio broadcasting were made—most of them by the 1920s. And then it became clear—very quickly, that the tremendous growth of the medium due to commercial potential meant that many of the pioneer radio stations would be interfering with each other. The establishment of the Federal Radio Commission, later the Federal Communications Commission, addressed the many issues regarding ownership of the airwaves as a public trust. The U.S. government, under Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, also attempted to take some basic steps to address the on-air chaos. As radio developed as a major source of advertising revenue, newspapers which had initially been threatened by radio's potential to steal advertising from their established base began to invest instead in radio stations.

In some instances, the employees from newspapers worked jointly at an owned radio station. This movement towards cooperation included the first Pulitzer station St. Louis Post-Dispatch-owned KSD, as well as prominent Kansas City Star-owned WDAF. Also prominent in the Midwest, anointing itself as the “World's Greatest Newspaper,” the *Chicago Tribune* established a station with call letters emblematic of that lofty status, WGN. The station became well known for costly, daily coverage of the Scopes Monkey Trial addressing the issue of evolution from a courtroom in Tennessee in 1925. Another Chicago station focused almost exclusively on entertainment programming and had the sponsorship and heavy advertising by Sears in that same city. Established as WLS, the call letters for that station stood for “World's Largest Store.”

In some cases, variations in advertising policy which were strongly held and enforced by some of the major metropolitan newspapers addressed excessive commercialization and were adopted by their radio station peers. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, for example, expunged excessive advertising and especially what it termed “middle commercials” from its radio programming, which addressed the interruption of war news or other reports about war fatalities with commercial announcements. This was done as a gesture of

respect for those fighting and dying in the war. The broadcast community debated whether such a policy was important, whether the issue was widely recognized, or if the policy even made sense given a lack of association with commercial products. Questions emerged about the relationship between on-air talent delivering product endorsements as they had done earlier with respect to the physical placement of newspaper ads within the context of news, by members of the print establishment. In some instances, stations were owned by major corporations with obvious vested interest, including American Telephone & Telegraph station, WEA in New York, which owned needed telephone lines. From the beginning of the emergence of radio development, competitors questioned whether public policy issues could be fairly debated in a monopolistic environment with emerging broadcast attention.

Beginnings of Broadcast Journalism

The earliest broadcast journalists started in their profession with few professional requirements because the standards for broadcast programming which did develop grew alongside critical financial concerns. Some of the emerging, early radio voices tried their hand at the new medium and if discovering a calling, crossed over from the newspaper business. Many of the early broadcast network-affiliated radio stations, which also formed the basis for television broadcasting later on, began with close ties to corporate ownership and, in some cases, strong interests in other fields. This raised some critical questions about what the medium could and should be. With radio licenses held by commercial entities such as department and appliance stores, would the medium be used in those settings as a vehicle to promote commerce? And if the license owner was a major metropolitan newspaper, would the affiliated station focus more exclusively on news and information?

Once a number of these early questions were answered concerning how radio would develop and then financially sustain itself, in one of histories' great ironies, a good number of historic events demanded attention and thus prompted the sharing of information via radio. With the

coverage of a single major news story, for example, the historic sinking of the Titanic, one of radio's founding fathers, David Sarnoff, began to appreciate the importance radio was likely to play in the nation's future. Sarnoff used the knowledge and experience he gained from service as a young Marconi operator for the remainder of his career, as a corporate leader at RCA and NBC. And whenever international conflict appeared on the horizon, major political figures emerged to stress the importance of sharing information via radio news coverage as when later, Franklin D. Roosevelt used his "Fireside Chats" over the radio as a means of rallying the nation's confidence in helping him to restore a faltering economy from the Great Depression.

The Harding-Cox presidential election was covered by radio in 1920, and the 1924 election was included on the first national conventions reported over the radio. President Warren G. Harding addressed the nation about the topic of The World Court in 1923, and the Radio Act of 1927 addressed the emerging issue of political broadcasting. A large number of regional candidates used the medium very effectively to advance their early political prospects. Dr. John R. Brinkley, the controversial "Goat Gland Doctor" from Milford, Kansas, offered a bizarre medical cure over his Kansas station before running for governor of his state. Known as "The Kingfish," Huey Long used radio effectively to promote his "Share the Wealth" movement as both governor and then later as a powerful U.S. senator from Louisiana. A renowned radio preacher and commentator, Father Charles Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan also used radio to critique national economic policies, initially to support then later denounce the recovery program of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Father Coughlin was heard first over Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) stations and then via a network he put together himself. He left CBS when the network started to question the appropriateness of someone with a religious affiliation arousing the public on economic and political matters over their airwaves.

Radio Journalists

Many of the informational innovations in radio took place with the emergence of William S. Paley's network, the CBS. It began as the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting Company in 1921 and later CBS. By the 1930s, that company employed Paul White as its first radio news director as well as several noteworthy on-air radio commentators such as Lowell Thomas and H.V. Kaltenborn. Both were recognized for their expertise in providing perspective about the news of the day. And as the international scene heated up, another CBS Newsmen, Edward R. Murrow, emerged as radio's leading voice, along with others he recruited to CBS News, who became known as the Murrow Boys.

Murrow operated from a base in Great Britain and covered the build-up to World War II over his regular *This Is London* program. He worked in conjunction with the *CBS World News Roundup* in which correspondents reported live from the scene of international and sometimes breaking news, another innovation available through improvements in technology. He provided information for anxious listeners on the brink of war and then stayed to fly with the Royal Air Force on bombing raids over Germany. Interest in Great Britain and a growing appetite for what would later be termed "reality" programming reached a fever peak for radio in 1936 when King Edward VIII abdicated his throne for American divorcee Wallis Simpson, with the biggest worldwide audience up to that time.

It is often speculated that the sense of uneasiness leading America into World War II, and the nation's limited experience in terms of standards for radio news reporting, leads to an unusually big response for a single CBS program. Orson Welles' 1938 Halloween dramatization of H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds*, over CBS' *Mercury Theatre of the Air* scared many people, especially in New York and New Jersey, where an invasion of men from Mars was supposedly taking place. That radio program used a common programming format of the day: dance band music, as a background to begin to convey the invasion of space aliens. It employed an unusual level of authenticity in terms of using what appeared to be

witnesses of the events, the use of experts, and “live” reports from the field including the identification of places and people approximating actual locations.

Orson Welles was heard playing the role of a Princeton Professor, and in the follow-ups to that broadcast, a bona-fide Princeton Professor, Hadley Cantril, conducted a formal study of the program’s impact for CBS. Cantril’s resulting book, *The Invasion from Mars*, demonstrated how and why this program had the major impact it did. Using extensive interviews with radio listeners, among his many conclusions was the fact that the radio medium had yet to establish standards for announcing important news. In the aftermath of the program, Orson Welles repeatedly claimed that he had no idea the radio play would create such a stir and cause a public reaction. Others claimed the program was calculated to show what could be done by radio without thorough disclaimers and clarification beyond what had been done in this instance.

Television Development and the Evening News

Unlike the case of radio, television experimentation and technical success were attributed to just two individuals: Vladimir Zworykin and Philo Farnsworth. Zworykin’s research and experimentation while working for Westinghouse and Farnsworth’s independent work as an inventor established their respective roles in advancing television’s technology. Farnsworth and his wife also became known for their success in fighting legal battles with David Sarnoff because Farnsworth had been wise enough to file patents documenting his work in the field. During the decade of the 1950s, television began to emerge as a solid visual alternative to what radio had been doing with respect to news coverage. And this occurred with the support of some of the already established, leading radio networks and successful informational programs such as *Meet the Press*, which NBC introduced over television in 1947.

The national evening broadcast of CBS-TV’s *Douglas Edwards and the News* began the following year, 1948. And then NBC News established an evening newscast with John Cameron Swayze

and his program, *Camel Caravan* the year after. By the 1950s, NBC had introduced Chet Huntley and David Brinkley on a newscast alternating between the two anchormen from their respective locations in Washington, DC and New York City. By that time, Edward R. Murrow had moved his *Hear It Now* CBS Radio program over to *See It Now* and CBS-TV. In the early 1950s, Murrow and his partner, Fred W. Friendly, were credited for a series of First Amendment programs and related issues, some of which focused specifically on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and McCarthyism. Murrow’s March 9, 1954 program examined Senator McCarthy and his methods in attempting to expose Communists working in the U.S. government.

Many press critics praised the programs for standing up to McCarthy, but some others questioned the propriety of attacking an individual, especially a U.S. Senator, thereby setting a dangerous precedent. Live television coverage on what later became known as the *Army-McCarthy Hearings* doomed the Senator’s political fortunes. Edward R. Murrow gave a speech before the Radio-TV News Directors Association in which he questioned growing commercialism in TV. This hurt relations with others at CBS News, where he had figured so prominently.

Television played a major role in the presidential political contest of 1960 with one candidate, Senator John F. Kennedy, cooperating with a filmmaker to have a documentary account of his primary activity filmed in West Virginia and then along with opponent, Richard M. Nixon, participating in a series of so-called Great Debates which were televised live. Many sources credited Kennedy’s performance on TV as a major factor in aiding his victory as a viable candidate and also his later live press conferences over television, which helped him hone a popular image of being well informed and maintaining grace under pressure. Edward R. Murrow subsequently left CBS in favor of joining the Administration of John F. Kennedy.

Walter Cronkite emerged as the leading newsman for CBS and became well known nationally as the anchor of the *CBS Evening News*, having established a solid reputation as a wire service reporter and then network anchor and reporter. Cronkite’s coverage of the assassination and

funeral of U.S. President John F. Kennedy became a benchmark for his tenure as CBS News anchor, along with his coverage of the Space Race and Moon Mission. The Space Race was a story in which America was portrayed as competing with the former Soviet Union, a nation that had proved its commitment with Sputnik, the first satellite launched successfully from earth for advancement into space. The American effort was supported by NASA, and since Walter Cronkite had spent his early years near NASA in Houston, Texas, he had an understanding of the story and a natural interest in seeing that it was covered properly.

Cronkite had covered World War II as a wire service reporter and his later condemnation of America's involvement in the Vietnam War was widely discussed. Domestic television coverage of the Anti-War Protest Movement and Civil Rights Movement was enhanced by some related events, including rioting in some of America's big cities and large anti-war demonstrations in which some protesters and members of the press were attacked. The decade of the 1970s saw the news networks involved in a number of additional controversies, including especially network reporting from the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, later referred to as a police riot. A series of long-form TV documentaries, aired over the networks, addressed lingering social and political issues. Among them was the CBS Reports' documentary, *The Selling of the Pentagon*, in which Roger Mudd presented a strong case in February, 1971, that the American military was spending large sums of money in an effort to promote military intervention and then consistently misrepresenting information related to the Vietnam War.

CBS President Frank Stanton had to defend the program before a congressional committee investigating the matter and faced a contempt citation if he would not produce excerpts or outtakes from the program, which he refused to do. Stanton narrowly escaped criminal prosecution and a charge of Contempt of Congress by a vote of 226–181, demonstrating the level of unhappiness with network news performance.

CBS joined with other elements of the national press in 1971 when the classified "Pentagon Papers" were published by *The New York Times*, and again later joining with the *The Washington Post* in coverage of Watergate. They reported on a

break-in and theft at the Democratic National Headquarters and a follow-up series explaining what had taken place. One of the unusual aspects of the early Nixon Administration activity was an orchestrated anti-press campaign by Vice President Spiro Agnew, aimed at leaders of TV network news, including network anchors. He regarded them as a nonelected fraternity of privileged men. In a series of speeches, Agnew claimed that the network leaders all came from the same liberal background and questioned their use of instant analysis, making the charge that there was bias when the three major networks provided immediate rebuke of all public pronouncements by President Nixon.

The Modern Video Era

In terms of television news development, the introduction of remote, "electronic newsgathering" equipment permitting broadcasters to go live from the scene of an event, changed the nature of TV news reporting. With the introduction of mobile broadcast equipment in 1974, live transmission using microwave technology and mobile equipment permitted live coverage of events. With this innovation, news directors had to consider how coverage from the scene of breaking news might impact the outcome or the trajectory of a story. They had to also consider the legal and ethical implications of going live to a sometimes yet unresolved event.

That same year, ABC News named the first woman, Ann Compton, as Chief White House Correspondent. And Compton was still serving in that role when the nation was attacked decades later, on September 11, 2001. She was invited to accompany President George W. Bush on Air Force One to make an assessment and account for the record what was taking place. Another woman, who covered the White House for CBS, Lesley Stahl, joined the staff of the leading news program, a magazine-style program for TV, the perennial ratings winner, *60 Minutes*.

In spite of inroads by women in broadcast news, a number of embarrassing and costly legal cases emerged in the first few decades of the new millennium, when it was revealed that some male broadcast managers, affiliated with the major

television news networks, namely CBS President Leslie Moonves and FOX TV executive Roger Ailes, had made improper advances towards women at their companies. These allegations against the two network executives included women who had been victimized at leading network news organizations working both behind and in front of the camera. Additional charges were brought against Matt Lauer, then of NBC, Bill O'Reilly, formerly of FOX, and Charlie Rose who had appeared simultaneously on programs over CBS and the Public Broadcasting Service.

The charges against these broadcasters and others became part of what became known as the *Me Too, Movement* with similar claims being against major figures in the entertainment industry, including some leading Hollywood producers, directors, and actors. Equally challenging in this regard were questions about coverage of news events in which so-called citizen journalists using small iPhones for instant coverage and transmission, placed material online, and some claimed to have been subjected to harassment by police. And some video shared over the Internet sometimes seemed to support their allegations.

Michael D. Murray

See also Anchors, Television; CBS News; Documentaries; Fox News; NBC News; Podcasting; Public Broadcasting Service

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BROADSHEET NEWSPAPERS

The term *broadsheet* refers to the size of the paper used for a newspaper. The large sheets of newsprint characteristic of the broadsheet format have traditionally dominated the daily newspaper industry. In the early days of newspapers, the large size of the page made it easier for printers to print a smaller number of larger pages. Because of cost and other considerations, over time, broadsheet newspapers have shrunk in size, and many newspapers have shifted to the smaller tabloid format. The term *broadsheet* also carries particular connotations of journalistic quality and seriousness in contrast to tabloids, which have come to be associated with a more entertainment-oriented, sensationalistic, and colloquial style. While “broadsheet” and “tabloid” continue to connote these different journalistic styles, in practice this divide began to disappear by the 1990s as the content of both types of newspaper began to overlap as more publishers shifted from the broadsheet to the less expensive tabloid format.

Origins

While newspapers developed during the print revolution that was made possible by the spread of the printing press, they slowly expanded in size to accommodate the medley of content crammed into publications by printers, including shipping news, foreign dispatches, commodity prices, and

advertisements. Similar to modern newspapers, these early-seventeenth-century broadsheets organized their text into vertical columns.

The broadsheet form developed largely out of technical necessity. In the 1600s and 1700s, newspapers continued to be printed on wooden presses requiring pages to be pressed against the type one sheet at a time. Printing was a slow, labor-intensive process. This constrained circulation to small numbers and made the single-sheet newspaper a necessity. As editorial and advertising content increased and the need for more space forced newspapers to expand, it made technical and economic sense to increase the size of the page rather than expand the total number of pages. A single page only needed to be folded; not assembled. One large sheet of newsprint could be printed on both sides and folded to create four separate pages.

In the early 1800s, the rise of mechanical presses increased printing speeds and allowed for greater print runs and thus circulations. Implementation of steam-powered presses further quickened the pace with which newspapers could be produced. But this did not lead to a diminishment of page size. Rather, it remained sensible, from the printer's standpoint, to churn out larger pages rather than assemble many smaller sheets. On the extreme end, broadsheet pages grew to enormous sizes due to advertising policies that encouraged yearly contracts, but did not restrict the size of the display ads. As a result, in the 1830s, a page of the *New York Journal of Commerce* measured a width of 35 inches and a height of 58 inches. When opened, the two pages spanned 70 inches, occupying a little over 28 square feet of space. Each page carried news and advertisements across 11 columns. This format came to be known as the "blanket" sheet because of its cumbersome size.

Large sheets remained standard for urban newspapers. In 1867, the *Chicago Tribune* carried ten columns, two more than the eight or nine column pages common in that era. Within columns, spaces between rows of text—known as leading—decreased. With a minimum of graphics, the pages came across as seas of gray type. Because of the large page dimensions, the total number of pages in nineteenth-century papers remained either four or eight, depending on the size of the circulation

and the size of the city. This meant only one or two actual pages were needed (before folding). In the twentieth century, the increase in use of graphics and movement away from text-heavy pages led to smaller page sizes and fewer columns—usually five or six. The total number of pages increased and newspapers began to be divided into sections.

Broadsheets and Tabloids

Challenges to the dominance of the broadsheet format began in the United States when some of the penny press newspapers began to run smaller pages. These mid-nineteenth-century newspapers were the original tabloid-sized papers and, in key ways, foreordained the popular journalism of the tabloid newspapers of the twentieth century. Two early twentieth-century examples of tabloid newspapers are the *Daily Mirror* in London and the *Daily News* in New York. The quick success of both newspapers raised interest in the format.

The rise of the tabloid format led to an important differentiation extending beyond simply page size. Tabloids came to be identified with a brash style of emotionally charged journalism. Tabloid pages teemed with short, punchy articles written in a distinct voice with abundant photographs. While broadsheets offered a range of stories on the front page representing the range of stories on any given day, tabloids featured one key story on the front, usually accompanied by a large, attention-grabbing headline.

With the rise of tabloids and their particular brand of populist journalism, broadsheets by comparison came to be identified as more sober with the reputation of seriousness. This was particularly the case in Britain with its nationally circulated newspapers. Tabloids and broadsheets competed across Britain, appealing to different demographics. Broadsheet readers were viewed as more educated and sophisticated whereas tabloid readers, many of whom were working class, were seen as the opposite. This difference was less pronounced in the United States because of the dominance of local market-specific newspapers. Tabloid newspapers competed directly with broadsheets in only the largest markets. Further melding the two approaches, starting in 1981, the national newspaper *USA Today*, while a broadsheet in its

dimensions, featured the colorful graphics and short stories characteristic of tabloids.

For a vivid example of the broadsheet-tabloid mix, consider New York City, by far the most competitive American newspaper market, though a shadow of what existed as recently as the 1960s. The two daily broadsheets, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, are considered paragons of in-depth news. By contrast, the *New York Post* and *New York Daily News*, both tabloids, are seen as sensational and succinct. For example, when the city's newspapers carried front-page stories about President Gerald Ford's refusal to grant federal funds to help the city avoid bankruptcy, the *Times* ran the headline: FORD, CASTIGATING CITY, ASSERTS HE'D VETO FUND GUARANTEE; OFFERS BANKRUPTCY BILL. By contrast, the *Daily News* ran the now-classic headline: FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD. The complicated, policy-specific headline at the *Times* contrasted sharply with the emotional paraphrasing of the *Daily News*, whose headline became a famous example of the tabloid style.

By the start of the twenty-first century, the distinction between tabloids and broadsheets had become negligible. Rising paper costs, a shrinking audience, declining advertising revenues, and the general unwieldiness of the broadsheet format (especially for public transit commuters) resulted in many European newspapers shifting to a smaller, tabloid size. Even *The Times* of London, once a paragon of the content associated with the broadsheet, shifted to a tabloid format in 2004 after 216 years as a broadsheet. The switch resulted in an increase in circulation, matching the result when the broadsheet *Independent* made the same change. While a tabloid size during the week, however, *The Times* continues to publish its Sunday edition in broadsheet format.

In the United States, newspapers have been reluctant to shift to tabloid size, but broadsheet pages have shrunk in the face of rising newsprint costs and decreases in the number of advertisements. The page width of *The New York Times* dropped from 13.5 to 12 inches in 2006. The once-10-column-wide *Chicago Tribune* was reduced to an 11-inch-wide page. Page depths—the vertical measure—generally stood at 21 or 22 inches. Another direction has been a mix of

formats. *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* began running its Saturday edition as a tabloid in November 1996 before moving to a consistent, “compact” broadsheet style each day.

Conclusion

While the large pages of the broadsheet newspaper have traditionally defined what a quality newspaper looks like, the early twenty-first century marked a shift to smaller sizes, and sometimes a move away from broadsheets altogether. This reversal came about because of changes in production and cost. As content style and page size increasingly came to be unrelated, the journalistic distinction between the broadsheet and the tabloid has become less meaningful. Despite this, invoking “broadsheet journalism” continues to connote quality in-depth, serious news.

Matt Carlson

See also Design and Layout, Newspaper; *New York Times*, *The*; Tabloid Newspapers; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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BUSINESS JOURNALISM

Business journalism refers to reporting and writing about businesses and the economy. In addition, it commonly includes other beats such as labor, the workplace, technology, personal finance, investment, and consumer reporting, as well as investigative reporting focusing on these topics. The field is also known as financial journalism, particularly in countries other than the United States. The common theme in this coverage is money—who spends it, who earns it, who makes it, and where it comes from.

As more consumers of journalism become aware of how the economy and the stock market affect their daily lives, they are increasingly turning to business journalism to explain the significance. This entry first discusses the role of business journalism in the United States, then looks at the historical roots of business journalism and its development alongside the growth of American business and the economy. Finally, it discusses the growth of business journalism since the 1980s and problems that have developed along with that growth, as well as initiatives to improve business journalism.

Role of Business Journalism in the United States

Business journalism in the United States has grown in importance over the past century due to significant changes in the economic makeup of American society. At the time of the great stock market crash of October 1929, less than 10% of U.S. households owned shares of any stock. By 2002, more than 50% of homes owned stock in at least one company, typically through mutual funds or retirement plans. Also feeding public interest in business news is the fact that fewer people in the 21st century remain with one company throughout their careers, which had been typical from the 1940s through the 1970s.

The amount of business journalism exploded since the 1970s, with daily newspapers creating standalone business sections; personal finance magazines such as *Money*, *Worth*, and *Smart Money* launching; and the number of business journalists working in the country tripling in

number to more than 12,000. That number declined to below 9,000 during the second decade of the 21st century as the overall number of journalists fell. There are now more business journalists working for online-only publications, however.

Business journalism is presented in various media forms, including the business section of most daily newspapers, weekly business newspapers found in every major metropolitan market, websites such as TheStreet and MarketWatch covering specific segments of business journalism, and two cable television networks, CNBC and Fox Business Network. There are also business-only newspapers, such as *The Wall Street Journal* and *Investor's Business Daily*, as well as magazines, such as Bloomberg BusinessWeek, Forbes, and Fortune, devoted to business journalism.

Business journalism, in its role as a watchdog on companies and regulators, can be credited for uncovering illegal and unethical practices that have caused investors to lose millions of dollars and workers to lose their jobs. A 2007 Harvard Business School study studied 263 cases of accounting fraud and determined that 29% were identified by the business press before the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission or the company itself announced an investigation. Further, in 36% of those early identifications, the reporter conducted original financial analysis to support the story.

Early History

Business journalism can be traced back to the earliest forms of communication. David Forsyth (1964) argues that the genesis of writing and the establishment of a numerical system in the Bronze Age (3300 BCE–1200 BCE) stemmed from economic activity. Even the Hammurabi Code, a set of laws created by the sixth Babylonian king in approximately 1760 BCE, established forerunners of today's interest rate and minimum wage laws.

During the 16th and early 17th centuries, wealthy families in Europe employed correspondents throughout the continent to provide them letters with business information useful to further their power. One of these families was the Fuggers, a German family of bankers and traders who needed to keep abreast of events that might affect

the interest rates they charged their clients. From 1568 to 1604, hundreds of letters were written by correspondents hired by the Fuggers, and the information in them was used to determine whether or not to loan money and at what rate. They also included prices for products and services in the city from which the letter originated. These Fugger newsletters began what has evolved today into the complex system of providing information about business and the economy, which in the early 21st century is available almost instantaneously through the Internet and other media forms.

Many newspapers in the 18th and 19th centuries were created to allow businesses to notify members of the community about the products and services being offered for sale, and early newspapers carried such business information as the cargo of ships arriving in a city's harbor. These newspapers were commonly called *price currents* because they listed the current prices of various products offered for sale by local merchants, and they rarely, if ever, contained any editorial content. The papers were strictly informational and extremely numbers intensive. Among the products listed in most price currents were cotton, flour, furs, leather, oil, animal skins, tobacco, and wheat.

A Philadelphia price current from 1783 also listed sample wages for workers such as carpenters, sail makers, and blacksmiths, and later price currents included information about shipping traffic. Price currents were published in the cities of Baltimore and Boston in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* was one example: it listed prices for foreign and domestic goods on the front page, and most of the rest of the four-page broadsheet contained shipping information and small advertisements from merchants.

As American business and the economy began to flourish in the 19th century so did the relevant journalism. James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* was the first newspaper that regularly devoted a large amount of space to business and economic news. Started in 1835 on Wall Street, the *Herald* developed the best financial section of any of the mainstream newspapers, according to Forsyth. Bennett was a former economics teacher, and he often wrote what he called the *money page*, which was used to

explain why stock prices rose and fell. A member of his financial reporting staff, Thomas Prentice Kettell, began writing a financial column for the *Herald* in 1835 and is considered the first financial editor of any daily newspaper in the country. Kettell went on to found *United States Economist* in 1852.

Perhaps the most influential business journalism in the United States during the 19th century occurred in an industry newspaper, the *American Railroad Journal*. Edited by Henry Varnum Poor from 1849 to 1862, the publication extensively covered the booming railroad industry. Poor expanded business journalism from its tendency to simply regurgitate facts and figures of products for sale by requiring the railroads to provide financial statements to his publication. He then dissected these financials for his readers, reporting whether he thought the company was a good investment. This was the first time that business journalism explored the profits or losses of companies in any depth. Poor later collected his data into a book, and his company (today known as *Standard & Poor's*) tracks the finances of every major industry.

Important Developments

By 1840, the Industrial Revolution had resulted in larger companies with more complex structures and control of local communities, and as a result, journalists began to pay more attention to business. *The Wall Street Journal* was founded in 1889, providing investors with information about the stock market and business news in New York City. Acquired by Clarence Barron in 1902, it expanded with editions in Philadelphia and Boston and then started a weekly newspaper named after its founder in 1921. While muckrakers Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and Upton Sinclair were not considered business journalists, they wrote widely about business practices and their impact on government and society. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" set the future standard for how companies would be covered by journalists because she used public records such as lawsuits and depositions to make her argument that the company had undue control of the U.S. oil market.

The first three decades of the 20th century saw an important development in business journalism—the creation of magazines devoted solely to business and the economy. The now-defunct *Financial World* started in 1902 and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce began publishing *Nation's Business* in 1907. *Forbes* was started in 1917 by a syndicated business columnist for the New York American. McGraw-Hill began publishing *The Business Week* in 1929 and Time Inc. founded the monthly *Fortune* early in 1930.

Most publications focused on business journalism suffered circulation declines during the Depression, but none was hurt more than *The Wall Street Journal*. It was seen as a stock market booster, and 1932 congressional hearings uncovered that some investors had been paying the paper's journalists to write favorable stories about companies whose shares they held. The Journal remade itself in the late 1930s and 1940s into a more critical business newspaper and one that provided a business angle to nearly every news story. Its lead after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, stated that “War with Japan means industrial revolution in the United States.”

As the postwar economy expanded exponentially in the 1950s and 1960s, business journalism grew as well. The New York Financial Writers' Association, which had been created in 1938, and the Society of American Business Editors and Writers, which started in 1964, took on increasingly important roles in promoting business journalism in the country. Both have developed professional standards and ethics codes that prohibit business journalists from participating in the stock market or from accepting gifts from companies they cover—two common practices in earlier years.

Business journalism on television began to gain traction in the late 1960s. Louis Rukeyser began covering business and economics stories for ABC News in 1968, and in 1971, he started hosting *Wall Street Week* on public television. Irving R. Levine began reporting regularly about business and the economy on NBC News that same year. Both became news fixtures in the 1970s, discussing the Arab oil embargo, inflation, price controls, and the changing stock market. The first business news program on U.S. television was *Nightly*

Business Report, which began airing in 1979 on public television stations around the country. It remains a fixture today, airing on more than 250 stations, but is now owned by CNBC.

Growth and Problems

The dramatic growth in the stock market throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s caused a dramatic expansion of business journalism—and led to many problems. Dozens of journalists began covering business and economics stories without a real understanding of the issues and the nuances of how to properly report and write about those topics. Business journalism in the 1990s was criticized—albeit after the fact—for being too boosterish to industries such as the Internet and telecommunications while turning CEOs of some companies into celebrities, praising them for their operation's results without examining the underlying warts, which included the fact that many of them were not making money for their shareholders.

After the tech bubble burst and the stock market began to drop in March 2000, companies such as Enron, WorldCom, Adelphia, and others were exposed as having duped investors, workers, and the business journalists covering their respective industries into believing fraudulent accounting practices that made the companies look stronger than they actually were. As tech companies began to fail because of their accounting practices, the accounting techniques of other companies began to be reviewed. Some business journalists were criticized for having failed to uncover the scams earlier.

Most of the bigger media outlets compete against each other with their business coverage. *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, for example, go toe to toe on many business news stories, such as mergers and acquisitions and corporate scandals. In addition, wire services such as Reuters, Dow Jones Newswires, Bloomberg News, and the Associated Press compete to have the best coverage on almost every story every hour of the day. Like most mass communication forms, however, business journalism is undergoing dramatic change in the early 21st century. Virtually every daily metro newspaper has cut its standalone business section and business news now appears in

other sections of the paper. In addition, printed stock and mutual fund listings have been dropped from many newspapers and now appear on related websites, primarily as a way for newspapers to trim printing costs.

Business magazines are struggling to overcome a decline in print advertising that has led to fewer pages for stories. Some business titles, including Time Warner's *Business 2.0*, Dow Jones' *Smart Money* and Time Inc's *Money*, ceased publication because of the advertising decline. The decline in business magazine advertising has been attributed to the increase in Internet advertising by companies such as computer makers and auto makers.

However, business journalism on cable television and in specialized newspapers is growing. The Fox Business Network launched on October 15, 2007, to compete with CNBC, which had the cable business journalism market to itself after Time Warner's dedicated financial news channel, CNNfn, stopped airing in 2004. The Fox Business Network surpassed CNBC in total viewers in 2016, although CNBC argues that the Nielsen ratings don't reflect its true audience, which primarily view in offices and trading floors. *The Wall Street Journal*, acquired by News Corp. in 2007, continued to see circulation gains as of 2020, when it reported having approximately 3 million total subscribers, including 2.2 million digital-only subscribers. As of 2019, rival *The Financial Times* had 1 million total subscribers, with three fourths paying for a digital subscription. Weekly business newspapers owned by American City Business Journals and Crain's Communication continue to boast advertising and circulation gains as they focus their business news on small- and medium-sized companies that often go unnoticed by the larger business media. They too are now charging for online access to their content.

Several developments in business journalism may improve the quality of reporting. The expansion of the Internet has made it easier for business journalists to gain access to documents and public records that allow them to cover companies in more depth. Until the mid-1990s, documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission by the 12,000-plus public companies—those whose shares trade on one of the major stock markets—could only be obtained for a fee from a service based in Washington, DC The Securities and

Exchange Commission now provides all corporate documents online, as do many other federal and state regulators.

Another major initiative is the Donald W. Reynolds National Center for Business Journalism, launched in 2003. First based at the American Press Institute, it is now part of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University. Despite advances in the quality of business journalism, the training is sorely needed. A study in the spring/summer 2002 *Newspaper Research Journal* found that journalists believed that education about business was needed for them to be able to do their jobs more effectively. They also believed that such education should apply for all journalists, not just those covering business and the economy.

Multiple business news organizations were sold to new companies during the 2010s. Bloomberg News acquired *BusinessWeek* while TheStreet was sold to Maven. Time Inc. sold *Fortune* and *Money* to Meredith Corp., which in turn sold the titles in 2018 and 2019, respectively, after first shutting *Money's* print operation. The website *Business Insider* was sold to a German media company in 2015, and the website *Quartz* was sold to a Japanese company in 2018. *The Financial Times* was sold to Japanese publisher Nikkei in 2015. Business magazines have also cut the number of print issues while focusing more on their websites for growth. Indeed, most business news organizations are now looking online for readers and revenue. *Forbes*, for example, now receives more than 60% of its ad revenue from digital, and Bloomberg News joined *The Wall Street Journal* in adding a paywall in 2018 for its online content. The future of business journalism appears to be in how these operations can generate revenue on the Internet.

Chris Roush

See also Bloomberg; Business Magazines; Dow Jones; Reuters; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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BUSINESS MAGAZINES

The addition of the magazine format to business journalism allowed for more in-depth coverage of the economy and Wall Street, companies in the business world, as well as business-related issues. Business magazines do this, first, by providing articles that are much longer than those in newspapers and online news sites. Second, business magazines introduced different story types to the world of business journalism, such as company profiles and strategy articles, allowing business magazine articles to go deeper than just discussing business practices and performance. By providing critical analysis and new angles not covered by traditional news sources, business magazines have become important in helping c-suite executives, business owners, partners, and managers, as well

as anyone else involved and/or interested in business, understand the business world, develop strategies, and make business decisions. This entry offers an overview of the development of business magazines and discusses some examples of successful magazines in the genre.

Development

Business magazines began playing an important role in covering business and the economy in the first half of the 20th century, a time when major dailies did not understand the importance of business and industry news coverage to readers. In the 1920s, readers wanted to know why the economy was booming. Then in the 1930s and 1940s, when the economy went through the Great Depression, business magazines analyzed what happened and offered readers strategies to become profitable again. General news magazines (e.g., *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek*) covered Wall Street, business issues, and various industries during this time; however, none provided the depth of coverage offered by magazines solely devoted to business coverage. The three most influential business magazines, *Forbes* (started in 1917), *BusinessWeek* (started in 1929), and *Fortune* (started in 1930), each made important contributions to the world of business journalism and changed how journalists covered companies, investing, and the economy.

Forbes

In 1917, Bertie Charles Forbes started the first business-specific magazine devoted to doers and doings. As a result, Forbes wanted to call the magazine *Doers and Doings*, but his business partner Walter Drey convinced him to use his last name because it was so well known in the investment community. However, the cover of the first issue of *Forbes* magazine did include the words *devoted to doers and doings*. The first issue, which sold for 15 cents, also featured articles on New York banking laws, utilities, big bankers forecasting money rates, as well as a story about women in business written by a woman (which was surprising given there were few women in business and few women writing about anything, especially business), and an interview with John D.

Rockefeller with a tagline on the cover that read “How Forbes gets big men to talk.”

During the 1920s, *Forbes* remained the only major business magazine in the United States and became known for profiles like Rockefeller’s, more so than any other business publication. B. C. Forbes was very interested in the personalities within business, and he became most well-known for pioneering personal profiles of business leaders. In 1996, Timothy Forbes, Forbes’ grandson, attributed personality profiles becoming commonplace in business journalism to his grandfather’s efforts, saying he helped the genre move away from simply covering statistics to capturing the stories of the people behind the statistics. More specifically, he described his grandfather as the humanizer of business.

In addition to profiles, *Forbes* provided investment advice. However, this caused the magazine to lose subscribers after the stock market crash in 1929, when the magazine still ran articles encouraging investment despite the crash. The magazine stayed in business because of income from Forbes’ syndicated column titled “Fact and Comment,” which he started while working at the *Journal of Commerce* before running it in 100 newspapers and then in *Forbes*. However, *Forbes* went from being the only major business magazine to ranking third behind *BusinessWeek* and *Fortune*. *Forbes*’ circulation did rise after the Great Depression in the 1950s and 1960s under the direction of Malcolm Forbes, B. C. Forbes’ son who took over running the magazine after his death in 1954, but it still ranked behind *BusinessWeek* and *Fortune*. It was not until Malcolm Forbes and Editor James Michaels led the magazine to become more critical in their coverage that their circulation passed that of *Fortune* in 1976.

Also, regardless of its downtick in circulation during the Great Depression, *Forbes* represents an important part of business journalism’s history. Not only was it the first magazine solely devoted to business coverage, but B. C. Forbes was also one of the first well-known business journalists to both the business world and to readers, and the magazine’s focus on profiles and investing was a new practice in business journalism. As of 2021, the magazine continues that tradition, focusing on profiles of influential entrepreneurs in the business world, especially through lists such as 30 Under

30 (the top young entrepreneurs), The Forbes 400 (the 400 wealthiest Americans), Self-made Women (the most successful women entrepreneurs), World’s Billionaires, and The Forbes 400 philanthropy score (listing Forbes 400 members by their generosity). *Forbes* is also well-known for its investment newsletters.

Furthermore, when Steve Forbes, Malcolm Forbes’ son, took over as editor in chief after his death in 1990, he launched several spinoff magazines, such as *Global Business and Finance* (started in 1998), as well as international editions in Asia (started in 1998) and Europe (started in 2005). As of 2019, *Forbes* magazine had 40 local editions in 70 different countries. Even with the decline of traditional print media (*Forbes*’ print business lost \$100 million in revenue between 2008 and 2018), the U.S. edition has 6.4 million print readers, and the company fully replaced that revenue with its digital platforms. *Forbes* has tablet and mobile editions, as well as 26 websites around the world with an average of 111 million monthly visitors and 74 million monthly visitors in the United States.

BusinessWeek

McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. started a new business magazine called *The Business Week* in September 1929. Unlike *Forbes*, *The Business Week*’s focus was the economy, hence why a thermometer ran on the cover of the magazine in the 1930s through 1961, gauging the temperature of the American economy. The thermometer graphic also illustrates another important part of *The Business Week*’s vision (counter to that of *Forbes*): interpreting what was going on in the business world, instead of profiling it. As a dig to *Forbes*, Malcolm Muir, the president of McGraw-Hill, who helped start *The Business Week*, said the magazine would never solely chronicle events without interpreting their significance. Furthermore, Muir added *The Business Week* would always have strong opinions and would never hesitate to express those opinions.

Instead, *The Business Week* drew inspiration from *Time* magazine’s format by creating distinct departments (e.g., Business Outlook, Washington Outlook, production, marketing, labor, finance, management, transportation, as well as government

and business abroad) that published regular features. The magazine's first Business Outlook section originally described stocks as unsafe earnings. However, its November 2, 1929, issue also said the Wall Street crash did not foreshadow a serious business depression, making it one of many business publications that failed at predicting the Great Depression. Started just 7 weeks prior to the stock market crash, *The Business Week* lost \$1.5 billion in revenue from 1929 to 1935.

However, unlike other business magazines struggling during the Great Depression, *The Business Week* had a few advantages. First of all, *The Business Week* was able to provide more timely business coverage by publishing a new issue every week, in comparison to *Forbes*, which came out every 2 weeks and *Fortune*, which in the beginning was published monthly. Second, its strategy of having a strong opinion as well as providing analysis led the editors to advocate that the U.S. government take aggressive steps to revive the economy. For example, in October 1930, the magazine complained that the Federal Reserve was standing by idly and a House consumption tax bill was fiscal suicide that would cause further deflation in March 1932. The magazine defines this as one its finest hours.

Besides analyzing the crumbling economy in the 1930s, the magazine reinvented its brand by dropping the "the," becoming just *Business Week* in 1934 and then later *BusinessWeek* (all one word). Also, it continued its coverage of various industries but with a special emphasis on management. There was a postwar explosion of new businesses and technologies, and in order to thrive during a difficult economy, many managers had to develop skills quickly for unfamiliar enterprises. *BusinessWeek* wanted company managers to learn business strategies and management tips, even if the articles were not about their industries. Furthermore, other types of coverage distinguished *BusinessWeek* from its competitors, including analyzing societal shifts that impacted business (e.g., women moving up the corporate ladder in the 1970s) as well as how business influenced society, such as urban issues and the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.

Starting in 1984 through the 1990s, *BusinessWeek* became more aggressive under the

leadership of Editor-in-Chief Steven Shepard, who believed the magazine needed editorial change, despite its deep reporting and profitability. One of his first acts was giving bylines to writers. Furthermore, under his two decades of leadership, the magazine added an international edition, won multiple National Magazine Awards, launched *businessweek.com*, and by 1999 reached a circulation of 1.2 million, making it the world's most widely read business magazine. Ten years later, it had 4.8 million readers in 140 countries.

However, during the dot-com boom's profit surge, more and more people were turning to the Internet for free news and information, causing a decline in subscriptions and advertising revenue. As a result, in 2009, McGraw-Hill put the magazine up for sale, and it was bought by Bloomberg LP and then redesigned and rebranded with a new name: *Bloomberg Businessweek* (with a lowercase "w"). Following the magazine's tradition, it still has a staff divided into various departments that match the print magazine's sections and is devoted to the same types of coverage but now has a multiplatform presence online, through a mobile and tablet app, as well as a TV show, radio show, and podcast. As of 2017, *Bloomberg Businessweek's* print magazine has a global circulation of 600,000 with more than 3 million monthly digital visitors.

Fortune

Henry Luce, the cofounder of *Time* magazine, started *Fortune* in 1930 after noticing *Time* refused to run of a lot of business stories, citing space constraints during the 1920s. He wanted to create what he called a *tycoon's magazine*, dedicated specifically to a small yet exclusive circulation of upper executives because he thought the current magazines, *Forbes* and *BusinessWeek*, did not pay enough attention to this group. Luce also wanted to produce a beautiful magazine using heavy paper with a vivid design, photos, graphics, and charts. Each issue weighed more than two pounds and cost \$1, which was both expensive for readers in a shrinking economy and more than three times the amount of other business magazines usually selling for less than a quarter. In line with his vision, Luce originally wanted to call the magazine *Power*, but his

first wife convinced him to name it *Fortune* because she thought the name would be subtler for readers.

In light of the October 1929 stock market crash, the board of *Time* tried to convince Luce not to start a new magazine, but he knew advertisers would pay good money to reach this audience because they had sufficient income to buy luxury products, and they controlled their companies' finances, making them perfect for corporate advertising. More than half of the 184-page first issue was devoted to advertising, another difference from other magazines at the time. In terms of writing, Luce did not want *Fortune* to offer advice on how to invest or run a business, nor did he want the magazine to take stances on business and economic issues. Instead, he wanted *Fortune* to contain articles that were more descriptive and entertaining as well as informative, so he recruited journalists who did not always know a lot about business to allow for a more literary style.

However, the Great Depression forced Luce to do the exact opposite of his vision in order to reflect the problems of the economy. In the 1930s, *Fortune* changed from being pro-business to more critical, challenging businesses that did not want to be covered and showing how issues such as starvation and homelessness were a direct result of business failures. Also, Luce changed the tone of the magazine and started inserting content in line with his political opinions starting in 1932, with a feature citing Hoover's failure to acknowledge the severity of the Great Depression alongside a favorable review of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal legislation. As a result of the editorial content changes, *Fortune's* circulation, advertising revenues, and profits started to rise. By 1935, the magazine had more than 100,000 subscribers. In 1937, despite recording close to \$500,000 in profits that year, *Fortune* did become critical of Roosevelt's plan to rebuild the economy when business conditions worsened.

Even as it became more pro-business in the 1930s and 1940s, covering political issues and their effect on businesses became a staple in *Fortune* magazine, and it was one of the first publications to recognize the relationship between government and business. *Fortune* is also recognized for evolving business journalism to include political and societal issues, unique businesses not usually covered by business news, as well as inventing the corporate profile. These articles,

which take an in-depth look at a single corporation, taught journalists how to write about companies and are used by every media outlet that covers businesses and their strategies.

Starting in 1955, *Fortune* became known for its list of the 500 largest companies ranked by revenue, called the *Fortune* 500. The magazine has other famed lists such as the *Fortune* 1,000, the Global 500, 100 Fastest Growing Companies, 100 Best Companies to Work For, World's Most Admired Companies, and The Unicorn List of billion-dollar tech companies, to name a few.

To keep up with its growing popularity, *Fortune*, which was a monthly magazine from 1930 to 1978, began publishing biweekly. The print magazine was the foundation of *Fortune* for its first 70 years, but in 2009, the number of issues per year was cut to 18 instead of 25 because of a 34.9% drop in ad page sale. *Fortune's* ad sales continued to drop another 25% in 2018. This drop led Meredith Corp., the owner of *Fortune*, to sell the magazine to Thai businessman Chatchaval Jiaravanon for \$150 million after acquiring Time Inc. earlier that year. Jiaravanon said he would increase investment in *Fortune's* geographic expansion, editorial talent, and of course, digital presence.

Fortune's online presence hosted by CNN.com started in 2004. Then in 2014, after Time Inc. became a company apart from Time Warner, *Fortune* launched its own website. As of 2019, *Fortune's* online audience is wide, totaling 8.9 million, and its total print circulation of 14 issues a year is around 850,000.

Other Successful Business Magazines

Forbes, *BusinessWeek*, and *Fortune* are not the only business magazines to find success and add value to the world of business journalism, especially in the area of personal finance. W. M. Kiplinger created the U.S.'s first personal finance magazine, called *Kiplinger Magazine*, with the subtitle "The Changing Times" in 1947. Two years later, it changed its name to *Changing Times* with the subtitle "The Kiplinger Magazine" until 1991, when it was given the name it is known for today: *Kiplinger's Personal Finance*. Similarly, Time Inc. started *Money* magazine in 1972 to teach readers about investing and managing money, because Luce originally wanted to keep

personal finance advice out of *Fortune*. Next, in 1992, the *Wall Street Journal's* parent company Dow Jones and media giant Hearst Corp. started *Smart Money*.

As with personal finance, a lot of other business magazines have created their own niches within the business magazine industry. For example, *Wired* (started in 1993) is a business magazine with a specific focus on technology. *Entrepreneur* (started in 1977) and *Inc.* (started in 1979) offer small business owners and startups advice on money and management. *Harvard Business Review* (started in 1994) provides a bridge between academia and the corporate world while also targeting those in management positions. *The Economist* (originally started as a newspaper in England in the 1840s before evolving into a weekly magazine) offers a global perspective on business news. *The Economist* is also known for being lengthier with a uniform tone because the writers are anonymous.

Lauren D. Furey

See also Bloomberg; Business Journalism; Dow Jones; *Wall Street Journal*, *The*

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BUZZFEED

BuzzFeed is an independent American news and entertainment digital media company headquartered in New York City with other offices in the United States and around the world. With 92 million unique U.S. visitors across multiple platforms in December 2019 and a global audience of over 520 million, BuzzFeed's success lies in their ability to create entertaining and viral content geared toward millennials.

Founded in 2006 by Jonah Peretti and John S. Johnson III, BuzzFeed produces both original and community-driven viral content using a multiplatform approach, which differs from traditional media channels in the creation and distribution of content. BuzzFeed content is created daily and distributed across websites and social networking services such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Snapchat, TikTok, and Instagram. BuzzFeed remains known for its ability to deliver original content that generates “buzz” and encourages users to share content with others in their social circle.

BuzzFeed utilizes a traditional organizational structure where everything from content creation to advertising is kept in-house. BuzzFeed's popularity originated from providing entertainment journalism (e.g., viral videos, quizzes, and pop culture articles) for a young and digitally savvy target audience before expanding to offer

award-winning investigative journalism. BuzzFeed has expanded to include multiple brands such as Tasty (food-focused social networking), Nifty (money-saving hacks and do-it-yourself projects), Goodful (health and food), As/Is (lifestyle), and Bring Me! (travel). BuzzFeed's network includes BuzzFeed Originals, BuzzFeed Media Brands, BuzzFeed Studios, BuzzFeed Community, BuzzFeed News, and BuzzFeed Commerce. In 2021, BuzzFeed acquired HuffPost in a stock deal with Verizon Media. BuzzFeed has relied heavily on native advertising as a source of revenue. In 2015, BuzzFeed's estimated net worth was \$1.5 billion, and as of 2019, BuzzFeed had over 1,100 employees. This entry discusses BuzzFeed's origins and business model, its various brands and networks, and some of the notable feature stories, videos, and news articles it has published.

Origins

During a time when the digital media landscape was drastically changing, BuzzFeed provided users with copious amounts of viral and entertaining original content. BuzzFeed also strategically sought to understand the emotions and demands of its target audience in order to ensure that original content was shareable and viral, metrics of a successful post. BuzzFeed quickly became known for listicles, or articles presenting items as lists, including "15 Links to Animal Pornography" and "20 Celebrity Nipple Slips." Another staple of BuzzFeed content is online quizzes such as "Half the Population Can't Pass this High School Simulation Without Cheating—Can You?" To encourage audience members to share posts, BuzzFeed often focuses on topics that are part of their identity or lives such as their generation (e.g., "32 Extremely Specific Things Every Single Millennial Hasn't Thought About In YEARS"), favorite TV shows (e.g., "25 'Brooklyn Nine-Nine' Facts You Probably Didn't Know, But 100% Should"), and gender (e.g., "19 Reasons Why Women are So Much Stronger Than Men Could Ever Dare To Be"). BuzzFeed tracks which content pieces are going viral and which are being shared among its target audiences.

In order to provide more viral content, BuzzFeed strives to understand its target audience. This is accomplished by providing users an opportunity

to identify their emotional reactions when consuming BuzzFeed content by clicking on reaction badges (e.g., LOL, OMG, CUTE). This not only allows target audiences to identify their emotional reactions to content but also provides target audiences an opportunity to seek out emotionally specific content. In addition, quizzes such as "Deep Truth Personality Test: Your Emotional Responses to 8 Images will Reveal a Deep Truth About You" and "Your Reaction to these Weird Food Photos Will Reveal Your Emotional Age" allow BuzzFeed to strategically tap into the emotional reactions of consumers. By doing so, BuzzFeed is able to gauge what target audiences want to see while also building an emotional connection.

Business Model

Traditional media (i.e., print, radio, newspaper, and television) utilizes a one-to-many paradigm of one-way communication where a single source or publisher provides information to mass audiences. In contrast, BuzzFeed employs a many-to-many content distribution model where media content is generated and received from multiple sources such as websites, videos, and social media platforms. Traditional media companies also usually aim to drive traffic to their websites. In contrast, BuzzFeed aims to reach its target audience directly by posting original content on social media that is tailored to specific platforms such as Facebook and Instagram. Approximately 75% of BuzzFeed's traffic comes from social media platforms. Of the various social media platforms, Facebook delivers the majority of BuzzFeed's traffic.

BuzzFeed Community

BuzzFeed not only creates original viral content but also works as an open-publishing organization where consumer-generated content is also used. BuzzFeed Community gives users the opportunity to submit original content that may be featured on BuzzFeed. Consumers can apply to become a "BuzzFeeder" and create original content such as quizzes, listicles, or short articles using instructions from BuzzFeed so that the content matches the tone and look of BuzzFeed's original content. Once a BuzzFeeder publishes

their original content, BuzzFeed staff decide whether to promote the original content on BuzzFeed. BuzzFeed rewards community-generated content with digital badges such as trophies that can be displayed on a BuzzFeed user's profile page and content byline. In addition, the virality of a community-generated content piece is measured with "likes," "views," and "engagement," which can earn "Internet points" for a BuzzFeed user.

Native Advertising

BuzzFeed's business model does not charge users for access to its content through a paywall (e.g., monetary membership needed to access restricted media content), and until 2017, it eschewed traditional digital advertising channels such as banner advertisements or display advertisements. Instead, it generated revenue through native advertising, original content created by BuzzFeed for brands that matches the tone, look, and style of BuzzFeed content. BuzzFeed charges organizations a fee to have custom content created for their target audience and to be displayed on BuzzFeed. For example, Toyota's Prius partnered with BuzzFeed and created a listicle titled, "The 20 Coolest Hybrid Animals."

While BuzzFeed utilizes a multiplatform approach to the distribution of its content, native ads are only published to one platform. For example, Bud Light partnered with BuzzFeed in 2018 to promote a new fruity beer product titled "Bud Light Radler." BuzzFeed created a native advertising campaign that aimed at bridging the relationship between having brunch and drinking beer. Two sponsored BuzzFeed recipes, "Beer Bread French Toast" and "Radler's Chicken & Waffles," were created and featured on BuzzFeed's Tasty food-focused video channel. The native advertising campaign generated over 20 million impressions, 6,000 video views, 42,000 comments/reactions, and 14,000 shares.

While native advertising has successfully generated revenue for BuzzFeed, in 2017 Peretti announced that BuzzFeed would pivot from native advertising as the main source of revenue. Along with other forms of advertising, new revenue streams would include expanded efforts in creating and expanding BuzzFeed-owned brands (e.g., Tasty, Goodful, As/Is) while also expanding

licensing opportunities for various successful web series such as *Worth It* and *BuzzFeed Unsolved*.

BuzzFeed Divisions

BuzzFeed has several different divisions, including BuzzFeed Originals, BuzzFeed Media Brands, BuzzFeed Studios, and BuzzFeed News.

BuzzFeed Originals

BuzzFeed Originals concentrates on producing original social content such as short articles, listicles, entertainment quizzes, and viral videos that tap into popular culture. Characteristics of BuzzFeed Original content include it being easy to consume and widely shared through social networking sites. BuzzFeed often uses animated GIFs and pictures in their listicles. BuzzFeed entertainment quizzes are immensely popular because users complete the quiz, share their results, and encourage other members of their social circles to also complete the quizzes so that results can be compared.

BuzzFeed Media Brands

BuzzFeed Media Brands has launched several successful sub-brand products and partnerships. One of the most successful sub-brand products is BuzzFeed's Tasty, a food-focused brand that features short instructional food recipe videos primarily shown on social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram. As of May 2020, BuzzFeed's Tasty had over 1.2 million Twitter followers, 103 million Facebook followers, 98 million Facebook page likes, 18.7 million YouTube subscribers, and 37.6 million followers on Instagram. Time-lapsed videos range from 60 to 90 seconds and its main target audiences are millennials and members of Gen Z. Tasty has several global spinoffs such as Proper Tasty (United Kingdom), Bien Tasty (Mexico), Tasty Japan, and Tasty Demais (Brazil).

Partnering with several corporations, Tasty has launched several branded kitchenware line products, cookbooks, and food products. For example, BuzzFeed's Tasty partnered with Penguin Random House and published five cookbooks titled *Tasty Pride*, *Tasty Every Day*, *Tasty*

Dessert, Tasty Ultimate, and *Tasty's Latest and Greatest*, which have together sold over 1 million copies. Partnering with Walmart, over 90 Tasty-branded kitchenware products are sold exclusively at Walmart. In 2019, a Tasty app was created that allowed users to concurrently search for BuzzFeed cooking recipes while also shopping for ingredients directly from Walmart.

Other sub-brands include BuzzFeed's Goodful, a wellness brand that focuses on healthy eating and wellness, has partnered with Macy's to launch over 100 Goodful cooking and wellness products. BuzzFeed's Nifty sub-brand focuses on money-saving hacks and do-it-yourself techniques and has partnered with American Express with an "Epic Everyday" campaign that targets older millennials. As/Is, a lifestyle brand, focuses on body positivity and individuality. As/Is features several original digital series such as *Close Up*, *Bogus Beauty*, *Feed Famous*, and *Ladylike*. Bring Me! focuses on travel content and has worked with major corporations such as Tourism Australia, Volkswagen, Hyundai, AMEX, and PepsiCo.

BuzzFeed Studios

BuzzFeed Studios, originally named *BuzzFeed Motion Pictures*, creates original content for subscription video on demand, broadcast, and digital platforms. In a partnership with Netflix, BuzzFeed Studios produced one season of an American documentary television series titled *Follow This* that explored various topics focused on Internet subcultures, sexuality, and politics. BuzzFeed Studios also produced an online comedy series titled *The Try Guys* (2015–2018), featuring a four-person team that has created some of BuzzFeed's most viral videos such as "The Try Guys Try Labor Pain Simulation" and "Guys Try on Ladies' Underwear for the First Time." *The Try Guys* viral videos have generated over a billion views. In 2019, stars of the show Keith Habersberger, Ned Fulmer, Zach Kornfeld, and Eugene Lee Yang separated from BuzzFeed and became their own independent company while retaining the branded name, *The Try Guys*.

Other notable original programming includes *BuzzFeed Unsolved: True Crime* and *BuzzFeed*

Unsolved: Supernatural, documentary-style web series created in 2016 that examine hauntings, unsolved crimes, mysteries, and, paranormal activity. The shows, hosted by Ryan Bergara and Shane Madej, air on BuzzFeed Unsolved Network, YouTube, Hulu, and Amazon Prime and are among the most watched BuzzFeed programs. *Worth It*, another successful web series, stars Steven Lim and Andrew Ilnyckyj, who sample and critique similar foods at three different price points ranging from affordable to extravagant such as an episode titled "\$2 Pizza vs. \$2,000 Pizza." The web series spawned additional spinoffs: *Worth It: Lifestyle* and *Worth It UK*.

BuzzFeed News

In December 2011, BuzzFeed launched Buzzfeed News, which concentrates on investigative journalism, news reporting, and is a member of the White House Press Corps. BuzzFeed hired former Politico journalist Ben Smith as editor in chief of BuzzFeed News the same year to expand BuzzFeed's news coverage. Distinct from the main BuzzFeed site, BuzzFeed News has its own website domain and a separate news app with customizable alerts. In contrast to other news sites that divide new stories into traditional topics (e.g., local, world, political, sports), BuzzFeed News site includes a trending news bar with popular stories decided upon by BuzzFeed News editors. BuzzFeed News reports on social issues, the government, and politics. It has won numerous awards including the National Magazine Award in 2016, the National Press Foundation Awards in 2014 and 2016, the Sidney Award in 2015, and the British Journalism Award in 2017. In 2017 and 2018, BuzzFeed News journalists were finalists for the Pulitzer Prize in international reporting. In 2018, Melissa Segura of BuzzFeed News won the George Polk Award in Local Reporting for her series, "Broken Justice in Chicago" that exposed a Chicago police detective of framing innocent men for murder and ultimately resulted in the exoneration of a dozen men. In 2021, Ryan Mac and Craig Silverman of BuzzFeed News won the George Polk Award in Business Reporting for a series of reports on how Facebook exposes the public to fraud, disinformation, and violence.

In May 2020, Smith resigned from BuzzFeed News and was hired as a media columnist for *The New York Times*. BuzzFeed News hired Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Mark Schoofs to become the new editor in chief. Schoofs developed BuzzFeed News's investigative reporting team when he was formerly employed at BuzzFeed in 2014. Schoofs continues to serve as a visiting professor at University of Southern California (USC) Annenberg School of Communication and Journalism, which he joined in 2018, and has built a collaboration between BuzzFeed News and USC Annenberg. When Schoofs was appointed editor in chief, BuzzFeed announced plans for him to teach one journalism course at USC in the fall and for Peretti to teach a course on "internet culture, networks, and digital media." BuzzFeed News also planned to offer USC students an opportunity to intern at BuzzFeed.

Linda Dam

See also Advertorials; Clickbait; Entertainment Journalism; Food Journalism; Instagram; Investigative Journalism; Social Media; Web Analytics

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BYLINE

Bylines are used to give credit to writers who pen articles for print or online publications. They can take multiple forms and come either at the beginning of an article or the end. Typically, a byline names the person who wrote the article and sometimes gives that person's position at the publication. The byline may appear separate from the story as in this example:

Debbie Reddin
Staff Reporter

This entry discusses the history of bylines, types of bylines, gendered uses of bylines, and ethical considerations of using bylines.

Credit for authorship might also appear as part of an editor's note that describes the story's content or offers some contextualization about why the story is important or how it was acquired. In that case, the credit is not considered a byline. Credit may also be given at the end of a story as a signature. In that case, it usually runs flush right (aligned to the right-hand margin) and might look something like this:

—Debbie Reddin

The signature is the oldest form of authorship credit used in American newspapers. This sort of credit line dates back to the colonial era when readers anticipated most content to be written by a newspaper editor. If the editor commissioned or received (usually through the mail) a letter from a correspondent, he would generally use the signature to signal to readers the piece was not his own. Most 18th- and 19th-century authors would write under pseudonyms (aka pen names).

Pen names were important in the Colonial and Revolutionary eras to protect dissidents from retaliation by English officials. Journalism has always been a dangerous occupation, and in earlier times, readers and subjects with grievances against newspaper writers did not sue them for libel. They challenged them to duels, made lethal visits to their offices, or ambushed them in the street. Anonymity was the reporter's friend, and a pen name was the key to that anonymity.

One of the best examples out of early American history is the Federalist Papers. The Federalist

Papers is a collection of 85 articles written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay under the shared pseudonym “Publius.” The three penned the letters to help get the Constitution ratified. The letters appeared in the *New York Independent Journal*, the *New York Packet*, and the *Daily Advertiser* between October 1787 and April 1788. They are not, however, the only, nor the first, to take to newspapers either before, during, or after the Revolution to argue political issues. A letter signed “Cato” that criticized New York Governor William Cosby was the precipitating factor in the arrest and trial of *New York Journal* Editor John Peter Zenger. The letter was penned by members of the anti-Cosby faction, James Alexander and Lewis Morris. Cosby had removed Morris as chief justice of the New York Supreme Court in order to replace him with a more compliant chief justice. Neither Morris nor Alexander would have wanted their names directly associated with the letter, even if most politically active New Yorkers would have known they were the likely authors of the piece.

Women writers, in particular, have chosen to write under either pen names or their initials. Women in the 17th and 18th centuries tended to use masculine pen names, thinking they would be taken more seriously than a female name. In the 19th century, some women, including all four known female war correspondents who wrote for Southern newspapers during the Civil War, used pen names: Joan, Virginia, Luna, and E.L.McE. Other women, such as Louisa McCord of South Carolina, a slavery apologist and frequent contributor to Southern magazines such as *DeBow’s Review* or the *Southern Literary Review* wrote under her initials and was seemingly known as the *author*. She wrote publicly, however, only so long as her husband was alive.

Consistent use of bylines began during the Civil War when Union General Joseph Hooker became enraged over a story that included information about the manpower and location of his Army of the Potomac. The general complained to the U.S. War Department, and the result was General Order No. 48, which required all reporters to sign their correspondence at least with their initials, if not their full names. Northern newspapers complied for the duration of the war.

The Associated Press and most newspapers had no byline policies until the early 20th century. In part, the decision not to use bylines or to use them sparingly was made by publishers who believed the newspaper, not the individual reporter, was responsible for each story. In his work *The Pen and the Book* (1899), Sir Walter Besant, a British historian, argued that signed articles led writers to think of themselves first and their story second. Also, up until about the 1970s or 1980s, newspapers would employ reporters who would gather news and phone it in to a rewrite man, so many stories would have needed a double byline.

Adolph Ochs, publisher of the *The New York Times* from 1896 until his death in 1935, eschewed bylines until the 1920s when the paper’s position on the issue began changing, as did that of many other publications. The first Associated Press byline appeared in 1925, and, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *byline* entered the English language in 1926 when Ernest Hemingway used it in *The Sun Also Rises*.

Arguments in favor of bylines have also focused on holding journalists responsible for their reporting. Unsigned pieces are more likely to allow a reporter to engage in irresponsible reporting, argued John Bertram Askew in a 1911 edition of a periodical that dealt with journalistic controversies, *Pros and Cons*. A 2012 article by Reuters writer Jack Shafer argues that bylines are a positive addition to news organs, for they tell readers the identity of authors and do, in fact, hold writers accountable for what they report. The article essentially paints bylines as one antidote for accusations of fake news. It also points out that bylines help good journalists advance faster in their careers, for their work is a known quantity.

However, the modern prevalence of bylines has presented new ethical issues for journalists: fake bylines and accusations of plagiarism when bylines are not fully inclusive of all who worked on a story. Such an issue arose in 2012 with a Chicago-based local-news company, Journatic.

Journatic provided local news to newspapers throughout America by outsourcing assignments to freelancers who worked remotely. Mostly, these remote reporters picked up publicly available information such as real estate transfers, marriage, and death records, and other information easily obtained from the web. Even some of the top

papers in the United States subscribed to Journatic, including the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Houston Chronicle*, *Newsday*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Many of Journatic's reporters worked overseas in places such as the Philippines, the former Soviet Union, or Africa. Instead of publishing under their own names, Journatic reporters took American-sounding pen names for their bylines. While this practice would have been commonplace 200 years earlier, today it is deemed an unethical practice. Journatic pledged to stop its use of fake bylines after being caught and losing subscribers such as the *Chicago Sun-Times* and GateHouse Media.

A few months after the Reuters article appeared, *The Guardian*, an English newspaper, became embroiled in a byline controversy when the news agency published a scoop about Cisco Systems ending its partnership with a Chinese telecommunications investigation. The Chinese company was accused of violating U.S. sanctions against Iran. A *Guardian* reporter, Charles Arthur, took the wire story, verified it, and did some of his own reporting. He bylined the story with his name and the phrase "and agencies." In the editing process, the "and agencies" phrase got deleted. The *Guardian* Twitter feed automatically pulled the story and publicized it in social media as being exclusively by Arthur.

The newspaper's reader's representative (ombudsman) investigated a complaint by an American journalist that *The Guardian* had failed

to credit Reuters. The representative concluded that internal policies and procedures needed to be reviewed but found Arthur had not intentionally taken sole credit for the work.

Despite the acknowledged value of bylines, some publications still choose not to use them. Perhaps the most famous is the *Economist*, a London newspaper that appears weekly in magazine form. The *Economist* defends its nonuse of bylines as tradition, citing the fact many of their articles are the product of collaborations between writers, and, taking the Ochsian view that what is written is more important than who writes it. The paper does allow its online writers to sign their articles with their initials, and an occasional special report in the print edition is bylined as well.

Debra van Tuyll

See also News Values; Sensationalism

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