# **Media Society**

Industries, Images, and Audiences

Second Edition

evid Croteau Iliam Hoynes

# Media/Society

# INDUSTRIES, IMAGES, AND AUDIENCES

## **Second Edition**

## **David Croteau**

Virginia Commonwealth University

William Hoynes

Vassar College



**Pine Forge Press** 

Thousand Oaks # London # New Delhi

### Copyright © 2000 by Pine Forge Press

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

### For information:



Pine Forge Press 2455 Teller Road

Thousand Oaks, California 91320

E-mail: sales@pfp.sagepub.com

SAGE Publications Ltd.

6 Bonhill Street

London EC2A 4PU

United Kingdom

SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd.

M-32 Market

Greater Kailash I

New Delhi 110 048 India

Production Editor: Wendy Westgate

Editorial Assistant: Jean Skeels

Production Assistant: Nevair Kabakian Interior Designer: Lisa Mirski Devenish

Typesetter: Marion Warren Indexer: Teri Greenberg

Cover Designer: Ravi Balasuriya

Printed in the United States of America

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 7 6 5 4 3

# Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Croteau, David

Media/Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences/ by David Croteau and William Hoynes.—2nd ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-7619-8684-7 (cloth; acid-free paper)

ISBN 0-7619-8637-5 (pbk.; acid-free paper)

1. Mass media—Social aspects—United States. 2. Mass media—Political aspects—United States. I. Hoynes, William. II. Title.

HN90.M3 C76 2000

302.23—dc21

99-6286

# For Bill Gamson,

with thanks, for helping us appreciate the significance of mass media and the value of teaching

#### About the Authors

David Croteau is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond. He teaches courses on the sociology of media and on the news media. He is the author of *Politics and the Class Divide: Working People and the Middle-Class Left.* 

William Hoynes is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, where he teaches courses on media, culture, and social theory. He is the author of *Public Television for Sale: Media, the Market, and the Public Sphere.* 

Croteau and Hoynes are the coauthors of By Invitation Only: How the Media Limit Political Debate. Their most recent book is The Business of Media: Corporate Media and Democratic Society (Pine Forge Press, 2000).

#### About the Publisher

Pine Forge Press is a new educational publisher, dedicated to publishing innovative books and software throughout the social sciences. On this and any other of our publications, we welcome your comments and suggestions.

Please call or write us at:

## Pine Forge Press

A Sage Publications Company 2455 Teller Road Thousand Oaks, CA 91320 (805) 499-4224

E-mail: sales@pfp.sagepub.com

Visit our new World Wide Web site, your direct link to a multitude of on-line resources:

http://www.sagepub.com/pineforge

We live in a society that is increasingly saturated by mass media. For most of us, print, film, radio, music, and television are central parts of our daily lives. At the same time, the growth in new technologies has altered our understanding of what we mean by mass media. The Internet and digital technologies are among the developments that have changed the media landscape. It is no surprise, then, that understanding the relationship between media and society has become an important topic in sociology, mass communication, political science, American studies, and other disciplines.

We are pleased that the first edition of *Media/Society* helped to introduce thousands of students to a sociologically informed analysis of the media process. Building on the success of the first edition and the helpful comments we have received from a variety of instructors, we are happy to offer you this second edition of *Media/Society*.

We have found that teaching about mass media works best as a collaborative process. Most students bring a great deal of media experience to the classroom. They have been readers, viewers, and listeners all their lives. In some cases, they have even become producers of mass media products. Their knowledge often results in lively and insightful classroom discussions. What students generally lack, though, is a broader framework for understanding the relationship between media and society. That is our contribution to the classroom. In teaching about media, we try to build upon our students' experiential knowledge by providing resources to help them gain new insights about the media. This involves developing skills for critically evaluating both the conventional wisdom and our own often taken-for-granted assumptions about the social role of media.

With media-related courses on the rise, several other media texts have been issued in the short time since the first edition of this book was published. There are, however, some major differences between Media/Society and most of the other new texts. This second edition of Media/Society has at least four distinct features that continue to make it unique among media texts.

First, our approach is sociological. By this we mean that our emphasis is on the "big picture," examining relationships between the various components of the media process. In the first chapter, we present a model of media and society (see Exhibit 1.6) that notes the key relationships among the media industry, media products, audiences, technology, and the broader social world. One of the central points of *Media/Society* is that we need to understand the mass media, in all their complexity, in social terms.

Second, because our approach emphasizes the sociological "big picture," we integrate a wide variety of topics into our discussion. Our analysis explores both different dimensions of the media process (production, content, and audiences) and different types of media (film, music, news, television, books, the Internet, and so on). We do not fragment the study of mass media by separating chapters by individual medium; convergence of media technologies has made this kind of medium-specific approach more untenable than ever. Instead, we emphasize an integrated approach to studying mass media of all types. The issues we examine are also diverse. They range from how government regulates the media to how audiences actively construct meaning; from how media personnel do their jobs to how changing media technology is having global repercussions; from how the economics of the media industry shape media products to how media products might influence audiences; from the portrayals of race, class, and gender in the media to the news media's impact on the world of politics. This diversity allows readers to see connections between mass media issues that are often treated separately. In addition, it allows instructors to use this text as a comprehensive survey of the field while tailoring supplementary readings to highlight issues of particular interest to them.

Third, our sociological focus on social relationships highlights the tension between constraint and action in the media process. For example, while we must understand the influence of the media industry in our society, we must also recognize how economic and political constraints affect the media. While we should be alert to the potential influence of media products on audiences, we must also recognize how audiences actively construct their own interpretations of media messages. While we ought to pay attention to the influences of technology on the media process, we must also see how social, economic, and political forces have shaped the development and application of technology. Examining these tensions helps us gain a more balanced and nuanced understanding of the role of media in society.

Finally, with updated examples in the second edition, this book aims to be current and accessible. The particular details of current media debates change rapidly, but the types of debates that are occurring date back to the very origins of mass-mediated communication. Therefore, our analyses are historically grounded but draw upon current media debates, such as regulation of the Internet, the concentration of media ownership, portrayals of lesbians and gays in the media, and the growth of globally circulating media. By drawing upon recent examples, we concretize our broader theoretical points about media and society. We hope our approach will help make the text accessible and engaging for students and instructors alike.

The bulk of this second edition will be comfortably familiar to those instructors who have used the first edition of *Media/Society*. The organizing framework and the underlying sociological model remain the same throughout. Despite the exponential growth of media studies in the 1990s, we have resisted the temptation to add innumerable examples from recent research. Instead, we have retained our focus on "classic" studies, added discussions of select new studies, and provided up-to-date material about the rapidly changing mass media.

Following are some of the more substantial revisions for this edition.

- We have added new lists of Internet resources both in the text and in an appendix. These Web sites allow students to explore the very latest media developments and to learn about the organizations working to improve the media.
- We have updated the presentation of media ownership patterns. Between 1996 and 1999, the merger mania in the media world proceeded as the large media companies continued to grow and diversify. We provide revised data on who owns what, taking note of some of the dilemmas raised by the continuing consolidation of the media industry, and explore the social significance of these recent developments.
- We have updated the discussion of media regulation. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 dramatically revised federal media regulatory policy. Indeed, these regulatory changes helped to spur on the ownership changes. This edition describes the new regulations in more detail and examines their significance for media owners and media audiences. In addition, we include a discussion of the rapidly evolving debates about the appropriate methods for regulating the Internet, including 1998's Child On-Line Protection Act.
- We have revised the discussion of media technology. Since the first edition of this book was published, the Internet has grown dramatically, with more sites, more users, and new forms of on-line media. Major media conglomerates have moved swiftly to influence the direction of Internet development. This edition expands our look at the evolution and future of the Internet as a form of mass media, taking note of the emergence of the full spectrum of digital media and the increasing commercialization of the Internet.
- We have updated the discussion of media and politics. In this edition, we integrate the lessons of the 1996 presidential campaign, the first to make

extensive use of the Internet, into our discussion of the relationship between mass media and the political process. In addition, we have added new material highlighting the campaign contributions of major media companies and the role of the news media in the 1998 scandal that led to President Clinton's impeachment and 1999 Senate trial.

- We have added some new topics, including the growth of network television newsmagazines, the legal battles over "pirate radio," and news coverage of the Los Angeles riots.
- Finally, we have switched the order of Chapters 5 and 6 in response to some instructors who have found it more useful to explore the concept of ideology before discussing media representations.

While these revisions will help ensure that the details in *Media/Society* remain up to date, they also serve to reaffirm the timeless nature of the core questions originally raised in the first edition of *Media/Society*. By focusing on these questions, students will be well equipped to assess media developments long after they have left the classroom.

We would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the people who helped make this book possible. We are grateful to Matthew Dillard, David Hurley, Marilyn Kennepohl, and Kristin Monroe for their research assistance on the first edition. Thanks to Ed Hedemann and Serge Levy for their photographs and the Vassar College Committee on Research for a grant from the J. R. Heimerdinger Fund in support of this project. Thanks to Steve Rutter and the folks at Pine Forge Press for their assistance and encouragement and to Rogue Valley Publications and Scratchgravel Publishing Services for their work in producing the first edition of this book. We are grateful to Pine Forge's reviewers, who provided very helpful comments on earlier drafts of this book's first edition:

Marshall Battani University of California, Davis

Bradley Buchner Kutztown University
Tom Gerschick Illinois State University
Kent Kedl University of Minnesota

Arvind Rajagopal Purdue University

Troy Zimmer California State University, Fullerton

Thanks to Pine Forge's reviewers for their helpful comments:

Phyllis Baker
James Danowski
Jane Duvall Downing
Michael Ensdorf
William A. Gamson

University of North Iowa University of Illinois, Chicago University of Missouri, Columbia Roosevelt University Boston College Daniel G. McDonald Cornell University

Peter Nardi Pitzer College/The Claremont Colleges
Myron Orleans California State University, Fullerton

Annette Samuels Eastern Illinois University

Lloyd Stires Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Thanks also to Caroline Lee and Johanna Buchignani at Vassar College and to Henry Bartlett at Virginia Commonwealth University for their research assistance during the process of revising the text.

We would also like to thank all the students who have taken our mass media courses. Their questions and concerns have provided wonderful fuel for thought. Thanks to Ben and Nick Hoynes for providing their father with a continuing lesson about the complex role of the mass media. Finally, thanks as always to Deirdre Burns and Cecelia Kirkman—for everything.

David Croteau and William Hoynes February, 1999

# CONTENTS

P	R	E	F	Α	C	E	xvi

		D	0		
_	-	-		-	

# Media/Society

1	Media and the Social World 3	
	The Importance of Media 4	
	The Rise of Mass Media 7	
	The Print Medium 8	
	Sound Recording and the Film Medium 10	
	Broadcast Media 11	
	"New" Media 12	
	Media and Society 13	
	Mass Media in Socialization 14	
	Mass Media in Social Relations 16	
	A Sociology of Media 17	
	The Importance of Social Relations 19	
	Structural Constraint and Human Agency 21	
	Structure and Agency in the Media 22	
	A Model of Media and the Social World 25	
	Applying the Model: The Civil Rights Movement	28

# PART TWO

Conclusion

# **Production: The Media Industry and the Social World**

# **2** The Economics of the Media Industry 35

Changing Patterns of Ownership	36	
Concentration of Ownership	36	
Conglomeration and Integration		38

Consequences of Conglomeration and Integration 46
Integration and Self-Promotion 46
The Impact of Conglomeration 47
The Effects of Concentration 48
Media Control and Political Power 48
Media Ownership and Content Diversity 51
Mass Media for Profit 58
Prime-Time Profits 59
Profit and the News Media 62
The Impact of Advertising 63
Advertising and the Press in the Nineteenth Century 66
Advertising and the Contemporary News Media 70
Advertising, MTV, and "New" Media 72
Conclusion 75
Political Influence on Media 77
The Case of "Pirate Radio" 78
Common Features of Media Regulation Debates 80
The "First Freedom" 83
The "Public Interest" and the Regulation Debate 85
Regulation in International Perspective 86
Regulating Ownership and Control 88
Regulating Ownership of Media Outlets 88
Regulating Ownership of Programming: The Case of "Fin-Syn" Rules 91
Regulating Ownership and Control of Technology 94
Regulating Media Content and Distribution 97
Regulating the Media Left and Right: Diversity Versus Property Rights 97
Regulating for Diversity: The Fairness Doctrine 98
Regulating for Morality 100
Regulating for Accuracy: Advertising 110
Regulating in the "National Interest": Media and the Military 112
Informal Political, Social, and Economic Pressure 114
Conclusion 117

4	Media Organizations and Professionals 119
	The Limits of Economic and Political Constraints 119  Working Within Economic Constraints 120  Responding to Political Constraints 121
	The Organization of Media Work 122 News Routines 123
	Selecting Front-Page Stories 126 Objectivity 128
	Occupational Roles and Professional Socialization 133  Photography 135  Editorial Decision Making 141
	Emerging Norms on the Internet 147
	Hits, Stars, and Decision Making 150
	Conclusion 154
	RT THREE
Co	ntent: Media Representations of the Social World
5	Media and Ideology 157
	What Is Ideology? 157
	"Dominant Ideology" Versus Cultural Contradictions 159
	Ideology as Normalization 161
	Theoretical Roots of Ideological Analysis 162  Early Marxist Origins 162  Hegemony 163
	News Media and the Limits of Debate 166  Elites and Insiders 167
	Economic News as Ideological Construct 168
	Movies, the Military, and Masculinity 169  Action-Adventure Films 171  Vietnam Films 172
	Television, Popularity, and Ideology 174  Television and Reality 175
	Television and the Changing American Family 176
	Rap Music as Ideological Critique? 179
	Advertising and Consumer Culture 182

	Selling Consumerism in the Early Twentieth Century 184 Women's Magazines as Advertisements 185
	,, ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
	Advertising and the Globalization of Culture 186
	Conclusion 190
6	Social Inequality and Media Representation 193
	Comparing Media Content and the "Real" World 194
	The Significance of Content 196
	Race and Media Content: Inclusion, Roles, and Control 198
	Racial Diversity in Media Content 200
	Race and Media Roles 202
	Controlling Media Images of Race 208
	Gender and Media Content 210
	Women: Presence and Control in the Media 210
	Changing Media Roles for Women and Men 211
	Class and the Media 214
	"Some People Are More Valuable Than Others" 215
	Class and Media Content 216
	Sexual Orientation: Out of the Closet and Into the Media? 222
	Conclusion 225
PΑ	RT FOUR
Aud	diences: Meaning and Influence
7	Media Influence and the Political World 229
	Media and Political Elites 230
	A Politics of Image 231
	The Decline of Political Parties and Mediating Institutions 235
	Politics as Spectator Sport 236
	Media and Individual Citizens 237
	Media Effects: From Influence to Interaction 237
	The Gap Between Theory and Popular Perception 241
	Lessons From the Research 244
	Media and Social Movements 244
	"New Media" and the News 246

Politics and Entertainment Media 249  Television and Film 249  Music 252  Global Media, Global Politics 255  The Cultural Imperialism Thesis 256  The Politics of Media in Other Nations 258  Conclusion 260
Active Audiences and the Construction of Meaning 261
The Active Audience 262  Interpretation 263  The Social Context of Interpretation 263  Collective Action 264  Meanings: Agency and Structure 264
Agency and Polysemy 266 Structure and Interpretive Constraint 268
Decoding Media and Social Position 269 Class and "Nationwide" 269 Gender, Class, and Television 273 Race, News, and Meaning Making 275 International Readings of American Television 276 The Social Context of Media Use 279 Romance Novels and the Act of Reading 280
Watching Television With the Family 282
Active Audiences and Interpretive "Resistance" 284  Interpretive Resistance and Feminist Politics 286  Resistance and Identity 287
The Pleasures of Media 288  Pleasure and Fantasy 289  Celebrity Games 290  Pleasure and Resistance 292
Conclusion 293
Media Technology and Social Change 295
The Nature and Consequence of Media Technology 295  Differing Technological Capabilities 296  Mediating Communication 298

Rethinking Time and Space 300	
Technological Determinism 301	
Technology and the Media Environment 302	
McLuhan's Message 303	
Images and Public Life 304	
Electronic Media and Social Identity 307	
Medium Theory in a Computer Age 308	
The Social Construction of Media Technologies	310
The Early Years of Radio 311	
Introducing Television Into the Home 315	
The Internet and the Future of Interactive Media	317
Taming the Wild Frontier: Corporate Control of Internet "Portals"	320
Beyond Technological Determinism 322	
Conclusion 324	

# PART FIVE

# Globalization and the Future

# **10** Media in a Changing Global Culture 329

What Is Globalization? 330
Crossing Limits of Time and Space 330
Crossing Cultural Boundaries 332
The Promise and Reality of Media Globalization 334
The Global Media Industry 335
Global Products, Centralized Ownership 335
The Case of Bertelsmann 339
Global Media Content 345
The Debate Over "Cultural Imperialism" 346
The Fight to Preserve Local Cultures 348
The Imperialism Thesis: Some Complications 350
The Politics of Information Flow 354
Global Media Consumption: Limits of the "Global Village"
Afterword: The Ubiquity of Change and the Future of Mass Media 362

**Appendix: Selected Media-Related** 

**Internet Resources** 

General Directories

365

365

Media Education 365

Media Research, Policy, and Publications

366

Media Advocacy

367

Independent Media 367

371

REFERENCES

385 INDEX