

# The Interplay of Influence

Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell

5 th Edition



## The Interplay of Influence



NEWS, ADVERTISING, POLITICS, AND THE MASS MEDIA

FIFTH EDITION

KATHLEEN HALL JAMIESON

University of Pennsylvania

KARLYN KOHRS CAMPBELL

University of Minnesota



Mass Communication Editor: Karen Austin Executive Editor: Deirdre Cavanaugh Editorial Assistant: Aimee Lilles

Executive Marketing Manager: Stacey Purviance

Project Editor: Susan Walters Print Buyer: Robert King Permissions Editor: Bob Kauser

Production Service: Scratchgravel Publishing Services

COPYRIGHT © 2001 Wadsworth, a division of Thomson Learning, Inc. Thomson Learning<sup>TM</sup> is a trademark used herein under license.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright hereon may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means-graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, Web distribution, or information storage and retrieval systems-without the written permission of the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 04 03 02 01 00

For permission to use material from this text, contact us by

Web: http://www.thomsonrights.com

Fax: 1-800-730-2215 Phone: 1-800-730-2214

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Jamieson, Kathleen Hall.

The interplay of influence: news, advertising, politics, and

the mass media / Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell.-5th ed.

p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0-534-53364-7 (alk. paper)

1. Mass media-Influence. 2. Mass media-Audiences. 3. Advertising. 4. Mass media—Political aspects. 5. Mass media-United States. I. Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs. II, Title.

P94 .I34 2000 302.23-dc21

00-035194

Text Designer: Scratchgravel Publishing Services

Photo Researcher: Laura Molmud Copy Editor: Jamie Fuller

Cover Designer: Cuttriss & Hambleton

Cover Image: PhotoDisc

Compositor: Scratchgravel Publishing Services Text and Cover Printer: Von Hoffmann Press/Custom

### Wadsworth/Thomson Learning

10 Davis Drive

Belmont, CA 94002-3098

USA

For more information about our products, contact us: Thomson Learning Academic Resource Center 1-800-423-0563

http://www.wadsworth.com

### International Headquarters

Thomson Learning International Division 290 Harbor Drive, 2nd Floor Stamford, CT 06902-7477 USA

#### UK/Europe/Middle East/South Africa

Thomson Learning Berkshire House 168-173 High Holborn London WC1V 7AA United Kingdom

#### Asia

Thomson Learning 60 Albert Street, #15-01 Albert Complex Singapore 189969

#### Canada

Nelson Thomson Learning 1120 Birchmount Road Toronto, Ontario M1K 5G4 Canada



## To Our Grandmothers, Myra Moore Hall Zabel and Hinke Douma Kohrs, who loved us, indulged our eccentricities, and nurtured our dreams.

### Preface

Since we wrote the first edition of *The Interplay of Influence*, the world of news, advertising, and politics has undergone a seismic revolution. Cable television now reaches more than two out of three homes in the nation, carrying civic information on C-SPAN, round-the-clock Headline News on CNN, and hours of political talk on MSNBC. In many mid-sized cities, the second paper that political activists subscribe to is not a local one—for there are fewer and fewer two-newspaper towns—but *The New York Times*, which is delivered daily thanks to satellite transmission to regional printing plants. In addition, computer services have made it possible to scan stories from around the nation and even around the globe.

We can now receive video from the phone company and phone service from the cable company. A "V-chip" is included in every new TV set, enabling parents to block sexually oriented or violent programs entirely or during certain hours. By doing so, they cast a countable "no" vote with advertisers on such shows.

The world of politics has changed as well. Candidates now have Web pages that recruit volunteers, offer campaign material, and solicit funds. In newsrooms, computer databases make it easier to check candidate consistency and to monitor the flow of money reported to the Federal Election Commission. Adwarches have been added to the range of available forms of news reports. And all of the major newspapers now offer an on-line version.

These changes in the world of media have led us to expand the scope of issues confronted in this new edition of *The Interplay of Influence*. In particular, we have added extensive sections on the ways in which the Internet has transformed and has the potential to transform the media environment. But even with all the changes afoot, we are pleased to note how durable are the original principles we set forth in the first edition. This edition offers new illustrations of those principles.

The other durable elements in our lives are our institutional homes. We remain happily situated at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School and the University of Minnesota's Department of Speech-Communication.

We thank the following reviewers of previous editions for their helpful suggestions: Dennis C. Alexander, University of Utah; Marin Pearson Allen, Gallaudet College; Chuck Bantz, Wayne State University; Jane Banks, Syracuse University; Sam Becker, University of Iowa; Peggy Bieber-Roberts, University of Wyoming; Bob Cathcart,

Queens College; Gina Daddario, State University of New York at Cortland; Richard J. Harris, Kansas State University; Kathryn Ingle, University of Virginia; Don Kirkley, University of Maryland; Joe Lamp, Anne Arundel Community College; Margaret K. Latimer, Auburn University; Larry Lichty, University of Maryland; Val E. Limburg, Washington State University; Kate Madden, SUNY-Brockport; John Robinson, University of Maryland; James L. Rogers, University of North Texas; Gordon Whiting, Brigham Young University; and Eric Zonot, University of Maryland.

We also appreciate the helpful comments of the reviewers of this 5th edition: Robert Bohle, University of North Florida; Dorothy Kidd, University of San Francisco; Larry Powell, University of Alabama, Birmingham; and George Rodman, Brooklyn College.

We thank our research assistants, David Dutwin, Aric Putnam, and Angela Ray. In particular, we thank Jenny Stromer-Galley for her research on the ways in which the Internet has affected press coverage. Finally, we dedicate this edition to the memory of Paul Newell Campbell.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson Karlyn Kohrs Campbell

### The Interplay of Influence

NEWS, ADVERTISING, POLITICS, AND THE MASS MEDIA

### Brief Contents

1 The Media: An Introduction 1

2	What Is News? 40	
3	News as Persuasion 83	
4	Influencing the News Media 122	
5	Ratings and Revenues: The Audience in Mass Media Social Systems	156
6	What Is Advertising? 190	
7	Persuasion through Advertising 216	
8	Influencing Advertisers 249	
9	How to Influence the Media 277	
10	Political versus Product Campaigns 297	
11	News and Advertising in the Political Campaign 317	
	Index 240	

### Contents

THE MEDIA: AN INTRODUCTION
Distinctive Characteristics of Mass Communication 4 The Audience 4 The Mediated Messages 5 The Sources 7
Interpersonal and Mass Communication: Relationships 7 Mass Media Use 8 Impact of Mass Media 8
Kinds of Mass Media 9
International Media 9  Political Repercussions 10  Breaking Informational Barriers 11  Impact of Technology 12  National Media 13  Specialized Media 14  Elite Media 14
Major News Carriers 15 Television 15 The Rise of Cable 20 The Changing Modes of Delivering Images through Television 25 Radio 27 Talk Radio 29 Newspapers 31 Magazines 32 The Internet 32
The Internet as a Transnational Communicator 33
The New Programmers 34
Expanded Interactivity 35

1

2

```
The New Media Environment
  Twenty-Four-Hour News 36
  Changing Influence of the Press 36
To Sum Up 39
Selected Readings 39
WHAT IS NEWS?
Hard News Defined 40
   1. Hard News Is Personalized, about Individuals 41
   2. Hard News Is Dramatic, Conflict-Filled, and Violent 45
   3. Hard News Is Action, an Event, an Identifiable Occurrence 47
   4. Hard News Is Novel, Deviant, Out of the Ordinary 47
   5. Hard News Reports Events Linked to Issues Prevalent in the News at the Time 51
What Is Covered and Reported 52
   External Constraints 52
     Access
              52
      Cost
            57
      Time and Space
                       58
  Internal Constraints
      Use of Available Footage
                              59
     Covering Visual Events
                            59
      Covering Newsworthy People 61
     Avoiding Stories That Give Offense 62
     Becoming the News
                         63
Changing News Norms 65
   Relevance to Governance or Abuse of Power
  Public Display
  Hypocrisy Forecast
  Hypocrisy Added
  Statute of Limitations 67
  Lying and Recency
  Hypocrisy Broadly Construed
How the Story Is Presented 71
  Reporter Expertise 71
  Fairness and Balance 74
  Story Length 74
  Story Structure 77
  Objectivity 77
To Sum Up 81
Selected Readings 82
```

40

83

### 3 NEWS AS PERSUASION

Dramatizing and Sensationalizing Content The Screen 83 The Camera 85 Special Effects 86 Editing 87 Filmed and Taped Coverage 90 Anchors and On-Air Reporters 93 Inaccurate and Incomplete Reporting Deadlines and Competition 95 Breaking News 96 Exclusive Breaking News 97 Story Structure 98 Anonymous and Composite Sources, Misrepresented Tape 98 Readers' Advocates 101 News Analysis 102 Media Convergence 103 Unbalanced Interpretation 103 Insinuation through Selection of Language 104 Ideological Bias 105 Self-Censorship 108 The Fairness Doctrine 108 Beats 109 Government Support 109 Audience Taste 111 Direct Intervention 112 Breaches of Neutrality 112 Producing Social Change Journalists as Direct Participants The Civic Journalism Movement 115 To Sum Up 116 Analysis: Analyzing a News Item 116 Newsworthiness 116 Reporter 117 The News Story 117 Constraints 118 Framing 118 Inclusion/Exclusion 118 Setting 119 Timing 119 Placement 119

Patterns 119

Manipulation 120 Impact 120 Selected Readings 120

### 4 INFLUENCING THE NEWS MEDIA

122

Influencing Journalistic Norms and Routines 122

Manipulating Deadlines 122

Manipulating Access 126

Manipulating News Assignments 128

Media Competition 129

Using Access to Media to Manipulate the Agenda 131

Expanded Opportunities for Direct Address 132

Satellites 132

The Internet 132

Language and Symbols 132

The Perils of Live Coverage 136

Prepackaged News 137

Pseudo-Events 139

News Feeds 141

Prepared Editorials 143

Commercial Pressures 143

Costs of Preempting Programming 144

Pressures from Advertisers 146

Threat of Lawsuits 147

Political Pressure 149

Presidential Newsworthiness 149

National Security 151

Government Manipulation 151

To Sum Up 154

Selected Readings 155

### 5 RATINGS AND REVENUES: THE AUDIENCE IN MASS MEDIA SOCIAL SYSTEMS

156

The Mass Media: Social Systems 156

A Brief History of the Mass Media 157

The Role of Mass Media Advertising 158

The Audience 158

Technology 161

Commercial Television 163

Nielsen Ratings 164

Utilizing the Ratings 170 170 Mini-Series Competition for Time Periods 171 Network Affiliation 171

Public Television

Radio 176

Arbitron Ratings 177 Restricted Formats 177

Newspapers 178

Impact of Television 181

Separation of News and Advertising 182

Local Advertising 183

The Internet 183

Magazines 184

Casualties of Competition 185

Newsweeklies 186

Media Consolidation 187

To Sum Up 188

Selected Readings

### WHAT IS ADVERTISING?

190

Defining Advertising

Mediated Advertising 196

Kinds of Mass Media Advertising 197

Product Ads 198

The Product as Ad

Service Ads 199

Goodwill Ads 199

Advocacy Ads 202

Infomercials 203

Public Service Announcements 204

Political Ads 205

205 Issue Advocacy Ads

How to Determine Whether It's an Ad 206

How Ads Reveal the Advertiser 206

How Ads Reveal the Intended Audience 206

Advertising and Reality: Stereotypes 210

Advertising Values 211

The World According to Commercials 211 Seeing the Other Side 214

The Interplay of News and Advertising 215
To Sum Up 215
Selected Reading 215

### 7 PERSUASION THROUGH ADVERTISING

216

The Advertiser's Aims 216

Creating Product Recognition 216

Trademarks 216

Packaging 218

Slogans 219

Differentiation 221

Unique Selling Proposition 221

Association 222

Participation 222

Identification with Ad Characters 222

Significant Experiences 223

Making the Audience an Accomplice 224

Redundancy 229

Repeated Claims 229

Repeated Exposure 230

Advertisers' Strategies for Persuasion 230

Naming the Product 233

Differentiating Products 235

Pseudo-Claims 235

Comparison with an Unidentified Other 235

Comparison of the Product with Its Earlier Form 236

Irrelevant Comparisons 236

The Pseudo-Survey 236

Creating Associations 237

Associations with Celebrities and Authorities 237

Use It. Be Like Me. 237

Use It. I'm an Authority. 238

Cannibalizing the Past for Associations 238

Appropriating Historical Persons and Events 239

Trading on Someone's Good Name 240

Appropriating a Famous Phrase 241

Creating a Memorable Phrase 241

Exploiting Social Movements 242

Nationalistic Associations 243

Exploiting Argumentative Forms to Create Associations and Participation 243

Implying Causality 243

Juxtaposition 244

249

Implying "If . . . Then" 245 Implying "If Not . . . Then Not" But Does Advertising Work? 246 To Sum Up 247 Selected Readings 247 INFLUENCING ADVERTISERS Regulation and Self-Regulation 249 The Federal Trade Commission 249 The Powers of Other State and Federal Agencies 253 The National Advertising Division 254 The National Association of Broadcasters 257 Network Standards 258 Obstacles to Regulation Problems Faced by Regulators Determining Deception 260 Effects of Stricter Regulation 261 What Advertisers May Not Say and Do 262 Limitations on Distortion 262 Product Characteristics 263 Product Performance Puffery 265 Fantasy 266 Limitations Imposed by the Audience 266 Children in Audiences 266 Taboos 268 To Sum Up 271 Analysis: Analyzing an Ad 271 What Type of Ad Is It? If the Ad Is a PSA 271 If the Ad Is an Idea Ad 272 If the Ad Advertises a Service Rather Than a Product 272 If the Ad Is a Goodwill Ad 272 If the Ad Is a Political Ad 272 If the Ad Is a Product Ad 273 Audience 273 Ad Content 273 Assumptions 274 Programming or Content Sponsored by an Ad

Content Surrounding (Contextualizing) an Ad

Media Mix 275

Exploiting Coincidental Relationships

244

	Pressure on Advertiser 275 Effect 276	
	Selected Readings 276	
9	HOW TO INFLUENCE THE MEDIA	277
	Individual Complaints 277	
	Group Pressure 283  Boycotts 283  Legal Actions 283  Promoting Self-Regulation 286	
	Pressure from an Established Organization 287	
	Pressure from a Social Movement 289	
	Creating Legislative Pressure 291 State Level 291 Federal Level 292	
	To Sum Up 293	
	Analysis: Constructing a Strategy for Message Distribution 293  Step I: Isolating the Message 294  Step II: Defining the Intended Audience 294  Step III: Determining the Newsworthiness of the Message 294  Step IV: Determining Factors Constraining Release 294  Step V: Selecting Appropriate Channels 294  Step VI: Adapting the Message to the Channel 295  Step VII: Monitoring Your Success or Failure 295  Selected Readings 295	
10	POLITICAL VERSUS PRODUCT CAMPAIGNS	297
	Defining Ads 297	
	Candidate Access: Free Time 298	
	What's Ahead 298 Responsibility of Journalists 298 Products versus Candidates 299	
	Using the Media 299  Creating an Image 300  Targeting the Audience 301	

Economic versus Political Values 303

Regulation 304
Censorship 304
Equal Opportunity 306

Right to Access 307
Cost 308

Campaign Spending Limits 308

Issue Advocacy 310

Campaign Objectives 313
Voting versus Buying 314
Criteria for Victory 314

Unpaid Coverage 315
Quality 315
Endorsements 315

Financing 316
To Sum Up 316

Selected Readings 316

### 11 NEWS AND ADVERTISING IN THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

317

Controlling News Coverage 317

Controlling Media Access 318

Setting the Media's Agenda 319

Creating Credible Pseudo-Events 319

Blurring the Distinction between News and Commercials 320

Exploiting Media Concepts of the Political Process 321

The Campaign 321

The Candidates 324

Responding to or Preventing Attack 329
Backlash 329

Last-Minute Attacks 330

Adwatches 332

Responding to Last-Minute Attacks 332

Exploiting Blunders 333

Attacks Legitimized by the Media 334

Enlisting the Help of Journalists 335

Tests of Credibility Applied by Journalists 336

How Has New Technology Changed Politics? 336

How Has Television Changed Politics? 337

Image versus Issues; Character versus Positions 338

The Comparative Relevance of Character and Stands on Issues

Determining Which Issues Are the Likely Focus of a Campaign 339

Determining Which Facets of Character Are the Likely Focus in a Campaign 340
The Interplay of Influence: Issues and Character in Ads, News, and Debates 341