

Paper 205: Government and Politics of the U.S.A.
Lecture 14

The Media

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Introduction

- Unusual topic!
- Media raises two key sets of questions:
 - POLICY questions + IMPACT questions
- ... which are closely interconnected
- US media history and structure
- Policy issues & their impact

Dawn of American media

- early American newspapers: extensive (multilingual!) production throughout C18th
- 1st Amendment: **“Congress shall make no law** respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or **abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press;** or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”



C 19th-early 20th

- Many papers; competitive newspaper market even in quite small cities
- eg Seattle, WA (population ca 80k in 1900):
 - Seattle Times (still going)
 - Seattle Post-Intelligencer (online only from 2009)
 - Seattle Star (until 1947)
 - Seattle Union Record (until 1928)



Media consumption in ca 1900

- newspapers!
- Competition
- Ideological diversity and niches
- Vastly multilingual still, particularly German

C20th broadcast

- local franchises awarded for radio & later TV broadcast
- by 1940s sort into 3 national networks ABC, CBS, NBC (+ Fox from 1986) - franchises not usually owned by network, this is still the structure today
- eg Salt Lake City, Utah: KTVX (ABC) owned by NMG; KUTV (CBS) owned by Sinclair; KSL-TV (NBC), owned by LDS church.
- prestige (loss-making) news divisions on the “big three” in C20th



C20th press

- consolidation & a “neutral” style of American journalism, local monopoly

- increasing move from local ownership to large chains (eg Knight-Ridder, Gannett)

- first national newspaper: USA Today (founded 1982) by Gannett

- qv *All The Presidents’ Men* (1976)

The Weather

Today—Rain, high in the low to mid 80s, low in the mid to upper 60s. Chance of rain is 60 per cent today, 60 per cent tonight, Saturday — Cloudy, high around 60. Yesterday's temp. range, 77-88. Details, Page D19.

97th Year • • • • • No. 247

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The Washington Post

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Amusements D 1 Metro D19

Classified C14 Obituaries C 8

Comics C20 Columns C 6

Editorials A39 Sports C 7

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Nixon Resigns

By Carroll Kilpatrick

WASHINGTON Post Staff Writer

Richard Milhous Nixon announced last night that he will resign as the 37th President of the United States at noon today.

Vice President Gerald R. Ford of Michigan will take the oath as the new President at noon to complete the remaining 2½ years of Mr. Nixon's term.

After two years of bitter public debate over the Watergate scandal, President Nixon bowed to pressures from the public and leaders of his party to become the first President in American history to resign.

"By taking this action," he said in a subdued yet dramatic television address from Cape Canaveral, "I hope that I will have hastened the start of the process of healing which is so desperately needed in America."

Vice President Ford, who spoke a short time later in

front of his Alexandria home, announced that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger will remain in his Cabinet.

The President-to-be praised Mr. Nixon's sacrifice for the country and called it "one of the very saddest incidents that I've ever witnessed."

Mr. Nixon said he decided he must resign when he concluded that he no longer had "a strong enough political base in the Congress" to make it possible for him to complete his term of office.

Declaring that he has never been a quitter, Mr. Nixon said that to leave office before the end of his term "is abhorrent to every instinct in my body."

But "as President, I must put the interests of America first," he said.

While the President acknowledged that some of his judgments "were wrong," he made no contention of the "high crimes and misdemeanors" with which the House

Judiciary Committee charged him in its bill of impeachment.

Specifically, he did not refer to Judiciary Committee charges that in the cover-up of Watergate crimes he misused government agencies such as the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Internal Revenue Service.

After the President's address, Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski issued a statement declaring that "there has been no agreement or understanding of any sort between the President or his representatives and the special prosecutor relating in any way to the President's resignation."

Jaworski said that his office "was not asked for any such agreement or understanding and offered none."

His office was informed yesterday afternoon of the President's decision, Jaworski said, but "my office did not participate in any way in the President's decision to resign."

Mr. Nixon's brief speech was delivered in firm tones and

he appeared to be in complete control of his emotions. The absence of anger contrasted sharply with the "farewell" he delivered in 1962 after being defeated for the governorship of California.

An hour before the speech, however, the President broke down during a meeting with old congressional friends and had to leave the room.

He had invited 20 senators and 28 representatives for a farewell meeting in the Cabinet room. Later, Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.), one of those present, said Mr. Nixon said to them very much what he said in his speech.

"He just told us that the country couldn't operate with a halfhearted President," Goldwater reported. "Then he broke down and cried and he had to leave the room."

Then the rest of us broke down and cried."

In his televised resignation, after thanking his friends for their support, the President concluded by saying he was leaving office "with his prayer: may God's grace be with you in all the days ahead."

As for his sharpest critics, the President said, "I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me." He called on all Americans to "join together . . . in helping our new President succeed."

The President said he had thought it was his duty to persevere in office in face of the Watergate charges and to complete his term.

"In the past days, however, it has become evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort," Mr. Nixon said.

His family "unanimously urged" him to stay in office and fight the charges against him, he said. But he came to realize that he would not have the support needed to carry out the duties of his office in difficult times.

"America needs a full-time President and a full-time Congress," Mr. Nixon said. The resignation came with "a great sadness that I will not be here in this office" to complete work on the programs started, he said.

But praising Vice President Ford, Mr. Nixon said that "the leadership of America will be in good hands."

In his admission of error, the outgoing President said: "I deeply regret any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision."

He emphasized that would peace had been the overriding concern of his years in the White House.

When he first took the oath, he said, he made a "sacred commitment" to "reconciliate my office and wisdom to the cause of peace among nations."

"I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge," he said, adding that he is now confident that the world is a safer place for all peoples.

"This more than anything is what I hoped to achieve when I sought the presidency," Mr. Nixon said. "This more than anything is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the presidency."

Noting that he had lived through a turbulent period, he recalled a statement of Theodore Roosevelt about the man "in the arena whose face is marked by dust and sweat and blood" and who, if he fails "at least fails while daring greatly."

Mr. Nixon placed great emphasis on his successes in foreign affairs. He said his administration had "unticked the dozen that for a quarter of a century stood between the United States and the People's Republic of China."

In the Midwest, he said, the United States must begin to build on the peace in that area. And with the Soviet Union, he said, the administration had begun the process of ending the nuclear arms race. The goal now, he said, is to reduce and finally destroy those arms "so that the threat of nuclear war will no longer hang over the world."

The two countries, he added, "must live together in cooperation rather than in confrontation."

Mr. Nixon has served 2,626 days as the 37th President of the United States. He leaves office with 2½ years of his second term remaining to be carried out by the man he nominated to be Vice President last year.

Yesterday morning, the President conferred with his successor. He spent much of the day in his Executive Office Building, huddling over his speech and attending to last-minute business.

At 7:30 p.m. Mr. Nixon again left the White House for the short walk to the Executive Office Building. The crowd outside the gates waved U.S. flags and sang "America" as he walked slowly up the steps, his head bowed, alone.

At the EOB, Mr. Nixon met for a little over 20 minutes with the leaders of Congress—James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), president pro tem to the Senate; Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), Senate majority leader; Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), Senate minor-

ity leader; and Carl Albert (D-Ala.), House minority leader. They were in the Senate chamber, where they had a brief meeting. Then they went to the House chamber, where they had another brief meeting.

After the meetings, Mr. Nixon went to the White House. He was met by his family and a crowd of friends. He then went to the Lincoln Memorial, where he had a brief meeting with a group of friends.

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Ford Assumes Presidency Today

By Jules Witcover

WASHINGTON Post Staff Writer

Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr., a Grand Rapids, Mich., lawyer who never aspired to national office but had a thrust upon him as a result of two of the greatest political scandals in American history, will become the 38th President of the United States at noon today.

He will be the first American President not elected to national office by the people, having been nominated Vice President by President Nixon last Oct. 12 under provisions of the new 25th Amendment to the Constitution.

Last night, immediately after watching Mr. Nixon's televised announcement that he is resigning, Ford walked onto the lawn of his Alexandria home, praised the President for deciding to step aside and pledged to continue Mr. Nixon's foreign policy "that has achieved peace and built the future blocks for peace."

Ford announced that he had asked Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, whom he called "a very great man," to stay on in the new administration and that Kissinger had accepted. "He and I will be working together in the pursuit of peace in the future, as we have achieved it in the past," he said.

Ford is expected to keep on and have the support of the entire Nixon Cabinet, which promises to give him in initial period of stability, but even before he is sworn in, he faces some squabbling within his own party over the question of the Vice President he will choose. Some conservatives were openly advocating yesterday that former New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller be dropped from consideration.

Ford, speaking calmly before a battery of microphones and under hot TV lights in the summer night, also pledged to address himself to domestic problems by working in a "spirit of cooperation" with Congress, where he served in the House for 25 years.

"I've been very fortunate in my lifetime in public office to have a good many adversaries in the political arena in Congress," he said. "But I don't think I have a single enemy in the Congress. And the one result is that I think tomorrow I can start out working with Democrats and Republicans in the House as well as in the Senate, to work on the problems, serious ones, which we have at hand."

The Vice President called the turn of events that has brought him to the presidency "one of the most difficult and very saddest periods, and one of the very saddest incidents that I've ever witnessed."

He said President Nixon "has made one of the greatest personal sacrifices for the country, and one of the finest personal decisions on behalf of all of us as Americans, by his decision to resign as President of the United States."

"I pledge to you tonight," he concluded, "as I will pledge tomorrow and in the future, my best efforts and cooperation and leadership and dedication to do what's good for America and good for the world."

The swearing in of the new President is to take place at noon at the White House. The ceremony will be held in the Rose Garden if the weather is good, and in the East Room if it is not. The U.S. Weather Service said last night there was a 60 per cent chance of rain today.

Ford is to speak briefly to the nationwide television audience after being sworn in, and according to convention will then go to the White House.

See FORD, A12, Col. 1

Era of Good Feeling

Congress Expects Harmony

By Spencer Rich and Richard L. Lyons

WASHINGTON Post Staff Writers

From one end of Capitol Hill to the other, members of Congress predicted last night that the presidency of Gerald R. Ford will mark a new era of good feeling between Congress and the White House, helping to heal the deep and wounding scars the nation's government has suffered in the past two years.

The tone was set by the Democratic leaders of the House and the Senate, both of whom have served with Ford on terms of close cooperation during his 2½ years in Congress before he became Vice President.

"Jerry Ford is a personal friend," said House Speaker Carl Albert (D-Ala.). "I am sure our relationship will be good."

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said, "He's a decent man. He's conservative but you



President Nixon and daughter Julie embracing Wednesday after the President's decision to resign.

THE NIXON YEARS

A 24-page special section on the Nixon presidency—inside today.

See FORD, A12, Col. 1

A Solemn Change

Power Is Passed Quietly

By Richard Harwood and Haynes Johnson

WASHINGTON Post Staff Writers

When the day finally came, the anger and tension and recommitment that had so enveloped this capital for weeks had been subdued in the solemnity of change. A sense of calm and a tenuous spirit of reconciliation began to emerge.

There was no chorus of jubilation in Washington and no cries for vengeance or retribution. There was an absence of turmoil, mobs, violence, massive protests.

It was a crowd that began gathering at the White House on Tuesday remained quiet, solemn and patient. They were weary of history, and sometimes they would tell their grandchildren about it. But now on this Thursday, Aug. 8, 1974, they were more preoccupied by personal feelings of sorrow and sadness.

Another visitor who had driven up from Myrtle Beach, S.C., was disillusioned. "Our country will survive in a way, this is like the Kennedy assassination. It is a sad time for everyone but we'll pull through."

By nightfall, the crowd had swelled to large proportions, blocking traffic on historic Pennsylvania Avenue. Filling up beautiful Lafayette Park with its flower beds, benches and statues.

See DAY, A7, Col. 1

Media consumption in ca 2000

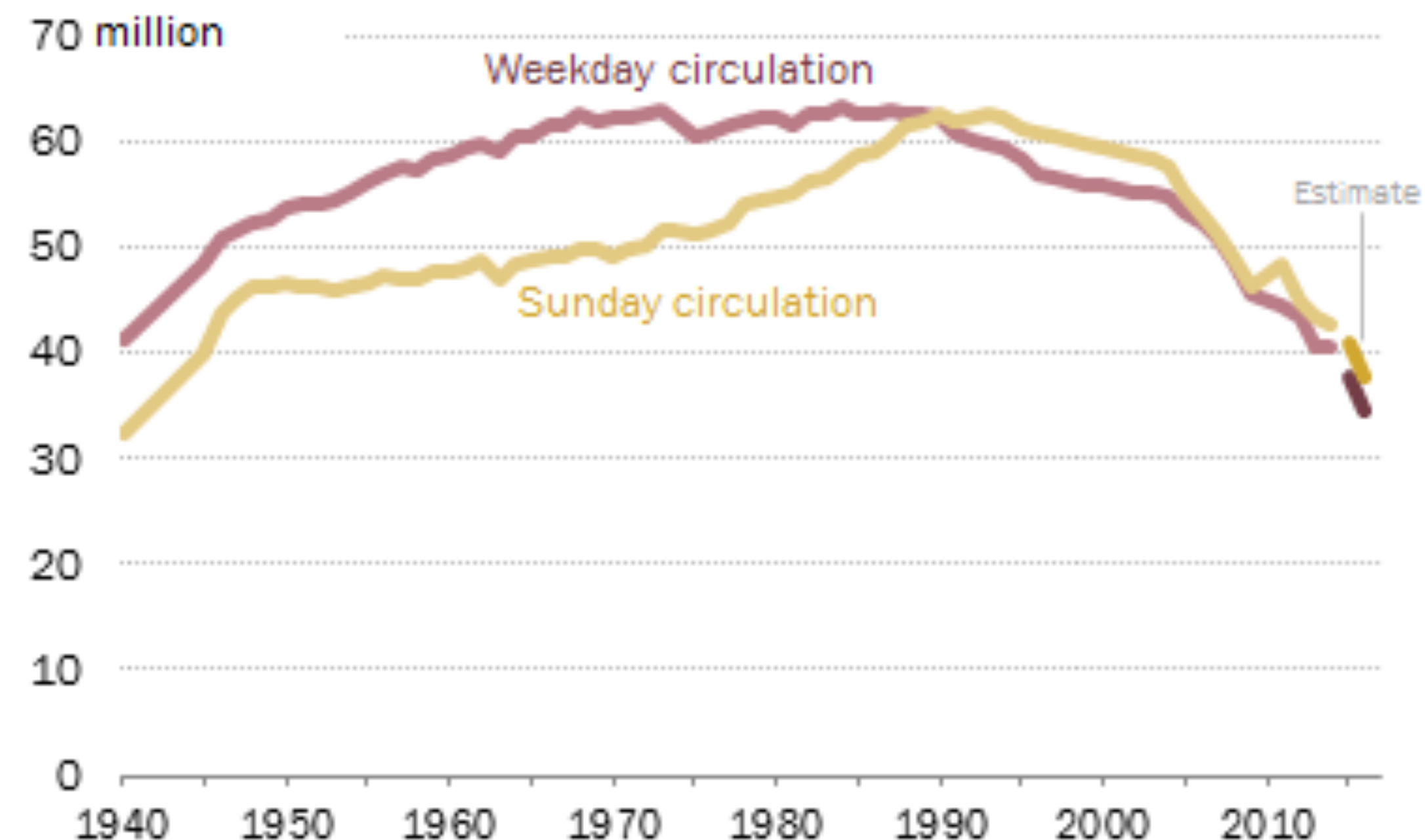
- Loss of competition?
- Rise of cable TV - Fox News (1996-)
- Rise of Spanish language broadcasting on cable - Univision
- Concern about the rise of the “soundbite”
- Concern about “soft” news coverage in local broadcast TV news
- A high point for newspaper profitability

Newspaper circulation peaks

Source: Pew research

Newspaper circulation continues to fall

Total circulation for U.S. daily newspapers



Note: Break in line indicates switch to estimated circulation. No data for 1941-1944 and 2010. To determine totals for 2015 onward, researchers analyzed the year-over-year change in total weekday and Sunday circulation using AAM data and applied these percent changes to the previous year's total. Only those daily U.S. newspapers that report to AAM are included. Affiliated publications are not included in the analysis. Weekday circulation only includes those publications reporting a Monday-Friday average. For each year, the comparison is for all newspapers meeting these criteria for the three-month period ending Dec. 31 of the given year. Comparisons are between the three-month averages for the period ending Dec. 31 of the given year and the same period of the previous year.

Source: Editor & Publisher (through 2014); estimation based on Pew Research Center analysis of Alliance for Audited Media data (2015-2016).

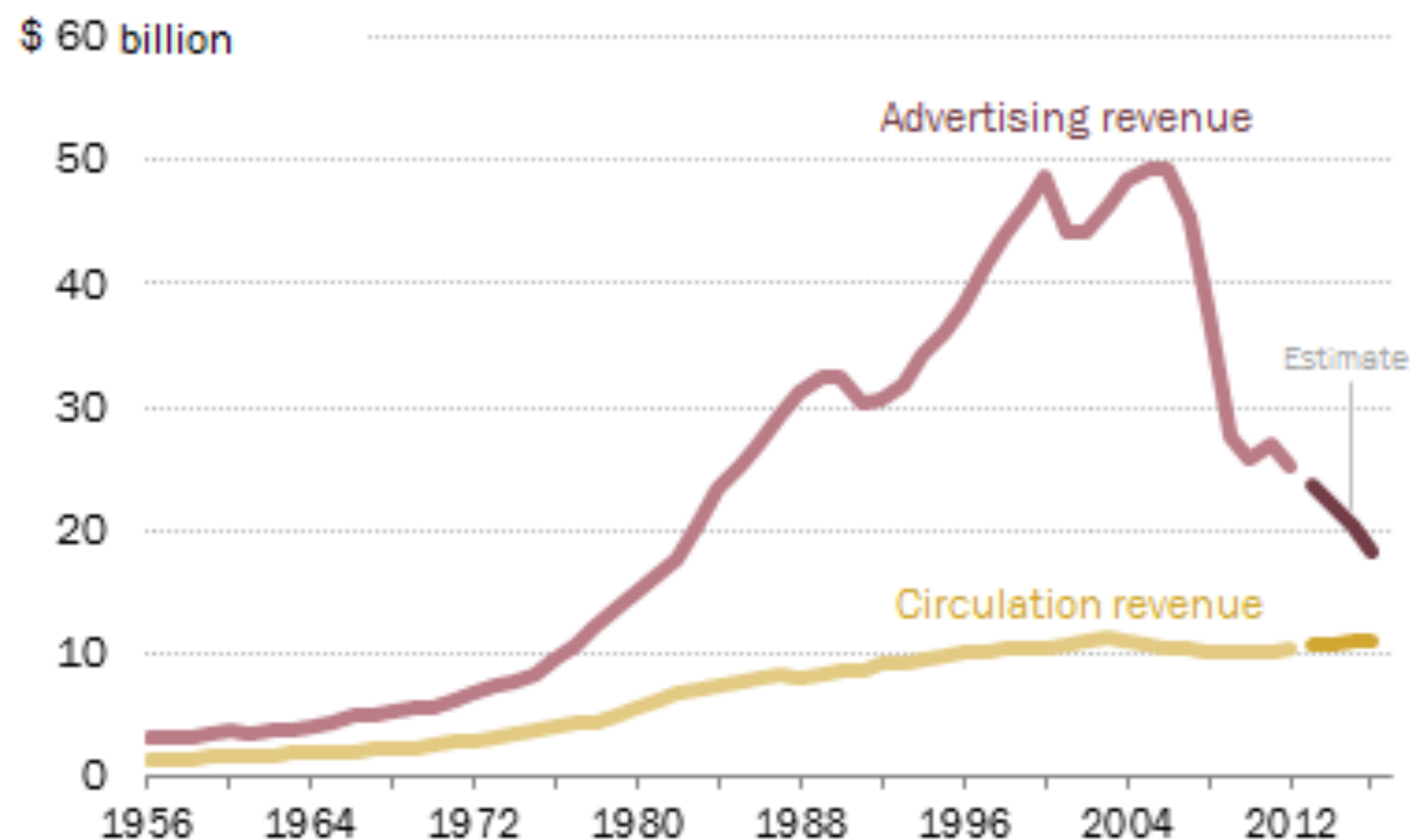
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Newspaper revenue peaks

Source: Pew research

Newspapers' circulation revenue climbs steadily even as advertising declines

Total revenue for U.S. newspapers in U.S. dollars

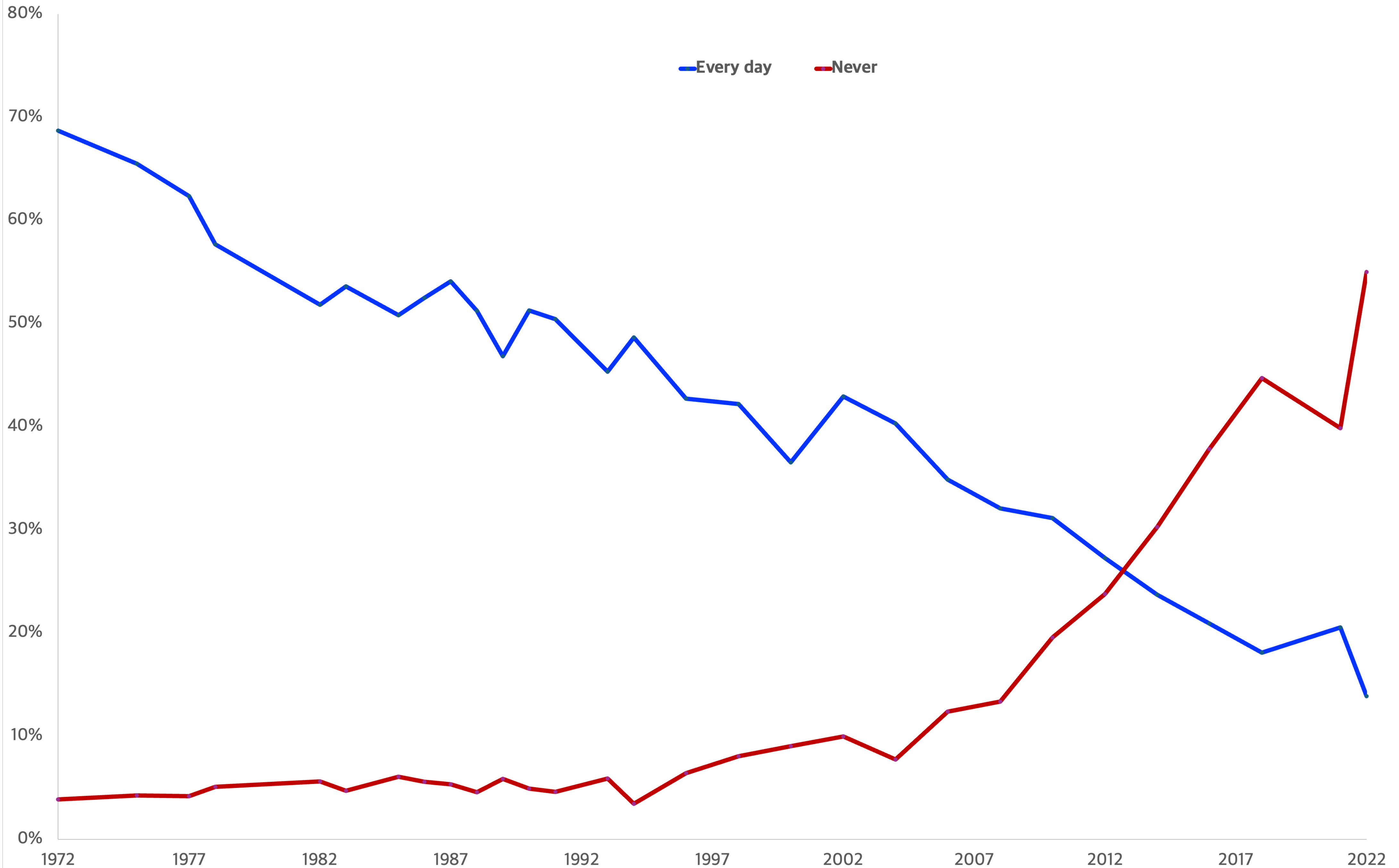


Note: Break in line indicates switch to estimated revenue. There are no data for circulation revenue in 1990.

Source: News Media Alliance, formerly Newspaper Association of America (through 2012); estimate based on Pew Research Center analysis of SEC filings of publicly traded newspaper companies (2013-2016).

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

GSS: How often do you read the newspaper?

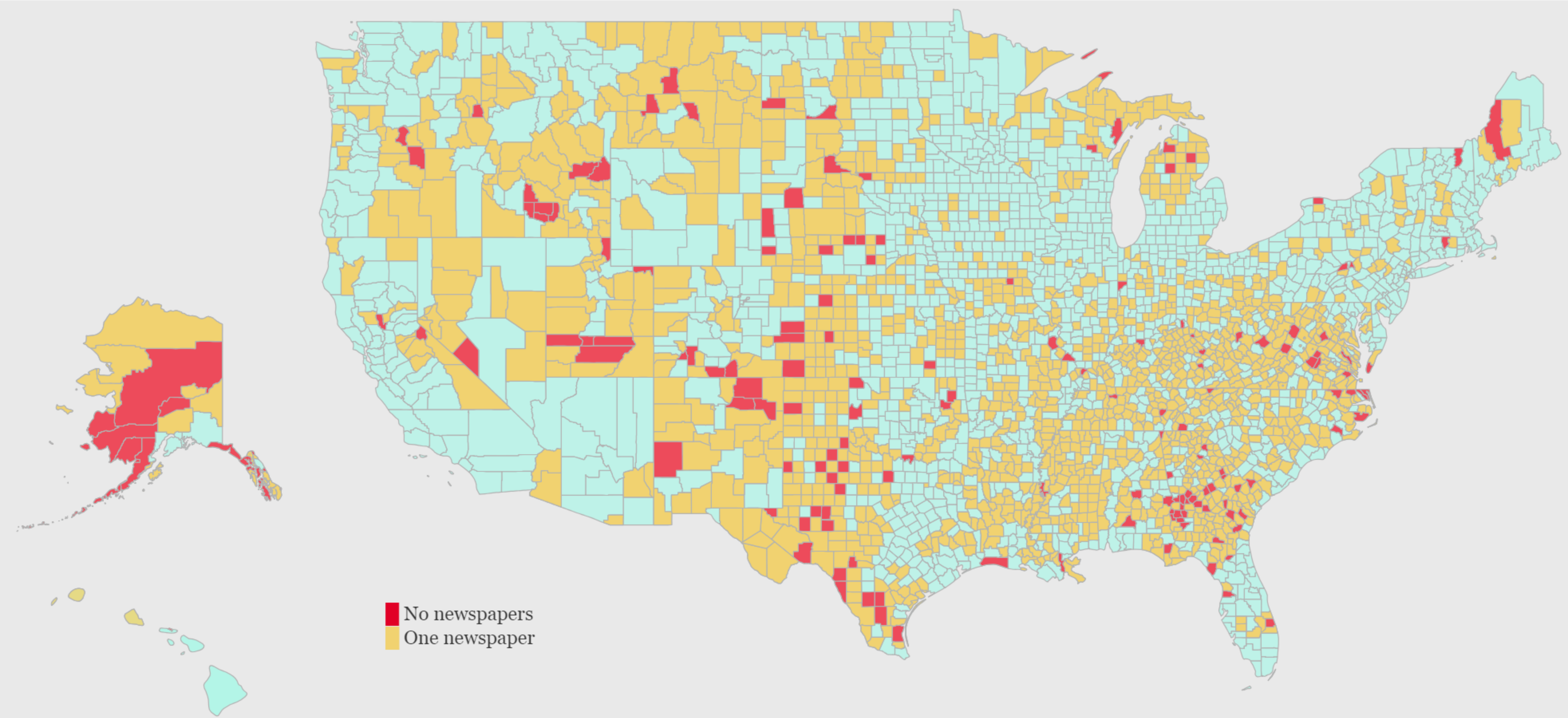


Media now

- Rise of the importance of the internet (first US newspaper online: the Raleigh News and Observer, 1994)
- Challenge to newspaper industry in particular
- Alternative routes for advertising
- “news deserts”
- Rise of national news platforms

News deserts

source: UNC
School of Media



National news platforms

- Both legacy and new platforms now structured similarly
- National-level coverage (sometimes with local content too)
- Multiple forms of media (text, video, audio...)



Los Angeles Times

Vox

AXIOS



The Washington Post

POLITICO



yahoo!news



The city newspaper Murdoch buys the Sun, 1969

27, 1969

L

51

Australian Agrees to Purchase The London Sun

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Sept. 26—Rupert Murdoch, a vigorous young Australian newspaper publisher, agreed on terms today with the International Publishing Corporation for the purchase of The Sun, one of the corporation's two daily papers.

He plans to change The Sun to a tabloid, to be printed six days a week on the presses of The News of the World, a Sunday paper that Mr. Murdoch took over last December when he entered the British newspaper field. At present The Sun is printed in London and Manchester. Mr. Murdoch plans to drop the Manchester operation.

There is still one big hurdle before continued publication of The Sun is assured. The sale is subject to the printing unions' acceptance of Mr. Murdoch's proposals on the number of men to be employed.

It Replaced Union Paper

If the talks fail, The Sun will die at the end of this year.

publication on Sept. 15, 1964, replaced the Daily Herald, a newspaper started in 1911 by printers on strike. Under a partnership between the Trades Union Congress and private enterprise, The Daily Herald flourished and was the first British daily paper to reach a circulation of two million.

After World War II it lost money and was taken over by International Publishing in 1961 and renamed The Sun. Hugh Cudlipp, chairman of the corporation, said today that the paper had lost \$30-million in eight years.

Mr. Murdoch "deserves all credit for endeavoring to save a national newspaper from extinction, even if in a very different style," Mr. Cudlipp said.

Competition for Mirror

The new Sun would closely resemble the tabloid-sized Daily Mirror, one of the most valuable properties of International Publishing. It would attempt to

capture some of the Daily Mirror's circulation of more than five million, the biggest of British daily newspapers.

Competition would also be felt by The Daily Sketch, the other tabloid-sized paper, about whose future there has been much speculation. The Daily Sketch sells about one million copies a day, and The Sun about 900,000.

The question of why British newspapers with circulations of one million are in jeopardy in Britain when papers with smaller circulations are successful in other countries will be examined soon by the Prices and Incomes Board, a governmental agency.

Printing unions oppose such an inquiry, regarding it as an attack on their standards. An investigation by the board only two years ago cited overmanning in mechanical departments as one of the main problems of British newspapers.

National competititon The NY Times in California

The New York Times

CALIFORNIA TODAY

Why ‘the Worst of Both Worlds’ Is in the Forecast

By Jill Cowan

March 1, 2019



Good morning.

([Here’s the sign-up](#), if you don’t already get California Today by email.)

The good news for residents of Northern California — which has been battered this week by historic rain and [flooding](#) that has been blamed for [at least one death](#) — is that the worst is most likely over.

The swollen Russian River, which essentially turned the [town of Guerneville into an island](#), is forecast to recede in the next day or two, returning to below flooding levels by early Friday morning, said Scott Rowe, a National Weather Service meteorologist.

Problems for local news

(source:
politico.com)

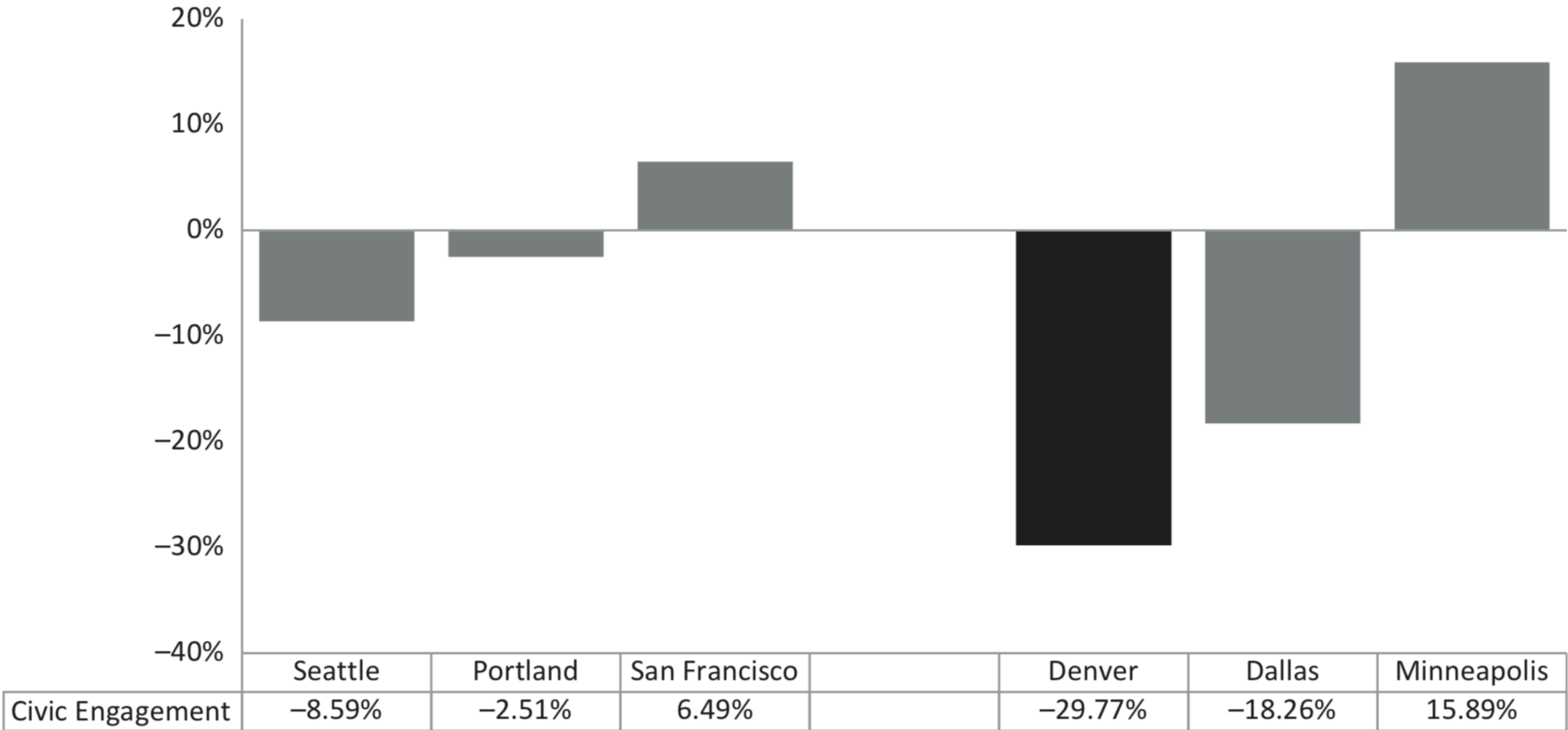


News deserts (or desertification) I

- Closing & falling newspapers
- Media role in engaging and informing citizens - *local* representatives and their activities/performance
- Hayes and Lawless: larger newspapers (more districts) = less political engagement and less informed voters
- Shaker: newspapers closing and evidence of civic engagement

Civic engagement and newspaper closure

Shaker (2014)



Difference in Denver is significant, $p \leq .05$, in a two-tailed t -test.

Figure 1. Percentage relative change in civic engagement, 2008–2009. The difference in Denver is significant ($p \leq .05$) in a two-tailed t test.

News deserts (or desertification) II

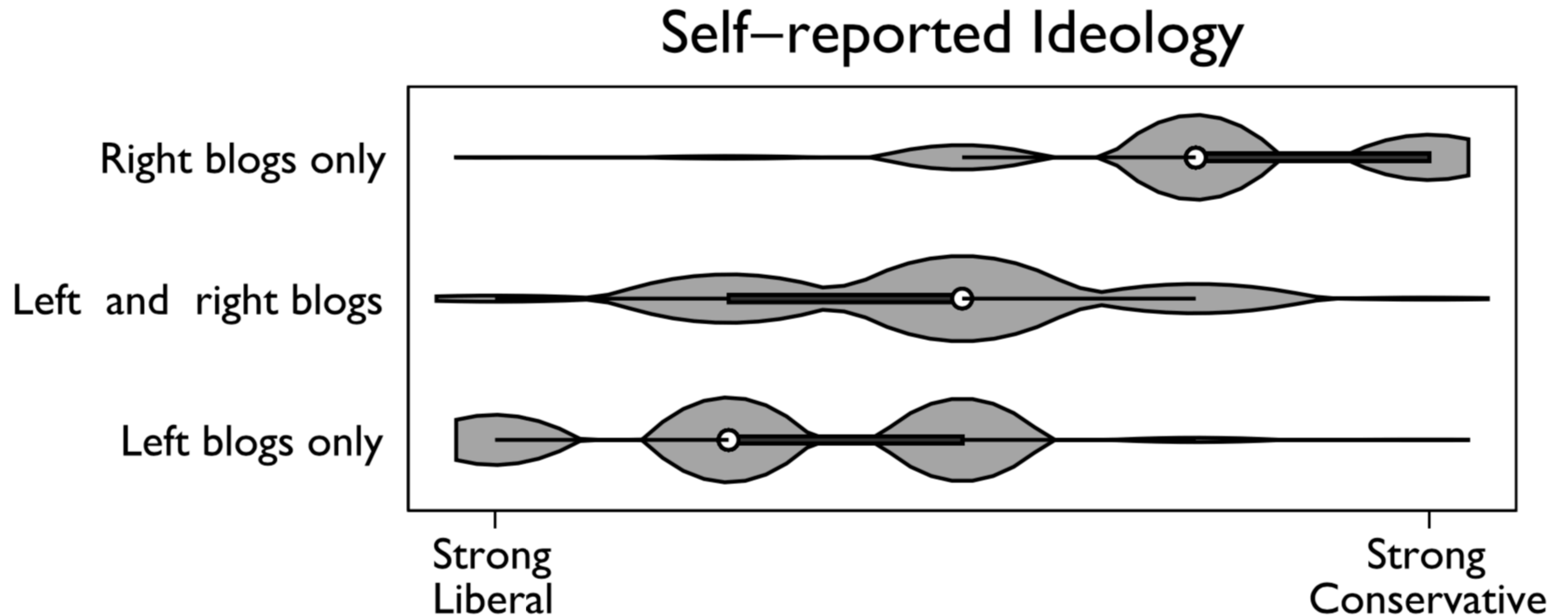
- Agirdas: newspaper closures
 - Existing newspapers show partisan bias in reporting unemployment
 - Newspaper closure -> huge reduction in bias
 - Competitive interests of surviving newspapers
- (this argument = for all previous rounds of consolidation too)

Ideological self-segregation I

- Cass Sunstein, Republic dot Com (2001)
 - Democracy as dependent on shared facts (& experiences)
 - Individual choice as counter to shared facts
 - (against contemporary optimism about the internet)
- Is it true?
 - Lawrence *et al* on blogs

Blog readership and ideology

Lawrence et al (2010)



Ideological self-segregation II

- Levendusky (2013)
 - Polarizing the already polarized?
 - Wider trends of elite polarization, mass sorting; indirect effects on non-partisan media?
- Flaxman et al (2016)
 - Most web browsing does not involve the news...
 - Some degree of self-segregation but resilience of the “traditional” news portal

Conclusions

- Many issues not covered
 - Competition law and technical regulation eg net neutrality
 - Non-news media
- Locality of news and political representation -> problems ahead?
- Partisan media and polarization
- Increasingly national US media - but consolidation has been going on forever