

#### After Broadcast News

Media Regimes, Democracy, and the New Information Environment

The new media environment has challenged the role of professional journalists as the primary source of politically relevant information. *After Broadcast News* puts this challenge into historical context, arguing that it is the latest of several critical moments – driven by economic, political, cultural, and technological changes – in which the relationship among citizens, political elites, and the media has been contested. Out of these past moments, distinct media regimes eventually emerged, each with its own seemingly natural rules and norms, and each the result of political struggle with clear winners and losers. The media regime in place for the latter half of the twentieth century has been dismantled, but a new regime has yet to emerge. Ensuring that this regime is a democratic one requires serious consideration of what was most beneficial and most problematic about past regimes and what is potentially most beneficial and most problematic about today's new information environment.

Bruce A. Williams teaches in the Department of Media Studies at the University of Virginia. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Minnesota and has taught at Pennsylvania State University, the University of Michigan, the University of Illinois, and the London School of Economics. He has published four books and more than forty scholarly journal articles and book chapters. His book Democracy, Dialogue, and Environmental Disputes: The Contested Languages of Social Regulation (with Albert Matheny) won the Caldwell Prize for best book in 1996 from the Science, Technology, and Environmental Politics section of the American Political Science Association. His textbook The Play of Power: An Introduction to American Politics (with James Eisenstein, Mark Kessler, and Jacqueline Switzer) was selected by the Women's Caucus of the American Political Science Association in 1997 as the political science text that best deals with women's issues and diversity. His most recent book is The New Media Environment: An Introduction (with Andrea L. Press). Also with Andrea Press, he is the editor of the Communication Review. Over the past five years, he has been active in a number of initiatives in the area of media policy and ethics.

Michael X. Delli Carpini, Dean of the Annenberg School for Communication, received his B.A. and M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania (1975) and his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota (1980). Prior to joining the University of Pennsylvania faculty in July 2003, Delli Carpini was Director of the Public Policy program of the Pew Charitable Trusts (1999-2003) and a member of the Political Science Department at Barnard College and the graduate faculty of Columbia University (1987-2002), serving as chair of the Barnard department from 1995 to 1999. Delli Carpini began his academic career as Assistant Professor in the Political Science Department at Rutgers University (1980–1987). His research explores the role of the citizen in American politics, with particular emphasis on the impact of the mass media on public opinion, political knowledge, and political participation. He is author of Stability and Change in American Politics: The Coming of Age of the Generation of the 1960s; What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters (winner of the 2008 American Association of Public Opinion Researchers Book Award); A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life and the Changing American Citizen; and Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America. He has also authored or edited numerous articles, essays, and edited volumes on political communications, public opinion, and political socialization. Delli Carpini was awarded the 2008 Murray Edelman Distinguished Career Award from the Political Communication Division of the American Political Science Association.



### Communication, Society and Politics

#### **Editors**

W. Lance Bennett, *University of Washington*Robert M. Entman, *The George Washington University* 

Politics and relations among individuals in societies across the world are being transformed by new technologies for targeting individuals and sophisticated methods for shaping personalized messages. The new technologies challenge boundaries of many kinds – among news, information, entertainment, and advertising; between media, with the arrival of the World Wide Web; and even between nations. Communication, Society and Politics probes the political and social impacts of these new communication systems in national, comparative, and global perspective.

#### Other Books in the Series

C. Edwin Baker, Media, Markets, and Democracy

C. Edwin Baker, Media Concentration and Democracy: Why Ownership Matters

W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman, eds., *Mediated Politics:*Communication in the Future of Democracy

Bruce Bimber, Information and American Democracy: Technology in the Evolution of Political Power

Murray Edelman, The Politics of Misinformation

Frank Esser and Barbara Pfetsch, eds., Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges

Myra Marx Ferree, William Anthony Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht, Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States

Hernan Galperin, New Television, Old Politics: The Transition to Digital TV in the United States and Britain

Tim Groeling, When Politicians Attack: Party Cohesion in the Media Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan, eds., Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective

(Continued after the index)



# After Broadcast News

Media Regimes, Democracy, and the New Information Environment

**BRUCE A. WILLIAMS** 

University of Virginia

MICHAEL X. DELLI CARPINI

University of Pennsylvania





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521279833

© Bruce A. Williams and Michael X. Delli Carpini 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Williams, Bruce Alan.

After broadcast news: media regimes, democracy, and the new information environment / Bruce A. Williams, Michael X. Delli Carpini.

p. cm. – (Communication, society, and politics)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-107-01031-4 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-27983-3 (paperback)
I. Mass media – Political aspects – United States. 2. Broadcast journalism – Political aspects – United States. 3. Press and politics – United States. 4. Popular culture – Political aspects – United States. 5. Democracy – United States. I. Delli Carpini, Michael X., 1953– II. Title.
P95.82.U6W54 2011
071'.3-dc22 2011009191

ISBN 978-1-107-01031-4 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-27983-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For our fathers,

Domenick Delli Carpini

and

Stanley Williams



## Contents

Acknowledgments		page xi
Ι	Is There a Difference Between Tina Fey and Katie Couric? Policing the Boundaries Between News and Entertainment	I
2	Media Regimes and American Democracy	16
3	And That's the Way It (Was): The Rise and Fall of the Age of Broadcast News	51
4	Political Reality, Political Power, and Political Relevance in the Changing Media Environment	104
5	Politics in the Emerging New Media Age: Hyperreality, Multiaxiality, and the Clinton Scandals	135
6	When the Media <i>Really</i> Matter: Coverage of the Environment in a Changing Media Environment	168
7	9/11 and Its Aftermath: Constructing a Political Spectacle in the New Media Environment	222
8	Shaping a New Media Regime	278
References		327
Index		347

ix



# Acknowledgments

The longer a book takes to write, the longer the list of people and institutions that deserve thanks for helping along the way – and this project has lasted a very long time indeed. The origins of our collaboration go back several decades and are lost in the mists of time, along with the beersoaked napkin upon which some notes and diagrams were scribbled. However, Lance Bennett and Robert Entman, colleagues and friends, have been there since this book began to take shape, and without their support and encouragement you would not be reading it now. Over the years, at too many conferences to remember, they have both been valuable sounding boards. In 1998 they invited us to a series of small workshops they had organized on the future of political communication. Hosted by the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication, it was here that we first began to develop the ideas that have shaped our thinking about the democratic implications of a dramatically changing media environment. This opportunity to try out and hone our ideas in front of a talented and engaged group of political communication scholars was an invaluable experience. Since submitting our manuscript to their series with Cambridge University Press, we have added to our indebtedness as they proved to be incredibly generous and thorough editors. Their careful reading and responses to several versions of our manuscript have, needless to say, made this book much better than it would have been otherwise.

Many other colleagues and institutions have helped both of us along the way. Barnard College, Columbia University, the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,

xi



xii

Acknowledgments

and the University of Virginia have all provided the support, colleagues, and students that have nurtured us during our work on this book. We owe a special debt to our students who have read, reacted to, and dramatically improved this book. We have also benefited from the comments and criticisms of discussants and panel participants at the many conferences where we have presented parts of this book.

In the years we have worked on this project so many colleagues have contributed that we cannot even begin to reconstruct a complete list, but we thank them all. Several individuals deserve special mention for the help they gave us in developing and sharpening our arguments: Geoff Baym, Menachem Blondheim, Pablo Boczkowski, Clifford Christians, Nick Couldry, James Curran, Elihu Katz, Tamar Liebes, Sonia Livingstone, Peter Lunt, Richard Marks, Robert McChesney, John Nerone, Andrea Press, John Zaller, and Barbie Zelizer. Two graduate students, Keren Tenenboim at Annenberg and Michael Wayne at Virginia, deserve special thanks for their help. We also thank Lew Bateman, Anne Lovering Rounds, our anonymous reviewers, and all the other folks at Cambridge University Press who have contributed so much to this book.

In 2008, a two-week residency for co-author Bruce A. Williams at the Centre for Global Media and Democracy in the Department of Media and Communications, Goldsmiths University, offered an exceptional opportunity to revise our manuscript. In January 2009, a conference on media and public opinion in times of national crisis organized by Tamar Liebes at Mishkenot Sha'ananim, Jerusalem, provided a timely opportunity for us to present and discuss the core ideas in our manuscript to an interdisciplinary and multicultural set of scholars as well as to an interested lay audience in a complicated yet inspiring environment.

It is traditional for authors to thank their families for their support and for accepting the neglect and distractions that go with working on a book. Our debt is much greater, since we have worked on this book for so long that it was less a specific project than a way of life. Andrea Press, Jane Whitaker, Jessie Press-Williams, and Joshua Press-Williams all get our special thanks for living with this project for as long as we have.