

INSTITUTIONAL PRESSURES UPON MASS  
COMMUNICATORS

BY

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## INSTITUTIONAL PRESSURES UPON MASS COMMUNICATORS

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**E**very decision to communicate something is, at the same time a decision to suppress everything else. What comes out is a result of competitive pressures breaking through structured inhibitions.

Mass media communicators live in a climate of intense competitive pressures. These are personal, situational, social, institutional. When only a minute fragment of all available and plausible messages can be selected for transmission, analysis cannot realistically focus on whether or not there is suppression involved but must consider the question of what systems of pressures and inhibitions determine what communicators select from among all available and competing messages.

The purpose of this paper is to look at some of these systems of pressures and inhibitions from the communicators' point of view. The basic data are interviews conducted with mass communicators involved in the reporting of schools and education in the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Beyond citing representative or authoritative views of these specialised communicators, we have attempted to illuminate something of the nature of institutional relationships in mass communication about another social institution, and something of the flavour and climate of mass communicator decision-making in different social systems. The more distant goal of these studies is the development of a scheme and terminology for the more systematic analysis of communicator decisions within the framework of a theory of mass communication. That ambitious task can only be outlined in this paper.

We shall begin with some general observations about studies of mass communicators and of the complex web of institutional pressures and constraints upon them. The bulk of the paper will draw on a series of studies (cited in the bibliography) using the material as concrete examples of mass communicator pressures, mostly as seen from their own vantage points and expressed in their own words. Finally

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we shall conclude with some suggestions for a scheme for the systematic analysis of the process of institutional decision making in mass communication.

*Mass communicators: the institutional context*

Mass communication is the mass-production of messages, and their rapid distribution to large and heterogenous publics. Mass media are technologies employed by industrial organisations for the production and transmission of message systems in quantities obtainable only by mass-production and rapid distribution methods. Mass media are the chief cultural arms of the industrial order from which they spring. They bring into existence, and cultivate, a new form of common consciousness — modern mass publics. These are collectivities, 'crowds,' that never meet face-to-face. They are created and sustained by the process we call publication.

Publication is the basis of community consciousness and government among groups of people too numerous and too dispersed to interact in any other way. That is why 'the press' has a special place in the constitutions and laws of all modern states. The revolutionary aspect of modern mass communication is its 'public-making' ability: that is the ability to form historically new bases for collective thought and action quickly, continuously, and pervasively across boundaries of time, space, and culture.

Mass media policies reflect not only stages of industrial development and the general structure of social relations but also particular types of institutional and industrial organisation and control. Corporate or collective organisation, private or public control, and the priorities given to artistic, political, and economic policy considerations govern their overall operations, affect their relationships to other institutions, and shape their public functions.

Mass communicators — executives, artists, administrators, craftsmen — are the custodians of this process of modern mass public-making. The conditions that shape the collective fabric of their 'personal' decisions include history and traditions, markets, creative talent, competitors, the size and location of operation, sources of supply, control over distribution channels, financial dependence, and other pressures from within and without the organisation.

In the publication field, reporter, author or staff writer, editor, artist, photographer, art editor, and the 'front office' with its pub-

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lisher, managing editor, or research director leave their imprint on the final product. News agencies, wholesale distributors, retail outlets exercise indirect controls. Local and national pressure groups, civic, professional, trade, and other special interest organisations compete for attention. Censors appear to pay more attention to cover than to content, and, with notable exceptions such as horror comics and sex books, concentrate on movies and television.

In the U.S. motion picture industry decision-making occurs on many levels in response to world-wide audiences and far-flung chains of command. Studio staff writers collaborate or rotate on scripts. Production executives and 'front office' chiefs set policy. Literary agencies shape, buy and sell 'property'. Story analysts sift and judge incoming material. Banks and releasing organisations scrutinise proposals for financing or distribution. The Production Code Administration of the Motion Picture Association suggests changes in script before the cameras begin to roll (often before the property is even purchased), and at every stage of production and publicity from selection of title through costumes, song lyrics, dances, dialogues, to poster and newspaper ad. Studio censors attempt to ensure acceptability of the film from Alaska to Zanzibar. Releasing organisations set strategy for exploitation and publicity. Theatre owners have what at times amounts to veto power over exhibition. Government censors, pressure groups, and special interest organisations may bring about changes both before and after release.

In American television the process is further complicated by government-station, station-network and producer-sponsor relationships. Advertising agencies also produce and 'package' programmes or have the right of 'policy and taste approval.' National syndicates select, edit, and distribute filmed programmes on a market-by-market basis. The National Association of Broadcasters maintains its Code Review Board. The networks have their own codes and departments of 'Standards and Practices.'

In other countries the climate of pressures may differ because history and traditions differ, but the system of decision-making is fundamentally different where the institutional relationships composing that system are fundamentally different. Mass communicators everywhere occupy sensitive and central positions in social network. They have suppliers, distributors, and critics; they have associations of their own and they have to deal with representatives of or professional counter-

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parts working for other institutions which claim attention or protection. They have laws, codes, policies which channel or constrain them. And, above all, everywhere they have clients who, as in any industrial production, supply the capital, the facilities, the jobs, and the authority (or at least opportunity) to address mass publics. How the system works depends on the meshing of all these roles and relationships and on their cumulative impact on the mass communicator. That is what the analysis of institutional pressures upon mass communicators should illuminate.

*The Studies*

To illustrate one aspect of such analysis in a more concrete way, I will draw on a series of studies of and conversations with mass communicators. The studies inquired into the nature of the relationships between the press and its twin cultural institution, formal public education, in the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. The purpose was to discover how these institutional relationships affect the ways in which specialised media personnel (such as education reporters and editors) communicate about schools and education to the general public. Beyond that immediate purpose, we were interested in a more accurate understanding of the systems of pressures and constraints each society imposes upon its mass communicators and communications.

Concrete developments and instances in mass communication take place in concrete social and historical settings. It will be necessary, therefore, to sketch these settings and, occasionally, to describe some specific relationships or events to which the views of communicators refer.

The interviews were conducted between 1960 and 1963, and are cited here more as illustrations of the dynamics of communicator relationships and of institutional pressures than for their specific information about events. In the United States, written responses to an open-ended request for specific items of information were received from one-third of education editors and reporters working for daily newspapers of over 100,000 circulation. Follow-up personal interviews were arranged with about half of the respondents. Public information personnel working national organisations and federal agencies and for schools and colleges were also interviewed in cities where reporters were interviewed. In Great Britain and France, interviews were conducted

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with press officers of the respective Ministries, the unions, and representative organs of the national press. In the Soviet Union, editors and members of the general and the education department staffs of three national newspapers, edited in Moscow, were interviewed. All interviews did not necessarily cover the same ground, as indeed they could not; the ground was not everywhere the same. The conversations revolved around both the routine and the most prominent aspects characteristic of the system of pressures impinging upon communicators of the particular countries. The standard procedure was to assure the anonymity of sources. Readers interested in greater methodological or substantive detail may find them in the references listed in the bibliography.

### *The United States: Newsmen and Schoolmen*

Specialised coverage of education news began with the advent of *Time* magazine in 1923. *Newsweek's* education department followed 15 years later. The *New York Times* hired its first school reporter in 1937, and elevated him to education editor in 1941. Veteran newsmen recall that at that time most reporters regarded education a 'woman's field.' But through the postwar rise in concern, attention, and controversy, education news emerged as more than only a local service feature. Schools were found to involve not only learning but also community power and the allocation of local and national resources. School news took on some of the significance of reporting business and politics.

The Education Writers' Association, composed of working newsmen, was organised in 1947. Old-timers in education reporting consider the late forties and the early fifties as the time of the 'professionalisation' of educational journalism, at least on larger papers. It was during that troublesome era, they recall, that reporters steeped in the ethos of the trade replaced cubs and amateurs (often students or educators writing school news) to bring more concentrated attention and undivided loyalties to bear upon the increasingly newsworthy field.

The prevalent view is that the rise in the visibility and significance of education reporting paralleled an increase in the number of reporters and editors specialising in education news. Figures compiled by *The Working Press of the Nation*, a directory published by the National Research Bureau of Chicago, indicate that the number of

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such assignments has indeed risen. But there is no evidence that the proportion of education assignments has increased in relation to all editorial assignments reported. Society editors were more than twice as numerous as school reporters or as science and stamp editors combined. The general pattern of assignments remained fairly stable.

Although more than half of U.S. metropolitan dailies claimed to have created a full-time editorial post devoted to education, nearly half of these provided no staff or other assistance for their education 'editors'. In fact, most newsmen who cover education for the American daily press are general assignment reporters or work a 'school beat' under the direction of the City Desk.

'Were I really an education 'editor,' a big city staffer wrote us, 'I probably would have answered your letter before this, for I would have had a secretary to do the typing. As it is, with no assistance and a big beat to cover, I neglect my correspondence.'

'You flatter me with the education editor title,' reflected a Texas newsman. 'I have been called many things in connection with school reporting, but never 'editor.' There is no such animal on our paper. Coverage of the public school system here is on a beat assignment basis.'

'Any title sounds pretty silly in my case,' said a young woman reporter for a large midwestern daily. 'I spend part of my working day writing obituaries, taking office notes, rewriting police items. Our city staff is short-handed and younger members and women are assigned to what we refer to as 'the junk.''

Much of the time actually spent on school and education news is also devoted to 'the junk' — education style. Any reporter whose name appears on one of several lists of specialised newspaper personnel receives hundreds of releases, publications, personal and organisational publicity items from national, state and local sources. 'Too much of what I do is to open envelopes and process news releases,' said one school reporter, echoing the sentiments of many. 'If I had an assistant,' commented another, 'or at least a filing cabinet to keep all this mail until I have a chance to open it, I could cover some news myself. But the newspapers don't seem to be organised that way.'

'Status' in the news room appears to increase with the length of time the position has been in existence and the tenure of the reporter holding the position. There were, however, relatively few old-timers. The average tenure on the job was about 2½ years.

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Studies of newspaper work suggest, and our interviews confirm, that within the broad outlines of journalistic convention and management policy the American reporter responds primarily to the social structure and pressures of the newsroom. The newsroom, with its own code of conduct, cultivates the proverbial 'nose for news,' an intangible but real order of priorities. Knowledge of that order of priorities, and skill in applying the patterns of selection inherent in them, are among the chief qualifications of the reporter. He is warned not to get 'too close to news sources' lest he adopts a system of priorities more in conformity with that of the news source than of the newspaper. Most newsmen feel that teaching experience or professional work in education is not a necessary qualification for an education reporter. They tend to agree with the reporter who said 'the non-teacher is likely to approach the subject much more objectively.'

The qualifications demand detachment from the 'news source' and loyalty to the value system of the press. The role of the press as the private-enterprise watchdog over the affairs of public enterprise is taken for granted.

### *Relations with Schoolmen*

Newsmen were asked what they considered to be the major problem areas in their personal contacts with schoolmen. One education reporter, writing from the Southwest, listed nearly all of them:

(1) Overcoming the fears of certain school administrators that newspapers can't be trusted to report accurately news of education. (2) Dealing with the 'ivory tower boys' who haven't come down to earth since they began their professional education work. (3) The tendency of entrenched school leaders to think of their school systems as their own little countries. (4) Lack of news sense on the part of many school administrators. They flood the paper with junk news and ignore really interesting copy. (5) A tendency in some districts to withhold information to which the public has a right.

Generations of public administrators have been trained to fit into the scheme of community power of which the press is both organ and interpreter. But the fit has never been snug. School public relations have developed in response to the need of the schools to adjust to the requirements of the press, ease the friction and tension built into the machinery or organised contacts between the two institutions, and develop, whenever possible, alternate ways of reaching the public.

Most school and college public relations services and information programmes were first set up for tax elections, bond votes, building fund campaigns, or as the consequence of their failures. As school dis-

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tricts consolidated and educational institutions grew larger, their need for public information (and their ability to provide it as a specialised service) increased. Educational public relations became a recognised speciality in the field of institutional publicity and fund-raising.

Most education reporters find school public information services indispensable to their work. Although they complain about the volume of press releases and 'junk' pouring into editorial offices from all over the country, they find the stream of information from schools and colleges essential to their coverage. 'Professional public relations people have a sense of news value,' commented a Seattle area reporter. 'Educators,' he added, 'often don't recognise news when they see them.' Another respondent said:

The colleges, without exception, have public relations people and so does the city school system. I work closely with them. In fact, I depend on them for the routine stories. They frequently suggest feature stories. And I find them valuable, to start from at least, when a major story breaks.

'When a major story breaks' the issue is usually crime, violence, controversy or money. In a crisis situation, the publicist's task is to make his client's views heard and to try to channel the news in the least damaging direction. This is most difficult when basic institutional interests are at cross-purposes.

#### *School Board Coverage*

A sensitive area of press-school relations is the news coverage of school board meetings. School boards, usually composed of lay citizens of the local district, must see to it that the schools are run on a financial and administrative basis that the local tax and power structure will support. The nature and extent of that support depends largely on how the school's needs and policies are presented to the community. This is a process in which the press is both the interpreter and an interested party. The raising and allocation of tax resources and the spending of public monies affect business interests of the press and of its advertiser clients.

The issue involved in the reporting of school board deliberations is who should decide just what and how much the public has a 'right to know.' Most board members feel that boards have the right to arrive at their policies and present them to the community as they see fit. This usually means a minimum of public controversy or open disagreement among board members. They feel that little serious busi-

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ness can be done in public meetings. They know that controversy splits community support and endangers the all-important tax election, bond issue, or legislative appropriation. Except when a dissident minority wants to mobilise public support for its cause, board members prefer to settle their disagreement in private and present a united front at open meetings.

Newsmen, on the other hand, jealously guard the public's 'right to know' — what the press wants it to know. Newspapers are usually willing to co-operate, but on their own terms. These include full knowledge of board deliberations and the right to decide what is 'responsible reporting' and in the 'public interest.'

'If the school administration is not open, the newspaper won't have the background knowledge to be responsible even if it wants to,' stated a reporter. 'Besides,' she added, 'the schools have no alternative except to co-operate with the press. Putting it baldly, the press can hurt the schools but the schools have no effective club over the press.'

Another education reporter for a big-city daily complained:

Although my own relations with the publicists employed by the Board of Education are good, the board itself operates in ways that destroy public confidence. Its monthly public meetings are a joke. Everything is neatly arranged in advance. The board meets privately to decide what it will do in public. It then goes through its paces like seals in a circus act. Its public meetings are a complete waste of time.

Rules and customs of board meetings press coverage, and board-press relationships in general, vary widely across the country. Most education reporters have a realistic understanding of the institutional and power issues involved in board meeting coverage. The following responses indicate typical circumstances and views on the subject.

Our school district follows the policy of advance notification and background information for any major story. I am frequently invited to attend committee meetings of the school board to hear reports of staff committees and to report on them as I see fit.

This close relationship is of considerable assistance to our paper. A year ago last spring, for example, the school board refused a request that the press be barred while the board discussed salary demands with the local AFT chapter.

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Concerning relations generally between the press and the board, I believe there is much suspicion and distrust of newspapers on the part of educators. This is not all misplaced by any means. There *has* been irresponsible and reckless reporting of school news. A couple of years ago there were rumours of a shortage in the school board budget. The business manager was hospitalised and unable to explain. A newspaper got one of the school board members to say that the reported shortage would be investigated. This gave the paper an eight-column headline about

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suspected skulduggery. It could have checked out the report and found it baseless but that would have taken patience — and there would have been no story. The episode hurt press-school relations. On another occasion, the school board announced a \$20 million improvement programme. The afternoon paper got the news 'break'. The board did not specify how the programme should be financed but listed half a dozen possible taxes, any one or more of which might be considered as revenue raisers. The morning paper ignored the plans for improving the school system and said in big headlines that the school board was proposing six new taxes. Aside from actually misleading the public, the paper in question seemed to be adopting a spiteful attitude because it had not had the major story first.

Newspaper involvement in school board politics was lamented by a reporter who wrote that 'if you cover a big city school board you soon get so enmeshed in its political and often non-education manoeuvres that pure education news goes by the wayside in the crush of stories about scandals, unions, wages, etc.'

A New England survey (Gross, 1956), found 43 per cent of superintendents inviting the press, at least occasionally, to board meetings closed to the public. But the study also found that nearly all large and most small school boards do hold closed meetings, and that there is considerable disagreement between newsmen and schoolmen about the kind of business, if any, that should be considered in 'executive session.' The basic issue is rooted in the nature of the relationship between private and public institutions. It is a question of which set of institutional purposes should determine the selection, timing, and treatment of information.

*National News*

That basic issue also affects the space and treatment accorded to national news. The American newspaper's main constituency is its market area. Its influence is best exerted through the structure of decentralised local controls. It is sensitive to developments that make the schools more independent of that structure of controls, such as strong teacher unions, national organisations in education, federal supervision, federal aid.

The 'hard news, local angle' formula of American newspapers also makes the reporting of national developments highly sporadic unless some local 'tie-in' can be found. Few newspapers have any but local reporters. And, even though education is the largest public enterprise in the nation, and the National Education Association the largest professional association in the world, educational organisations and

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spokesmen rarely command the attention of the wire services which supply non-local news to most papers. The U.S. Office of Education, a bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is a relatively weak government agency with few functions and a feeble voice. Professional publicists manning the small press office of the U.S.O.E. confided that they found their jobs easier under a conservative administration whose actions did not arouse press sensitivities to federal action in the education field. The sprawling N.E.A., and the more aggressive teacher unions, conduct their press relations largely through local affiliates and concentrate their national publicity efforts on broadcasting networks, magazines, and the annual convention.

'I doubt that the name of any educator in the nation is known to more than 2 or 3 per cent of all Americans,' one education writer observed. 'Few people can see beyond their local school board and the local property tax,' commented another. 'There is some dim awareness of state school officials, even less of the U.S. Office of Education. As a working education editor,' he continued, 'I find that most laymen do not understand when I refer to the N.E.A. by its initials.'

Public awareness is, of course, a matter of press attention. Many of our respondents described differences in treatment between local and national education news, and commented not only on the amount but also on the kind of attention professional education organisations receive from the press.

'We are, of course, interested in local teachers' organisations,' noted the education writer of a New York state daily. However, the national organisation, she observed,

is not an organisation financed by taxpayers. It is a group trying to sell the needs of teachers. It is a lobbying organisation. It is not local. Some of its reports are news. Some are just one side of a story.

Another reporter commented:

There has been little difficulty working with the National Education Association. We generally handle their conventions . . . We realise their right to advocate federal aid, for example, and they realise our right to oppose it.

Most reporters used such terms as 'propaganda,' 'lobby,' or 'pressure group' in talking about the N.E.A. and its activities. The institutional vantage point and 'taxpayer' outlook of the average daily newspaper appears to sensitise reporters to see primarily the financial control issue involved in national organisational news in education. The following comments were typical:

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N.E.A. news releases make good statistical stories, but that's about all. Much of their stuff is propaganda for higher teacher pay. The N.E.A. is a lobby as I see it.

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There is a dearth of educational statistics and N.E.A. makes its own available . . . The education reporter must realise N.E.A. or other teachers' organisations will be propagandising for whatever they want. N.E.A.'s outpourings on federal aid get on my nerves sometimes.

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If the national and state teacher organisations are doing anything to help the local press relations of their local chapters, I have yet to see it. Indeed, the national and state organisations seem to spend most of their time reassuring teachers that they are underpaid and underappreciated but doing the best of all possible jobs. The public is yet to be convinced.

*Issues*

Newsmen's perceptions of headline issues in education reporting reveal the rising tempo of community conflict over basic problems of resource allocation. These headline issues are the right-wing attacks on education, the movement toward racial integration, and the rise of teacher and student militancy.

The right-wing attacks followed in the wake of postwar planning for solutions to the financial crisis in education. The controversies were usually couched in terms of textbooks, curriculum and 'subversion.' Their most telling effect, however, has been the reversal or slowing down of structural and financial reform, school leaders sought in order to improve, or at least maintain, the quality of education.

The basic problem of resources — whose solution required reforms that drew much of the right wing's fire — erupted in many forms in the mid-fifties and sixties. That period saw the official 'discovery' of poverty and the 'culturally deprived,' of 'slums and suburbs,' of the 'dropouts' and the growing number of unemployed and unemployable youth, of 'blackboard jungles' of juvenile violence and rebellion. Related to all of these and striking at the root of the resource problem was the growing militancy of the black power and student power movements.

One education reporter expressed the views of nearly every respondent when he said:

The major problem since 1955 has been integration. The percentage of Negro pupils increased from 19 per cent to over 30 per cent in the city schools. Most of the integrated schools are in culturally deprived areas. The paper has been hesitant to take an editorial position.

Newspapers, torn between recognition of the problems and the sharp and often violent reaction of some power groups in the com-

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munities they serve, began to assess their role in the conflict. The movement for integration, and for justice beyond integration, has become the No. 1 domestic news story in the American press. The new 'professionalised' education reporter found much of the story a part of his normal beat. This meant not only new events to report but also a new context in which to conduct the routine service coverage of the schools. As a reporter on a large midwestern daily explained:

Nearly half of our pupils are coloured. We have trouble with that. Often we have to play down pictures of coloured children or have to be careful to pick a school which is not too integrated.

The other day I had such trouble in a kindergarten class. I had the photographer taking a picture in the class and the teacher said to me, 'Don't you think you have too many chocolate drops in this picture?'

Our picture editor is very prejudiced. He claims it is impossible to take good pictures of coloured people. He says the pictures come out so dark that this poses a technical problem.

The slums and the slum schools are in the heart of the city. Many people are moving out to the suburbs, mostly whites. We have come to favour the more exclusive residential areas. They demand and get publicity. In the process we neglect the schools of the inner city.

Neglected schools of inner cities across the country burst into the headlines with news of demonstrations, boycotts, and suddenly publicised 'waves' of classroom terror and violence. 'Professionalisation' in education reporting has led both to focused coverage and to a tightening of news value priorities governing school news at a time of deepening crisis.

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In summary, the school system is the principal user of local taxes, goods, and services. In virtually reproducing the income and status hierarchy of the local community, the American school is a prime example of the financial and political effects of local control. The newspaper's stake in the system of local control stems from *its* client relationships and functions. The principal sustaining service of the American newspaper is the creation and cultivation of a reading public of consumers concentrated in a market area which provides the base for the profitable operation of the chief supporting clientele, the advertisers. These relationships and functions also shape the overall approach to the newspaper to other institutions and events, and affect the kind of attention it will pay to different publics. News and views are selected not only to be of broad general appeal but also to be of relevance and usefulness to the system of controls in which the press and its clients wield maximum influence.

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Newsmen's views, schoolmen's observations, and the literature in the field of press-school relations suggest that newspapers are most sensitive to two types of challenge to this structure of local control. One is further professionalisation and organisation in the education field, making that vast public enterprise more independent of local direction and supervision. The other is any re-allocation of resources which might at least temporarily upset the present local bases of newspaper and other business operations.

The local orientation of the American daily paper assures a fair amount of community school news, and makes the newspaper sensitive to local interests, movements, and affairs. Its controlling institutional relations alert the press to any challenge to its prerogative to select and shape information by its own criteria of relevance to its own functions and publics. National agencies, organisations, and movements in education are usually perceived as special pleaders threatening the structure of local influence and control — a structure in which both school and press have a vital and at least partly conflicting interest.

*Great Britain: The National Scene*

The major centres of communication activity involving education in Great Britain are the Ministry of Education, the National Union of Teachers, the local Education Authorities, the broadcasting networks, and the national newspapers. Our interviews focused on the activities of the N.U.T.'s Publicity and Public Relations Department. Conversations were also held with Ministry, broadcasting, and newspaper personnel.

About 60 per cent of the cost of schools and 80 per cent of universities comes from nationally collected, allocated, and supervised tax funds. The Minister of Education, a cabinet member of the government party, reports to and is answerable in Parliament on all questions affecting education. However, his chief responsibilities are the disbursement of national funds under an equalisation formula based on local need, and the inspection of compliance with minimum educational standards. He also operates information services.

Although the unit of educational administration is the Local Education Authority, usually an arm of the county or borough council, the L.E.A.'s do not represent instruments of local control to the extent of the American schoolboard. Teacher representatives serve on most

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L.E.A.'s. Basic salary scales are developed nationally through a centralised bargaining group of representatives of the L.E.A.'s and the teachers' unions, whose awards the government usually accepts.

The crucial client relationships of British education are, then, national in scope. Vigorous educational debate and deliberation are prominent parts of the national political process. Education is a major issue in political platforms and campaigns, a frequent subject of Parliamentary debate and inquiry, and a focal point of social and political — as well as educational — reform movements.

Educational public relations, information services, and reporting are post-World War II phenomena in Great Britain. Press officers were appointed to government ministries during the war, and departments of information developed with the enactment of the social welfare legislation, including Education Acts, of the mid-forties and fifties. The Ministry's Information Department (often working through the government's Central Office of Information), assists the Minister of Education in representing the government's educational policy in the House of Commons and in interpreting it to the general public. Special tasks centre in government White Papers and the reports of Royal Commissions and Advisory Councils which stimulate public interest and legislative developments in education. Campaigns on special subjects are also conducted through releases, publications, and the facilities provided by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

### *The National Union of Teachers*

The National Union of Teachers has a voluntary membership of over three-fourths of all teachers in Great Britain. Its information services were performed by a small press bureau until 1956. That year, a Public Relations Officer was appointed. A Department of Publicity and Public Relations was established in 1960.

This Department is concerned with public relations on the national level, internal N.U.T. publications, special conferences, and Parliamentary campaigns.

Radio and television are used extensively. Contacts are maintained between the Department and editors and producers of BBC and ITV. The Department has also built up personal contacts with the national papers and their education reporters.

N.U.T. information specialists consider their relationships with local papers more troublesome than with the national press. Our in-

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formants' comments on local press relations were similar to the views of many of their American counterparts. Education, one information officer said,

is the biggest single aspect of local government activity, so if it's true to say that local government is exposed to the winds of public opinion, the education part of it is probably even more exposed than the rest.

We have to contend with the efforts of candidates for election to local councils who do not regard it as part of their job in the election campaigns to justify what they're spending through the rates, and demanding more to be spent, but seek rather to tell the public that if they're returned they will prevent the rates from rising any further and if possible will try to reduce them.

I think we also suffer from the attentions of the self-appointed vigilantes, the ratepayers' associations. I always wonder why it is that ratepayers' associations do not function in the way in which they might if they were really intent on the good health of local government.

N.U.T. publicists interviewed stressed the need for public relations in a public service profession, the problem of tension and suspicion between newsmen and schoolmen, the organisational competition for space in the national press, the conflict between informational and commercial requirements of news treatment, the necessity to adjust to the requirements of the press, and the discrepancy between having to 'strike a note of success' in public and the real feelings of teachers about their situation.

The struggle for organisational visibility was felt to require a high level of publicity effort:

Educational publicity is necessary for self-defence. We are living in a world of very high-powered public relations. The adman and the hidden persuaders are all about us; we cannot ignore their existence. Nor can we expect newspapers, the BBC, and the ITA to consider that our activities, our policies, our point of view, worthy of space purely on its own merits. We've got to make them aware of what we are doing in competition with the efforts of many other organisations spending much more than we could ever expect to spend.

It was felt that 'emphasis on the trivial and the sensational' still dominates much of the news coverage of some papers.

While there is increasing public interest in education, and the newspapers' handling of newsworthy activities is on the whole fair and full, there is unfortunately still too much emphasis on the trivial and the sensational. All you've got to do is send a girl home for wearing stiletto heels or a tight skirt, or a boy for wearing blue jeans or an 'American style' haircut, and you'll find yourself in the headlines.

The strategy of public relations was felt at times to conceal rather than reveal the 'true feelings' of teachers:

In the media we have to strike a note of success; in private and among teachers in general, there is a widespread feeling of frustration and failure, despite the strides made since the war. Much-publicised 'break-

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throughs' in education conceal the true feelings of many in the teaching profession. When circumstances force us to point out the illusory nature of many of our 'successes' and of proposed 'solutions,' and when the feelings of teachers erupt in form of some dramatic development such as a strike, there is public confusion, shock, and resentment. This may well lead to further stagnation or even setbacks which the press, as a whole, has done little to avoid or to cushion.

#### *Education Correspondents*

In 1950 only the labourite *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Mirror* had education correspondents, as they are called in England. By 1961 there were enough to form an association.

Education correspondents are normally long-time professional journalists rather than educators-turned-journalists. There is no tradition of women reporters or students or teachers writing school news. The national press does not provide much routine local service coverage.

It has dawned on executives, who easily get out of touch, [we were told] that the class context of education is changing, that working class boys go to the university, that higher and further education are becoming popular issues. It was found, further that reader interest is greater when education is regularly covered by a named correspondent.

An education correspondent with a byline is given considerable latitude even though his status is not as high as that of the industrial correspondent, for example. The prominent education writer is not expected to cover the trivial 'head bans lipstick' type story, or the sensational item on 'grammar school assigns *Lady Chatterley's Lover* for 6th form' — still the most typical 'school news' especially in the tabloid and evening press.

The relative independence of the education correspondent works both ways. When he is left alone to write his stories regardless of party line, he is likely to be ignored about the editorial position the newspaper is to take.

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In general, then, that the nature of organised relationships between newsmen and schoolmen in England has much in common with that in the United States, but the structure is different. The professional forces of organised education play a relatively militant and independent role on the national level. They can effectively — even if not always successfully — interact with government and the press where the major resource decisions are made, Government, too, is expected to exercise a vigorous role in informing the public of the state of education.

The national press represents the industrial establishment and political groupings of the country. Its growing interest in schools reflects the post-war reforms, stresses, and increasing acute political and

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economic stakes involved in educational issues. While reporters function much the same as their U.S. counterparts in catering to commercial need and reader interest, specialised education correspondents observe the national scene and are not as deeply embroiled in the local power struggle.

*France: Ideological Diversity*

Interviews were held with key personnel at the Ministry of Education, unions of teachers and students, and major Paris newspapers representing different orientations. Their views gave an indication of the complex interplay of institutional pressures in a context which is at once centralised and differentiated along lines of ideological and commercial policy.

The interviews reflected both the structure and the troubled history of institutional relationships. They also illuminated some of the background against which the role of communicators in the student-inspired 1968 rebellion may be seen.

*The Schools and the Press*

The Napoleonic Codes created a centralised public secondary and higher education system, but left primary schooling in the hands of the church. Throughout the 19th century, republicans continued to agitate for extending compulsory public into educational backwaters bypassed by the swift currents of secular and revolutionary sentiment. Their success has been a source of contention and strife ever since.

About one in every six children attends private schools. The predominantly Catholic private school system remained to contest secular republicanism in both the educational and financial realms. Petain's occupation law giving tax money to Catholic schools (and closing Normal Schools as 'hotbeds of radicalism') was revoked upon liberation. But a conservative majority in a Parliament reapportioned under the Fifth Republic voted to support parochial schools from public funds.

The new constitution reduced the power of elected deputies and changed the basis of representation to the detriment of the Parliamentary Left. Cabinet posts traditionally held by Left parties, including that of Education, went to the new government majority.

A national curriculum run by the Ministry of Education, manned by civil servants, revolves around national examinations of high

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academic and classical content. Competitive examinations keep eight out of every ten pupils out of secondary school. Few of those who pass the baccalaureat gain admission to a university. There they must prepare for further competitive state examinations mostly on their own; the huge classrooms where professors read their lecture notes to hundreds of students accommodate only a fraction of the student body. The structure and content of French education can only be affected through national pressure, legislation, and government action.

The design of French public education is, then, a centralised blueprint with both client and supervisory relationships leading to the seat of national power in Paris. In this context — buffeted by forces of clericalism and regionalism and torn by the tug-of-war of coalition governments — teacher and student organisations maintained their tradition of militant political activity dating back to the French revolution.

The law allocating public funds to Church schools (without the right of public inspection) revived talk of 'la guerre scolaire.' Militant students, who had condoned desertions from the army and agitated for an end to the Algerian war, now joined with teachers to spark mass protests against the government's new law. A petition signed by nearly 11 million (about 50 per cent of voters) opposed its implementation. Periodic teacher and student strikes also revealed general dissatisfaction and economic distress.

Each school year began with deeper crises and sharper conflicts. By the end of 1963 striking students and teachers, clubbed, punched, and sprayed with fire hoses as they fought police in the streets of the Latin Quarter, closed the Sorbonne and all of France's 23 universities. Education had become a centre of national controversy and a subject of intense public interest and concern. By 1968, it provided the spark for the explosion that paralysed France and brought it to the brink of revolution.

The press emerged from wartime ruin and illegality with temporary financial support from the national government. Within ten years after the liberation, economic pressures cut the number of Paris dailies to half the postwar figure. The transition from a primarily party or 'opinion' press to a largely commercial or 'independent' press was well under way.

Today both types of papers exist side by side. Their position on the secular vs. clerical range, on the left vs. right-wing political spectrum,

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and on the special readership vs. mass-audience-appeal commercial continuum largely determines their approach to other institutions and to the reporting of events.

*The Ministry, the teachers, and the students*

Traditionally, the information functions of French Ministries of Education have been handled by personal press secretaries attached to — and changing with — individual Ministers. In 1961 a permanent information office was established. Most members of the staff are former teachers, selected through civil service examinations, and given four years of practical training with pay.

The main tasks of the office are to inform the public through the press and the government-owned broadcasting facilities, and to assist the Minister in his relations with the Deputies. 'We must tell the public and the Deputies about the policies of the Ministry, answer criticism — all of which is directed at the Minister in a centralised system such as ours — and try to anticipate future problems and criticism,' said a staff member. And he explained:

Nearly half million persons work under this Ministry. Their organisation are left-wing. Many of them are opposed to the Minister and his policies. This is an uncomfortable position.

Relations with friendly organs of the press are personal and intimate; with others, well, they only distort what we say. But education is of great public and political interest. The newspapers print our stories. They often attack it and distort it but they usually give it good play. In more difficult or controversial matters we sometimes get a friendly Deputy to ask questions in Parliament, and have our material delivered by the Minister whose speeches are always reported by the political journalists.

We are engaged in long-range education reforms. This is not an easy task under the best of circumstances. Schooling is being extended, districts are being consolidated, more teachers are urgently needed. We must try to convince parents especially in rural and working class areas that their children should stay in school longer. We must inform municipalities of their responsibility for the transportation of children. We have difficulty recruiting new teachers. There are strikes and attacks on education which are in effect political attacks on the government.

Defending state aid to confessional [Catholic] schools is one of our most troublesome tasks. Speeding up the school construction is another. The local communities must participate in this programme and that slows down everything.

The Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale (F.E.N.) is the major 'umbrella' organisation of unions of teachers. The F.E.N. maintains an active press bureau. Affiliated unions represent different levels of education and different groupings, ranging from the radical left through *syndicalisme a-politique* to the anarchists. Each union main-

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tains its own press relations. The F.E.N. concentrates on major issues and on co-ordinated campaigns which unite all or most of its affiliated groups. A press officer described its operation:

One example was the broad campaign for preserving secular education in 1960. That was when the newspapers became aware of our strength. When they saw that 25,000 people came in delegations from the provinces, a meeting at Vincennes gathered more than 300,000, the largest crowds across the country since the liberation, our bulletins were printed in all but perhaps the most reactionary papers.

We are calling attention to the fact that schools are reopening each fall under more and more disastrous conditions. The Ministry publishes much reassuring information and uses the state-owned broadcasting system to radiate its optimism. But our material fares fairly well, too.

*Le Monde* is probably the only paper which runs our news in a good position, indicating its origin, but without much editing or distortion. Most of the others help themselves according to their opinions. We have a big play in *Humanite* and *Liberation*, especially when we oppose the government. *Figaro* will do the opposite. *France Soir*, and the rest of the 'independent' press is yet another matter. These people do not worry much about the real and serious problems of education. What they want is personal incidents, accidents, the sensational story. If a child cracks his head on a school playground, that's more important than all the problems of civil service, or the equalisation of teacher salaries on the various levels.

The union of students, Union Nationale des Etudiants de France, (U.N.E.F.) is heir to a long tradition of militant social and political action. It represents four-fifths of the over 300,000 university students. The editorial office of the organisation's newspaper, *Etudiants de France*, serves as the centre of information activities. A small permanent staff writes and edits releases and bulletins for the information of Parliamentary Deputies and the press.

News releases usually contain statements or resolutions on specific current issues. 'Actually,' we were told, 'every little vice president of every local student association affiliated with U.N.E.F. has a mania for releases. They pour them out all the time. We co-ordinate them and try to check the flow somewhat. We want to keep the value of U.N.E.F. news releases.'

U.N.E.F. press relations with the national papers vary according to the 'line' of each paper, the reporter in charge of education news, and the particular issue involved. Some thumbnail sketches from the students' point of view:

*L'Aurore* [right-wing]: We have no personal relations. Rarely publishes anything we send them, but frequently attacks us and our policies. Regularly publishes the releases of right-wing student organisations created to oppose the U.N.E.F.

*Figaro* [conservative 'prestige' paper]: Publishes some of our releases when we have organisational news, and sometimes even about conditions

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of students. But in the realm of politics, if they publish our views at all, they do so under a headline or editorial note expressing their disapproval. However, we have friendly relations with the staff.

*La Croix* [Catholic]: Contrary to *Figaro*, not a line of organisational activity but encouragement for certain policies such as struggle against the Algerian war. On such an issue we address ourselves directly to the editorial writer who has written some very conscientious pieces on our position.

*Paris-Presse* [commercial independent]: Never a line of what we send them, although much material denouncing us as 'reds' and 'traitors.' At the time of the peace demonstrations the front page carried the banner headline: 'UNEF SCANDAL.' We're in the news only when there is something sensational, violent.

*France Soir* [commercial independent]: The education reporter is very friendly but the editor stops or rewrites everything we send. So you have to use devious means. For example, when the U.N.E.F. took a stand on the Algerian war, we went directly to the man in charge of Algerian affairs who could get it through. Another time we had an economic conference but couldn't get our story published until we included the names of prominent industrialists who attended the meeting.

*Le Monde* [liberal 'prestige' paper]: Up in the clouds. Rarely uses our releases unless some government scandal is brewing. Writing theoretical pieces is more important for them than keeping up with day-to-day events.

*L'Humanité*, *Libération* [communist, socialist]: Jump at anything that is against the government. *Libération* especially is inclined to be even more sensational than some commercial papers.

#### *National newspapers — from Left to Right*

After the liberation three of the some thirty daily papers in Paris had regular education sections (*Le Monde*, *Combat*, and *Figaro*). By 1960 most of the remaining fifteen papers had either a section or an editor specialising in education news.

At the beginning of the education reform programmes in the mid-fifties, the government stimulated the formation of an association of education journalists. But the association folded after a year of turbulent existence. Its president, who had been an information officer at the Ministry, became the education correspondent of the government news agency, Agence France Press.

Paris papers use AFP's domestic service more for their information than as a substitute to their own coverage. Each paper's political tendency, extent of commercial orientation, and the education writer's prominence and autonomy shape the overall perspective reflected in the coverage. The views of education writers that follow represent this range of institutional and personal orientations.

An education editor and his assistant handle school news on a major left wing paper. The education section was established after the 'anti-clericalisation' campaign of 1959. 'Think of it,' the editor said, 'I

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million signatures in France — this had not happened for a long time. The public is very much moved by questions of education, of democratisation. The whole structure of secular education, the principle of French education, is at stake.’

Aside from the continued anti-clerical campaign, school news policy gives primary emphasis to the conditions of teachers and students and to general problems of workers’ and popular education.

We maintain close relations with teacher and student unions and many individuals in education. Attend all Congresses of *instituteurs*, and give detailed coverage of their activities. Of course, for us the political problems come first; we feel that the solution of pedagogic problems depends on the prior solution of the political problems.

The recent strikes have demonstrated that the situation is desperate. The role of the teachers’ colleges has been reduced, and teachers are hired with a simple bachelor’s degree, and without any preparation for teaching, because salaries are so low.

The pressures are increasing. In the first year of secondary education only 13 per cent of the students are working class children. And the proportion among university students is 3 per cent! These are the problems we are stressing. Every time there is protest, any positive action, any new scandal — shortage of teachers, lack of buildings — we give it full coverage.

The education writer on an independent Left-of-centre daily said:

On our newspaper every writer has equal status. We have considerable freedom to develop and write on subjects that interest us. Our stories may be cut, but they are not revised by the editor. We have regular contacts with the teachers’ unions and the U.N.E.F., and often carry their releases without comment.

Mail from readers is enormous. Among our readers there are many teachers and they write very much. We try to answer every letter. We rarely print letters to the editor, but prefer to write articles summarising and citing several correspondents.

The education writer of a ‘prestige’ paper expressed these views:

Many organisations turn out news on education. We try to include these in proportion of our estimate of the strength of the organisation. However, teachers are very touchy people. I try to humour them by occasionally picking out some releases on the basis of content rather than the strength of the organisation sending it. Still, as soon as somebody is displeased, he tries to go over my head and writes to the editor-in-chief — only to find his letter sent right back to me. Less than 10 per cent of what I actually write is discarded, usually for reasons of space.

We receive more mail than any other department except the editor-in-chief, and I answer all of it. Strictly speaking there are no editorials on school problems; however, I write brief signed commentaries printed above some news stories. I am free to write these as I please.

The ‘social editor’ in charge of education, health, and labour on a mass circulation commercial daily had a different story to tell:

The trouble is that I am completely under the thumb of editors. I sign very few of my articles because they are usually rewritten before they appear. This little ‘procedure’ as we call it is usually calculated to

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make the news more spicy, more interesting.

As to news sources, the Ministries are now full of civil servants rather than political people. Consequently they are too aloof, too bureaucratic. The unions are much more open, except on the extreme left which is closed to a journalist from my paper. However, I try to work with them behind the scenes. My contacts with the F.E.N. are the most frequent. The U.N.E.F. sends me reports which are 5 centimetres thick and take hours to read. I am also a professor of journalism and write for an economic weekly, have three hours of lecture per day, work a total of 14 hours a day — so you see I don't have time to read those long reports. Besides, we have a great deal of friction about the students. The rest of the staff does not recognise their right to political opinions.

Another commercially successful mass circulation daily has an education department with an editor and an assistant. All news concerning schools and education is channelled through the education editor. 'Of course,' she said, 'many of these stories end up with the political or labour editor, or in the wastebasket. Especially bulletins from the Ministry of Education, releases from teachers' unions — dull stories for us. Our world is governed by the competition for attention. News must be living, personal, vivid actuality served in an appetising way to hook a tired, lazy public!'

Our public is so varied [she continued] that I have no image of it. We are not like papers written for the working man or the business man, or intellectuals — we must appeal to all, from the professor to the street-sweeper or subway ticket puncher. So I must write for the subway ticket puncher; if I can interest *him*, I can interest the professor too.

I must find attractive and useful subjects and never be content only processing releases. If I receive something about the housing problems of students, I must also slip in something about the latest fad in college girl hairdo. News must be humanised, personalised: first names, pictures, individual cases.

The furor about parochial schools does not mean much to us. It's very simple: out of ten million pupils in France, only 1.7 million are in parochial schools. I write for the ten million.

A conservative newspaper once called 'the morning bible of the French upper middle class' prides itself on being 'the best informed on matters concerning education.' The education editor is also deputy editor-in-chief. Two full-time assistants help screen and follow up the day's education news, and maintain contact with organisations in the field. Their views follow.

Our doors are open to teachers and students, and we do not sacrifice education to sensationalism or commercialism. Politically we are right of centre, but this did not prevent us from supporting students who asked for draft deferment to complete their studies. At the same time, we don't confuse democratisation with demagoguery. We struggle to maintain high standards and oppose those who encourage youth to desert the Army.

We realise that students are restless and teachers dissatisfied. Reform

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is needed. We do not hold with the old generation of professors who defend to the death the teaching of Latin and Greek, or with those who fight for the 'freedom' of Catholic schools to receive public funds without public inspection. In our opinion the crisis of the universities and their lack of adjustment to the needs of the country are the leading problems in education today.

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With the client relationships of the educational system centred in the national government and those of the press clearly differentiated along ideological and commercial dimensions, a complex pattern of interaction is characteristic of the structure of school-press relationships in France. Next we turn to the Soviet Union where, as in the United States, a single overall perspective rather than ideological differentiation is characteristic of both education and the press.

### *The Soviet Union: Interlocking Responsibilities*

Interviews were conducted with newsmen responsible for representing Soviet education in the official organs of the central government, the Young Communist League, and the Young Pioneers. Their views follow a brief discussion of the schools and the press.

### *The School and the Press*

Public schooling is the primary responsibility of government ministries and local Soviets. But all major organisations, including the Communist Party, have specialised branches working with the public schools and conducting educational programmes of their own. The Young Pioneers and the Young Communist League (*Komsomol*) are largely educational organisations integrated with and nearly equal to the schools in scope and significance. The cultural and educational activities of the unions form another adult education system reaching all working people and their families. The organs of the government, the Party, and of other mass organisations comprise the press of the country and further promote educational objectives and planning. Interlocking responsibilities thus relate organisations to each other, to the press, and to the schools.

The Soviet press is composed mostly of official organs of mass organisations, including the government, designed to represent the views and interests of these organisations and to convey news relevant to their functions. 'Organ' is a literal expression of the Soviet concept of the press as the arm of revolutionary organisation, and itself, in

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Lenin's words, a 'collective organiser'.

The principal clients of Soviet mass communicators are, therefore, the organisations whose news, views, and interests the press is to express, and whose educational and organisational work it is to further. Editors of major newspapers sit on the highest councils of their organisations, and participate in policy-making. (When Khrushchev went, so did his son-in-law Aleksei Adzhubei, editor of *Izvestia*).

Striking changes in Soviet institutional life began in the mid-fifties. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, meeting in 1956, released a wave of legislative and intellectual ferment. The press was given the task of 'unleashing the initiative from below,' and the schools of 'strengthening the ties between education and life.' The school reform law of 1958 expanded education on all levels, and made polytechnical training and work experience a part of all learning and a prerequisite for most aspirants for higher education.

The Third Programme of the CPSU adopted at the Party's Twenty-second Congress in 1961 gave a further boost to these reforms. The Third Programme declared socialism in the U.S.S.R. a reality and defined the main tasks of communist construction. Among these tasks were 'the shaping of a scientific world outlook,' 'the affirmation of communist morality,' and 'the elimination of substantial distinctions between mental and physical labour.' Responsibilities assigned the mass media and the schools were indicated in the following passage:

The moulding of the new man is effected through his own active participation in communist construction and the development of communist principles . . . under the influence of the educational work carried out by the Party, the state, and various social organisations, work in which the press, radio, cinema, and television play an important part.

Mass communicators came under increasing public and self-criticism. In the year of the Twentieth Congress, the theoretical organ *Kommunist* declared that 'The cliches and stereotyped patterns ever recurring in the press have a dulling effect on readers and thus increase their isolation from real life . . . Local papers are in the habit of passing over in silence all new problems until the papers of the capital have pronounced on them.' The Union of Journalists was set to work on 'strengthening the links between the press and the mass of the workers.' Its new organ, *Sovietskaya Petchat*, asked whether journalists served their readers or only wrote for the benefit of authorities. 'Just pick up a paper and see for yourself!' it admonished.

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The central organ of the Young Communist League, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, pioneered in revitalising the appearance as well as the content of newspapers, striking a critical and controversial tone in matters never before aired in public, and opening up one-third or more of its total space to comments, complaints, and contributions from readers. Its editor, Aleksei Adzhubei, next performed similar face-lifting on the staid government organ *Izvestia*. A few Western style dailies such as *Sovietskaya Rossiya* and *Vechernaya Moskva*, replete with news, cartoons, human interest stories and advertisements, began to compete for readers.

The schools departments of the revitalised Soviet press were called upon to assist in the educational effort. Numerous stories continued to point out that enrolments in rural schools lagged behind target quotas, that many who registered did not attend, and that schools were not easily accessible. Aside from exposing lags and gaps, newspaper editors became general trouble-shooters investigating complaints, exchanging experiences, debating different ways of solving problems.

The themes of individual initiative, participation, and joint press-school responsibilities in planning and carrying out common tasks ran through our interviews. A high trade union official summarised the official view:

The cultural revolution is a more difficult task than the political and even economic revolutions. Those revolutions create the material requirements, but the cultural revolution is the creation of a new morality which makes the new society a subjective reality for the masses of people.

As mass organisations overlap in their educational concern and interest in the public schools, all major newspapers have general educational functions as well as special departments. We interviewed general editors and education specialists of three mass circulation papers which are among the most active in this field. In the following we report their accounts of the role and functions of mass communicators on the government paper *Izvestia*, the leading youth daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and the central organ of the Young Pioneers, *Pionerskaya Pravda*.

#### *Izvestia*

*Izvestia* is the organ of the government. The Supreme Soviet confirms its editors and approves its general plans. As the Party paper *Pravda* is the chief outlet for party organisational news and statements, *Izvestia* is the main vehicle of governmental (election, legisla-

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tive, and foreign) news.

The largest department is that of letters. It employs nearly half the entire headquarters staff. The foreign department, including overseas correspondents, is second in size. Other departments are Soviet administration (national and state), national economy, science, literature and the arts, sport news, relations with socialist countries, features, and education.

An editor of *Izvestia* described a major concern of the staff in these words:

We consider the press the principal medium for public airing of views, exchange of information and experiences, and for organisational work, aside from providing general information necessary for our tasks. We attempt to make our newspaper serve as a forum for the discussion and adjustment of many individual and social problems. That is why the Central Committee of the CPSU has given all organs the obligation and responsibility of being most attentive to letters and contributions from readers.

We have many regular reader-correspondents. An average of one-third of total space is devoted to letters and to articles stimulated by letters. We reply to every letter and spend much of our time 'trouble shooting' even if nothing appears about it in the paper. We air all kinds of problems and controversies except those dealing with foreign affairs and security matters. Such matters are not debated in the press; when we receive inquiries about them we refer the reader to statements of responsible Soviet or foreign authorities.

We receive an average of 1,000 to 1,500 letters a day from all parts of the USSR. These are registered and tabulated in the letters department, and answered from there or sent to other departments or to appropriate authorities for their action or comment.

The education department of *Izvestia* is headed by an editor, deputy editor, and a special correspondent. All had been trained as teachers and as journalists. They consider themselves educators in both capacities.

All material pertaining to education is channelled through the department. There is no regular amount of space allocated to education news. 'The space we get,' said one of the school editors, 'depends on the quality of our articles, the general situation in regard to important domestic events, and the significance of the problems discussed in the articles. At a time of great national debate such as before the school reform law, we have much more space than at other times.'

At least one member of the headquarters staff is usually 'on the road.' The staff writes probably less than half of all education news and articles. A network of reader-correspondents, including prominent persons and specialists in various fields, and the constant stream of letters to the editor are major sources of copy.

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We can help our readers in many ways [the editor said] because *Izvestia* is a large and respected newspaper. When I call the Minister of Education concerning a problem we consider important, he listens carefully because he knows that what we write affects him and his work. Besides the education editors of the major newspapers we are in certain respects the most experienced educators in the country. We travel a great deal and see conditions in all parts of the U.S.S.R. and in many other countries. Our opinion on educational problems is often requested and usually respected.

We asked the editor whether her opinion always coincides with the official view or the position of the Ministry. She laughed, and replied:

Of course not, not always. We have our battles. But we usually agree with the position of the Ministry and of the Party because official positions are developed after a great deal of discussion. Sometimes, however, this is not the case. Of course we are an organ of the government and are obliged to print official statements and letters from the Ministers. But we are not obliged to agree with them. If we feel strongly enough that we are right, we pursue the matter. In the end we usually win out because what we write is based on very close relationships with the people, our readers.

The education editors also work closely with organisations in education. They participate in planning meetings and campaigns. This makes it possible to stimulate national interest in advance for major legislative or professional events. It also gives the staff an opportunity to exert its own influence.

An example of such an event was a Conference of Workers of Colleges, Universities, and Higher Education Institutes held in Moscow and attended by delegations of prominent professors, deans, and rectors across the country. Long before the conference began, the education editors planned to direct public attention to problems in higher education as part of national preparation for the meeting. They published several letters, one of which evoked such public response that the resulting campaign continued long after the meeting. This, in the words of the editor, is how it happened.

One day we received a letter from a professor of education. The letter argued that our system of examinations was more a test of luck and endurance than of knowledge. He suggested a more flexible system. Why couldn't students take examinations any time they felt they were ready? We published the letter, and received a large mail response from scientists, professors, students, and parents, mostly in agreement. We followed up by publishing a letter from a student entitled 'To Take Exams — Does it Mean to Know?' — and our mail again multiplied. We published extracts from the replies and two long articles analysing the situation and calling it to the attention of the forthcoming conference and of the Minister of Higher Education.

The Conference discussed many problems and made many recommendations but the problem of examinations was not resolved. We called on the Minister and again emphasised that we considered the problem of

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examinations an important public issue. He agreed it was a serious problem. He said that it must be considered thoroughly and discussed on every level before a decision is made. We said we appreciated that, and we shall expect action in due time. But there has been no action. We are now about to publish an article entitled 'Two Questions to Two Ministers' (for we have separate ministers for schools and for higher education), reminding them that we have not forgotten and will not forget until the questions and problems of our readers are satisfied.

Teachers' living accommodations in rural, remote, and primitive areas had been a subject of critical attention. Cited as typical was a letter from the principal of a school attached to a collective farm in Siberia. He wrote:

I have a very good teaching staff, but the collective has been slow in building houses they have promised. This year three of our new teachers did not get their apartments and had to rent rooms on their own. I am afraid we will lose them because they can easily find other places with better housing. Can you help us?

Such a letter would first be registered for future reference and follow-up, and sent to the regional correspondent for checking. After that it might be referred to the Republic Ministry of Education, the District Party Committee, or the local Soviet, requesting an investigation and a reply.

Criticism can get a person into trouble, we were told. 'But,' the editors said, 'if our investigation finds a complaint justified, we appeal to higher authorities for protection, or expose any vindictiveness ourselves. We defend our correspondents.'

Mass communicators specialising in education on *Izvestia* (and on the other Soviet papers studied) exhibited first-hand knowledge of school problems, and deep involvement in educational advising and policy-making. Polytechnic education, school construction, and the problems of working students were prominent concerns at the time of interviews.

I am sorry to say [said the education editor] that despite the years of experience we have had with polytechnic education, the quality and organisation is still very uneven. We are preparing a number of critical articles on that subject.

We feel that the Pedagogical Institutes have fallen behind and have been too far removed from the everyday practical problems of polytechnic education. Still not every factory has a special shop for students. And not all shops are well organised to give a rewarding educational experience to students.

Last spring I visited the schools of Georgia, writing about well-organised 'pupil shops' where experienced master workers—who are also good teachers—were given special assignments to run the polytechnic programme.

Of course this is not easy to achieve. There are complaints of interference with production. Every manager wants to reach his goals, every

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worker wants to fulfil his quota and qualify for premiums. That is why special shops need to be organised, and the best workers put in charge, for extra pay. But provisions have to be made for taking these workers out of production, for making them co-operate with the schoolteacher who accompanies the students, for making them understand that the students are there to learn and not just help the plants achieve their goals.

A multitude of questions arising from the implementation of the new laws were pressed upon the Soviet newsmen specialising in education. For example: Only top students could enter universities directly from High School; the majority were accepted only after working a period of time in a factory or on a farm. But once in, they all faced the same competition. Shouldn't worker-students receive more pay, more attention, more time to catch up? Or: The increasing number of working students was forcing the expanded 'evening schools' to become 'midnight schools' and 'morning schools' in order to accommodate those on evening and night shifts. Should these be considered 'second class' students, content with inferior buildings, less adequate labs, smaller libraries, a second-string teaching staff? Should prominent professors lecture only when it is convenient to them, or should some of them also go on the night shift or the swing shift, and to the factories where it would be more convenient for the working students?

In raising and dealing with such questions both in the field and on the pages of the 8-million circulation *Izvestia*, education editors felt they had the opportunity to exercise great leverage in affecting the allocation of public attention and the course of educational planning.

A folder containing the day's crop of perhaps 50 to 75 letters lay on the desk and we asked to be permitted to pick a letter at random. The letter dealt with a problem which had attracted much attention in the Soviet press: the problem of 'overschooling.' It came from the mother of a second grader who wrote 'We adults have achieved the seven-hour work day, but my boy still works very hard for nine hours (at school and at home) every day. Please add my voice to those who feel that we must provide more free time for our children.'

A special feature of the newspaper is entitled 'After *Izvestia* Published an Article.' Under that heading, the editor said,

we keep track of problems mentioned in our columns. If the problem is unsolved, we remind those responsible for a solution. We print their letters too, and report their action or explanation.

For example, some time ago we received a report from one of our regional correspondents in Turkmenian Republic that some houses built

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for schools and kindergartens but taken over for other purposes during the war had still not been returned. The local authorities found it convenient to perpetuate the 'emergency'. We printed an article giving factual information about the case. It wasn't long before we received a letter from the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Turkmenian Republic announcing that the buildings were being restored to the schools. The letter was in the 'After *Izvestia* Published an Article' column.

*Komsomolskaya Pravda*

*Komsomolskaya Pravda* is the daily newspaper of the Young Communist League. With a national circulation of 6½ million, it has been a pace-setter in the transformation of the Soviet press. It also takes a lead in the discussion of questions involving youth and education. The special task of the paper, said one of the editors,

is to assist in the education of the young generation in the spirit of Communist morality. Sooner or later all major problems confronting the youth of our nation, even such philosophical questions as the meaning of life, nature of morality, life under Communism, receive critical attention in our columns. We make a point of printing dissenting or minority opinions and comments by readers and specialists on these subjects.

The major editorial departments are propaganda, Komsomol life, (including local sections), education (including a section for primary and secondary schools and another for higher education), sports, literature and arts, international news, science and technology, and letters.

The department of letters is again the largest. The number of letters received was reported to be between 200,000 and 400,000 a year. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* prides itself on its ability to cut through red tape and 'get things done,' a deputy editor told us. He said:

When some of our readers write in to say that certain authorities in certain places are not attentive to the needs of young people, that's enough for us to send one of our correspondents to investigate the matter quietly. The purpose is to see what the problem is and to try to solve it. We write a story about it only if it is a common problem or if there is no other way to bring about a solution.

When we write a story it's not to create a sensation but to get results. We do that only after we've exhausted other avenues. Actually, the power of our paper is great and we seldom have to resort to exposure. But when we have to do it we will not be intimidated. We follow each case through to the end; this is our obligation to readers.

The education department unites its school and higher education sections under a single head. The work of a network of outside correspondents and contributors is co-ordinated by a headquarters staff of four newsmen in the schools section and three in the higher education section.

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'Our reputation is based on following through on all letters,' the editor told us. 'Many of these are, of course, stimulated by our own published letters or articles, or through correspondence. Some deal with the same subjects and problems. For these we prepare form replies. Others are kept for personal reply by a member of our staff, or for referral to a qualified specialist. Every writer has the right to demand a reply by a knowledgeable and responsible person, or an investigation by the press. This is a Party decision which we follow.' The editor cited a criminal case as a notable example:

We received a letter [said the editor] charging a school director in Kazakhstan with selling certificates to people who did not complete their courses of study. We sent our regional correspondent to investigate. Before we could receive his story, the school director sent us an indignant wire denouncing our correspondent as a liar. Next we sent one of our headquarters staff. An article was written on the basis of a thorough investigation and led to an official charge against the director. He was found guilty.

The editor also recalled an instance of opposition to official state policy involving the establishment of agricultural high schools. 'We argued that such schools should be attached to state farms,' he said. 'We saw no need to teach agriculture in city schools. The State Commission opposed us and argued its case through our pages. The Minister of Education visited us privately. But we persisted until the official policy was reversed.'

Not all published letters deal with weighty matters of state. A Club of Young Naturalists in a high school in Novosibirsk shared its 'secrets' of raising sweet corn with clubs of other schools (all of which have an experimental plot). A young woman from Moscow wrote that her husband resented the fact that while he was in military service she acquired a higher education. 'I have finally left my husband,' she declared. 'Tell me, am I not right?' Within a few days thousands of replies debated the pros and cons of her case.

The question of school reform had occupied much space and attention. An editor described the purposes of the discussion:

This discussion was essential because the law only set the general outlines; the details had to be developed from practical experience, and experiences had to be shared and discussed as broadly as possible. Not all schools were prepared for polytechnic education, and certainly not all places of work were prepared. There were problems of organisation, of training, of time and place, and of relationships between the school and factory or farm — many problems, many difficulties! We were the first to raise many of the questions, point out mistakes, and stimulate discussion.

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*Pionerskaya Pravda*

*Pionerskaya Pravda* is the central organ and one of some 24 newspapers published by the Young Pioneers, an organisation of 18 million boys and girls between ages 10 and 15. A professional staff of nearly a hundred writes and edits the two-colour illustrated tabloid.

The major departments of the paper are Pioneer life; schools and education; Pioneer culture and sports; science and technology; literature and the arts; humour; illustrations; sport news; and letters. The last is again the largest department occupying the time of about one-third of the headquarters staff.

The department of letters is divided into regional sections headed by persons who know their area and maintain personal contact with many letter writers. The letters published in the newspaper deal with children's friendships, boy-girl relationships, family problems, and an endless variety of school and other experiences, difficulties, achievements. Said the editor:

I must say that it is sobering to have the day-by-day experience of selecting these letters and watching the response to them. Some time ago we published a letter from a boy in the Ukraine who wrote: 'When I look at the map and see that there are no more blank areas on it I get discouraged. What can we explore, what can we do that's really exciting when we grow up?' You should have seen the tongue-lashing he received from our readers. Another letter from a boy in the Ukraine asked, in effect, why study when we are guaranteed a job anyway? Over 6,000 replies came from children and adults. We selected the most interesting and varied responses for publication.

All letters receive some sort of answer. It is often a routine reply developed for certain types of common queries or comments. But many require special attention. These are sent to the departments most closely related to the problem raised, or sometimes to outside educators, psychologists, or other specialists who agree to reply to them.

The department of letters is also a centre of organisational work. It maintains contact with Pioneer groups and other youth clubs, and arranges programmes and visits with artists, with actors of the children's theatres, famous athletes, brigades of Communist labour, scientists, cosmonauts, etc.

As on other mass circulation newspapers, editorial work in the strict sense is only a part — and sometimes the smaller part — of the duties of the staff. The editor explained:

Last summer we sponsored vacation tours for 5 million children. We

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also organised a meeting of 2,000 children from all parts of the country held in the Carpathian mountains. I am now going to Bulgaria to a meeting of editors of children's newspapers from various socialist countries to arrange an international sports competition. The best teams will go to Bulgaria to live in an international children's camp. We also visit schools and maintain contact with teachers' and parents' organisations.

If you asked me whether I consider myself primarily a journalist or an educator, I cannot answer easily. I am graduate of a pedagogical institute and my first profession was that of a teacher. Later I attended the Faculty of Journalism and worked as a journalist. Now I combine the two and see no conflict between them. But if you ask me to look deeper inside myself, I must say that I cannot help being basically a teacher. I think that's how we all feel, even those who are only journalists by training and have never taught school.

That feeling is simply an outcome of the way we conceive our work. True, the ability to write well and interestingly is a basic requirement. But most of our time is not spent polishing our style. Most of our time is spent with children, parents, teachers, Pioneer groups and clubs at the schools. That's why we feel we are organisers and educators rather than only journalists in the narrow sense. In general, our main task is to help youngsters choose the aims of life according to the best experience of our society. We want to show them the values of love of labour, of nature, and of deep personal friendships.

We asked the school editor for examples of specific editorial problems at hand. She opened some folders lying on her desk, and explained as she leafed through their contents.

Often a school would call and ask us to look into a problem. Here I was invited to a meeting of the teachers of a new boarding school, one that has not yet developed its own traditions. The reason they invite somebody from *Pionerskaya Pravda* is that they know we have as much or more experience in handling these problems as any pedagogical expert.

The problem is that there is too much friction at the school and the children have not developed friendship circles. I try to bring to these teachers the experience of other schools. First of all, I thought that the teachers' attitude itself was not friendly and warm, and without that nothing will succeed. Also, they have not involved the senior pupils in their planning.

Another 'case' is a scrap metal collection project the Pioneers have been conducting. Pioneer leaders wrote us that this would be much easier if they knew what this metal was going into so that the children would have a concrete idea of the usefulness of their efforts. We found out that some of the scrap metal goes into the building of a new railroad bridge on the Siberian railway. We reported the building of that railroad bridge in picture and story. It was a successful feature and made the Pioneer brigades very proud of their work.

The third file contains a letter from a worker who writes that when he asks children what communism means they say that it means that life will be free and easy and nobody will work any more. He writes that this disturbs him very much. Children should not grow up with this idea because there will still be many needs in our country and in the world and as long as people are in need anywhere work should be considered a noble and necessary part of life, not an evil thing. His style is poor, but he has good ideas. It is possible that in time he will become one of our regular correspondents. To be absolutely honest, however, I must tell you that the correspondents most popular with our readers are

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usually the great athletes and cosmonauts whose names are known to every school child.

Experience in teaching, skill in journalism, and familiarity with Pioneer life are qualifications not easily found in one person. A new staff member is usually assigned to an experienced colleague for an apprenticeship of a year or more. This, in the words of the editor, is what is expected of him :

There will be perhaps two or three missions before he is to write anything. Some of these will take him to distant parts of the country and may take several weeks. He observes and assists his experienced colleague. He learns how to interview children, learns about the problems of Pioneer life and about children and schools across the country.

After each mission he participates in a staff discussion. The lessons and experiences of the mission are discussed, evaluated: what are the problems, what are the prospects and difficulties, how could the newspaper help? He can write any time he is ready. But he is expected to keep in close contact with his senior colleague and with the people and the situations he writes about.

At one point during his first year the new staff member will decide on a theme or mission of his own. By now he is aware of the most urgent problems. We encourage him to develop his own theme and mission. In addition to the tasks of common concern, we encourage each staff member to develop a speciality — nature, study, animals, fairy tales, some aspect of science or art, etc. He can go anywhere and take as long as he needs. When he comes back he can have the time and assistance to do a good job.

What do we mean by a 'good job?' It's definitely *not* the number of stories or words written. I think I can best characterise it as a quality of involvement. His involvement in the lives and problems of children will have a 'multiplying effect' on the sense of involvement of our readers. It will evoke comments and contributions. It will lead to an exchange of ideas. Soon our new staff member develops a style of his own which helps readers to communicate with each other all over the country, which is the important thing. What he writes will be a *catalyst*, so to speak. I think that is what we mean by a 'good job'.

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Comprehensive planning, public management, and directed change are dominant features of Soviet institutional life. Schools and press are both educational instruments and agencies of reform. Client relationships centre in major public organisations. Resource-allocation functions are performed by government planning committees, regional economic councils, and the State Planning Commission. These organisations collect recommendations from all enterprises, reconcile local and national needs and special interests, and allocate monies in accordance with priorities embodied in Party programmes and approved by the Supreme Soviet.

The editors interviewed on Soviet papers were probably Party members and certainly trusted communicators for official organs.

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They spoke with the authority of personal involvement not only in media policy-making but also in the life of the institutions they were to represent in their papers, and in the lives of their readers. Press officers of educational organisations and teachers' unions were their regular correspondents. Officials of the Ministry and of the Party (or its specialised organisations) were their clients and supervisors in what appeared to be common effort.

A single overall perspective and a sense of mission was characteristic of the Soviet newsmen. Three major institutional factors appeared to mark their relationships to the schools. First, since economic conflicts are not reflected in special interests competing for attention in the press, a major aspect of work and coverage common to Western (especially U.S.) newsmen is absent from the Soviet press. Secondly, most media clients are public organisations related to one another through the Party and government, and have educational functions not divorced from those of the schools. Third, most media are authoritative organs involved in making as well as interpreting policy, and are charged with some responsibility for implementing policy. Therefore, some newsmen spend as much or more time on the field organising or trying to get things done as they spend in the newsroom.

### *Toward an Institutional Perspective*

These accounts of practices and views of mass communicators in four countries were intended to illustrate some types of pressures as seen by the communicators themselves. The illustrations were limited to the press, and focused on relationships involving another social institution, public education. These limitations directed attention to specific historical and social situations. Other media, other subjects, might have revealed different facets of institutional pressures. The final task of this paper is, therefore, to suggest an analytical scheme and terminology which might permit more systematic, diversified, and generalisable observations. Such observations could then form the basis of a theory of institutional behaviour in mass communication.

The reason for going about theory building in this way instead of adopting a ready-made scheme is the simple belief that we must try to get closer to the facts than normative theorists have done. A priori typologies have a built-in cultural bias which may prevent rather than enhance an examination of the premises and the often loaded termin-

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ology upon which they are based. In *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, *et.al.* 1963), for example, the authors analysed mass media structures, policies, and purposes according to 'authoritarian,' 'libertarian,' 'social responsibility,' and 'Soviet communist' orientations. Another typology was developed by Raymond Williams (1962) who distinguished between 'authoritarian,' 'paternal,' 'commercial,' and 'democratic' press systems, the latter being free of all controls except those of the active contributors — writers, artists, journalists. Useful as these prescriptive labels might be for evaluative purposes, they are not necessarily the best instruments for the *discovery* of comparative power, value and function. Some studies (e.g. Gerbner 1961, 1964A) suggest that any message system produced by an institutional source, commercial as well as overtly partisan, has some ideological orientations implicit in selection, emphasis, treatment. Other research, such as that by Warren Breed (1960), Pool and Shulman (1964), David Manning White (1964), and Walter Gieber (1960, 1964), showed that most newsmen respond to the pressures and expectations of the newsroom (including 'what the boss will think') more than to any generalised concept of readership or public interest. A recent study of U.S. publisher influence on newsroom decisions (Bowers, 1967) found three out of four active in directing news decisions, with publisher influence greatest in news of the immediate market area and in subjects which might affect the revenue of the paper. Any enterprise may appear relatively 'free' from the point of view of those who run it. But in a more general sense, all mass production, including that of messages, is 'managed'; selective suppression is the other side of the mass communication coin. The question is by whom, for what aims, by what methods, and with what effects.

What we are really concerned with in such analysis is the institutional distribution and exercise of power. To be sure, individuals may possess power due to personality, talent, competence, conviction and other traits, but we may assume that these are similarly (even if not evenly) distributed in any large population. At any rate, we are concerned with the systematic exercise of powers that reside in institutional roles or relationships to centres of power. These roles and relationships form the network and flow of powers that define the scope of the mass communicator's tasks (his 'freedom'), guide his attention, and limit his choices. A scheme designed to analyse this process needs to identify such power roles (or centres), suggest some sources of their

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powers, and specify those functions that affect what media communicators communicate. (Power and its application becomes relevant to this scheme only as they affect, directly or indirectly, what is being communicated to mass media publics.) Such an attempt is summarised on Figure 1. The nine 'powers' listed have been divided into two

**FIGURE 1**  
Major power roles, sources, and functions affecting mass communicator decisions

<i>Power roles</i>	<i>Typical sources of power</i>	<i>Typical functions</i>
<i>Internal to media</i>		
1. CLIENTS	Resources for investment, subsidy	Specify conditions for supply of capital, facilities, operating funds
2. SUPERVISORS	Organisational hierarchy	Formulate policies and supervise implementation
3. COLLEAGUES	Solidarity	Set standards; protection
4. COMPETITORS	Scarcity	Set standards; vigilance
5. AUXILIARIES	Services	Supply, distribution, access
<i>External to media</i>		
6. AUTHORITIES	Legislation and enforcement	Regulate the social order, including communications
7. ORGANISATIONS	Appeal to authorities, interests, and publics for support or protection	Demand favourable attention
8. EXPERTS	Specialised knowledge	Impart information, skills, set standards
9. PATRONS	Attend to media messages	Form publics that patronise media

general categories; those internal to the corporate or other structure of the mass communication organisation by virtue of contractual, professional, or logistical relationships; and those external to the media but related in other specific capacities. A brief explanation of power roles, sources, and functions follows.

1. *Clients* are those who invest in or subsidise media operations from which they derive some benefits. They may be banks, advertisers, other business entrepreneurs or corporations, political parties, civic organisations, religious or military bodies, or governments. Clients

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must specify conditions for media support. Therefore, client interests permeate the climate of communicator decision-making, structure his relationship to communicators working for other clients, and affect his approach toward other interests. In our examples of the relationships between the press and education, the alternatives of institutional conflict, co-operation, and co-optation (or some of each), as defined by client interests, dominated the tasks of mass communicators.

2. *Supervisors* are executives, managers, administrators who make up the chain of command within the media organisations and who formulate and implement policies that will respond to the terms of client support. Public patronage (which will be discussed later) is usually a requirement for such support but the quantity and 'quality' of patronage that will satisfy client (and supervisory) expectations varies widely. Supervisors select and engage mass communicators, define their tasks, and monitor their performance. The autonomy of the communicator in the organisation's chain of command depends on the supervisor's definition of his tasks, on his past value to the organisation, on the professionalisation of his field, and on the solidarity of his colleagues.

3. *Colleagues* we define for purposes of this scheme as communicators whose professional status, sense of direction or standards, and solidarity with one another can make demands or impose sanctions upon a member of the group, or protect him from pressure by others.

4. *Competitors* are other professionals or media whose independent claims on scarce resources (time, talent, novelty, recency, markets) can exert significant leverage on communicator performance.

5. *Axiliaries* provide services that are necessary to or can augment the communicator's ability to perform his tasks, or affect the ways in which he performs his tasks. They are distributing organisations, networks, and syndicates; suppliers of raw materials and logistical services; wholesale and retail outlets; relevant manufacturing and trade concerns, associations, unions; the holders of patents, copyrights or other property rights.

6. *Authorities* possess legal powers to enact and enforce demands or impose sanctions upon communicators. Legislative, executive, judicial bodies, regulatory commissions, public administrators, the police, and the military have such authority. When they do, authorities assume rights clients ordinarily have, but may impose sanctions (such as for criminal acts) that other clients cannot. (Authorities may also

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depend on the support of communicators for much of their authority; the 'regulated' have been known to regulate the regulators.)

7. *Organisations* may be public or private or mixed. They include manufacturing and service enterprises as well as political, religious, civic, trade, or labour groups and voluntary associations. Some sort of organisational visibility is a virtual requirement for public patronage and support. The organisational life of a society, and the relationships of organisations and special interest groups to authorities and clients have a major impact on the context of pressures in which mass communicators work. The interviews cited in this paper illustrate how mass communicators working for different clients respond to a public organisation (schools) in three countries.

8. *Experts* may be defined as those who possess special knowledge or skills that affect communicator performance. They are researchers, educators, critics, subject matter specialists, and other informants.

9. *Patrons*, finally, are those to whom media messages are addressed and who attend to these messages. They buy, read, listen to, or view the works of mass communicators. They form those loose social structures whose members share a community of meaning and perspective even though they may never have any other contact with one another. The creation and cultivation of such *publics* is the main social function of mass media. Public patronage is necessary to their existence even if often not sufficient to their economic survival. The quantity and 'quality' of public patronage or attention determine the value — and price — of the media's service to their clients. Therefore, the necessity for cultivating some patronage and for gratifying some expectations of a public of some substance is a prime task of mass communicators. These necessities and all other constraints set the limits of acceptability within which mass media communicators attempt to make decisions most congenial to themselves and most responsive to supervisory and client expectations.

Having defined some power roles, sources, and functions, it now remains to specify the mechanics by which power is applied. Here again we should distinguish between the multitude of psychological, social, and cultural influences that may affect or persuade communicators, and the exercise of some *leverage* through power rooted in the structure of institutional and social relations. Such leverage first leads to a demand that the communicators do or not do such and such. The demand may be *ad hoc*, i.e. pertaining to a particular type of message,

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subject, or policy. When a system of do's and don'ts is to be regularly applied, it is usually *codified* (as in codes, regulations, and laws).

The second aspect of leverage is what happens if the do's and don'ts are not satisfactorily observed. If nothing happens, there is no exercise of power (or no power) and hence there has been little or no leverage behind the demand in the first place. What lends force to the leverage is the ability to apply *sanctions*. Sanctions may be *substantive* if they pertain to the substance or content of the communication itself, as in the order to revise or omit (or print) a story, delete a scene, withhold necessary information, or jam a broadcast. Or sanctions may be *logistical* if they pertain to the procedure by which communication is created, as in revoking a permit or licence, firing or blacklisting a communicator, or in subjecting him or his superiors to discriminatory taxation or rates, or to strikes, boycotts, imprisonment, etc. The list of examples may readily be extended by considering the type of leverage (demand or sanction, or both) each power role and source can exercise.

Our interviews illustrate some of these. Public organisations such as U.S. school boards may exercise some leverage in the press if they confide information potentially harmful to them but useful to their business clients, and let the newsmen decide what the 'public has a right to know.' In exchange, they may demand both routine visibility and favourable treatment much of the time. Their only sanctions are withholding information (substantive) or excluding newsmen (logistical), both of which risk charges of 'suppression' and 'secrecy'. The more active role of national authority in education in England, and the greater ideological differentiation of the press in France, increase possibilities of selective leverage. Interlocking responsibilities in the Soviet system, culminating in the Party and government, combine power roles in such a way that authorities and organisations become clients using leverage to implement policies of which the media are organs and interpreters. Communicators are, therefore, charged with special responsibilities for achieving credibility and organising effectiveness by involving patrons as colleagues, auxiliaries, and experts, 'unleashing the initiative from below,' and being generally attentive to the views of their publics.

While analytically distinct, obviously neither power roles nor types of leverage are in reality separate and isolated. On the contrary, they often combine, overlap, and telescope in different configurations. The

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accumulation of power roles and possibilities of leverage give certain institutions dominant positions in the mass communication of their societies.

This paper has attempted to look at some aspects of the institutional process in mass communications from the communicators' point of view, and then to propose a scheme for the more systematic observation of pressures upon mass communicators. Such observation is necessary for the development of a comprehensive theory of mass communication which also includes message analysis and the study of the relationships between social structure, institutional process, image formation, and public policy. The ultimate purpose is not mere description. It is, rather, to illuminate the complex web of power roles that governs the collective image-making of a culture. The goal is to discover how that web is woven into the fabric of institutional relationships, and to grasp, for the first time, the dynamics of leverage that move communicators and through them modern society.

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