public, public sphere, public opinion

and news, newspapers, and "newspaper information"

concepts of information, Feb 9 & 14.
the long view

1. the public sphere, news, newspaper: 17c

2. transformation: 18c - to internet
   news and information

3. exercise:
   public opinion & information

4. information and the state

5. information and organization
   information technology

6. objectivity and the press - 19c
shorter view

TODAY
opinion and news
Habermas & Calhoun
the 'news'

TUESDAY
transformation,
information, informed public in 18c
In the course of the year, we will hear claims that "The American people/Republican Party/Democratic Party/People of the great state of ... has or have spoken ...", or that "Public opinion is clear that ...", etc. Pick a particularly interesting or egregious recent claim of this sort and analyze the evidence (or lack of) for the claim, the likely function of the claim, and the applicability of Habermas's argument and/or conceptions of information that we have been discussing to what is going on with such claims. Consider, in particular, Poster's argument, and ask what differences the Internet has introduced to the newspaper-based world that Habermas describes. If we can assume that an idea of a public sphere was important to how we conceived of our polity, is such an idea still tenable?
"The challenge of a historically located social category ... not an ideal type." xvii

"the object that public-opinion research was to study dissolved into something elusive; nevertheless sociology has refused to abandon altogether these categories; it continues to study public opinion." 1

"this history of words preserved traces of this momentous shift" 26
"auctoritas, non veritas facit legem"

"For the Actions of Men proceed from the Opinions, and in the well-governing of Opinions, consisteth the well-governing of Men's Actions in order to their Peace and Concord"

Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651
NoTHING appears more surprizing to those, who consider human affairs with a philosophical eye, than the easiness with which the many are governed by the few; and the implicit submission, with which men resign their own sentiments and passions to those of their rulers. When we enquire by what means this wonder is effected, we shall find, that, as FORCE is always on the side of the governed, the governors have nothing to support them but opinion. It is therefore, on opinion only that government is founded; and this maxim extends to the most despotic and most military governments, as well as to the most free and most popular."

--Hume, "Of the First Principles of Government," 1741
"National conduct ought to be the result of national wisdom, a plan formed by mature consideration and diligent selection out of all the schemes which may be offered and all the information which can be procured."

--Samuel Johnson, *Idler* 8, 1751
"[Mr Courtney] said, that in every government of a mixed or popular form, the middle rank of people were those whose voice ought to be more especially attended to. They were the true echo of the nation. This was an observation that indeed carried an appearance of truth and plausibility, but experience proved it to be totally fallacious. The sense of the people, or great body of the nation, was, in HIS [ie CJF's] opinion, the true criterion by which Public Opinion could be fairly determined."

--Charles James Fox, House of Commons, 1781
"The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them."

--Thomas Jefferson to Edward Carrington, 1787. ME 6:57
"The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors. He who reads nothing will still learn the great facts, and the details are all false."

--Thomas Jefferson to John Norvell, 1807. ME 11:225
"the classical bourgeois public sphere of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was constituted around rational critical argument"

--Calhoun, "Habermas and ..."

"Before anything can be reasoned upon to conclusion, certain facts, principles, or data to reason from must be established, admitted, or denied."

--Paine, Rights of Man, 1794
"Information is an advantage to us; and we have a right to demand it. He that is bound to act in the dark cannot be said to act freely. ... Reason clearly and manfully delivered, has in itself a mighty force: but reason in the mouth of legal authority, is, I may fairly say, irresistible."

--Burke Two Letters .. on the Proposals for Peace, 1797
"[P]ostal services and the press institutionalized regular contacts and regular communication. [Earlier, merchant networks of news had no] stake in information that was public... there existed a press in the strict sense only once the regular supply of news became public ... at the end of the seventeenth century. Until then the traditional domain of communication in which publicity of representation held sway was not fundamentally threatened by the new domain of the public sphere whose decisive mark was the published word."
"[T]he traffic in news developed not only in connection with the needs of commerce; the news itself became a commodity. Commercial news reporting was therefore subject to the laws of the same market to whose rise it owed its existence ... it was therefore natural to increase the profits by selling to more people."
politics and the marketplace

a continuing story?
TO THE PUBLIC.

Tax undesign, SAMUEL COLT and WILLIAM ROBINSON, are the proprietors of the right to construct and use exclusively the ELECTRO-MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH, invented by PROFESSOR SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, from New York City, to any point or points on the shores of Long Island and New Jersey.

We have already succeeded in crossing the bed of the East River at Hurlgate with our Telegraph wires in a leader tube, and have completed and put into successful operation a line of Telegraph as far as the lower Bay, for Commercial purposes, and deserving of great importance to our City, not only in a commercial, but in a humane point of view, that these lines be extended, at as early a period as possible, along the entire coast of Long Island to Montauk Point, and along the New Jersey Coast, to the Capes of Delaware, making Stations and Observatories at prominent points, such as the Highlands of Never Sink, Squash Beach, Barnegat and Cape May, on the New Jersey shores, at Rockaway Shores, Fire Island Inlet, and Montauk Point, on the shores of Long Island, and such other places, on both shores, where there are inlets or dangerous shoals, as may be found necessary, keeping at the several Stations suitable Life, Surf, and other Boats, for the purpose of rendering all the relief possible to vessels in distress, saving of life, property, &c.

By the aid of instantaneous communication over the Electric Telegraph to the City, not only the orders of master and shipper can be told and relief furnished sooner than by any other means, but when not thus employed, and with the aid of suitable News Boats, all vessels from Foreign ports of later dates can be boarded and news of interest and importance to the Commercial community be send to the city in all weathers, night and day, with the quickness of thought. With a Boating establishment properly arranged at the outer stations, an Atlantic Steamer can be boarded and all her news of importance sent over the line of Telegraph hours before it can be known in New York by any other means that she is even on our coast. A Packet Ship may often be reported days before her arrival in our harbor.

In consequence of the amount of Capital requisite to carry out the above purposes being greater than the undesignated proprietors of the Telegraph have at their disposal, they applied to the Legislature of this State and have obtained a charter for a Joint Stock Association, with $100,000 capital, to complete said lines of Telegraph, Boating Establishment, &c., and they feel warranted in assuring, that, independent of the great relief such an association may be to the distressed voyagers, a judicious employment of commercial news furnished by this means, will, at an early day, not only pay all expenses and cost of constructing the several lines, but, holding, as it does, the keys of trade of the greatest commercial city on the continent, must soon pay large dividends on the stock.

The cost of constructing the lines of Telegraph in a suitable manner will amount to $150 per mile, and can be completed at all the points proposed to be reached, before cold weather, if commenced at an early day. The amount of revenue to the establishment, when in full operation, will be immense: all vessels which arrive on the coast within the limits of these lines, is proposed to be boarded immediately, and report the news brought by them over the lines of Telegraph to this city. It is the custom for owners and consignees of vessels to pay a small premium to the parties first reporting the arrival of their vessel off the Harbor; the revenue from this source, estimating the amount of shipping which arrives annually at 800,000 tons, and allowing that only one-half a cent per ton is paid, would amount to $3,000.

This Newspaper Press of this city keep affort, in all, five news-boats for collecting commercial news in the Lower Bay, at a cost of about $1,200 each—making in all $7,500. This duty will all be done by the Telegraph news-boats quite as correctly, and seif over the lines of Telegraph with greater dispatch than by any other means.

The income from subscribers to our news-room is at present at the rate of $10,000 per annum, and may be greatly increased when the lines are extended to more distant points. We may safely calculate upon having this amount increased to $20,000, as every person desiring early information from abroad must become a subscriber, and consult the Books of this room.

The income from owners of Vessels and Insurance Offices for assistance rendered in distress—for early information gives them of such facts—for saving property from wrecks, must every year be considerable, and may amount at times to very large sums of money; other sources of revenue, such as private communications over the line from the various stations, may be added to the above estimates; but the great and principal source from which a profit will be derived, will be the Correspondence formed with Commercial Houses and the Newspaper Press in all parts of the Union, being contemplated to dispatch all important information in every direction where persons will subscribe and pay for it. It is evident that the system of Telegraphing news is destined to supersed,

in a great degree, the publication of commercial newspapers in this city and other Northern cities. Who in New Orleans, for instance, would subscribe to New York newspapers, and wait eight or ten days for the receipt of commercial news brought by an Atlantic steamer, when they can be in possession of it in as many minutes by our Telegraphic Correspondence. We beg leave to state, in this connection, that contracts have already been made for constructing a continuous line to New Orleans, and in twelve or eighteen months it will be finished and in operation.

The Offering Telegraph Association, having exclusively all the Foreign news brought to this port either by ship or steamer, can instantly dispatch the same over the other Telegraphs to every city in the Union where the lines extend.

"news on paper"

or news off paper

Colt & Morse, 1846
news off paper?
"Stéphane Van Damme has identified at least 12,112 articles concerning the public sphere in the Eighteenth Century alone."

--Jacob Stoll, *The Information Master*, 2010
"Habermas's Öffentlichkeit is one of those German words that can be both sociological (meaning the public as a group of persons) or philosophical (meaning making something public—the airing of an idea). When Chartier ran into it in translation, however, it had become spatial ... as Öffentlichkeit hardened into "space" or "sphere," the metaphor lost its suppleness. It became reified and lost much of the meaning that Habermas had infused in it."

TODAY

opinion and news

Habermas & Calhoun

the 'news'

TUESDAY

transformation, information, informed public in 18c
getting the news on paper

conceptions of new(s)
from adjective to substantive
new account to news

from particularistic to general
"these news" to "the news" (cp "these informations")

from spoken or written to printed
"the news" to "the newspaper"

institutionalized
"BBC can report ...
""what's on the news?"
new to news

[Brant,] Nevve fassions and disguised garments, 1509

new editions, ... new additions, new plays, ..
also new laws, rules, treaties, recipes

Hevy newes of an horrLyble earthquake, 1542
personal accounts

... some news of you ...

... what newes they hath brought of her...

... of newes hastily he doeth enquire ...

La Sale, 15 Joyes of maryage,

<Wynkyn de Worde> 1509
good news

religious

News out of heaven, 1541

[? first book with news in title?]

the need for novelty?

"Salvation in Christ is no newes, but a thyng prophecyed"

--Epistle of Peter, Bible [Coverdale] 1535
political character

"... news of the takyng of the kynge ..."

"... news of the countrey ..."

"... news out of straunge places ..."

"... upon these news the king ..."

--Froissart, *Chronicles*, 1525
"news ... at which

"Upon the news hereof, the Emperor desisted ...

"Upon the news whereof, the king sends ...

"Upon news of ... Queen Elizabeth forsaketh the Tower

"This news being brought ... caused king Henry to...

"Certain news came...Whereupon, the Queens Army was dismissed...

"News was brought him...with which he was so moved, that he swore...

---Richard Baker, Chronicle, 1643
political character

with fals antecedents ...

"it is comaunded that from hensforth none be so hardy to tell or publyshe any false news or [tales?] whereby discord or sklaunder may [ ] betwen the kyng and his people ....

Statutes of Edward III, [1327], 1534
Edward VI, 1551

A proclamacion, set furth by the Kynges Maiestie, with the advise of His Highnes moste honorable counsail, for the reformation of vagabondes, tellers of newes, sowers of sedicious rumours, players, and printers without license & diuers other disordred persons, the xxviii. day of April in the v. yere of His Highnes most prosperous reigne, [London?] : Richardus Grafton, tpyographus Regius excudebat, M.D. LI.
"ye Lord Marques, Gouernor, sent Don Diego de Almagro to the new citie of S. Mighel, & there to take information of certaine newes which was certified vnto him, which was, how Don Pedro de Aluarado, Gouernour of Guatimalla, had taken shipping to come into Peru.

-- Zarate, Discoveries and Conquest of Peru, 1581

"The King scarce believing the News at first, upon better Information, ..."

Brady, Continuation ... History of England, 1700
new news (and old info)

these Gentlemen talk of being surprized, and that this is the first time they have heard of this Information, but have we told any news in this Information? Was not all that is contained in it, notoriously enough known before?

-- Sancroft, *Proceedings & Tryal*, 1689
China  *tipao* [Han Dynasty, 202 bce]

Rome  *Acta Diurna* [131 bce]

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**Venice:** *Notizie Scritte* [bought for a "gazetto"] 1556

**Netherlands:** *Nieuwe Tydinghe*, 1605
--weekly from 1617 and thrice weekly from 1621

**Frankfurt:** *Frankfurter Postzeitung*, 1615

**England:** *Coranto or Weekly Newes*, 1622

**France:** *Gazette de France* 1631

**Turin:** *Successi del mondo*, 1645

**Leipzig:** *Einkommendeg Zeitung*, daily 1650

**Spain:** *Gaceta Nueva*, monthly, daily 1661
(earlier, incidental 16c *relaciones*, several produced for Americas)

**British America:** *Publick Occurrences*, 1690

**Russia:** *Vedomosti*, 35 x per year, 1702
distinguishing "news"

truth
fact
speculation
comment
opinion
rumour
gossip
hoax
misinformation (1575)
falsehood

news &
information

Tuesday, February 14, 2012
establishing "the news"

**seriality**

**periodicity**  
periodical, journal, daily, weekly, monthly, annual

**currency**  
courant, post

**voice, independence**  
intelligence(r), informer, observer, spectator, guardian

**source**  
Lloyd's News, Defoe's Review ...

**completeness**  
full, complete, entire
The Continuation of our Newes, from the 4. to the 15. of this instant:
Containing amongst other things, those particulars,
A great overthrow given to the King of Persia by the Turkes.

A Letter written by the King of Sweden, being a second manifestation of his proceeding, & the reasons thereof, with several passages concerning Germany, and of the Administrators of Hall, his preparation and success in, and near Magdenburg.

The valour and courage of the Protestants in Bohemia, in resisting the tyranny of the Imperialists over their conscience.

Some late passages of the King of Denmarke, and those of Hamburg, and of his good successe against the Hamburgers, and others.

A Continuation of the Diverse Occurrences and proceedings of the English Army against the Rebels in Ireland,
From the first of Aprill, to this present. 1642.

Certified by severall Letters from Dublin, Duncannon Fort, and Carrickfergus Aprill the 15, and attested by Lieutenant Hussey, a Commander thence, and sent unto a worthy Gentleman in Westminster.

With some joyfull newes from Ireland, printed by order of the House of Commons:

London, Printed for Nathaniell Butter, and Nicholas Bourne. 1630.
"Irregularly published reports ... were not comparable to the routine production of news" -- Habermas

"There existed a press in the strict sense only once the regular supply of news became public"
THE FLYING POST

Numb. 1.

THE WESTERN INFORMER.

Containing the latest News from, and successfull proceedings of his Excellency, Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX his ARMIE.

And in particular (besides many other things) that Prince CHARLES, with many other Gentlemen, took shipping for France at Falmouth, March 1.

From a faithfull hand.

Published according to Order, and printed for Thomas Underhill.

March 7th. 1645.

A New News-Book: Or, Occurrences Foreign and Domestick, Imartially Related.

Published, for the clear satisfaction of all Foreigners and others, who desire to know the present state of the King's and Queen's Distress, in great dishonour to us English Nation. Have entered these weekly numbers.

The too many errors committed of late time, by the irregularity of the Press, which those black-wedded of the Parliament, in a great measure, have occasioned, which did run Weekly in several Clauses to the greatest part of England, in great dishonour to our English Nation. In order to prevent such errors, the following Gentlemen have been added to the Press, to edit and publish the News, according to the orders of the Parliament.

Thomas Underhill, Printer and Bookseller in the Temple, near the Star and Garter, is the person immediately interested in this Business. He has engaged the Press and paper in the Temple, and all the other necessary materials, to publish this News-Book, in order to prevent any further irregularities.

The News-Book is to be sold at the Star and Garter in the Temple, by Thomas Underhill, Printer and Bookseller.

London, March 7th.

The currency
I shall from time to time report and consider all matters of what kind soever that shall occur to me, and publish such my advices and reflections every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday in the week, for the convenience of the post. I resolve to have something which may be of entertainment to the fair sex, in honour of whom, I have invented the title of this paper.
... I should not have assumed the title of Guardian, had I not maturely considered, that the qualities necessary for doing the duties of that character, proceed from the integrity of the mind more than the excellence of the understanding. .... to be faithful, to be honest, to be just, is what you will demand in the choice of your Guardian ... the main purpose of the work shall be, to protect the modest, the industrious; to celebrate the wise, the valiant; to encourage the good, the pious; to confront the impudent, the idle; to contemn the vain, the cowardly; and to disappoint the wicked and profane. .... I shall publish in respective papers whatever I think may conduce to the advancement of the conversation of gentlemen, the improvement of ladies, the wealth of traders, and the encouragement of artificers
sources of information

"to publish some [matters] which / may tend to the Information of Mankind ..." [#24]

"the true End of Argument, which is Information" [#197]

"I invite all Persons who have anything to say for the profitable Information of the Publick, to take their Turns in my Paper" [#428:]

Spectator
seeking an audience

1688 Dyer's newsletter
from coffee house to country

"Dyer ... conducted his News-letter on a rather ingenious principle. The copies, instead of being written quite alike, were varied according to the tastes of the persons they were meant for. Previous to sending to a fresh Coffee House, he used to inquire what sort of people frequented it, and, on getting an answer, "would send such news as would fit them."
an open press

John Dunton 1669-1732

Athenian Gazette; or, Casuistical Mercury, resolving all the most nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious of either sex 1691-1696

a dialogue between readers and experts

"informing" and "correcting"

in league with the penny post
1665: Oxford (then) London Gazette

This day the first of the Oxford Gazettes come out, which is very pretty, full of news, and no folly in it, wrote by Williamson

--Samuel Pepys, Sept 4, 1663

in vogue

The Parliament being grown to that height of contempt, as to be gazetted among runaway servants, lost dogs, strayed horses, and highway robbers.

--Andrew Marvell, *Growth of Popery* 1678
news & commentary

1701, New Observer (Anne Baldwin)
1702, Observer (Tutchin)
1703, Daily Courant (Elizabeth Mallett)
1704, Review (Daniel Defoe)
1705, Post Boy (Abel Boyer; circulation about 3,000)
1708, British Apollo
1709, Tatler (Richard Steele; circulation about 3,000)
1710, Examiner (Henry St. John, Jonathan Swift)
1711, Spectator (Joseph Addison & Richard Steele)
1713, Guardian, Mercator, British Merchant
seventeenth century competition

"Any Londoner who wanted to read his newspaper in English had a dozen to choose from. On Monday he could select *A Perfect Diurnall, Certaine Informations*, or *Aulicus* ... Tuesday he had *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*; Wednesday, *The Weekly Account* or the newly revived *A Continuation* ... and Thursday a choice between *Britanicus* and *Civicus*. Friday brought forth three papers ... On Saturday the reader either acquired *The True Informer* or went newspaperless. On Sunday he rested."

Frank, *Beginnings of the English Newspaper*, 1961
This Intelligence, having gained reputation as well by its truth as honesty, some persons have maliciously printed another with the very same title, which can be done with no other design than either to discredit ours by their falsities, or else in hopes to vend them under our Title; Therefore we think fit to give notice, that the Counterfeit Currant Intelligence is printed for Allen Banks in Fetter Lane; but the true one for John Smith in great Queen Street, which for the future, to prevent mistakes, shall be called Smith's Currant Intelligence, etc. [April 26, 1681]
"[in 1709] there were six distinct publications to read .. on Monday, twelve on Tuesday, six on Wednesday, twelve on Thursday, six on Friday, and thirteen on Saturday."

Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, 1887
"On Saturdays during 1746 at least 45,000 papers were sold .... Allowing for the moderate estimate of ten readers per page ... a de facto readership of not far short of half-a-million." [London pop < 700,000]

"In 1780, estimated that 25,000 papers were produced each day."

Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, 1987
"workmen habitually begin the day by going to coffee-rooms in order to read the latest news"

--César de Saussure, 1726
too democratic?

"Lackeys, stable lads, odd-job men, gardeners and porters sit together and chatter about the news in the public prints... So they often think themselves better than the town mayor because they think they know a lot more than he does about every matter of state...."

Steiler, *The Pleasure and Utility of Newspapers*, 1695
"the greatest part of the people do not read books, most of them cannot read at all. But they will gather together about one that can read, and listen to an Obervator or Review ... where the principles of rebellion are instilled into them."

--Leslie, *The Rehearsal*, 1750
An Advertisement.

Being daily prest to the Publication of Books, Medicines, and other things, not properly the business of a paper of Intelligence. This is to notify once and for all, that we will not charge the Gazette with Advertisements, unless they be matter of State; but that a Paper of Advertisements will be forthwith Printed apart, and recommended to the Publick by another hand.
An Advertisement. The Commissioners Request may be put into the *Gazette*, That upon the Third day of *July* next, there will be sold at *Grocers-hall*, of Prize-goods, Wines, Brandies, Tobaccoes, and other Goods; and a considerable quantity of Spanish Salt; to be delivered at Dover.
Mr Whites house at the Cock and Bottle, Aldersgate-street, Egbertus Will, of the City of Utrecht, having, by the blessing of God, and his long experience therin, arrived to a great knowledge in curing many defects of Body; doth hereby give notice, that he is ready to undertake the said Cures of deformed Bodies, crooked Legs and Feet, wry Necks, and whatever of this Nature hath been formerly practiced by one Mr. Scot;
"All the public papers now on foot depend on advertisements."

-- Defoe, Review, 1705
"1754, the [Daily Advertiser] appeared in the format which was to be the standard for the English newspaper until The Times added a fifth column in 1808. Hence the Daily Advertiser may fairly be regarded as the first modern newspaper -- Morison
the news master

cabinet papers

London Gazette

Review
Examiner

Post-Boy
Mercator

in-house journalists
Defoe
Swift ...
the news masters?
It didn't take much vision to figure out that unlimited perfect copyability, with global reach and at zero marginal cost, was slowly transforming the printing press into a latter-day steam engine. And once that became obvious, we said so, over and over again, all the time. We said it in public, we said it in private. We said it when newspapers hired us as designers, we said it when we were brought in as consultants, we said it for free. We were some tiresome motherfuckers with all our talk about the end of news on paper. And you know what? The people who made their living from printing the news listened, and then decided not to believe us.

--Clay Shirky, boing boing, Dec 2008
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>36.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>15.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>6.9</td>
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<td>England</td>
<td>6.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Korea</td>
<td>6.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
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Sorry figures

USA Today: 2,284,219
Wall Street Journal: 2,284,219
New York Times: 1,077,256
Bent beds
boss’s
girl, 23

Tuesday, February 14, 2012

USA Today: 2,284,219
Wall Street Journal: 2,284,219
New York Times: 1,077,256
News of the World: 3,471,415
The Sun: 3,006,565
Daily Mail: 2,120,347
Daily Mirror: 1,218,425
India readership

Dainik Jagran: 54,254,000
Dainik Bhaskar: 33,432,000
Hindustan: 29,411,000
Amar Ujala: 28,720,000
Lokmat: 23,276,000
Daily Thanthi: 20,305,000
Dinakaran: 16,741,000
Ananda Bazar Patrika: 15,318,000
Eenadu: 14,726,000
Rajasthan Patrika: 14,205,000

http://rak.in/tags/business/2010/05/06/top-15-newspapers-india/
Japan circulation

Yomiuri: 14,067,000
Asahi: 12,121,000
Mainichi: 5,587,000
Nihon Keizai: 4,635,000
Chuchin Shimbun: 4,512,000
Tokyo Sports: 2,330,000

pop: 126,804,000
The Growth of Newspapers Across the U.S.: 1690-2011

1980’s
Mass Media
13947 listings

In 1982, USA Today debuted on newsstands across the country, declaring itself “the nation’s newspaper.” Delivered “via satellite” to printing plants nationwide, the paper revolutionized newspaper design with its lavish use of color, information graphics and brief, easy-to-read articles. Derided early on as a generic and superficial “McPaper,” USA Today would eventually earn the industry’s respect and, by 1993, 2 million readers. The New York Times, the Washington Post and other papers also pursued a national audience during a decade that saw the emergence of CNN and 24-hour cable TV news.

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digitally driven?

**Weak circulation**

Newspaper penetration per 100 households

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<td>Value</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
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<td>105</td>
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the road ahead?
Campaign News Sources: Internet, Cable Flat, Others Decline

Percent who regularly get campaign news from...

- 36 Cable news
- 32 Local TV news
- 26 Network news
- 25 Internet
- 20 Local paper

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 4-8, 2012.