Unit 7 Mass Communication

This unit deals focuses on the process of mass communication. Specifically it introduces students to the theoretical components of the mass communication process. It also addresses the social and cultural role of mass media, as well as the influence of economics and government on the media.

Learning Outcomes: Students who complete Unit 7 will be able to:
- explain the various components of mass communication
- discuss the role of mass media and its relationship with culture
- recognize the role of both economics and government in the mass media

Key Concepts for Unit 7
- Definition and conceptualization of mass communication
- Cultural and economic aspects of mass media
- History of mass media
- Regulation of mass media and various governance models

► Elements of Mass Communication

Mass communication is characterized by the transmission of complex messages to large and diverse audiences, using sophisticated technology of communication.

Mass media refers to the institutions that provide such messages: newspapers, magazines, television, radio, film and multimedia Web sites. The term also is used for the specific institutions of mass media, such as radio networks and television stations, movie companies, music producers, and the Internet.

Here are some distinguishing characteristics of mass communication.

- The source of mass communication message generally is a person or group operating within an organizational setting. Examples of these sources are news reporters, television producers and magazine editors. Likewise, the source generally is a multiple entity, and the resulting message is the work of several persons. For example, producers, writers, actors, directors and video editors all work together to create a television program. Publishers, reporters, editors, copyeditors, typesetters, graphic designers and photographers together produce a magazine article.

- Mass media messages are sophisticated and complex. Whereas the message in interpersonal communication may be simple words and short sentences, mass media messages are quite elaborate. Examples of mass media message are a news report, a novel, a movie, a television program, a magazine article, a newspaper columns, a music video, and a billboard advertisement.

- Channels of mass media, also called mass vehicles, involve one or more aspects of technology. Radio, for example, involves tape machines, microphones, devices that digitize sound waves, transmitters that disseminate them, and receiving units that decode the sound waves and render
them back into audio form approximating the original. Sometimes, as in the case of musical recording, the channel of mass communication may even enhance the sound quality of the original.

- **Audiences** generally are self-selected, people who tune in to a particular television or who read a particular magazine. Mass audiences also are heterogeneous, meaning that they are both large and diverse. They actually are made up of groups of people with dissimilar background, demographics, and socio-political characteristics; they are spread over a vast geographic area. Such audiences are brought together by a single shared interest in the particular message available through the mass medium. Message sources generally have only limited information about their audiences. Radio station managers may know audience demographics such as average ages, incomes, political interests, and so on, but they know little about the individual members of the audience. Indeed, one characteristic of mass media is that the audience members essentially remain anonymous.

- **Feedback** is minimal in mass media, and no real give-and-take is practically possible. Message flow typically is one-way, from source to receiver. Traditionally, feedback has been minimal and generally delayed. A newspaper reader could write a letter to the editor; a television viewer might respond to a survey. With the Internet, new possibility are being found to increase feedback, but it remains limited.

- Like other forms of mediated communication, **noise** exists in the mass context. Noise may be semantic, environmental or mechanical.

► **Role of Mass Media**

Historians note that communication is a hallmark of society; even pre-literate cultures communicated within themselves and occasionally with others. Various inventions have transformed communication into mass opportunities. Communication scholars and other researchers have looked at the function of mass communication within society. They identify four basic roles for the mass media: surveillance, interpretation, socialization and entertainment.

- **Surveillance** refers to the news and information role of mass media. This role can be subdivided into **warning surveillance** associated with the news media (information about pending threats such as floods, military attack, and depressed economic conditions) and **instrumental surveillance** associated with both news and popular media (transmission of useful information about news products, entertainment guides, stock market prices, etc.). Surveillance information also can come from books, films, television programs, and other types of literary culture that provides information on human issues. Information travels quickly via the electronic media. The benefit of this is instantaneous awareness; the disadvantage is that misinformation can travel just as quickly as accurate information, and speedy dissemination often means that accusations and supposed facts are not verified before they are transmitted.

- **Interpretation** is the function of mass media that provides a context for new information and commentary about its significance and meaning. Traditionally, newspapers provided such interpretation in their editorial and commentary sections, reserving news pages for supposedly neutral information. Reporting was said to be **objective**; that is, free from comment and interpretation. The idea was that reporters would offer factual information untainted by
commentary, and readers would decide for themselves the significance and meaning of that information. Such a quest for objectivity is less apparent today in newspapers, and the vast amount of television reporting seems to have blended the news-reporting and commentary functions. If interpretation is the function, **persuasion** is the motivation for the producers of such messages.

- The media also have a role in **socialization**, the transmission of values within a society, particularly the modeling of appropriate behavior and attitudes. The notion is that the mass media present images of society, which viewers then can learn and adopt for themselves. This in turn helps create a stable society with common social values. In its simplest form, the socialization role of the media gives people a common discussion topic: yesterday’s soccer match, the new popular movie. Television and film have the greatest potential for socialization because they seem to be the most realistic. They can be quite influential, particularly on young people; and images or role models of social behavior as well as fashion, grooming styles, and other aspects of social interaction can be presented through television and film. Their effectiveness is evident in the similarity of youth culture throughout the world, in which the only common influence is provided by the media. Teens and young adults in societies as diverse as Canada and Saudi Arabia, Taiwan and Finland have many common tastes in fashion, dancing, music, hair styles, and so on.

- **Entertainment** is a related function of mass media, sometimes called the **diversion** function because it diverts us from the real world. Entertainment always has been part of society, increasingly so in an age in which more people have a greater amount of leisure time. Through sound recordings, film, radio and television, entertainers have been able to attract audiences around the globe. Painters, sculptors and poets reach mass audiences through books and magazines. The entertainment function of the media has been subdivided into three categories: **stimulation** (as an antidote to boredom), **relaxation** (as part of an soothing and perhaps meditative environment), and **release** (as a means to safely express anger, hostility or fear). Sociologists have observed that a consequence of wide-spread availability of quality media entertainment is that it may function too well as a diversion. People are increasingly becoming spectators in music, sports, theater and so on. It is far easier and perhaps more fun to watch a soccer match on television played by world-class athletes and broadcast by top-notch camera operators than it is to actually work hard, practice often, and risk injury by personally participating in the game.

► **Mass Media Classifications**

Communication scholars have approached media studies from several different perspectives, each focusing on a different aspect of the media. This variety is helpful to gain a fuller understanding of mass media.

Canadian theorist **Marshall McLuhan** identified hot media and cool media on the basis of how much they engage the user and the intensity of a user’s connection with the medium. This distinction also deals with the duration of the relationship between the audience and the medium, and the level of audience participation needed to access information.

- **Hot media** require a high degree of thinking from media users, who have to fill in missing information from their own imagination. Examples of hot media are books and to a lesser extent
magazines and newspapers. Among electronic media, radio is a hot medium when it engages listeners’ imaginations, such as in radio drama.

- Cool media allow audiences to be passive spectators because others have made the creative decisions. Television requires little intellectual involvement; radio played simply for background music also is cool. McLuhan saw movies seen in movie theaters as hotter than television because movies have huge screens and darkened screens that serve to engage the audience. But movies seen on home VCRs lack the heat of theatrical presentations. Likewise, while live theater is quite hot, a video-recording of concert falls into the cool category.

Another way of categorizing media is through their intended use. Entertainment media such as books, magazines and television dramas are significantly different than information media such as newspapers and television news programs. They appeal to different audiences and serve different functions.

Still another categorization of media is in the elitist-populist model.

- Elitist media are those that serve to uplift society and contribute to culture. Examples are serious-minded magazines, television programs focusing on art or history, recordings of classical music or contemporary jazz.
- Populist media are those that satisfy the baser expectations of the marketplace. Sensationalistic tabloid newspapers, reality television shows and music videos are examples of this. Pornography is the ultimate example of populist media.

► Mass Media and Culture

Sociologists look at the various ways media can reflect and enrich culture. The mass media present examples of creativity and social culture identified with music, literature, art and so on. These values often are categorized as high culture associated with sophisticated and educated tastes, and low culture identified with the masses. The elitist view supports the high-culture model and suggest that the media owe it to society to model only the best in taste and values, even if the people are unappreciative of the offerings. The populist view associated with the low arts is that the media should give the people what they want.

Canadian communication theorist Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) popularized the notion that the mass media are re-creating society by turning it into a global village, a new world-wide tribe in which people learn about themselves and others by media-provided observation and pseudo-personal experience. He believed that the printed word engaged the mind and detribalized society, whereas the electronic media stimulate the senses and thus can retribalize society.

Another concern of the impact of mass media deals with cultural intrusion, even cultural imperialism. The concern by some is that, because of the inability of mass media to be confined to national or social borders, the culture of one society spills over into another, even against the wishes of the latter. Cultural intrusion generally begins with a look at who is producing mass-media messages. For reasons involving economics, technology and politics as well as culture, the focus of such criticism primarily is the United States and Western Europe, though increasingly Japan is being added to the list of cultural intruders.
Responses to the critics point out that the cultural sharing is not necessarily intrusion but more a matter of transnational cultural enrichment. As countries develop their skill and sophistication in using the mass media, they are welcomed into the media world. An example of this is Japan, which has become one of the most prolific producers of television and video animation in the world.

Communication analysts also note that some of the criticism is relative. Brazilian television soap operas are transmitted throughout many countries and many cultures of Latin America. Al-Jazeera broadcasts from Qatar and al-Arabiya programs from Dubai throughout the diverse Middle East. A new player, the Arabic-language satellite network al-Hurra, features programming that its backer, the U.S. government, hopes will promote friendliness toward America and enhance its public opinion.

Video cassette recorders and VCR tapes also play a significant role in the discussion of mass media and culture. In some parts of the world, VCRs are the prevalent form of media entertainment. VCRs are particularly prevalent in countries with strict controls over the content of television and movie theaters, as well as in countries with poor technical quality of television transmission. For example, a significantly higher percentage of households in Middle Eastern countries have VCRs and DVDs as compared to households in Western Europe or North America.

Another cultural aspect of the globalization of mass media is the emergence of English as the language of international media. Internationally, English is the second most-common language with about 350-400 million native speakers in 12 countries. (Chinese is first with 1.1 billion in various dialects; Spanish is in third place with about 322 million speakers.) Additionally, English is a second language used by an estimated range of 100-500 million persons throughout the world, and several hundred thousand others have a working knowledge of English. English has official-language status for about 1.4 billion people in about 60 nations. Predictions are that by 2050, Chinese will be the most common language, followed by English, Spanish, Hindi and Arabic.

English has become the international language of science and technology, commerce, higher education and communication. Most of the world’s news is written and published first in English. An estimated 80 percent of information available through the Internet is in English, which also is the working language of groups as disparate as German scientists, Asian bankers and Indian nuns.

► Mass Media and Economics

An important aspect of mass media is economic. Mass media are expensive. They operate corporately as businesses that exist to make a profit, or by non-profit organizations that must obtain funding elsewhere to subsidize the media costs.

Media ownership has several different patterns, but each is in some way an example of the concentration of ownership, in which one entity owns several different media venues.

- **Chains** are companies that own a particular type of medium, typically newspapers. The Gannett chain in North America, for example, owns 82 daily newspapers, 39 weekly newspapers, 16 radio stations, eight television stations, the world’s largest billboard company, and Louis Harris polling.

- Television or radio **networks** operate similar to a newspaper chain, in that one company owns several media outlets. Networks also have **affiliates**, which are independently owned stations that agree to join the network, present its programming, and abide by its policies.
Cross-media ownership is the result of one media company buying out another type. For example, the Disney Company began as a film producer, but today it owns ABC television as well as movie production companies, television stations, newspapers and both U.S. and European cable networks. AOL Time-Warner, meanwhile, operates in more than 70 nations and owns HBO television, Warner Music, Warner Brothers movies, Atlantic and Elektra Records, CNN news cable, HBO and Cinemax cable networks, *Time* and *Sports Illustrated* magazines, and many other holdings.

Conglomerates are multinational corporations that own several different types of mass media. For example, Weber-Shandwick is the British-based advertising and public relations agency, largest in the world with 2,837 employees and offices and partners in 110 countries around the world (according to the Council of Public Relations Firms, 2002). The German-based Bertelsmann company began as a book and magazine publisher and now owns 200 subsidiaries in 25 countries as well as RCA and Arista Records, Bantam and Doubleday publishers, and several radio and television holdings in Europe.

Mass media is a global business, for which profits are huge. For example Sony – which owns Sony Records, Sony Worldwide/SW Radio, Columbia Tristar Pictures and Columbia Records – had $57 billion in sales in 2002.

Global advertising also is an increasingly profitable enterprise. Spending for online advertising alone in 2004 reached an estimated $33 billion, and an estimated $610 billion will be spent on all types of advertising throughout the world in 2004. Nearly half of this (47 percent or $293 billion) will be spent in the United States (based on reports and projections of the McCann-Erickson, the world’s largest advertising agency with offices in 130 countries).

Competition is another aspect of the economic reality. Researchers scientifically calculate the size of television and radio audiences, which directly impacts on the advertising rates those media charge. Competition sometimes is fierce among television stations in a particular city or among TV programs aimed at the same audience.

**History of Mass Communication**

Some communication scholars chronicle the history of mass communication as a series of revolutions in the development of language and communication itself.

- The first communication revolution came with the invention of **writing**. This allowed people to communicate over time and distance. As noted in Unit 1, writing also carried with it an inherent division between literate and illiterate persons, as well as the spread of knowledge and the creation of a system of administration that serve the interests of culture, commerce and imperialism.

- The second major communication revolution came with the invention of mass writing by first the printing press and more importantly with the **movable-type press**. This allowed people to communicate in larger numbers. The printing press spurred the transition from medieval to modern society and the concurrent growth of education and discovery.

- The third communication revolution was led by the invention of the **telegraph** in the 1830s. Prior to that time, people could communicate only if they could see or hear a message.
presentation – read a book, hear a speech, observe smoke signals, receive a message by horse or carrier pigeon. The telegraph made possible two-way communication at the speed of light (186,000 miles per second) in real time. It also made possible communication that was not bound by distance, quickly spreading across continents and oceans. The telephone enhanced this technology, and both inventions brought not only new communication opportunities but also new ways of thinking about the interconnectedness of families and communities, cultures and nations.

- The fourth communication revolution involved what today can be categories as **electronic media devices** such as radio, photography, film, television and sound recordings (some of which actually were mechanical devices in their early stages). These devices not only built upon the telegraph to extend the reach of mass media, but they also increased the apparent realism associated with the sounds and sights they made possible. These communication devices had major social consequences, creating new opportunities for learning, sharing and discovery, as well as new patterns of entertainment and information.

- The fifth communication revolution was twofold. It involves the invention of both the **computer** and the **communication satellite**. Computers serve as the storehouses and transmitters of vast amount of information, virtually the sum of all human knowledge. Satellites make possible the instantaneous transmission of messages throughout the world. Features associated with both include wireless technology, fiber optics, digitization, miniaturization, data compression and interactivity.

**Mass Media and Governance**

The world is very complex. Freedom House categorizes the approximately 200 nations of the world on a continuum. About 70 percent are democracies, either full or restricted, with constitutional rights, free elections and political opposition. About 6 percent are monarchies, all of these constitutional monarchies. About 23 percent are authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, most of these one-party states or military dictatorships. About 1 percent are protectorates, with no colonies remaining after the year 2000.

Reflecting such political diversity, communication scholars refer to **systems** or models of media, as they operate within various political models. Traditionally, textbooks have described these as authoritarian, communist, libertarian and social responsibility models, based on the work of American researchers Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm.

Meanwhile, William Hachten, an American educator, presented five concepts of the media: Western, developmental, revolutionary, authoritarian and communist.

Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, media models sometimes paralleled social development – First World media in industrialized democracies of Western Europe, North America and Japan; Second World media in industrialized former socialist countries in Eastern and Central Europe; and Third World media in the developing non-aligned countries around the world.

Other versions have been proposed, but in practice, many national media systems are combinations of the various models. In analysis, the various models represent just two opposing paradigms, with some overlap.

Here is an overview of the two major paradigms and the various models associated with them.
Authoritarian paradigm

- Traditional authoritarian model
- Communist model
- Developmental model

Libertarian paradigm

- Western model
- Social responsibility model
- Revolutionary model

The authoritarian paradigm represents the historic relationship between government and media. Prior to the development of the movable-type print press, civil and/or religious leaders generally controlled the production of books, manuscripts and other messages. This was the model that evolved throughout much of the world with the development of the printed press and later with the technologies of broadcast and digital media. The basic principle of the authoritarian model is that the media is always subject to the control of the state or the ruler. This is consistent with classical Greek, Roman and Chinese as well as medieval European and Middle Eastern concepts of the proper relationship between government and the governed peoples. In this approach, the media function from the top down, and they cannot challenge, criticize or subvert the government. The authoritarian model, with varying types of state controls, is prevalent in Latin America, Africa, and parts of Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East.

- In the traditional authoritarian model, the media are privately owned but they operate with a government charter or license. They are permitted to gather and disseminate news for the good of the state (or for the good of the people, as interpreted by the state). If the media violate the relationship, the government imposes censorship or shuts down the media. This is the model operating in most of the states under dictatorships or in pseudo-democracies, with varying amounts of government limits and controls.

- The communist model (also called the Soviet model) is a variation of the authoritarian paradigm. No longer operative except in Cuba and North Korea, the communist model is essentially one of party control over publicly (i.e. government) owned media in which reporters, editors, publishers and others are government employers. Criticism of individuals in government may be permitted, but not criticism of top leadership or communist/socialist ideology. The government enforces its rule by censorship or by shutting down the media.

- The developmental model is a contemporary variation on the theme that the media, as partners with government, exist for the betterment of society. It is named for its prevalence in so-called developing nations, particularly in Africa. Under this model, media may be either privately or publicly owned, but in either situation, their purpose is to promote national unity and to promote a nation’s social and economic policies. Criticism of government is not allowed, under threat of censorship.

The libertarian paradigm of media evolved from the political philosophy that citizens should be free to obtain, report and consume information as they wish, and that a well-informed citizenry in “the marketplace of ideas” will ultimately make appropriate decisions and responsible choices. This paradigm presumes that the media exist primarily to pursue and disseminate the truth and that they will not be subjected either to political, economic or other social forces. The libertarian approach,
with an emphasis on press freedom, is found most often in North America, Western Europe, Australia, and parts of the Middle East and Eastern and Southeastern Asia.

- **The Western model** is associated with European and North American democracies, which have free-press guarantees in their constitutions. This model also is found in newer democracies, such as Japan. In this model, the media are privately owned and relatively free of government control. Censorship is seldom imposed (except, perhaps, during time of war). This model has given rise to the concept of media as protectors of society and watchdogs against government encroachment into personal freedoms. The Western model extends beyond national borders, with journalists serving as a *surrogate press* for people living in countries with less-free media systems. Additionally, the major international news services (Associated Press, Agence France-Press, Reuters, United Press International) operate from the Western perspective. The Western media model is not without problems, which include commercialism, concentration of ownership, sensationalism, and a growing orientation toward entertainment.

- **The social responsibility model** is related to the classic libertarian approach, but it incorporates a self-assumed obligation to address social needs and interest. In the model, the media operate with a minimum of government controls, with self-regulation growing from ethical standards and a commitment to the public interest.

- An extension of the libertarian paradigm is the *revolutionary model* of the media, which sees the media as an agent of political subversion and the overthrow of governments. Pure examples of this model are difficult to find, but some cited examples include the resistance media in France during the Nazi occupation of the Second World War and the underground press in some countries in the former Soviet Union or in some African countries during anti-colonial movements. The newspaper *Zamindar* played a significant role in the Pakistan movement, and Iranian underground newspapers were instrumental in overthrowing of Shah of Iran in 1979.

▶ **Controls Over Media**

Regardless of the legal and political status of the media, in every country there exist a variety of actual or potential controls over the working of the media. In countries having an authoritarian paradigm of the media, these controls generally are aimed at the content of media presentations. In countries with a libertarian outlook, the controls are more focused on the corporate aspect of the media.

- **Censorship** involves government restrictions on what information the media may report or what opinions they may express. These restrictions may be either before or after dissemination. Censorship is a labor-intensive and expensive type of control, and one difficult to impose effectively over a long term.

- **Legal provisions** exist in most countries affecting the role and rights of the media. Some of these provisions are constitutional. But while the constitutions of most nations provide for press freedom in general, but those same constitutions often limit free expression, such as by preventing criticism of the government or with provisions that allow the freedom of the press to be suspended. Additionally, governments often supplement their constitutions with security laws that punish treason, espionage and violation of national security, or with press laws that specifically focus on limits to reporting and/or commentary.
Licensing or chartering is a procedure in which the government grants permission for the media to operate. Introduced in 16th century England as a system of royal patents, licensing was used during regimes of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Francisco Franco in Spain.

Bribery is another form of state control, particularly in impoverished regions of the world where journalists are given gratuities for disseminating certain information favorable to the government or government supporters. In some countries, governments have provided state subsidies to those members of the media that are particularly friendly to the government. Codes of ethics of most professional journalistic organizations ban the acceptance of financial gratuities or other gifts.

Repression is the form of control standard in some authoritarian governments, particularly those based on military rule. Sometimes journalists are arrested and imprisoned, even executed. At other times, journalists or their families are harassed or injured by either government or terrorist agents. Two organizations – the Committee to Protect Journalists, and Reporters Sans Frontiers/Reporters Without Borders – have extensive information at their Web sites that document instances of repression against journalists.

Regulation is another means of government control. In societies having a free press, regulation usually does not affect the content of the media but rather focuses on its structure. In the United States, for example, regulations prohibits foreign ownership of television and radio stations (but not newspapers and magazines). The Federal Communication Commission assigns licenses and frequencies for broadcast stations. From 1949 through 1987 the FCC imposed a fairness doctrine on broadcasters, requiring them to air all sides of public issues. The doctrine was abandoned as part of a movement to ease government restriction on business.

Economic sanctions also are used to keep the media in line. Particularly in media systems that rely heavily on advertising income, the threat of withholding advertising and its associated revenue has been used to control the media. Sometimes this threat originates with advertisers themselves trying to exert corporate influence. Sometimes it is rooted in government pressure on the advertising corporations to foster the government line of information. Occasionally it is based on citizen boycott against advertisers. In some instances, economic sanctions have been imposed directly by government in ways involving taxation, the cost of newsprint, or regulation of how printed publications may be distributed.

Secrecy is the most subtle and probably the most common form of control over the media. Governments often operate in at least partial secrecy in which reporters are barred from meetings, records are withheld, and government officials decline to talk with reporters. It is such practice that has lead to a form of journalism called investigative reporting, in which reporters become detectives to obtain information about government activities. A remedy to government secrecy is sunshine laws, which are legal provisions requiring that government meetings be scheduled and held in public.

Official media are another type of control in the relationship between government and media. In an effort to circumvent or supplement the media, governments sometimes serve as their own media. Some governments have official newspapers; some legislators send official newsletters to their constituents. With the growing availability of the Internet, many government organizations are providing on-line news releases and articles available to citizens directly, without going through the filter of the media.
In addition to these various elements of control, another significant factor in the role of media within a political society is the degree of media access available. This is described as the extent to which various segments of society can use the media to disseminate their messages. This access can vary greatly, and it is affected by economy and technology, as well as by law and social custom within a given nation.
APPENDIX TO UNIT 7

► Relevant Web Sites


www.americancomm.org/studies/mediaculture.html — American Communication Association, U.S.-based organization of scholars and researchers

www.gsu.edu/~wwwaus/ — Arab-U.S. Association of Communication Educators

www.icaahdg.org — International Communication Association, an organization of 3,400, mainly scholars and researchers

www.natcom.org — National Communication Association, U.S.-based organization of scholars and researchers, organization of 7,100 educators and researchers

www.prfirms.org — Council of Public Relations Firms, U.S.-based membership organization of public relations agencies

www.scripps.ohiou.edu/wjmcr/ — Web Journal of Mass Communication Research

► Relevant Books


► Unit Quiz
Define feedback.
Define mass vehicles.
Define media conglomerate.
Give an example of a media chain.
List the characteristics of the Western model of media governance.
Give an example of a low-culture medium.
Define socialization as a media role.
Define sunshine law.

► Freewrite and Discussion
Give an example of cultural imperialism and transnational cultural enrichment, and discuss the difference.
Discuss the relationship of the three aspects of the entertainment role of the mass media.
Explain the concept of the global village.
Discuss the advantages and disadvantages to society between the authoritarian and libertarian paradigms of media governance.
Discuss what is meant by the surveillance function of the media.
Explain the difference between censorship and secrecy.

► Exercises
Put students into five teams, each advocating the importance of one of the five recognized communication revolutions.
Have students investigate and prepare a report on one of the major international media chains such as Sony, Bertelsmann, Viacom, News Corp, Time Warner, or Disney.