Introduction

A valid analysis of Black Americans and the media, especially when undertaken from an economic perspective, must include consideration of the media industries. Given the hypothesis that the media inflicts adverse outcomes on Black Americans, it is important to show that the media, in fact, has the "power" to inflict such adverse outcomes. This chapter surveys recent official economic statistics on the output, value added, and employment of media industries (print, motion picture, sound recording, and broadcast, and advertising). In addition, the chapter includes a discussion of the non-economic, psychological powers of the media: The power to engender economic transactions, to motivate behaviors, and to shape thought. Finally, the chapter considers a newly recognized power of the media: The power to segment populations.

The economic, psychological, and segmenting powers of the media make it a pliable tool, which can be used to produce favorable or unfavorable outcomes for Black Americans. Therefore, it is very important that media owners, operatives, regulators, policy makers, the broader society, and especially Black Americans fully comprehends the nature and extent of those powers. If the hypothesis about media effects on Black Americans proves true, knowledge of media powers may serve as a starting point for identifying methods for counteracting those effects.

Definitions

For purposes of transparency, it is essential that the term "media" be defined. Generally, by "media" is meant those products and services that are used to transmit words, sounds, and/or images from a source to the eyes, ears, and minds of consumers. Media are normally presented in the form of newspapers, books, periodicals, greeting cards, billboards, motion pictures, videos, records, tapes, compact discs, and radio, television programs, and the Internet that are transmitted directly through the airwaves or by cable. All of these media are capable of transmitting words, sounds, and images, which can potentially shape and stimulate behaviors.

The North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) describes all industries in the currently effective classification system for the United States.[1] For purposes of this analysis, the 2002 NAICS classification system is used to identify those industries that are subsumed in the term media. They are selected industries within NAICS Sector 51 and 54—Information and Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services, respectively. The specific NAICS industries that are included in the definition of "media," along with their descriptions, are provided in table 1.

[1]See Executive Office of the President (2002).

Table 1.—NAICS Media Industries

Industries	Descriptions
5111 – Newspaper, Periodical, Book, and Directory Publishers	This industry group comprises establishments primarily engaged in publishing newspaper, magazines, other periodicals, books, directories and mailing lists, and other works, such as calendars, greeting cards, and maps. These works are characterized by the intellectual creativity required in their development and are usually protected by copyright. Publishers distribute or arrange for the distribution of these works.
5121 – Motion Picture and Video Industries	This industry group comprises establishments primarily engaged in the production and/or distribution of motion pictures, videos, television programs, or commercials; in the exhibition of motion pictures; or in the provision of postproduction and related services.
5122 – Sound Recording Industries	This industry group comprises establishments primarily engaged in producing and distributing musical recordings, in publishing music, or in providing sound recording and related services.
515 – Broadcasting (except Internet)	Industries in the Broadcasting (except Internet) subsector include establishments that create content or acquire the right to distribute content and subsequently broadcast the content. The industry groups Radio and Television Broadcasting and Cable and Other Subscription Programming are based on differences in the methods of communication and the nature of services provided. The Radio and Television Broadcasting industry group includes establishments that operate broadcasting studios and facilities for over the air or satellite delivery of radio and television programs of entertainment, news, talk, and the like. These establishments are often engaged in the production and purchase of programs and generating revenues from the sale of airtime to advertisers and from donations, subsidies, and/or sale of programs. The Cable and Other Subscription Programming industry group includes establishments operating studies and facilities for the broadcasting of programs that are typically narrowcast in nature (limited format, such as news, sports, education, and youth-oriented programming) on a subscription or fee basis. The distribution of cable and other subscription programming is included in Subsector 517, Telecommunications. Establishments that broadcast exclusively on the Internet are

Industries	Descriptions
	included in Subsector 516, Internet Publishing and Broadcasting.
516 – Internet Publishing and Broadcasting	Industries in the Internet Publishing and Broadcasting subsector group establishments that publish and/or broadcast content exclusively for the Internet. The unique combination of text, audio, video, and interactive features present in informational or cultural products on the Internet justifies the separating of Internet publishers and broadcasters from more traditional publishers included in subsector 511, Publishing Industries (except Internet) and subsector 515, Broadcasting (except Internet)
5175 – Cable and Other Program Distribution	This industry comprises establishments primarily engaged as third-part distribution systems for broadcast programming. The establishments of this industry deliver visual, aural, or textual programming received from cable networks, local television stations, or radio networks to consumer via cable or direct-to-home satellite systems on a subscription or fee basis. These establishments do not generally originate programming material.
5418 – Advertising and Related Services	Advertising agencies; public relations agencies; media buying agencies; media representatives; display advertising; direct mail advertising; advertising material distribution services; and other services related to advertising.

Source: Executive Office of the President (2002), pp. 649-69; and pp. 746-50.

Official media statistics were collected and published in accordance with an earlier, 1997, version of NAICS and, on occasion, official statistics may not be available in the precise industry alignment that is presented in table 1. In what follows, an effort is made to be true to the classifications that are presented in table 1 as “media” industries; when this is not possible, clarifying explanations are provided.

Media industry economic statistics

Table 2 provides information on the industries, industry groups, and subsectors identified in table 1 for 2001 and 1997 that were collected on a 1997 NAICS basis: The number of establishments, the value of gross output (receipts), value added, and employment.[2]

[2] NAICS begins with 1997, but 1997 is also a quinquennial census year, which means that Federal Government statistical agencies—mainly the U.S. Bureau of the Census—collects detailed data through an economic census for that year. At the time of writing, the latest complete data were for 2001, and were available on a 1997 NAICS basis.

Table 2.—Receipts, Value added, Employment, and Establishments for Media-Related Industries, 2001 and 1997

NAICS Code	Kind of business	Census 2001 Receipts ($'s mils.)	2001 Derived value added ($'s mils.)	BLS 2001 employment (thousands)	BEA 1997 total output ($'s mils.)	BEA 1997 value added ($'s mils.)	Census 1997 employment (thousands)	Census 1997 number of establishments with payroll
	Total..	407,196	210,831	2,002	324,277	167,365	1,857	96,310
5111	Newspaper, periodical, book, database, and other publishers..	143,825	83,804	752	117,082	68,221	740	21806
5120	Motion picture, video, and sound recording.............	69,366	29,049	377	61,357	25,695	276	22,204
5121	Motion picture and video....................................	57,189	23,950	347	na	na	254	19269
5122	Sound recording...	12,177	5,099	30	na	na	22	2935
5131	Radio and television broadcasting............................	47,380	15,915	249	41,369	13,896	250	8789
5132	Cable networks and program distribution.................	74,631	35,786	142	46,540	22,316	174	4679
5418	Advertising and related services...............................	71,994	46,278	482	57,929	37,237	417	38832

Sources:

a. Estimates of Census 2001 receipts for NAICS Sectors 51 and 54 are from Table 3.0.1, Information Sector Services—Estimated Revenue for Employer and Nonemployer Firms: 1998 Through 2001 and from Table 6.1 Professional and Technical Services (except Notaries and Landscape Architectural Services)—Estimated Revenue for Employer and Nonemployer Firms: 1998-Through 2001, respectively. See www.census.gov/sas51-1.pdf and sas54-1.pdf

b. Estimates of 2001 derived value added were prepared by applying the BEA 1997 valued added to total output relationships by industry to the Census 2001 receipts.

c. Estimates of BLS 2001 employment data by industry are from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. See http://data.bls.gov/labjava/outside.jsp?survey=ce.

d. Estimates of BEA output and value added are from tables 1 and 2 from the December 2002 article in the *Survey of Current Business* by A.M. Lawson, K.S. Bersani, M. Fahim-Nader, and J. Guo, entitled “Benchmark Input-Output Accounts of the United States, 1997.

e. Estimates of Census 1997 employment are from the 1997 Economic Census: Information Subject Series (April 2001) and Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services Geographic Area Series (December 20, 1999). Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, DC.

f. Estimates of Census establishments for 1997 are from sources identified in source e.

Table 2 shows that, for 2001, nearly two million persons worked in media industries, producing over $400 billion in receipts, and over $200 billion in value added; this accounted for over two percent of the total value of final goods and services produced in the U.S. economy (i.e., gross domestic product (GDP)). In 1997, these industries employed 1.9 million persons, earned over $324 billion in receipts, and produced over $167 billion in value added; again, over 2 percent of GDP. This compares with the very important food manufacturing industry (NAICS 3110), which produced over $410 billion in total output in 1997, produced over $101 billion in value added; a little over one percent of GDP.[3] Media industries' total receipts/output grew 5.9 percent at an average annual rate from 1997 to 2001, while GDP grew only 3.1 percent. The fact is that media industries account for a significant portion of the nation's employment, its total output, and contributes in a significant way to GDP. Readers of this book are likely to know that employment, total output, and GDP are key economic indicators for conducting economic analysis. Also, it is important to note that media industries are very interrelated—each media industry utilizes inputs from the remaining media industries.

U.S. Media industries are not only important economically on a domestic basis, but they are also important on an international basis. For 2003, U.S. media and media-related industries were responsible for $14.0 in exports of services, which was 4.8 percent of $289.1 billion in total U.S. exports of services.[4]

Unquestionably, media industries' products are pervasive; they account for a significant portion of personal consumption expenditures (PCE), a major component of GDP. In the National Income and Product Accounts—the accounts which track U.S. economic activity—PCE is not estimated on an industry, but on a product, basis. Table 3 shows PCE estimates for 2001 for media products and services.

[3] See Lawson *et al*, table 2.

[4] The $14.0 billion value is the sum of $0.5 billion in royalties for books, records, and tapes; $0.3 billion in royalties for broadcast and recording of live events; $0.5 billion in advertising services; $2.9 billion in database and other information (communications) services; and $9.8 billion in film and television tape rentals (See Tables 1, 4.1, 7.1, and 8.1 of Koncz, Mann, and Nephew (2006)).

Table 3.—Personal Consumption Expenditures for Media Products and Services, 2001

Category	Current-dollar estimates ($'s billions)	Media as a percentage of GDP and PCE
Gross domestic product	10,082.2	1.68%
Personal consumption expenditures	6,987.0	2.42%
Media products and services	168.9	100.00%
Records, tapes, and disks	12.6	7.47%
Books and maps	35.1	20.80%
Greeting cards	14.2	8.38%
Magazines and sheet music	18.7	11.07%
Newspapers	16.5	9.76%
Motion picture theaters	8.7	5.17%
Cable television	42.8	25.35%
Videocassette rentals	9.1	5.36%
Internet service providers	11.2	6.64%

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) National Income and Product Account (NIPA) tables 1.1 and 2.6U at www.bea.gov.

Available PCE estimates do not separately identify all types of consumer products and services purchased; therefore, it is not possible to separately account for all PCE expenditures for media products and services. Nevertheless, table 3 shows those media products and services that are reflected separately in the PCE underlying detailed data. Consumers' media-related purchases amount to $168.9 billion for 2001; 2.42 percent of total PCE expenditures and 1.68 percent of GDP. Recognize that the values shown in table 3 do not match precisely the estimates of value added shown in table 2; this is because the output of media industries can be purchased by consumers (PCE), sold as an export, or sold to other business where it constitutes an intermediate input into another industry's production processes. Only those media goods and services purchased by consumers are reflected in table 3; however, the table 3 value for total consumer media-related purchases matches well the non-advertising portion of media industries' value added for 2001, which is shown in table 2.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that media industries are important enterprises in the U.S. economy and the economies of the rest of the world nations. However, the economic statistics for these industries, as a proxy for the industries' "power," does not do justice to the influence that media industries ultimately have on consumers' lives. The true power of media industries vis-à-vis consumers will be addressed later. For now, direct your attention to the next section of this chapter, which features an analysis of the demographics of the employment in media industries.

Understanding who is employed by media industries may prove to be valuable knowledge when attempting to answer questions about media industries' motivation in formulating Black American images.

Employment in media industries

Although detailed data on employment by industry by race are not yet available on a strict NAICS basis, the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) collaborated to produce such estimates on a quasi-NAICS basis using data from the Current Population Survey (CPS).[5] Table 4 provides data on employment in media industries by race for 2001.

Table 4.—Employment by Industry by Race, 2001*
(In thousands)

NAICS media Industry	Total employment	White employment	Black American employment	Other employment	Black American employment as a percent of total employment
Total	2,296	1,986	205	105	8.93%
Newspaper publishers	470	407	39	24	8.30%
Publishing, except newspapers and software	375	332	23	20	6.13%
Motion pictures and video	336	284	34	18	10.12%
Sound recording	47	36	10	1	21.28%
Radio and television broadcasting and cable	538	448	71	19	13.20%
Internet publishing and broadcasting	Na	na	Na	na	na
Advertising and related services	530	479	28	23	5.28%

*These data are from the Current Population Survey and are classified according to a 2002 Census NAICS-based industry classification system, which is not as detailed as the 1997 or 2002 NAICS.

The data on media industries' employment that are presented in tables 4 and 2 are from different sources and the related aggregates are, therefore, not identical. However, the purpose here is to identify employment patterns by race and table 4 suffices for this purpose. Table 4 shows that total employment in the media industries in 2001 was around 2.3 million. Whites constituted almost 2 million of total employment, Black Americans about 200 thousand, and the remaining 100 thousand was employment by other ethnic groups. Overall, Black American employment represents less than 9 percent of total employment, well below the percentage of Black Americans in the nation's population (13 percent) and,

[5] The CPS is a monthly household survey that is conducted by the Bureau of the Census.

more relevant, well below the percent of Black Americans in the labor force (11.4 percent).[6]

Notably, Black Americans are over-represented in the sound recording industry (21.23 percent), and are represented proportionately in the radio and television broadcasting and cable television industry (13.2 percent). However, these statistics may be somewhat misleading if the intent is to determine whether Black Americans are in positions to control or determine the content of sound recording, radio, television, and cable programs. The data do not reflect the detail necessary to determine whether, in fact, Black Americans are represented proportionally in content control positions. Anecdotal evidence leads one to believe that they are not. On the other hand, anecdotal evidence suggests that things are changing and that Black Americans are increasingly finding themselves in positions to have significant influence on the content of sound recordings, radio, television, and cable television programming.

Given the media's permeating role in everyday life and its ability to shape and influence behavior, there is cause for concern that Black Americans do not play significant roles in the media industries.[7] Under-representation and/or lack of influence in the newspaper publishing, publishing except newspapers and software, and advertising related services industries can mean, for example, that unfavorable images of Black Americans find their way into media presentations, which can ultimately translate into unfavorable social and economic outcomes for Black Americans. A detailed discussion of this hypothetical is delayed until Chapter 5. For now, consider the next section, which explores the pervasive and influential power of media industries—beyond the purely economic.

Power of the media

What is power? Theoretically and practically, power is the ability to cause change or action; e.g., the electric power that is required to illuminate a light bulb or cause a machine to operate, or the power of the word that motivates the hearer to execute directed action. The media has the latter type of power. Whether the origin is a newspaper, book, lyrical or instrumental music, a radio or television program, a movie, or an advertisement, the media has the power to motivate the consumer to ponder what is presented and to exhibit behavior that would not necessarily be exhibited otherwise. Consider the following questions: What makes the media powerful and what is the evidence of that power?

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[6] The Black American population statistics are from the Bureau of the Census (www.census.gov), while the Black American labor force statistics are from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (www.bls.gov).

[7] Here, significant role means proportional (around 13 percent) ownership of majority interests and occupying leadership and managerial positions in these industries; this is separate and apart from participating proportionally as non-managerial employees in the industries.

One could begin with a circular, yet sound , logic: The media must have power, otherwise it would not warrant the expenditures that are made to produce it. This begs the question: "What is the purpose of the media?" At bottom, the media has at least three purposes: To entertain, to generate economic activity, and to mold opinions. Interestingly, today's media co-mingles these purposes, so that it is difficult to consume entertaining media without receiving stimuli to engage in economic activity and the impulse to form an opinion on what is being presented. Likewise, most economic-activity-generating media (advertisement) reflect efforts to entertain the consumer and to shape the thought of the consumer. Economists, however, see the overarching purpose of media as engendering economic transactions.

Media is consumed for purposes of entertainment, that is, for the audience to be stimulated in a variety of ways: From obtaining information to having the human senses or emotions accentuated to higher or lower levels than would exist otherwise. Media enables consumers to become, in a direct way, smarter (better informed), happier, more relaxed, sadder, or more energized. Similarly, media allows consumers to experience, indirectly, the sentiments or emotions of others. If information is sought through media consumption, the knowledge gained is normally used to enhance the consumer's economic condition; i.e., to buy goods or services at a lower price or to sell goods or services at a higher price. On the other hand, consumers are willing to engage in an economic transaction (pay) to experience accentuated sensory input, in addition to allowing the media to motivate further economic transactions (pay) for the acquisition of other goods and services that will enhance consumers' well being. If consumers did not experience these outcomes as a result of consuming media, why would they participate in the process? The fact that the media industries are growth industries is sufficient to indicate that media meets its purposes—it has the power to meet its purposes.

Reading newspapers, books, or magazines, watching news programs, or viewing an informational advertisement, results in one being better informed? Listening or watching a sporting event can cause a release of tension and a sense of being more relaxed. Consuming media of the comedy variety, results in a lighter mental state—a mood of elation. Consuming action or thriller media has the affect of generating a renewed sense of energy or exhilaration. Finally, media of the tragedy variety motivates a heavier mental state—a mood of sadness.

The fact that consumers purchase items that they seldom or never use—which is evidenced by that fact that new or unopened items often find their way into refuse heaps, Goodwill or Salvation Army stores, second-hand stores, and garage sales—indicates that consumers can be influenced to purchase items that they do not need and, often, items that they do not want. How often have you found yourself shopping because the "sale was too good to miss?" These outcomes can be explained by the power of advertisement, which is designed to cause consumers to want and buy—whether they have a need or not.

Because the ultimate goal of media is to engender economic transactions, it is important to ask how the media creates economic transactions. In the case of non-direct advertisement media, consumers are willing to purchase media because they know that media has the potential to deliver the sensory experiences that they desire. Consumers rate media (that is, give it a thumbs up or down), based on whether the media is able to produce the desired sensory outcomes (smarter, relaxed, energized, happier, or sadder).

In the case of direct advertisement media, the advertiser is willing to pay for media advertising as long as advertisements are able to generate the desired outcome, which is increased and/or continued sales of the advertised product. On the other hand, consumers are willing to consume advertising—when they have a choice—as long as they believe that they can obtain informational input to enhance their well being. It is noteworthy that much of non-direct advertisement media includes some direct advertisements.[8]

Producers of non-direct advertisement media ensure that there is expanded demand for their products by continuously improving the techniques used to create and deliver the sensory experience that consumers desire. Similarly, direct advertisement media continues to enhance its power to produce more and extend sales by improving advertising techniques. *Subliminal Seduction* (Key, 1972) was one of the first books to describe, in great detail, the techniques used by advertisers to create the desire to buy in consumers. Although the techniques delineated in *Subliminal Seduction* border on the unethical, those techniques are still being used today—along with more sophisticated ones. When it comes to television, the need to hone and improve these techniques is explained by Clancy and Lloyd (1999); their research revealed that increased programming alternatives (clutter), viewing habits (surfing, grazing, zapping, and zipping), and non-engaging programs make it more and more difficult for advertisers to reach and influence their audiences.

In addition to engendering economic transactions, media has the power to shape thought and to motivate behaviors. Violence is one of the most researched behaviors that many experts conclude can be motivated by media. In *National Television Violence Study 2*, the Universities of California, North Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin arrived at the following conclusion concerning the power of movies and television programs to motivate violent behaviors:

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[8] For example, almost all movies and television programs include the passive or active consumption of branded goods. Interestingly, there is an education program underway to teach consumers how to identify branded products in non-direct advertisement media. (Note the "Find the Hidden Coke" advertisements that are presented during preliminaries at movie theaters.)

> The study does not exaggerate the importance of televised violence among the myriad contributors to violence in society. It recognizes that the causes of violence are manifold, and include biological and psychological factors as well as broader social and cultural ones. Among these, however, television violence has been recognized as a significant contributor to violent and aggressive antisocial behavior by an overwhelming majority of the scientific community, including such organizations as the American Psychological Association, American Medical Association, the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Television and Behavior, and the National Institute of Mental Health (p. 1).

The universities agreed that violent incidences in the media assisted viewers in learning aggressive attitudes and behaviors, desensitized viewers to violence, and increased viewers' fear of being victimized by violence (p. 7).

Similarly, media has the power to shape attitudes. Media can be the source of information about almost every aspect of life, and audiences use information provided by the media to form opinions about most issues that they encounter: Politics, social concerns, health, religion, science, economics, etc. When the U.S. government turns to the media to shape opinion, then all doubt is removed about the media's power to accomplish that goal. For example, the August, 9, 2003 edition of *The Washington Post* carried a story by Peter Carlson on its front page that was an account of the U.S. State Department's efforts to influence and shape opinions in the Middle East. The story, entitled "America's Glossy Envoy: State Funds Pop Magazine for Young Arabs" outlined how the State Department was using a magazine, *Hi*, to "create a dialogue with the Arab World" as part of the broader effort to win the 2003 Iraqi War. Carlson interviewed Christopher W.S. Ross, Special Coordinator for Public Diplomacy at the State Department, to obtain details about *Hi* and the public-opinion-shaping program that the department was pursuing. In Ross' view, Hi could prove to be a successful tool for shaping Middle Eastern attitudes about the United States. Although Americans may not think of the media as a tool for U.S. diplomatic operations, it is important to remember that media have been used to shape public opinion abroad on behalf of the U.S. government for a considerable period of time; the Voice of America is a case in point. If "what is good for the goose is good for the gander," then it should be clear that the media constitutes part of an ongoing effort to shape U.S. public opinion on many issues—both abroad and at home.

As an additional example of the media's power to shape opinion, consider Clawson's (2002) effort to uncover the rationale for a common image of Black Americans—that they constitute the majority of the nation's poor. Clawson analyzed images in economics textbooks—an academic source that is normally viewed as being factually-based—to determine if

Black Americans were over-represented in depictions of poverty only to find that:

> More than 60% of the poor people pictured in these textbooks are Black. This is a gross exaggeration of the true proportion of Blacks among the poor. According to the 1998 Current Population Survey (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998), only 26% of the poor are Black Americans. In contrast, Whites make up just 36% of the textbook poor, although in reality they are 46% of those in poverty. (p. 355).

In this case, published books portray inaccurately the status of Black Americans and cause readers to misperceive the true condition of Black Americans. Such representations are likely to establish the notion in readers' minds that most Black Americans are poor and, because poverty is viewed as problematic, readers may form the opinion that Black Americans are a problem for the nation. It would be interesting to obtain the results of a poll of whites on the question: "What percent of the nation's poor are Black-American." Given Clawson's work, it would be logical to predict that the resulting percentage would grossly overstate reality. In any event, this is another testimony to the media's power to mold opinion.

To exploit the power, and reap the benefits, of the media, major business interests jockey continuously for control of publishing companies, movie studios and distribution operations, and cable, television, and radio stations and networks. These business interests comprehend fully the need to control each of the major media genres, so that they can use them jointly to reach and impose maximum impact on audiences. Consequently, when one investigates who owns what, one finds a tangled web of interdependent media genres owned by a select few powerful media interests. On September 16, 2003, a National Public Television program entitled *Flashpoint* that featured Bryant Gumbel and Gwen Ifill as hosts, provided details on ownership of major U.S. media companies, which appear in table 5.

Table 5.—Media Integration: Major Media Companies and Affiliated Media Operations

Media operations	News Corporation	Time Warner	Walt Disney	General Electric	Viacom
Affiliated television networks	Fox Network		ABC Television	NBC Television	CBS Television
Affiliated motion picture companies	20th Century Fox	Warner Brothers	Walt Disney	Universal	Paramount
Affiliated cable television networks		CNN, HBO	ESPN, A&E, History Channel	BRAVO	
Affiliated book publishing companies	Harper-Collins	Little Brown	Miramax		Simon & Schuster
Affiliated radio networks					Westwood 1
Affiliated record companies				MCA, Motown, Polygram	
Affiliated magazines		TIME, PEOPLE		ROLLING STONE	

Source: Gumbel and Ifill (2003).

Table 5 shows that most major media companies own multiple media operations (genres), which provide a wide array of alternatives to reach their target audiences.

Clearly, then, the media has the power to satisfy viewers' sensory needs and to enhance their well-being, to motivate economic transactions, to prompt various behaviors, and to shape opinions. These are valuable powers and business interests grapple continuously to gain ownership to the rights to use this power to achieve their goals. But there is an additional, important power possessed by the media that should be considered before concluding this chapter—the power to segment society.

Segmentation

Joseph Turow is a professor at the University of Pennsylvania in the famous Annenberg School for Communication. His book, *Breaking Up America: Advertisers and the New Media World*, provides a crystal clear explanation for why and how the media is being used to segment populations. It begins with the knowledge that media sources are proliferating and that special measures must be taken to win a zero-sum game for consumers' attention. Consumers have a finite amount of attention to give to the media, so the questions surfaces "How can a media source attract consumers' attention, retain it, and then impose the three types of outcomes discussed earlier: Engender economic transactions, motivate behaviors, and shape thought." Turow argues that the answer to the question begins with segmentation; that is, the fracturing of the population into groups of similar individuals. Once this is accomplished, businesses are no longer faced with the task of attracting the attention of a target audience, which is embedded in a much broader audience; all businesses have to do is to determine which media sources have the attention of the target audience they seek to reach.

Now is an appropriate time to identify your own media segment. Is it news, because you are an avid reader of newspapers, listen to news talk radio, and watch 24/7 news channels? Is it music, because you consistently purchase or download music, listen to FM stations, and watch music channels? Is it financial, because you only read the finance pages of newspapers, purchase investment magazines and books, listen for financial reports throughout the day on radio, trade online, and watch finance and investment shows on television? Is it sports, because you only read the sports page of newspapers, purchase sports magazines, listen to games on the radio, participate in fantasy leagues on the Internet, and watch sports channels? Or is it feminine issues, because you only read the style section of the newspaper, purchase women magazines, visit feminine Web sites on the Internet, and only watch television programs and cable networks that address feminine issues?

Turow summarizes the situation succinctly when he says:

> "Advertising practitioners do not view these distinctions along primarily racial or ethnic lines, though race and ethnicity certainly play a part, provoking turf battles among marketers. Rather, the new portraits of society that advertisers and media personnel invoke involve the blending of income, generation, martial status, and gender into a soup of geographical and psychological profiles they call 'lifestyles.'" (p. 3)

The goal of segmentation is to cultivate a sense of family among group members who share unique experiences that are provided by their media sources. To make this sense of family as strong as possible, media sources, according to Turow, spend a considerable amount of effort to not only attract the target audience, but also to keep that target audience pure. In other words, media sources make considerable effort to chase away those that are not part of the target audience. This is where a problem arises for Black Americans. Given the history of exclusion that Black Americans have encountered in the United States, it may be somewhat disconcerting to learn that overt attempts are in play to exclude them and others from selected types of media sources because they do not posses traits of the target audience.

Media sources are effective segmenters of the population because they use an Adam Smith principle—they specialize. This specialization enable individuals to meet their media content needs directly and consistently, as opposed to having to hunt and peck for the media content that they desire that is part of a Smorgasbord. However, this power to segment may be cause for alarm. Consider Turow's predictions concerning segmentation:

> "It will allow, even encourage, individuals to live in their own personally constructed worlds, separated from people and issues that they don't care about or don't want to be bothered with. The desire to do that may accelerate when, as is the case in the late-twentieth-century United States, seemingly intractable antagonisms based on age, income, ethnicity, geography, and more result from competition over jobs and political muscle. In these circumstances, market segmentation and targeting may accelerate an erosion of the tolerance and mutual dependence between diverse groups that enable a society to work." (p. 7)

Is it appropriate that America be fragmented by the media? Is it in the best interest of Black Americans to see the nation morph back into a segregated society? These are important questions to consider, develop answers, then to take appropriate action.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the power of the media by presenting media industry statistics on total output, value added, and employment; by considering the media's ability to engender economic transactions, motivate behaviors, and shape thought; and by discussing the media's effectiveness at segmenting populations. Because "America's business is doing business," the media serves as an efficient and powerful tool for keeping the nation moving forward. But it is this power that makes it possible for the media to create adverse outcomes for Black Americans—especially adverse economic outcomes.

Chapter 5 will present an analysis of how the powers of the media can produce adverse economic outcomes for Black Americans. But before delving into that topic, it is necessary to identify and highlight the media tools that can be used to produce such outcomes. Chapters 3 and 4 fulfill that objective by presenting the results of intertemporal studies that assess the representativeness and roles of Black Americans on network television. These studies should usher up evidence on whether television, the current-day most powerful media genre, embodies the substance that can be used to harm Black Americans. By extension, if television embodies this substance, other media genres do also.

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