## **Chapter 1**

# **The Written Press**

### **Introduction**

#### a. The British press

- The British press became truly independent in the eighteenth century when official
  censorship ceased to exert a heavy hand. Censorship remained a feature of British
  culture, however, until 1968 when the Theatres Act abolished it. It must be added that
  all newspapers exert a form of self-censorship, either to avoid libel suits or to remain
  within their editorial line or chosen house style.
- The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the creation of press outlets such as *The London Magazine* (1732), *The Times* (1785), *The Observer* (1791), *The Guardian* (1821) and *the Economist* (1843), *The Daily Telegraph* (1855) which are still active today.
- The heyday of newspaper circulation was the decade of the 1970s, but the British are still among the greatest newspaper readers in the world. Mostly because of the digital/ information revolution, newspaper circulation has dropped by half in the last decade in England and other Western countries.
- There are three types of newspaper: quality papers (aka the qualities, upper-market papers, the heavies), mid-market papers, and tabloids (aka the gutter press, the yellow press, down-market papers, the populars).
- Tabloids / Populars tend to cater for a less educated working class readership. They have a tendency towards somewhat unsophisticated / unsubtle / blatant patriotism. Tabloids have a penchant for openly biased / slanted opinion pieces and somewhat superficial (occasionally shoddy) reportage. They avail of highly coloured, gaudy pictures and resort to big, catchy, punning headlines. The writing style is often informal or even slang-oriented. The articles featured opt for lurid / sensational story-telling. Leading tabloids include The Daily Mirror, The Daily Star and The Sun.
- Quality newspapers offer extensive, in-depth analysis and commentary of almost every aspect of social life, but tend to focus primarily on politics, economics and high / highbrow culture. Leading nationwide qualities include The Guardian, The Times, The Independent, New Statesman, The Spectator, The Financial Times, The Observer, The Daily Telegraph, The Economist.
- Mid-market / middle market newspapers tend to cater for middle-brow readers or readers
  who expect both news coverage and light entertainment. Newspapers in this category
  include The Daily Express and The Daily Mail, but some might argue that papers like The
  Observer are really mid-market.
- Up to the 1990s, most newspapers in Britain were conservative. With the advent of New Labour, there was a nationwide swing towards centrism.

- Ownership of British newspapers is dominated by conservative press magnates who
  own News International and the Mirror Group, but opinion in many papers can vary across
  the political spectrum and is arguably rather fluid, especially when the editorial board
  is ideologically mixed or when guest writers are invited to share their opinions within
  the pages of the paper.
- In recent times, a number of papers have been accused and found guilty of inappropriate reporting practices such as cell phone hacking and paparazzi stalking. Created in 1843 (the same year as the quality paper *The Economist*) the world's best-selling tabloid *News of the World* ceased publication in 2011 over a phone-hacking scandal. Its fondness for revealing sex scandals gave it the nickname *Screws of the World*. Other papers have been accused of misogyny for not including enough female contributors. In response to accusations of sexism, papers such as *The London Review of Books* have proclaimed their wish to include a greater number of articles written by women, claiming that they receive fewer pitches from female writers.
- The Times is known as an establishment paper because it tends to support the political party in power. Historically, its political allegiance was to the conservatives but it remained neutral in some elections, refusing to endorse any party. Its contributors nowadays come from both sides of the spectrum but the perceived bias / slant of the newspaper is that it remains somewhat conservative / right-wing, even though it is not officially the press organ of the Conservative party. It tends to be read mostly by politicians, lawyers, businessmen and the upper echelons of professional people.
- The Guardian's perceived bias / slant is left-wing / left-of-center. It is considered to be liberal / progressive / reformist in its views, positioning itself as a bastion / bulwark / defense against predatory capitalism, the downgrading of education, the erosion of health care. It also has an anti-monarchic stance / standpoint / viewpoint and tends to defend worthy causes such as gay marriage, gun control and the protection of the environment. In 2018, it changed its format to tabloid size, retaining its quality newspaper status.
- The Economist's mission statement favours progress and innovation in all areas. It advocates civil liberties and economic freedom. It is economically liberal, supporting free markets / free trade, free immigration / freedom of movement, globalization, cultural liberalism, governmental regulation of health. It tends to support liberal causes and describes itself as a centrist paper. Although individual columnists take diverse views, the articles featured in The Economist are unsigned, thus preserving editorial anonymity. The Guardian once criticized it for endorsing / advocating privatization, deregulation and liberalization.
- The Observer's political allegiance is center-left. It is widely perceived as a moderate paper.
- The official aim of The London Review of Books is to challenge orthodoxy. Its articles are typically lengthy and opinionative. Contributors generally express strong opinions with an overt / explicit bias.
- The Daily Telegraph is perceived / viewed as being frankly conservative. It has been nicknamed the Torygraph in reference to the Tory / Conservative party.
- The Spectator has been described as having a "purple-faced rightwing worldview", despite its wittiness and erudition. A reviewer in *The Guardian* described it as "pro-fox-hunting, climate-change-denying, insidiously Islamophobic".
- The New Statesman's media bias is patently / overtly Labour-leaning, but it has been cited as resisting Corbynmania.

- The Independent prides itself on freedom from political allegiance and other power structures, though it is regarded as being center-left on the political spectrum. It once accused The Times and The Daily Telegraph of reflecting the views of its owners Rupert Murdoch and Conrad Black. It ceased printing in 2016 but its online version is still active. It was launched in 1986 but quickly became a rival to The Guardian. It has a more promarket stance than The Guardian.
- There are regular concerns about media plurality (the diversity of available viewpoints)
  and ownership in both the UK and the US. It is sometimes feared that too much media
  power is concentrated in the hands of a few owners.
- As resources for investigative journalism dwindle / diminish in the digital age, there are
  also concerns / fears that automated journalism (generated by computers) will start to
  replace it, endangering the notion of media plurality and in-depth news coverage.
- Online news is freely available in both the UK and the US, thus ensuring the concept of 'net neutrality' (the absence of governmental interference in the web). The only censorship of the Internet in these countries is brought to bear on news sites that advocate / promote terrorist violence and other criminal activities.

#### b. The American press

- As in Britain, America possesses media outlets of every political colour but its main
  papers sold nationwide remain center-right / somewhat / slightly conservative. This
  being said, it is important to remember that a journalist's political colour / affiliation
  is not necessarily determined by the newspaper in which s/he writes. An increasing
  number of newspaper and magazine editors commission articles / opinion pieces from
  journalists on both sides of the political divide.
- Unlike Britain, there are very few national / nationwide newspapers in America. 95% of all
  papers in the US are local / regional / city-based. As elsewhere in the world, newspaper
  circulation has dropped dramatically since the 1970s.
- Weekend newspapers fare better than other kinds of papers as Americans tend to read news reportage mostly at the weekends. Sunday editions have actually increased their circulation since the 1970s.
- The four most widely available current affairs magazines in the US are *Newsweek, Time, The Atlantic* and *US News & World Report*. The latter is now mostly reduced to being a ranking organ that establishes lists of the best institutions currently functioning in the US. Its ranking system is as widely known and followed within the US as rankings established by *Forbes* and *Washington Monthly*.
- The Atlantic was originally published as The Atlantic Monthly. The magazine was founded
  and sponsored in 1857 by writers of the American Renaissance such as Harriet Beecher
  Stowe and Ralph Waldo Emerson. It was originally focused exclusively on cultural issues
  but now also covers politics, economics, health, science and technology. It has no official
  electoral stance / standpoint / bias, but tends to endorse liberal / center-left presidential
  candidates.
- Both Time and Newsweek are published on a weekly basis. Founded in 1923, Time magazine
  has the world's largest circulation for a weekly magazine. Circulation has dropped since
  the 1990s, but it still maintains high sales worldwide. According to the Nolan chart, Time
  is a centrist magazine with a slight authoritarian bias. It has been argued that it has a
  slightly Republican slant / bias; others claim that a number of its articles place it slightly

left-of-center or exactly in the center, like most mainstream American papers. *Newsweek* is perceived as having a slightly more Democratic slant, but is also considered a centrist magazine by many.

- At a circulation of over two million copies, The Wall Street Journal is the mostly widely sold daily newspaper, followed closely by USA Today and The New York Times. Renowned papers such as The Los Angeles Times, New York Post, Chicago Tribune and The Washington Post all have a circulation figure of around half a million.
- USA Today is a mid-market daily in both style and content. It is often referred to derisively
  by the intelligentsia as McPaper. It offers news in condensed, easy and quick to read
  articles. It rose to prominence by imitating the way news is presented on television. The
  opinion section of the paper provides divergent views to those held by the members
  of the editorial team. It is often introduced by a guest contributor, in order to provide
  a diversity of opinion. The paper tends not to endorse party candidates in order to
  remain independent. Members of its editorial team come from all sides of the ideological
  spectrum.
- Founded in 1851, The New York Times is one of the oldest newspapers still in circulation
  in the US. It is considered to be a moderate / liberal paper with a slight Blue-state /
  Democrat bias. Although it regularly criticizes both Democrats and Republicans, its
  conflict with Donald Trump has given the public the impression that it has decidedly
  Democrat sympathies.
- Founded in 1877, The Washington Post is one of the most conservative mainstream
  papers. This is perceptible in its call for heightened immigration restriction. Although
  previously quite liberal, it has in recent years become neocon. This being said, a few of
  its contributors hold left-wing views. It has endorsed presidential candidates from both
  sides of the political spectrum.
- Founded in 1889, The Wall Street Journal is a business-focused daily broadsheet. Its
  mantra is "free markets and free people". Its open border policy on immigration is
  largely motivated by its pro-business stance. Its advocacy of lower taxes and limited
  governmental regulation and climate change denial makes it a clearly right-wing journal.
  Since Rupert Murdoch purchased it, it has been argued that the newspaper has become
  more conservative in its approach.
- First published in 1963, *The New York Review of Books* is an eclectic newspaper, focusing on a broad range of areas that include literature, culture, economics, science and current affairs. Like The *London Review of Books* which it founded, the *NY Review* features thoughtful, probing, long-form articles.

### Entraînement à la synthèse de documents

**EXERCISE 1.** Write a comparative summary of the two following texts and give your summary a title. (70 words)

**Méthode**: Évitez de citer les mots employés dans l'article car le jury souhaite évaluer votre capacité à reformuler et à synthétiser. Vous devez aussi vous garder d'ajouter votre propre opinion ou d'apporter des informations extérieures au document dans ce genre d'exercice. Dégagez les enjeux principaux en comparant les deux textes sans en favoriser un en particulier.

#### Text 1. Does the British Conservative Party vet the press?

A senior political commentator has accused Theresa May of refusing to take questions from journalists unless they have prior approval to speak. [...] He also claimed another reporter had been told journalists' questions were being prevetted. A Conservative party spokesperson claims that this was entirely false and that preselection of journalists was only carried out in order to ensure each outlet – irrespective of political leaning – had a fair chance to question the Prime Minister.

[Adapted from "Theresa May 'refusing to take press questions she hasn't pre-approved', claims Michael Crick" by Lucy Pacha-Robinson, *The Independent*, 9 May 2017]

#### Text 2. Donald Trump and his animus against the press

During his campaign, Donald Trump railed against what he called the "dishonest media", promising to expand libel laws. It was not a great surprise, then, that only 32 percent of people surveyed said they had a "great deal" or a "fair amount" of trust in the mainstream media –an all-time low for the survey, down eight points from the previous year. Republicans in particular had an extremely negative view, with a mere 14 percent expressing trust in the media, a drop of more than half in just over a year. Since Trump's election, his pathological dislike for the media has only deepened. The president has attempted to further undermine trust in the press over the past several months by calling into question every story that fails to please him, while labelling some of the most reputable publications "fake news", branding members of the press "enemies of the people".

[Adapted from "Donald Trump is losing his war with the press –but the media still has a massive credibility problem" by Conor Lynch, Salon, 21 May 2017]

#### **Questions**

- 1. Why does President Trump wish to open up libel laws?
- 2. If Trump extends libel laws, what amendment to the Constitution will he be in breach of?
- 3. What effect have Trump's assaults on the press had on public opinion according to this article excerpt / extract?
- 4. Why is it ironic that Trump tends to rail against the perils of fake news?
- 5. What does the journalist think of Trump's stance / standpoint / attitude?
- **6.** When was the last time there was such a major conflict between a US president and the press?
- 7. How recent is the phenomenon of fake news / false news / disinformation / misinformation?
- 8. What do you think of the idea according to which it's not facts that win elections, but emotion?
- 9. Is fake news / disinformation as prevalent / widespread in France?

### **Synthétiser et contextualiser**

▶ EXERCISE 2. Summarize the following article in English and use the previous articles to contextualize it. In your view, how harmful is Trump's attempt to delegitimize the press, presenting journalists as purveyors of untruths? (250 words)

**Méthode :** Ce genre d'exercice (un texte en français) est retenu pour l'épreuve orale de certaines écoles de commerce. À l'examen, veillez à prendre des notes directement en anglais dès la première lecture.

#### Text 3. Trump's Fake News Awards

Donald Trump imagine des prix ironiques pour la presse mensongère. Côté fake news, il n'est pourtant pas en reste. Et dans des proportions impressionnantes. Selon le Washington Post, il a proféré 2001 mensonges sur toute l'année 2017. Soit 40 par semaine. Exemple parmi d'autres: à 55 reprises, il a affirmé être à l'origine des plus importantes réductions d'impôts de l'histoire des Etats-Unis. Le quotidien américain a démontré que la baisse des taxes lancée par Ronald Reagan en 1981 avait été plus forte. De quoi lui valoir un prix d'interprétation à ses propres Fake News Awards.

[Adapted from "Donald Trump invente les 'fake news awards' et distribue ses prix aux médias", L'Express]

### v Rédiger un court essai

#### **EXERCISE 3.** Write an essay on one of the topics below. (250 words)

**Méthode :** Ce genre d'essai fait appel à vos connaissances personnelles. Il vous est demandé en l'occurrence de formuler une opinion, mais vous êtes libre de peser le pour et le contre avant de trancher, en évitant de paraître vous contredire. Veillez à donner des exemples concrets afin d'éviter de rester dans des généralités floues ou abstraites.

- 1. Just after his election, Donald Trump stated the opinion / opined that it was the media that was really "the opposition party in many ways". Comment on this quotation.
- 2. How important do you think the press is in maintaining the system of checks and balances / the separation of powers? (Use words like watchdog, whistleblower, silence-breaker.)
- 3. Can the press still be considered as 'the fourth estate' (a counterpower to government)?
- **4.** In 1972, Richard Nixon opined/claimed that "the press is the enemy". Comment on this quotation.
- 5. Should there be any limits on freedom of the press in your view? (Use words like to muckrake (to report on / reveal scandalous news), muckraking, a muckraker, slander (oral or gestural defamation), libel (printed defamation), to defame (to injure someone's reputation / good name), to utter / circulate slander, a slanderous / injurious / libellous statement, defamatory language, character assassination, to sue somebody for libel.)
- 6. The following satirical statement was made by the American novelist Gore Vidal a few decades ago. To what extent would you say it still holds true today? "The American press exists for one purpose only, and that is to convince Americans that they are living in the greatest and most envied country in the history of the world. The Press tells the American people how awful every other country is and how wonderful the United States is and how evil communism is and how happy they should be to have freedom to buy seven different sorts of detergent."
- 7. Comment on the following statement by the French novelist Amin Malouf: "People sometimes imagine that just because they have access to so many newspapers, radio and TV channels, they will get an infinity of different opinions. Then they discover that things are just the opposite: the power of these loudspeakers only amplifies the opinion prevalent at a certain time, to the point where it covers any other opinion."
- 8. Comment on the following statement made by the American journalist A.J. Liebling: "Freedom of the press is limited to those who own one."
- **9.** In his play *An Ideal Husband*, Oscar Wilde has one of his characters say that "In the old days men had the rack. Now they have the Press." How true is this of contemporary Anglo-Saxon newspapers in your view?

- 10. Culture critic Suzy Kassem claims that you should "never judge someone's character based on the words of another. Instead, study the motives behind the words of the person casting the bad judgment." How wary should you be of the motives of journalists and reviewers?
- **11.** Political activist Malcolm X claimed that "the media is the most powerful entity on Earth, because they control the minds of the masses." Do you agree with this statement?

### v CELSA Concours 2014: entraînement à l'écrit

EXERCISE 4. Complete the following CELSA entrance exam in no more than 1 hour and 30 minutes.

PART ONE – Fill in each of the blanks using the most appropriate term. You may write on the document, but in the exam you must use the attached answer sheet to provide your final responses, using CAPITAL LETTERS (A, B, C, D, E). Only one answer is possible for each space.

**Méthode:** Les textes à trous de ce type évaluent les connaissances grammaticales du candidat, mais également les connaissances idiomatiques ainsi que la compréhension fine du texte. Pensez toujours à la logique du propos général, mais aussi à la logique dictée par le contexte immédiat de la phrase.