# THE FOOLSCAP
## VOL. 2

Table of Contents:

# INTRODUCTION
## By Chelsea Ricchio, Editor-in-Chief

We write in each other's high school yearbooks, 'You rock, don't ever change!' But some things are meant to. How awful would it be if we were all actually the same people we were at 17?

There are many hardcore media 'traditionalists' out there who resist change like it's the plague, but one of the best things about the University of Toronto's Book & Media Studies program is that it gives equal attention to both traditional and digital media.

The essays collected in this year's edition of The Foolscap are primarily concerned with exploring the changes in media industries. You'll read about how social media is bringing to light sexism and other ethical concerns in the press, including the recent Jian Ghomeshi controversy, newspapers' efforts to digitize themselves, viral videos and of course, e-readers.

But there is a time and place for everything, and this is the **Book** & Media Studies program after all. At UofT, we have access to unique old and rare books, which leads to some interesting assignments. Learn about nineteenth-century chapbooks in Lily Ren's case study on James Kendrew.

As for me, I worked at a large bookstore throughout most of my time in university, and I heard the debate about whether or not print is dying nearly on a daily basis from customers and coworkers alike. Being exposed to so much of that both at work and at school, one would think that an easy majority would be evident, but interestingly enough, I feel like I always heard from both sides equally.

Sometimes there is no one right answer and that is the only thing that I am certain of when it comes to media. There is no one-size-fits-all medium, and that's okay. I think the debate is really less about 'print vs. digital' but about how to find each medium a place in our changing society. It's about finding the medium that's right for you. I hope that the essays in this collection inspire you to think critically and draw your own conclusions.

## Chelsea Ricchio: Editor-in-Chief

*Chelsea is a fifth-year student at the University of Toronto, graduating in the spring of 2015 with a Bachelor of Arts with majors in both English Literature and Book & Media Studies. She is also the current President of student group Active Minds at UofT, which raises awareness for mental health concerns on campus. Chelsea now works as the Communications Manager at Healthy Minds Canada.*

# Foolscap 2014-2015 Staff & Contributors

**Steve Hoselton:**         *Academic Supervisor*

**Chelsea Ricchio:**         *Editor-in-Chief*

**Michelle Speyer:**         *Assistant Editor*

Michelle Speyer studies English literature, media, and writing at the University of Toronto. Her writing has been featured in a number of campus publications, including Acta Victoriana, Humanitas, and Echolocation.

**Caitlin Plainos:**         *Assistant Editor*

Caitlin is a 4th-year student double majoring in English and Book and Media Studies. This is her second year as an assistant editor for The Foolscap, which she loves because editing is her passion! With plans to pursue a Masters in Publishing next year, Caitlin is hoping to make it as a top editor for a big publishing house one day. When she is not reading or editing her friends'essays, Caitlin enjoys dancing, snow-boarding,  going to concerts, and trying new restaurants.

**Pamela Smofsky:**         *Assistant Editor*

Pamela Smofsky is a second year student. She is doing a double major in Book and Media Studies and Art History and a minor in English. She is interested in the worlds of publishing, editing, and information technologies. She would rather edit a bio than write one.

**Jennifer Bell:**         *Assistant Editor*

Jennifer is a fourth-year student at the University of Toronto, majoring in English while minoring in History and Book & Media Studies. Combining these disciplines has had Jennifer study the unique relationship between audience and narrative. She hopes to venture into the exciting world of writing, publishing, and journalism as she is passionate about good story-telling.

**Jessica Brown:**         *Graphic Designer*

Jessica is a mature student finishing up her third year majoring in Book and Media Studies and minoring in History and Human Geography.  She hopes one day to produce short  documentaries and has been bitten by the travel bug after studying abroad in Germany in 2014.

**Alexander Chernogorov:**         *Contributor*

**Riley von Niessen:**         *Contributor*

## Chloe Wittes: Contributor

Chloe is a fourth-year student in in Book and Media Studies, Art History, and Music History. With an academic focus on the 20th and 21st centuries, Chloe's studies have focused on exploring current social phenomena within arts-based frameworks, to better understand contemporary Western culture and its antecedents. Aside from her scholarly pursuits, Chloe is an active volunteer at the Art Gallery of Ontario, and an administrative associate at the U of T Faculty of Music's Booking Office.

## Elisa Tate: Contributor

Elisa Tate is a fifth year student at the University of Toronto, majoring in Book & Media Studies and minoring in both Writing & Rhetoric and Italian Studies. She is also a public relations coordinator for a furniture company and has recently started an archival assistant position at Sunnybrook Hospital Archives. In her spare time she enjoys reading literature and cooking diverse cuisines. She hopes to study media in graduate school or to enter the public relations field in Toronto.

## Lily Yuxi Ren: Contributor

Lily Yuxi Ren is a third-year student majoring in Book & Media Studies and Health Studies, and minoring in Human Geography. She currently serves as the President of the Book and Media Studies Student Association. She is also the treasurer for the Health Studies Student Union. With a strong interest in BMS, she volunteers regularly in the Print Room at the Kelly Library working on projects using nineteenth century hand presses. When she is not in class, she enjoys travelling having recently returned from a summer exchange in Germany, and partaking in various volunteering gigs. Her active involvement on campus and in the community keeps her on her toes!

## Ondiek Oduor : Contributor

Ondiek is a third year student studying at the University of Toronto. He double majors in Social-Cultural Anthropology and Book & Media Studies with a minor in Women & Gender Studies. He is passionate about social equity and its relation to mainstream media. He is currently the Male Head of Non-Resident Affairs at Trinity College, and also works as a social media intern at the Student Life department at the University of Toronto

## Coco Bee: Contributor

Coco is a third year University of Toronto student majoring in Book and Media Studies, and taking programs in Political Science and History. She is an animal lover, and owns a very silly four year old Goldendoodle. Her passions include; photography, modern art and literature. Her favourite book is The Art of Racing in The Rain.

# Why We Engage with 'Viral' Content, and Why We Should Continue to do So: 'Viral' Content, Community, and Cultural Capital on Social Networking Sites

*Chloe Wittes*

**ABSTRACT:**

*Employing theories pertaining to community and cultural capital as expressed by 20th-century scholars Karl Polanyi and Pierre Bourdieu respectively, this essay explores how and why 21st-century social network users engage with 'viral' content of various natures. Particular focus is placed on defining the parameters of 'viral' content and social networking sites, and on outlining the various forms through which this content is manifest. This paper argues that the steady production of 'viral' content, as well as the heightened degree of participation with this content on social networking websites, is indicative of users adapting the fulfilment of basic needs such as community and validation to these emergent platforms.*

From Gangnam Style to Feed the Deed, the majority of social media users are for the most part quite attuned to the latest viral trends circulating the web. What is less discussed and understood, however, is why we engage in this behaviour on such a regular basis. When examined individually, viral 'fads' are largely little more than that: often-superficial trends which are the subjects of high interest and volume for a limited amount of time. Yet, in examining the motives for routinely engaging with this content, it is evident that the participation with viral content is quite complex: it is an expression of our abilities to adapt the instinctive fulfilment of basic needs and societal structures to changing technologies. At a time when globalization is at an all-time high, viral content affords users the opportunity to form communities based on the sharing of such on social media websites, and within these communities, to establish standards and norms as to what behaviour is acceptable and rewarded in these frameworks. Founded on the discussion of 20th-century economist Karl Polanyi's notion of our instinctive need for community and 20th-century philosopher Pierre Bourdieu's idea of 'cultural capital,' this paper argues the importance and value of sharing viral content. Although this engagement with viral content is often viewed as a substandard form of cultural currency, this form of engagement is tremendously worthwhile, and an important type of cultural capital. It creates a setting in which we may redefine our understanding of community to mean a shared experience not bound by physical commonality or even common interest, but rather, by an understanding of this socially-constructed expectation to remain informed of viral content. In this essay, I will first define what is understood by the terms 'viral' and 'social networking site,' and establish why these sites lend themselves particularly well to the formation and circulation of viral content, focusing specifically on Facebook. Then, by incorporating Polanyi's ideas, I will examine why we are compelled to engage in the sharing of this content. Last, I will discuss and expand upon Bourdieu's definition of cultural capital and argue its applicability and validity as concerns viral content. Though these ideas by both scholars were conceived of before the advent of social networking websites, they are undoubtedly equally applicable today, and essential in our understanding of the motives behind sharing viral content.

Before discussing the causes and implications of this online communal form of sharing, it is first important to define the working parameters of the term 'viral content.' Broxton et al. define it as "the sharing and re-sharing of videos on social sites" which "become popular through internet sharing" (241). They classify these as "highly social videos [which] rise to, and fall from, their peak popularity more quickly than less social videos" (Broxton et al. 241). Although their definition pertains strictly to viral videos, I am expanding this definition here to define all viral content, such as videos, images, quotes, memes, and participatory activities. For the purposes of this essay, anything that is tremendously popular and widespread through social networking sites, but ultimately, largely ephemeral, is considered a form of viral content. It is equally important to define what is meant by the term 'social networking site,' since this is a key component contributing to the success of viral content online (though it is important to note that viral content is also, though less commonly, shared and discussed outside these platforms). Here, I am using boyd and Ellison's definition of social networking sites, stated as: "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (211). Now that both the nature of the content at hand and the nature of the medium through which it is shared have been defined, it is important to illustrate some examples which possess this 'viral' quality. To name only a select few, the following are all examples of viral content which circulated via social networking sites in the past couple years (most prominently via Facebook), and which, although still referenced occasionally, have lost their initial momentum and cultural obsession: Gangnam Style, Harlem Shake, Planking, Feed the Deed, Charlie Bit My Finger, Kony 2012, Grumpy Cat, No Makeup Selfies, and the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge. Interestingly, this list reveals that viral content is not synonymous with vapid content, since several items on this list are very much embedded in social and political issues. The varied subject matter and content of these viral fads thus begs the question: what has made such a wide array of diverse content so intensely popular around the world? To answer this question, we must look at the properties of social networking sites, and in specific, Facebook's key features, which encourage this type of online communal viral sharing.

The term 'viral,' as it pertains to the above definition, is indeed a by-product of the Internet, and does not exist in other mass media. Like all mass media, the Internet has certain key features which are unique to it, and which, when users engage with it, affect their thoughts and behaviour due to the inherent biases of the medium. Social networking sites, certainly in line with this notion, encourage the practice of rapid collective communication, because unlike all other mass media, these sites allow for users to communicate with many other users at once, as opposed to having a single

authoritative voice communicating to many users, as is the case with radio, television, and newspapers. Facebook in particular is the ideal forum for this type of communal sharing for several reasons. First of all, its privacy settings are customizable, which signals that we feel more at liberty to engage in various virtual social interactions in which we perhaps otherwise might not (such as the popular, yet dangerous, viral teenage drinking game Neknominations), knowing that potential employers or others will not be able to access this information. Also, due to its overall popularity and high number of users, we are able to disseminate information quickly and to a large audience, knowing that those on our 'Friends' list will likely see it. The interface of the site also facilitates and actually encourages the user to share content; under each post, the user is presented with three options: 'Like,' 'Comment,' or 'Share.' Sharing content on Facebook is therefore very quick, convenient, and easy to do. Lastly, unlike sites such as Twitter, Facebook does not impose any limits on the quantity of text that one posts, and is fairly intuitive and user-friendly, which allows users to share information or viral content freely, without concerns of space limitations.

Having stipulated working definitions of viral content and social networking sites, as well as why these sites lend themselves so well to the circulation of viral content, the question remains why we engage in this form of online participation, and whether this is a worthy use of the vast amount of time and effort that we expend on this activity. I am arguing that the reason we are continuously creating and engaging with new viral content is two-fold: because we are in search of a sense of community and to feel a sense of connection with our peers, and because in doing so, we augment our own cultural capital. Thus, though the substance of this viral material may not be significant to our lives in any particular way, the act of sharing it certainly is. As Karl Polanyi argues, we as human beings are able to withstand a tremendous amount of discomfort and duress, provided we feel a sense of community and of sharing this experience with other like-minded people (164). Although viral content is often not tied to situations which are particularly stressful, Polanyi's argument nonetheless speaks to the inherent importance we place on a sense of community and togetherness. Similarly, University of Toronto professor Rick Salutin suggests that the Internet has formed a vast global community, dissolving the feeling of more localized, physical, tight-knit communities, which is problematic for us since we naturally thrive in communal settings (Salutin). To echo this thought, Mark Poster writes that "every cultural object now exists in a (potentially) global context" (698), which is certainly equally true of viral content. As a result, in this new era marked by one giant global community comprising the majority of the world's population, we are searching for ways to connect with one another, and to maintain this sense of community despite the fact that the Internet naturally problematizes this construct. This circulation of

viral content addresses this problem, by allowing us to redefine and reconstruct our definition of community, to be no longer bound by physical closeness, but rather, by a sense of closeness in the shared understanding and appreciation of viral content.

Similarly, when engaging with viral content, our cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu, is augmented. In contrast with social capital, Bourdieu states that cultural capital "can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously" (245). Cultural capital, then, is anything intangible which is deemed as having a widely-accepted importance and value in a given society, which creates a sort of currency used in the overall construct of social strata, and which is considered as valuable and vital as tangible (primarily monetary) currency. Additionally, it is culturally-defined, and as a result, varies depending on factors such as place and time. This means that in order for one to amass cultural capital, a person must understand what sorts of knowledge and norms are valued in a given society, so that they may then engage in these practices, and increase their cultural capital. Unlike more tangible forms of capital such as money and prizes, cultural capital is less universal and more culturally-determined, but remains something in which we place tremendous importance. In the case of viral content, cultural capital plays an extremely important role in our motivation to engage with this type of information. Being aware of current social and viral trends gives us a sense of community, but also, of accomplishment in keeping up with this community. When it comes to interactions via social networking sites such as Facebook, we have established a construct wherein we encourage one another to participate in this viral content-sharing culture, and we reward each other when doing so.

The remaining question is whether this engagement with viral content is a valid and worthwhile standard of cultural capital. Should we be investing the tremendous amount of time and energy that we currently do in keeping up with the latest fad, and sharing it with others? Gauntlett makes the case that "making and sharing things online, engaging with people who (at first) you don't know anything about, anywhere in the world, can be very rewarding" (114). As much as viral content forms communities among people who otherwise would not know each other, it also strengthens the bonds in communities where the members already do know each other. For instance, in the University of Toronto's 'Social Technology and Networks' course Facebook group, classmates often posted content of a similar nature from week to week, based on what was most popular and widely discussed online at that time. Content was most similar – and sometimes even identical – when viral trends were circulating. Viral content thus became a point of mutual interest and understanding, and created a rapport among users which otherwise would likely not be present. Moreover, participatory viral trends such as the

aforementioned No Makeup Selfies and the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge, at their core, encourage participation among users who not only know each other but are quite close with one another, since one of the stipulations of these trends is that once the given act is completed, a person engaged in this activity is supposed to nominate others from their peer group to engage in this same activity. Several individuals from a certain peer group hence will often engage in a similar activity and resultantly share in its experience, without doing so at the same time or place. Therefore, viral content has the capacity of forming communities and relations among people who do not know each other, but also of strengthening relationships among people who do know each other to varying degrees.

Viral content equally establishes the opportunity to effect positive change, as was true with Feed the Deed: a participatory viral trend which had as its premise the act of performing good deeds, sharing this fact with other users, and nominating others to participate in a similar activity. Though maintaining similar guidelines as more controversial participatory activities such as the previously-mentioned Neknominations, Feed the Deed, while similar in construct, had a very different outcome, and one which was very positive. Nevertheless, it may be argued that this pervasive engagement with viral content is not a legitimate form of cultural capital, because we are most often (save rare cases such as Feed the Deed) not actually actively contributing to society in any sort of positive manner, but rather, we are simply engaging in the massive dissemination of small bits of information. Interestingly, though, as previously mentioned, viral content is not limited to more shallow pieces of information; today, most information quickly becomes viral content to some extent. Through social networking sites, important world events such as the ongoing Ebola crisis in 2014 and American President Obama's 2015 State of the Union address equally become bits of viral content; these two events, along with many others in recent times, have been the subjects of heightened discussion and debate over a short period of time, after which they are seldom discussed. Though this might not solely be due to social networking platforms, what is certainly true is that virtually all topics and content on social networking sites (exacerbated by features such as the 'Trending' pane on Facebook) become viral content to varying degrees. Therefore, even when actively trying to discuss and contribute in more meaningful ways, we are still subject to engaging with and having our posts become a part of viral content.

As author Clive Thompson writes, "Digital tools are giving us new and powerful ways of grappling with information" (87), and I further argue that viral content is a new form of social and cultural partici-pation or "grappling with information." Though this "grappling" of course occurs in more in-depth fashions through other online forums such as discussion panes on newspaper article webpages, this fact does not negate the validity of "grappling" with information in a 'viral' fashion. Rather, it highlights that information can be processed

in several different yet equal fashions, using digital technologies. Though admittedly more superficial and transient, viral content, by its very nature, reaches an unparalleled number of users tremendously quickly, creating a multi-dimensional dialogue unmatched on other platforms. Certainly with new media and technologies there is a reshaping in how society views and establishes norms; although this increasingly pervasive and transient trend of sharing masses of viral content is sometimes questioned, I propose that this engagement does not pose a threat to our constructs of social and communal interaction and understanding, but rather, is a creative response to the changing constructs brought forth by and through the Internet and social networking sites.

Viral content is an increasingly common form of cultural capital via social networking sites, which among other aspects, creates a reworked sense of community, approval from peers, shared cultural understanding, and socially-based re-appropriation of content which would otherwise have a completely different connotation. We are creating a new type of language, wherein those not familiar with a particular piece of viral content do not understand the reference, and thus, do not speak the 'language,' and miss out on the opportunity for a sense of community and shared understanding. Although there is resultant pressure to constantly be aware of new viral trends, being engaged with others in this way can indeed be quite rewarding, and can also result in positive change, as was the case for example with Feed the Deed. Ultimately, the production and propulsion of viral content is an example of users adapting to changing technologies and subsequent changing societal structures, and is an important manner in which we can communicate with one another, and form new ideas concerning the markers of cultural capital and community.

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# The Millennial News Consumer: Rebeling Against Newspaper Authority

*Elisa Tate*

**Abstract**

*Legacy newspapers (newspapers with a long-term print circulation) are struggling to attract a Millennial readership because they fail to accurately cover Millennial social issues or to adapt to changes in technology. Currently the struggles of the Millennial Generation have caused them to create online and public protests. However, legacy newspapers negatively portray Millennial protesters because they prefer to support the values of government and financial institutions. The newspaper coverage of the 2012 Quebec Student Protests demonstrates the legacy newspaper's reinforcement of the status quo by its harsh criticism of Millennial protesters. During the protests, social media became the democratic and participatory platform for Millennials to unite through accessible and immediate news transmission. While the newspaper remains a stagnant printed page, social media allows Millennials to receive news online and on their mobile devices. Legacy newspapers can become relevant to the Millennial Generation by affirming Millennial activist values and promoting an interactive dialogue through social media.*

The Millennial generation, comprised of individuals born between 1980 and 2000 (Hartman and McCambridge 22), is often scrutinized for their preference of free online news sources rather than paid print news sources. The concerns of Millennial news disengagement are echoed in concerns of civic disengagement, where Millennials appear to be self-involved and concerned with "the culture of the moment," which considers only "trendy" and ephemeral social issues (Micallef). Like previous generations, Millennials are most concerned with the social issues that affect their generation. Millennial rebellion against the established newspaper authority corresponds to the generation's search for younger voices that will discuss current issues such as persistent unemployment and income inequality. However, Millennials seek to change their situation by creating protest movements, which are negatively portrayed in newspapers. The 2012 Quebec Student Protests provide an example of how legacy newspapers, print newspapers with an authoritative reputation and long-term readership, silenced protestors ("Saving Community Journalism").

In order to examine what kind of newspaper would engage a Millennial readership, it is necessary to understand that the disconnection between Millennials and newspapers occurs when newspapers neglect to accurately portray the Millennial's reality. Furthermore, the legacy newspaper is a disengaging medium, for it upholds the values of government and financial institutions rather than expressing the concerns of average citizens. The Millennial newspaper should give the generation agency by affirming Millennial values and providing a democratic platform for dialogue and interaction. The Millennial Generation prefers to consume news through social media because it provides a participatory space to discuss Millennial issues. Social media allows Millennials to unite and

create online and public social movements through its immediacy and accessibility. Thus the Millennial newspaper should also seek to incorporate social media to remain relevant and promote communication between readers.

Up until the early 21st century, the newspaper was the predominant medium for providing information to individuals that shaped their perception of daily events. The newspaper was the core and the stabilizer, uniting individuals and providing structure to their lives. However, the newspaper is an insular and self-contained tool; once a newspaper is printed, it becomes a paralyzed apparatus until the next issue is printed. Nevertheless, the advantage of the newspaper is that it provides a protected packaged reality, for the medium places itself between its readers and the readers' reality, thus creating a shield to the destructive world. However, the newspaper posits itself as an authority and as a necessary tool for helping citizens engage with political, social, and economic issues (McCombs et al. 88). The newspaper not only reports news from important institutions but is also an important institution in itself as a trusted mass medium that transmits information, which is largely accepted as true, to a vast population. Newspapers do not always provide news that will politically engage their citizens because content is primarily shaped to portray government and corporate institutions positively.

The newspaper's representation of protest movements demonstrates how it is a tool for containment that does not coincide with the Millennial's need for dialogue and interaction. The relationship between newspaper and protester is problematic because public protests are antithetical to the newspaper's goal as stabilizer and organizer of human behaviour. Sometimes newspapers employ strategies to contain protest movements, such as selection bias and description bias. Selection bias describes the newspaper as a selector of news events, covering only those events that have already been dictated by an established authority. Description bias describes how newspapers negatively depict protestation because the newspaper, as an established authority, is threatened by the protesters' action against other authorities (Boyle et al. 638). As the newspaper posits itself as an authority of civic life, social media becomes the saviour in which citizens can be liberated by voicing their opinions through 'democratic' social media platforms. To label social media outlets as democratic is somewhat fallacious because some corporations, like Twitter and Facebook, have a history of censoring online protesters. Still, social media outlets do provide a platform to voice opinions while the newspaper, by comparison, is generally inaccessible for average citizens to voice their concerns, with the exception of the opinion pages.

In order for the newspaper to engage the Millennial generation, it must position itself as a voice of democracy. However, will this

concept disturb the newspaper's function as a container of human behaviour? Although many newspapers present themselves as a democratizing tool and not as a censor of information (Rosen 1), one scholar describes how the mainstream media is an agent of oppression for the average citizen as it "legitimize[s] the unjust policies and privileges of the state and corporations while muzzling the voices of fundamental dissent and marginalizing ordinary citizens from political debate, positioning them as passive spectators" (Hackett 198). The disconnection between the newspaper and Millennials is demonstrated by the legacy newspaper's portrayal of the Millennial generation compared to their reality. Currently, many Millennials have a pessimistic outlook on their future because of rising education costs, dismal employment opportunities, and growing income inequality. These circumstances have triggered online and public protests that have been covered unfairly by some legacy newspapers (Ball and Clark), as demonstrated by the newspaper coverage of the 2012 Quebec Student Protests.

The 2012 Quebec Student Protests originated because of a planned increase in post-secondary tuition fees by $325 a year for 5 years (Valpy and McKee). Legacy newspapers neglected to cover the core issue of the protests: raising post-secondary tuition privatizes education which turns it into a capital enterprise, but some Quebec residents believe that education should be free as it is for the betterment of society (Valpy and McKee). Jeffrey Simpson, a columnist for *The Globe and Mail*, is a prime example of why legacy newspapers do not understand Millennial values. Simpson extensively covered the 2012 Quebec Student Protests by largely considering the fiscal irresponsibility of free education in Quebec, which amounts to an increase in taxes for the average citizen ("Province of Sacrifice"). Simpson clearly affirms the values of the government by stating that Premier Jean Charest's tuition increase proposal was "modest" ("University Quality Forgotten"). He then targets the protesters, describing them as being "drunk with their own street power" ("Province of Sacrifice"). By marginalizing the protesters in such a way, Simpson demonstrates the description bias that newspapers sometimes use to negate the act of protesting for one's rights, instead depicting protests as anarchistic. Simpson silences the protester and substitutes his own voice as one of authority and reason.

Did Simpson ever travel to Quebec to understand the underlying causes of the protests? Or did he write his opinion pieces from his Toronto office? Simpson views the protesters as a threat against authority, hence the unfavourable depiction of the 2012 Quebec Student Protests in *The Globe and Mail*. Though Simpson does ask some pertinent questions that are relevant to the protest, he fails to give an honest voice to the protester or to understand the protester's cause ("A University Degree's Value"). Legacy newspapers will not engage Millennials if they criticize them for using democratic

principles such as free speech and public protest to attempt to change their circumstances. These newspaper representations of the protests, then, provide an example of how some legacy newspapers prefer to reaffirm the values of the government or other institutions by describing the protesters as irresponsible and irrational, and not providing a venue for protesters to explain their cause.

Newspapers can engage Millennials by affirming the values of the Millennial Generation rather than only the values of the elite. Media theorist James Carey describes news as a symbolic "sacred ceremony" where communal views are shared, not where new information is imparted (6). However, due to Millennial circumstances, the "sacred ceremony" is being actualized by larger protests featured on the streets around the world. The 2012 Quebec Student Protests demonstrate how Millennials can transcend the clicktivist (online protesting) impulse of their generation and become real-life activists. During the protests, social media became the participatory platform for the protester, while the newspaper remained the stagnant voice of the authority. Carey's theory of news as a symbolic representation *of* and creator *for* the reader's reality can be applied to the use of social media during the protests (11). Millennials read about the protests on up to date Twitter feeds, which in turn caused students to participate in larger droves based on the information that they read on various social media platforms. The Twitter hashtag #Manifencours was used to urgently alert the student protesters about when and where protests were occurring ("Best of MTL"). #Manifencours has since become a universal protest hashtag representing the organization of protests through immediate transmission ("Best of MTL"). The newspaper cannot work at that level of immediacy, nor could it transmit such a powerful message to unite all protestors. As a result of the 2012 Quebec Student Protests, Jean Charest negotiated with the protestors, which describes not only how democracy is meant to function but also how protesting can become an agent of change (Valpy). Significantly, the newspaper did not play as pivotal a role as social media throughout the protests. Only the newspaper that accurately describes the Millennial's reality will become a part of the Millennial's daily life.

The newspaper has a difficult time challenging the immediacy of social media because by the time that news is printed it is considered "stale" since it has already been transmitted online (Lapointe). The term newspaper does not apply to the type of news Millennials seek because they are the only generation who prefer to access information instantly online and on their mobile devices. News will always be prevalent but the idea of news on paper will become obsolete in the Digital Age. Newspapers have to become part of the multimedia online reality in order to survive. To correlate with Millennials searching for news stories that affect their reality, Millennials would search for news on a digital news aggregate that compiles various

news sources and contains content that appeals to Millennial concerns. News stories told through videos combined with social media interactivity create a satisfying news experience for those who prefer a multi-sensory approach to news.

In a Pew Research study, many Millennials stated that they receive their news from their social media feeds, with 58% of females obtaining news from Facebook and 57% of males receiving news from YouTube (Holcomb, Gottfried, and Mitchell). This change in receiving news through social media should be further explored by legacy newspapers if they want to gain Millennial readerships; one strategy is to provide exclusive breaking news content on their social media feeds. Publisher Philip Crawley maintains that a proliferation of news video consumption is central to *The Globe and Mail* targeting a Millennial readership (Crawley). However, what does it mean when 'readers' obtain news from videos and in turn become 'viewers' of the news? Can the term 'newspaper' apply if videos are implemented as the source of information? Perhaps the term 'newspaper' should be substituted for simply 'news'. Millennials are viewers of news, and if they can see the event, they feel more connected to it. Millennials experience online news stories not just from reading text but through images, sounds, and dialogue. The newspaper as a static source of information must adapt and evolve into a multi-media online reality that Millennial news consumers desire.

Can the newspaper continue to survive in the 21st century? Yes, but it must adapt to changes in technology and social evolution corresponding to the values of the Millennial Generation. Millennials who feel muzzled by the newspaper establishment will search for another outlet that allows them to become engaged citizens. The newspaper must not be critical of Millennials' news and civic disengagement and neglect to describe their realities. Millennials search for a centre because they can feel lost and confused by the dissemination of abundant information. The contemporary dilemma of information overload can be a void filled by the newspaper if it were to become the core of the Millennial citizen's daily life. However, the newspaper will have to adapt to their desire to seek news sources that will affirm their activist values and create a dialogue as opposed to the static interaction of reading an article printed on a page. The newspaper can promote this dialogue if it aims for a Millennial readership by creating social media platforms that provide a dialogical space. As the 2012 Quebec Student Protest newspaper coverage demonstrated, some legacy newspapers still posit themselves as an authority and protector of the status quo, while neglecting to provide voices to the protestors. This will need to change if the newspaper aims to survive and appeal to the Millennial Generation; the newspaper will have to become a voice, not for the powerful, but for the powerless.

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# PAY

# **B**ringing Down the Pay Wall
Alexander Chernogorov

# WALL

Pay walls remain a catalyst for the loss of readers in the ongoing strife between the public and publishers during the current economic crisis in the news media industry. While the majority of the public, thanks to the omnipotent Internet, searches for other sources of free news and information, newspapers grasp at straws to keep their devoted readers and simultaneously turn a profit. *The Wall Street Journal* pioneered the idea of pay walls back in 1997, instigating the gradual regression of free content on the Internet. Pay walls, however, expedite newspapers' demise in addition to the division of classes within newspaper communities. The erection of pay walls acts as opposition to democracy turning access to information into privilege and information itself into a commodity.

Jonathan E. Cook and Shahzeen Z. Attari discuss in their article the effects of a pay wall on *The New York Times* and on newspapers in general. The results of a national online longitudinal survey show that people were willing to pay when the pay wall had been represented as a financial necessity for the newspaper's survival. However, payment was refused when the pay wall was presented as a means of profit. The authors argue that although a pay wall might be met with negative reactions, it can nevertheless turn a profit if the company represents its intentions for the paywall as being motivated by fairness and equality. All 954 participants were college educated adults and regular visitors of the *New York Times* website. Of the 65 percent of volunteers who planned not to pay for the subscription, 59 percent were very confident in their responses. The participants who saw pay walls as means of profit claimed that the erection of pay walls resulted in social inequality based on household income and polarized content. They deduced that newspapers, like any other business, would rather devote their time and resources to cater to the interests of paying customers. In other words, upper and middle class readers would have the privilege of reading serious content that addresses issues affecting public interest like news about politics, economy, business, or sports. The less financially fortunate, however, would only be able to access trivial 'infotainment'. Not only would the polarization of content result in extended audience fragmentation but it would also define paying readers as the ones with the right to information and knowledge. Other users were not certain of their intent to subscribe despite the fact that pay walls had been presented to them as a financial necessity for the newspaper's survival.

A national survey of 767 U.S. online active adults was conducted at the University of Texas in order to estimate the users' intentions regarding paying for different newspaper formats: the amount they were willing to pay, as well as their responses to various payment models being considered by the newspaper industry. Results of the survey showed that the print edition is still considered the more valuable platform because it remains preferable to readers in terms

of usage, availability, and paying intent. The paying intent for print news tends to be lower because "as many as five factors (age, gender, news interest, preference, and online news use) have direct impacts on paying intent... Such findings present a dilemma -- while younger people are more likely to pay for online news, they tend to have lower interest in news compared with other age groups" (Chyi 21-22). The intent to subscribe to online versions of news sources was weak regardless of the payment options offered.

Taking into account the results of the aforementioned studies, it is logical to conclude that *The Globe & Mail* is set on filtering out the casual readers. Last year at the World Editors Forum John Stackhouse, editor-in-chief of *The Globe & Mail*, mentioned that at the moment the newspaper had more than 90,000 subscribers and "tens of thousands" of purely digital subscribers (Marshall 1). The newspaper experienced a 40 per cent decrease in casual readers during post-pay wall period (Marshall 1); therefore, it is safe to hypothesize that these tens of thousands are loyal readers who have had long-term subscriptions to print editions and who have been regular visitors of *The Globe & Mail* website.

On the same note, Nina Kvalheim of Nordicom Review offers her views on the relationship between the implementation of a pay wall and the news values of the Norwegian newspaper *Fædrelandsvennen*. Her article is based on quantitative content analysis of data collected from the online version of the newspaper fevennen.no. The aim of the study is to analyze the types of news the newspaper considers most valuable and thus as a possible source of income in order to approximate how the news market will look when more newspapers begin to charge for news online.

The business models of Norwegian and North American newspapers differ drastically when it comes to paid content. According to the figures in Kvalheim's article, the open and locked content of *Fædrelandsvennen*'s local news were fairly distributed on both sides of the wall "suggesting that the open articles might serve as a draw towards the news site, by giving the readers a taste of what is behind the paywall" (Kvalheim 34). The ratio of open to locked content remained 1:1 regardless of the local or national origins of the news.

At *The Globe & Mail* the distribution of locked versus open content is far more rigid. Once the monthly limit of free articles is reached, no news outside of free content can be accessed. Indeed, after clicking on ten random business articles, a pop-up appears offering a subscription to Globe Unlimited. Should a user decline the offer, a webpage will appear highlighting the sample free content. That includes mundane content such as horoscopes, fashion, food recipes, and technology. The premium content, which is available with a purchase of Globe Unlimited for $19.99 and offers information

on local and international public affairs in the fields of politics, investments, health, sports and many other topics, is not offered and becomes locked.

The idea of the pay wall contradicts James Carey's perspectives on the core values of communication and also acts as an opponent to John Dewey's theory of democratic journalism. Carey, a communication theorist and media critic famous for his development of the ritual view of communication, believed that the primary function of newspapers is not conveying news but rather affirming collective beliefs. Dewey, who was an American philosopher and psychologist, thought "journalists would be responsible for educating the society, to provide capacity to thought and make a powered decision maker. To encourage participation intended to promote public participation in political discourse" (Collado 1). Carey believed that thought is not a private commodity; it is shared. The ritual view of communication "sees the original or highest manifestation of communication... in the construction and maintenance of an ordered, meaningful cultural world that can serve as a control and container for human action" (Carey 15). Reading a newspaper encourages connectedness to others. "Collective", "shared," and "connectedness" are the key words. Newspapers cannot facilitate public discourse when the valuable majority of the newspaper content is hidden behind a wall. The information becomes fragmented, as does the public. Fragmentation is the complete opposite of collectiveness.

Furthermore, the erection of a pay wall illustrates *The Globe & Mail*'s approval of Walter Lippmann's views on participatory journalism. The publishers and journalists act as coordinators of information. They have taken it upon themselves to hierarchize the value of published content. The readers have no contribution to the news. Their role in journalism becomes passive and for a monthly fee, they literally become consumers of both digital and print information (Collado 1).

Following *The Globe*'s suit, the *Toronto Star* has only recently decided to join the digital market and are currently preparing to launch the digital tablet edition in collaboration with Montreal's *La Presse*. Contrary to *The Globe*'s perspectives, *The Star*'s priorities lie with free content. Edgar C. Simpson of *Newspaper Research Journal* analyzes a study that focuses on the values of free website viewers versus paid print subscribers. Taking into account Gupta and Mela's theory of network effects and computing the data from NAA reports on overall paid circulation, aggregate advertising revenue, aggregate Internet traffic and Internet revenue, the findings suggest that online audience and print readers are equally vital to the evolution of the newspaper industry. The direct and indirect networks of both paying and non-paying online consumers prominently influence the newspaper's economics. When an online reader shares an article via a social network, they create the direct network effects

between their community and a newspaper by attracting the attention of their friends and followers toward the posted material and the newspaper where the material originated. Furthermore, the shared information infers indirect network effects by acting as a topic for discussion. It stimulates the readers to comment and participate in a discussion of the posted information, thereby creating a separate audience bound by similar or different beliefs and ideas. Although there was little to no fluctuation in the number of readers of *The Globe & Mail*'s traditional format during the post-pay wall period, the decrease in online traffic proved that the Canadian newspaper fails substantially in terms of Gupta and Mela's theory. As discussed earlier, when *The Globe & Mail* established its pay wall, it not only locked its online content in, but it locked 40% of its audience out. The reduction in the number of readers is thus directly proportional to the amount of content shared. Therefore, *The Globe*'s pay wall appears to be a repeated offence against Carey's theory and in favour of Dewey's views on democracy in journalism.

*The Toronto Star*, on the other hand, has secured a balance between its print and online readers. It does not separate the public into either exclusively digital or print platform consumers. The research conducted by Carlos Flavian and Raquel Gurrea at the University of Zaragoza aims to determine readers' general motivations behind reading the press as well as deduce the degree of substitutability between digital and print newspapers (Flavian, Gurrea 649). The results of a series of in-depth interviews offer clear delineations of two groups of participants. One group of participants craves continuous news and immediate updates. Others read newspapers purely out of habit or for entertainment purposes. Subsequently, the latter group expressed neutrality in the study towards a preferred platform while the former group was in favour of the digital newspaper format.

In order to facilitate further the public's transition from print to digital as well as foresee what potential impacts could such transition have on *The Star*'s readership and economy, a study by *Publishing Research Quarterly* examined whether an e-reader would be an appropriate substitute for the traditional format of newspapers. After spending between 7 and 18 days with a Kindle DX before participating in an in-depth interview, the participants responded that "while many missed the newspaper once it had gone, after time this sense of loss had dissipated" (Hollander, Krugman, Reichert, Avant 131).

It is important to note that none of the newspapers featured in the two previous studies had pay walls. Thus, the publishers at *The Toronto Star* are adamantly paving the way towards the newspaper's brighter future by jumping on the digital bandwagon. The launch of *La Presse*'s iPad edition was a grand success. While some

users were weaning themselves from the traditional newspaper format and others were downloading the La Presse+ app on their tablets, *La Presse* already had approximately 30 advertisers ready to provide content (Marowits 1). Considering *La Presse* and *Toronto Star*'s collaboration, there is no reason to think that the Star's tablet edition will not be met with the same enthusiasm from readers and advertisers alike.

A study conducted by Gary Graham and Jim Freeman further evaluates the newspapers' competence in incorporation of modern web tools as a means of consumer attraction. Assessment of data from The Local Media Works database allowed the researchers to obtain insights into how newspapers across the United Kingdom are engaging with the Internet. The outcomes suggest that higher prices of the newspapers with established brand recognition provide more incentive to access their online analogues in the search for free information. In addition, the newspapers that provide their readers with free online content have less chance of experiencing reduction in circulation.

*The Star*'s business model appears to be solid and well planned. As long as the newspaper caters to its print subscribers, *The Toronto Star* should be off to a smooth start. *The Globe & Mail*, on the other hand, seems to set sights on the money as it tries to figure out ways to increase its revenue. There are two immediate suggestions that focus mostly on unification of *The Globe*'s print and online audiences. The first suggestion is to do what *La Presse* and *The Toronto Star* are doing: both newspapers keep the print format in order to appeal to long-term subscribers and, at the same time, innovate digital publishing to be in step with the times. After all, La Presse+ has been responsible for 30% of the media company's revenues since its launch (CBC News).

The second suggestion is to reconsider the monthly subscription fee for the newspaper's print edition. The monthly price for Monday-Sunday delivery of the print version is $41.98. The online Globe Unlimited membership however costs only $19.99 and is free for print subscribers. Therefore, readers who are not members of the online community pay twice as much as the readers who are. It would be wise to offer a free subscription to the print edition with a purchase of Globe Unlimited membership, as well. That way, *The Globe & Mail*'s community would reunify online and daily deliveries would become a matter of choice. As an alternative to the latter sugges-tion, *The Globe* might take an idea from the UK's *The Guardian*. *The Guardian* substituted free informational content with musical content by rewarding its pay wall subscribers with free subscriptions to the music service Spotify. Since the notion of "free" is hard to let go of, especially if it has been present for an extended period, *The Globe* should consider alternate ways to bring free back.

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THE
CRIES OF YORK,
FOR THE
AMUSEMENT
OF
YOUNG CHILDREN.

# A Short History on the Development of Children's Chapbooks in the mid-Nineteenth Century: James Kendrew's Chapbook of Street Cries in York

Lily Yuxi Ren



"*The bell-man parades the city round,*
*Crying things that's lost and found;*
*Oysters fresh, and fish so sweet,*
*Of furniture, old, new, and neat.*"
(Kendrew 14, Figure 1. The Bell-Man)

**ABSTRACT:**

*Before the late seventeenth century, children's literature in Europe rarely existed for the entertainment and amusement of the young; texts only existed in the form of educational material. As the recognition of children's interests grew among publishers, chapbooks transformed to serve the pleasure and amusement of their curious young minds. In the mid-nineteenth century town of York, England, James Kendrew, a prominent printer, introduced the first children's chapbooks to York through the widely popular publication of The Cries of York, for the Amusement of Young Children. His chapbook follows the various street criers of York while introducing their spoken street cries, occupations, and trades. The street cries featured in the chapbook not only provide an amusing read for young readers, but also reflect the social and historical significance of street criers in nineteenth century York and highlights the proliferation of children's literature in the genre of street cries and occupations.*

Before the late eighteenth century, children's literature in Europe rarely existed for the entertainment and amusement of the young (Davis 5). There were plenty of alphabet books, grammars, primers, and manuals of moral and religious instructions available, but very few works were written solely for a child's pleasure. During this period, children were not regarded in any way that required special consideration; rather, they were  considered a nuisance that quickly needed to fill the shoes of adult life (Davis 5). These educational materials for the young were referenced and taught through Biblical learning, where the most important subject of reading was religion (Whalley 10). As commercial and industrial activities increased in Europe, the 'book of trades' - a genre coined after the first book on various occupation and trades was published - flourished, especially in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Naturally, the desire to instruct children strengthened. With the spread of printing, texts became more affordable and the rate of literacy increased amongst the working class. The chapbook - a small, cheap paperback book - rose as a popular book form among the less wealthy in the nineteenth century. *The Cries of York, for the Amusement of Young Children: decorated with cuts,* printed by James Kendrew, is an example of a popular children's chapbook in the town of York, England. His chapbook follows the various street criers of York while introducing their spoken street cries, occupations, and trades. The street cries featured in the chapbook not only provide an amusing read for young readers, but also reflect the social and historical significance of street criers in late nineteenth century York and highlights the proliferation of children's literature in the genre of street cries and occupations.

Children's books first appeared in the form of religious and instructive material in two forms: those that taught language and those that taught behaviour (Whalley 9). The division reflected the

different futures of the children concerned. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, formal education was unknown to most European children. Education, taught through the training for adult life with apprentices and teachers, was necessarily limited to the wealthy and middle classes such that skills like reading and writing were taught in the vernacular by clergymen. Since books were handwritten, this further privileged those who could afford them. This system based on privilege continued well into the nineteenth century with few developments until the arrival of printing presses. The rise of printing presses in the fifteenth century, and the increased importance of a secular, middle-class influence, helped pave the way for a wider spread education in the sixteenth century. In addition, the changing attitudes towards childhood over the centuries shaped the development of books for children (Whalley 9-10). For instance, in England, prior to the seventeenth century, the child was considered a small adult with no concept of childhood (Whalley 9). This was evident in the lack of interest in the development of items, such as books, with the specific interest of children and their pleasure or amusement. The growing recognition of childhood and adolescence propelled the growing scope of children's literature as seen in the beginning of the seventeenth century with an increased interest in books for children that considered various aspects, not just education. For instance, The Cries of York explicitly indicates that it is "for the amusement of young children" in its subtitle.

Furthermore, the spread of printing and the growth of literacy with the development of printing presses generated cheap books that were of poor quality, yet affordable, to the ever-growing working class. One production is the chapbook, available in bookstores, but mainly distributed and sold by chapmen (Davis 5). The word 'chapmen' is notably derived from the Old English word 'ceap', meaning 'trade', hence, 'trade-men' (Anderson 24). Chapmen travelled all over the country bearing news, gossip, medicines, broadside ballads, and, increasingly, cheap books (Davis 6). The term 'chapbook', also referred to as a 'penny book' as it was priced at a penny, is described as a paper-covered booklet with a standard size of 4" x 21/2"; however, the size of the booklet varies due to differences in cutting (Davis 25). Each book has up to thirty-two crudely illustrated pages, numbered so as to include the outer covers in the pagination. A few lines of verse would accompany the woodcut illustrations. They were often sold in sheet form, a large piece of printed parchment, and it was left to the buyer to fold, cut, and either pin or sew the leaves together (Anderson 26). By the end of the seventeenth century, chapbooks formed an important part of the chapman's stock, and had become the principal reading matter of the working class.

Chapbooks, which often included short, simple phrases followed by numerous illustrations, were intended to be read by the less

educated and illiterate people of the lower class. *The Cries of York*'s illustrations were "decorated with [wood] cuts" (Kendrew 2), a form of folk art that was quite common during the period. Produced within a particular culture and use of illustration technology, the illustrations also reflected the geographical and temporal influences specific to York and England. However, because the woodcuts were coarse, they often appeared very dull and blurry, which again demonstrates the poor quality of these books that were intended for the poor (Whalley 21). Often, the artist and author would work together to produce the illustrations to the author's words. The artist was likely the first outside reader of the text, as evident in *The Cries of York*. For instance, on page 23, the illustration of the oyster seller at Ouse Bridge was "signed by [M. W.] Carrall," an engraver, printer, and printing ink manufacturer in Walmgate, York, who often collaborated with prominent printers, such as Kendrew (Figure 2; Davis 71). Although the number of wood engravings he completed for this particular chapbook is unknown, the illustrations surely depict the street vendors mentioned in the text.

One prominent printer and chapman responsible for introducing children's literature and chapbooks, including *The Cries of York*, to the town of York is James Kendrew (Davis 12). York, one of the principal cities in England, had a flourishing book trade centuries before the invention of printing, but it was not until some twenty years after William Caxton's introduction of the craft into England that the first printing press was established in York (Davis 11). Like that of other provincial printers, the bulk of Kendrew's business consisted of the chapbook trade, and in a city as busy as eighteenth-century York, he also had competitors. Originally, chapbooks were intended for adults in the working class who were less literate. Likewise, most of these chapbooks were unsuitable for children in content and language. It was not until the early years of the nineteenth century that the examples in children's chapbooks, set by John Newbery, "The Father of Children's Literature" and the first English publisher to create and sell children's literature, began to be reproduced in York (Maxted; Davis 12). Likewise, much of Kendrew's success is attributable to his earlier adaptations of these few, well-known precedents.

James Kendrew was born in the early 1770s in Colliergate, York and remained there all his life (Davis 12). His printing activities in the early years were rarely recorded. According to the city directory of York, he seems to have been a bookbinder by trade, graduating after a few years to become a bookseller, general stationer, and printer (Davis 13). He printed a full range of material that appealed to the public. This included the lives of famous, or notorious, people, 'dying speeches' of criminals, children's primers, battledores (a kind of simple school primer), almanacs, and the very first conjuring book printed in Yorkshire (Davis 14). Kendrew's stock thus covered the

whole range of what is generally considered 'chapbook literature'. One of the catalogues he issued in 1818 included ninety titles on all subjects and covers substantial literacy, historical, and devotional works, as well as chapbooks (Davis 14). A high proportion of the items were not Kendrew's own publications but came from other York printers, or from towns elsewhere in the country (Davis 14). Many were printed by printers that were then "to be sold by J. Kendrew," as indicated on the book cover. This lack of originality was fuelled by a high demand in chapbooks and similar literature all over the country. Therefore, it was not at all unusual for printers to sell others' work as well as their own, or even to plagiarize the works of other printers (Davis 14). From publishers throughout the provinces, the same titles kept appearing over many years with similar, if not identical, texts and with illustrations clearly based on a common original (Davis 14). Kendrew copied stories he found in others' publications and issued them under his own name and, no doubt, other printers did the same with his own publications. The publication of *The Cries of York* by Kendrew is an example that followed the Newbery edition of The Cries of London in 1786 (Davis 14).

Kendrew's *The Cries of York* provides one of the earliest precedents for the genre of street cries and occupations, one the most important genres of children's literature (Whalley 99). This genre was relevant and appealed to all readers, especially the young, who often heard and witnessed these cries. By explaining to the young reader the means by which various commodities or services were offered, the chapbooks provided detailed descriptions of tools, techniques, and conditions of work. For instance, in *The Cries of York,* the description of the bell-man exemplifies this format including the act of "[parading] the city round, / crying things that's lost and found / [from fresh] oysters, [to] fish so sweet, / of furniture, old, new, and neat" (Kendrew 14) in Hay Weigh, York. This phrase not only includes the traditional cries, but also the tones in which they were called or sung. To a young child who may have yet to explore the cityscape, this was particularly important when trying to explain unfamiliar occupations. For the most part, the descriptions of trades as they appeared in eighteenth and nineteenth century children's books were given as if from an outsider to a child of the social class which these professions were intended for (Whalley 15). Thus, young children learned the occupations and trades from these books and how the criers conducted their business.

With references to various places in the town of York followed by the historical content associated with its street criers, this work follows the format of Kendrew's predecessors in the children's book trade. The most notable is John Newbery, who wrote *The Cries of London* in 1786 from which *The Cries of York* was adapted (Davis 14). Kendrew also published a shorter edition of *The Cries of London*.

Evidently, there was a definite attempt to associate and locate the cries with particular cities. *The Cries of York* details the work life of street vendors in eighteenth and nineteenth century York: those that flourished and those that declined, including the street criers, or hawkers, the services they offered and what they charged for these offerings (Davis 15). It reveals the manners, customs, and characters of various people who traversed York streets with articles and services to sell, and some poetry applicable to each character, all intended to amuse and instruct "good" children (Anderson 38). The demand and sale of these works are an indication of the popularity of the chapbooks in the genre of street cries and occupations.

*The Cries of York* contains material that could influence a young reader's later career. Most of the occupations described were those of the humbler workers; there was enough information to stimulate the enquiring child. While the eyes of the young children traced the written words of the cries familiar to the ear from their daily obser-vations, the connection between the visual and written words acted as a form of instruction and learning (Whalley 21). It was only from these books that the reader could hope to obtain any such knowl-edge, since education in school was still firmly based on classical learning.

Opening with "The Italian Basket Seller", *The Cries of York* features twenty-seven different vendors. From muffins to clocks to razor sharpening, these street criers sell just about everything. In particular, some of the street cries are associated with certain areas of the town. For example, the tinker who "mend[s] or spoil[s] your kettle" (Kendrew 7) is found at Peaseholm Green Postern, the chimney sweeper at Micklegate Bar, the city bell-man at Hay Weigh, the button-seller at Walmgate Bar, the needle-seller at Bootham Bar, the lamb-seller at Thursday Market, the orange-seller at Pavement, the oyster-seller at Ouse Bridge, the toy-seller at Monk Bar, and the calendar-seller at Castle Gates (Kendrew 2, 5-31). In particular, these ten engravings represent iconic locations in York both in historical and contemporary times. In addition, some of the items sold are associated with near-by, local villages, such as oranges from St. Michael's, sand from Acomb, and cranberries from Lincolnshire. The traditional cries also include the prices of items, such as three-pence for a quart of gooseberries.

However, the people living in the city did not regard street criers kindly. One of the complaints that arose was their noise on the city streets (Whalley 99). It is the method of making that noise which has changed so much. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, street cries competed with traffic, especially in large towns like London and York, where itinerant traders were common. Children's books that describe them reveal the reality of the lives of the dispossessed and outcast poor that sought a living on the streets, many of whom

appear anonymous. *The Cries of York* references their desperate conditions. The Banbury cake-seller is noted crying, "Buy Banbury cakes, by fortunes frown, / You see this needy man, / Along the street, and up and down, / Is selling all he can" (Kendrew 21). Similarly, the cockle-seller chimes, "Behold poor James at York again, / His cockles all alive, O! / Alive, alive, he cries amain, / Come buy, that he may thrive, O!" (Kendrew 27).

On the whole, the content of these books of street cries was consistent. They demonstrate the prevailing social conditions of the time. Such facts are not only of interest to the social historian but also are of great assistance to those people who are concerned with the artefacts of the past, whether in museums or elsewhere (Whalley 99). For instance, from the *The Cries of York*, it is understood that depicted street vendors of York, at the time, lacked stalls or shops, and carried most of their goods in baskets. The rhyming verses gave advice, including how to tell which fruits were fresh, how to avoid cheating dealers, and how to pick the best produce, which was what people saw and heard in everyday life (Garber). Moreover, competition between street criers and other noises of the city provide the semblance of a modern fair, where the loudest, most prominent voices attract the most customers (Hindley). This no longer was only experienced on the city streets, but also through a child's eye in the home.

James Kendrew has made a lasting impact on the historical remembrance of children's chapbooks in York. In the nineteenth century, he introduced the first children's chapbooks to the city, and through *The Cries of York*, the prevailing social and historical impressions of the street criers, and the city of York, have created a story of these people. Although it is not a formal history with precise dates and leading figures, it conveys the ideas and trends of its time period. *The Cries of York* had much more genuine information about the various occupations depicted and the social situation than the school primers used for learning. Its verses and illustrations offer information to children in a pleasurable way, which differed significantly from traditional materials created for the purpose of educating. The detailed instruction in methods of production, working conditions, and other aspects of the vendor's life provide a most fruitful source of social study. Furthermore, it provides a reflection on the historical social conditions as expressed in the daily lives of street criers, folk art through the use of wood engravings, and Kendrew's depiction of historical and iconic places in the town of York. Hence, the chapbook not only provides a narrative of the history of street cries, but also a history of social change. Through *The Cries of York*, the echoes of the cries of the nineteenth century city bell-man can still be heard in Hay Weigh of York.

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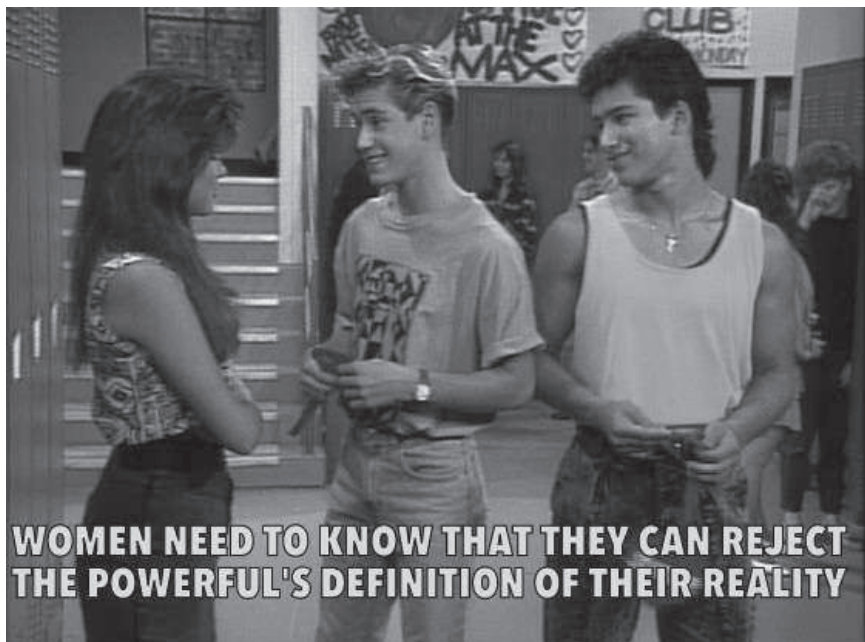
## Appendix

Figure 1. The Bell-Man



Verse and illustration of the city bell-man in *The Cries of York*.
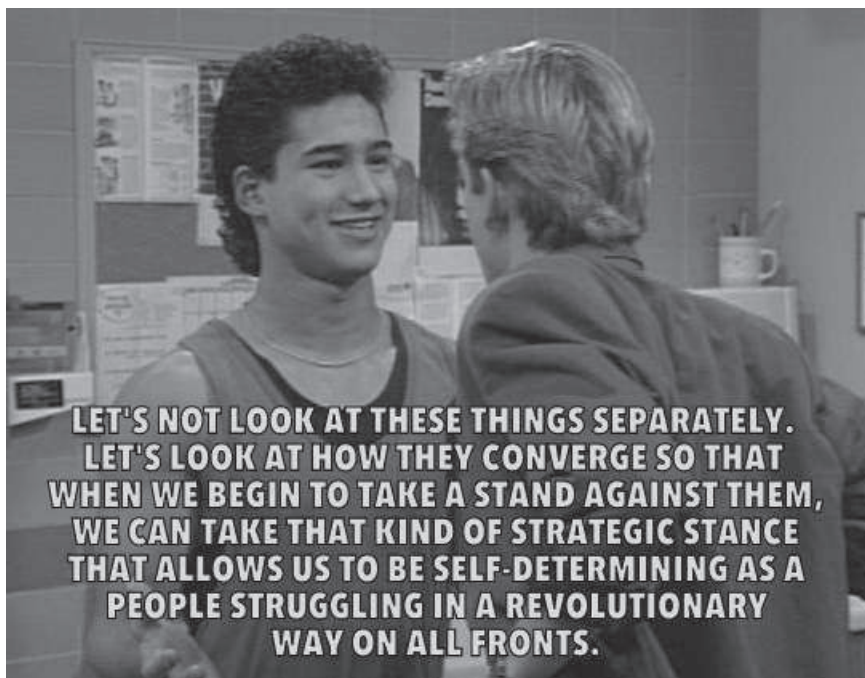
Figure 2. The Oyster-Seller



The illustration of oyster-seller at Ouse Bridge signed by Carrall on page 23

WOMEN NEED TO KNOW THAT THEY CAN REJECT THE POWERFUL'S DEFINITION OF THEIR REALITY

# No Girls Allowed: The Effect of Mass Media on Gender Roles

*Ondiek Oduor*



LET'S NOT LOOK AT THESE THINGS SEPARATELY. LET'S LOOK AT HOW THEY CONVERGE SO THAT WHEN WE BEGIN TO TAKE A STAND AGAINST THEM, WE CAN TAKE THAT KIND OF STRATEGIC STANCE THAT ALLOWS US TO BE SELF-DETERMINING AS A PEOPLE STRUGGLING IN A REVOLUTIONARY WAY ON ALL FRONTS.

**ABSTRACT:**

*In this paper, I will analyze the media and its part in promoting the gender hierarchy in Western society in which men dominate. Analyzing the discourse of media is extremely important because of its large-scale reach, and its reflection of society. To do this, I will use Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and symbolic violence. I will show how men (or the dominant class) force their habitus on the public – and most importantly, women. Throughout the paper, I will focus on several different realms of media in order to gain a deeper understanding of the power of symbolic violence. First, I will analyze the realm of video gaming in which women's identities become non-existent. Then, I will analyze the language used in online communication in which female gendered terms are seen as inherently negative. Finally, I will showcase how the film industry can perpetuate pseudo-feminism in order to force their ideologies on the viewer. With this in mind, it is my hope that individuals become more critical of the media and its influence.*

Pierre Bourdieu was a 20th century media theorist who was also a sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher. Bourdieu was profoundly influenced by Karl Marx, and believed that human interaction revolved around the exchange of capital. However, unlike Marx, he did not believe that capital was restricted to an economic domain but rather spread to areas such as cultural capital, social capital, educational capital, and prestige. In order to encapsulate all these aspects, he coined the term 'symbolic capital'. Drawing on this, he came to understand that it is through symbolic violence – the imposition of the dominating class' habitus, or socialized norms, onto the dominated class – that class divisions are reproduced (Adkins and Skeggs 5-7).

When it comes to media, symbolic violence presents itself in various forms. Firstly, the slang that has influenced communication within Internet culture is founded in belittling the female body, and is actively perpetuated and spread both online and offline. The masculine default of the online and gaming world translates itself through mass advertisements, in which women are taught that they have no identity in the realm of gaming. It will be shown how the dominant class is able to use mass media entertainment to subtly enforce their habitus on the female masses by masking patriarchal ideologies as feminist. These examples will demonstrate how men, who play the dominant role in the patriarchal Western society, are able to skilfully impose symbolic violence on women through the wide-scale reach of media.

Symbolic violence towards women is commonly reproduced and perpetuated in the field of online communication. With modern media, slang spreads quicker than ever before since the majority of individuals have access to the Internet (Danesi 509). The Internet is a potential 'utopia,' where people are not defined by their race or

gender (Nelson 1). The Internet is considered a place where everyone is equal because they are anonymous. Though the online world promotes itself as a utopia for 'anonymity,' there is still a patriarchal standard that permeates it. It seems that online users, by default, are expected to be male as there is a larger ratio of men to women users online (Barnes 62). Generally speaking, because online users are seen as 'anonymous,' they give non-male users the ability to temporarily participate in the privileges and powers of being a male (Barnes 62). Thus, to avoid online harassment, many women choose to use male, or gender-neutral names – upholding the male power structure in not just the real world, but the virtual world as well (Barnes 62). This, however, is ineffective because of the prevalent slang that is used on the Internet to target female sexuality; even if the female user is not targeted individually, the female body as a whole is.

There are numerous examples of Internet terminology that revolves around women and attacks females in general. The online world enables distance between users -  it removes the social pressure that comes from face-to-face interactions, allowing users to participate in derogatory slang usage without thinking of the implications beforehand (Barnes 115). This is most prevalently seen in communication within the gaming world, where meanings for demeaning gender-influenced slang have become common knowledge. To illustrate, when one user has defeated another user in a gaming scenario, it is common for the winner to state, "I just raped you." In essence, the loser of the gaming scenario is framed as a female victim of sexual assault, as they have lost, promoting an ideology that women are lesser and unequal beings. By sketching 'rape' into slang, the gaming world perpetuates a phallocentric way of thinking, in that the phallus is the ultimate symbol of power (Humm 205). In thinking this way, the slang usage of rape diminishes the real-world implications that come with violent sexual acts towards women, and instead symbolizes the rape victim as being a 'loser.' As a result, women are influenced through language to come to equate themselves with being 'losers' instead of victims if they are sexually violated. Because women are deemed the loser on the Internet, it perpetuates the real life ideology of women being weaker than men and also more passive. Men adhere to their dominant gender role with their language just as they do in common practice (Berger 36-37). In such, Bourdieu's theory is exemplified as Internet slang – in this case, the usage of 'rape'. Slang frames the idea of symbolic violence, as women are forced into subordination through the habitus that is perpetuated by the male gender online.

Despite the Internet being a universal place of access for all genders, users are expected to be white males by default (Nelson 1). Through the use of advertisements, the dominant class in society – the white male – is able to enforce this idea to the average

consumer. In this case, the aural and visual details of PlayStation's recent "Perfect Day" commercial for the PS4 are clear-cut examples of this expectation. The commercial features two real world white males who are placed in the worlds of several PS4 games. The companions bond through typical violent video game scenarios while simultaneously singing a cover of Lou Reed's "Perfect Day" (Sony Computer Entertainment). In presenting the commercial this way, Sony is actively perpetuating, and maintaining, the patriarchy in both the gaming world and the offline world as well.

By using males as the only distinguishable characters in the commercial, Sony has effectively alienated females from gaming and normalized the invisibility of women. Although the area of gaming is supposed to be 'raceless' and 'genderless,' through this commercial it is apparent that this is not the case (Nelson 1). The characters featured in this commercial are a reflection of what is deemed normal online – that the default player is a male unless explicitly stated otherwise. In addition, it is preserving the idea of what it means to be masculine, an idea that does not confine itself to the gaming world. This is problematic as it spreads the dominant ideology that masculinity is the ideal in the virtual world. This ideology also finds itself rampant in real world social hierarchies. Consequently, it is evident that Sony is subtly using advertising's influential role in mass media in order to push the idea that females are unwanted in the gaming world, and that it is impossible for a female to be masculine. This acts as symbolic violence against females, as the advertisement integrates its patriarchal gender roles into the normalized culture of the general public.

As Bourdieu suggests in his theory, when entertainment is inter-twined in the role of mass media, it is able to subtly propagate the ideology of the ruling elite – in this case, men. As an example, the film *Bridget Jones's Diary* operates as a subtle homage to the male-dominated idea of post-feminism – the idea that feminism is no longer needed, and that equality has been achieved. Nevertheless, the makers of the film mask this ideology, and instead perpetuate the idea that the film's theme is in fact  feminist. The movie focuses on Bridget Jones, a financially and socially successful thirty-year-old woman who works at a book publishing company in London. Still, throughout the entirety of the film, she continues to act as self-monitoring female in the patriarchal world. She endlessly concerns herself with her weight, worrying that it will translate to loneliness, and the impossibility of finding a husband and raising a family (McRobbie 261-262). While these are problems that many individuals have, the film highlights Bridget's worries as a heavily important feature to having a perfect life, not as a human being, but as a woman.

Consequently, it is apparent that the film is communicating a

male-based belief system onto its largely female audience in an act of symbolic violence. Bridget, by all major accounts, a successful individual, is still a failure. The patriarchal society is using the film to spread the idea that if a woman does not make herself suitable for male companionship, and ultimately have children, she will never attain true happiness. All her other accomplishments are miniscule compared to satisfying female gender roles and her subordination to a male partner. When viewed with a critical mindset, it is apparent that the creators of the film are using the entertainment aspect of the film to compel the audience into thinking that the film is feminist, while in actuality normalizing the domineering gender-binding ideas that the patriarchy believes in. Similar to the online world, in order for women to be visible they must confine themselves to the normative male ideology. Therefore, audiences, while being entertained, are unconsciously being coerced into being victims of symbolic violence, resulting in the adoption of the dominant class's view of gender roles.

When viewing mass media through the lens of Bourdieu's theory on the reproductions of class divisions through symbolic violence, it is apparent that men, who form the dominant class in society, are able to use media to control women and strengthen the influence of their patriarchal ideals. While this can be done in a multitude of different ways, the widespread availability of mass media through film, Internet communities, and video games help to subtly promote these ideas in a way that many domains cannot. In doing this, women are made to feel attacked, invisible, or reduced to a stereotyped caricature. As class divisions are reproduced this way over and over again, there is no foreseeable way of dismantling the inequalities that women in society face unless the men in charge of creating mass media and dictating this culture of symbolic violence strive to represent gender diversity in an equitable form.

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# The Future of Reading
Coco Bee

**ABSTRACT:**

*Using Marshal Mcluhan's theory 'the medium is the message,' this paper examines the difference in modes of reading using two different mediums: print books and e-books. By analyzing the advantages and disadvantages of each medium, this essay argues that even though e-books prove to be more accessible, there is still a massive appeal to the printed book due to its unique capacity of being used as an esteemed physical artifact. McLuhan's theory illustrates how the act of reading can be transformed as well as enhanced based on ones own preferred medium.*

According to Marshall McLuhan's *the medium is the message*, the content of a medium is often irrelevant or meaningless. McLuhan's theory is exceptionally useful in assessing the value and purpose of each given medium, especially in terms of comparing e-books and printed books. McLuhan's theory argues that reading the same story through two different mediums ultimately changes the message of that story. An interesting example of this can be found in Nicholas Carr's article "Is Google Making Us Stupid?" Carr relates an anecdote regarding Friedrich Nietzsche, a German philosopher, and his failing vision-which led to the purchase of a typewriter. Since Nietzsche was able to type with his eyes closed, he was able to continue writing. However, Carr explains that when one of Nietzsche's friends noticed a change in the manner of his writing, Nietzsche famously remarked, "You're right...our writing equipment takes part in the forming of our thoughts" (Carr). Nietzsche acknowledged that his experience with using a typewriter, compared with writing by hand, ultimately changed the message and style of his writing. Similar to comparing two different mediums of writing, a key example of how messages can be altered by different mediums is by comparing two different mediums of reading. In comparing e-books and printed books, this paper will assess the advantages and disadvantages of both, by examining the aesthetic appeal of printed books in terms of visual ergonomics, the accessibility of e-books, as well as the environmental impact of manufacturing e-books and printed books.

Many arguments against digital texts are promoting the idea that reading in digital form has created a type of distracted reading. Readers of digital texts are more likely to skim and scan a text rather than fully absorb it. Some believe that this weakens the ability to read deeply and become fully immersed in a text. Nicholas Carr writes of a study published by University College London that states, "There are signs that new forms of 'reading' are emerging as users 'power browse' horizontally through titles, contents, pages and abstracts going for quick wins" (Carr). The article goes on to explain that this new trend is emerging because the internet is set up in, "a style that puts 'efficiency' and 'immediacy' above all else, may be weakening our capacity for the kind of deep reading that emerged

when an earlier technology, the printing press, made long complex works of prose commonplace" (Carr).

In addition, in an article titled "The Elusive E-book" Stephen Sottong explains that people are skimming and reading differently electronically partially due to visual ergonomics and the factors of accommodation and convergence, and explains that "accommodation is the process by which the lens of the eye is minutely adjusted to keep objects at varying distance in focus, while convergence is the process of rotating the eyes to ensure that the image falls on the same portion of the retina of both eyes " (Sottong 46). The eye has to constantly adjust for both accommodation and convergence while reading on a screen. Due to this adjustment, users are then forced to keep their eyes at the centre of the screen rather than the edges, so they end up skimming the information rather than fully absorbing it (Sottong 46). He adds that the glare and flicker of CRT (Cathode Ray Tube) and LCD (Liquid Crystal Display) screens puts stress on the human eye, causing the physical reaction to skim. Much of what enables the 'deep' reading that people are able to do when reading printed books is that their pages have a resolution of approximately 1200 dpi (dots per inch), while most e-readers have a resolution of approximately 170 dpi (Sottong 45). The higher resolution means that much more detail is visible to the human eye in printed books than in e-books with a lower resolution. This theory certainly lends some credence to the effectiveness of the printed book in delivering a clear and detailed image. In essence, Sottong is simply saying that the resolution of screens has not been able to mimic that of print, therefore reading on screens may not feel as comfortable to the human eye.

However, Sottong fails to properly address the accessibility of e-readers that printed books do not provide. Printed books take up a lot of space, whereas electronic books do not take up any physical space, but rather virtual space. Reeta Sinha and Annette Griessman's article "E-book Views Disputed" is a direct response to Sottong, arguing that the e-ink technology used in e-reader screens makes the devices far easier on the eyes than he suggests. In addition, if e-books end up replacing printed ones, it won't be because they are better than print, but rather "because libraries no longer have the resources - funds, staff, or space - to manage and maintain large print book collections" (Sinha and Griessman 10). Since the advent of the Internet information has never been so widely available to anyone with an Internet connection, and reading has never been more constant. There is insufficient space for the majority of people to have a collection of printed books that is representative of the vast amount of knowledge that they consume thanks to the digital world.

For the avid reader, an e-book may be the perfect solution. In

addition, the accessibility features of an e-book such as the ability to change font and display options, or the flexibility to purchase books from almost anywhere in the world, for some may outweigh that of a printed book. Anne Whiston Spirn and Ann Bard Whiteside make an excellent point in their article "The Promise and Problems of the Visual E-book" about the cost of not only buying printed books in the first place but also replacing them if they become damaged or lost: "Once such books go out of print, the price may climb to hundreds or even thousands of dollars. A library may buy one copy, but if that copy is lost, it is not always replaced, especially if the book's price is too high" (Spirn and Whiteside 208). In addition, although printed books must be replaced if they are lost, e-books require the use of an electronic reading device in order to gain access to them. Many electronic readers can be quite costly and can cost anywhere from $90 for a Kindle to hundreds of dollars for an iPad. Purchasing an e-reader is then an extra expense that has to be made, just to be able to purchase and read e-books. Many justify the price of an e-reader with the lower cost of e-books, however e-books are often no more than a few dollars off the paperback version. Therefore, e-books are not always accessible to everyone - especially those who can't afford an e-reader. However, for those who can afford one, the accessibility features of e-readers are hard to dismiss.

In a journal Article, Lotta C. Larson writes about the accessibility features of an e-book, such as "quick look-up of information through its built in dictionary, Wikipedia, or internal search capabili-ties; and...customizable settings to suit each unique reader" that promote greater accessibility to all kinds of readers. Larson explains that even though some features of e-books may be distracting to children, features like animation and sound can give children a greater motivation to read.  Larson explains that students tend to read even more when they have access to e-books "because e-books can be presented in an individualized format, students with special needs (ELL, visually impaired, struggling readers) may benefit from the additional text tools available with the use of electronic texts" (Larson 16).  The question then arises: why continue to purchase printed books and make space for them, when one can simply download e-books instantaneously on to a device? Even though e-books can be far more accessible, there still remains the issue of licensing and copyright laws, which continue to remain complex. When one buys a printed book, one owns that copy and can do whatever he or she pleases with that book. The same is true for e-books, but some digital retailers place limitations on their files, such as tie the e-book to a particular device. In addition, there also remains the aspect of the printed book being used as a physical artifact which often holds sentimental value and beauty for owners. Most if not all printed books either have covers, or elaborately

detailed bindings which can display various forms of artwork or detailing- something that e-books do not provide. Printed books can then not only act as books to be read, but also as forms of artwork to be displayed on shelves. The testament to the physical beauty of printed books still holds true, as many people often delegate an entire room in their home to their book collections.

Another challenging and confusing aspect of e-books is assessing the environmental impact that they have in comparison to print books. The environmental impact depends on the user and how the e-reader is being used. A study published by the College of Saint Benedict & Saint John's University examines the carbon footprint of e-books and print books using information collected from the Green Press Initiative as well as from author Emma Ritch. The study revealed that one printed book produces 8.85 pounds of $CO_2e$ during its lifecycle, while one Kindle emits 370 pounds and an iPad emits 287 pounds (Ritch). The report further explains that factors such as mining and improper disposal of electronic waste when e-readers are thrown out make e-books less eco-friendly than they may seem. According to another report by Green Press Initiative, "some materials that are in e-readers, such as columbite and tantalite, are often mined in war torn regions of Africa and sourcing these minerals can have negative social impacts" (Green Press Initiative). The report also states that some devices, such as the iPad, are making a point of using more environmentally friendly products and that Apple has been one of the only companies to release a full environmental report on the iPad to consumers. However, due to the lack of transparency provided by many manufactures of e-readers, most of the information on e-readers is mostly specula-tive. Nevertheless, the report  ultimately states that "with respect to fossil fuels, water use, and mineral consumption, the impact of one e-reader payback equals roughly to 40 to 50 books" as well as "in terms of health impacts...1 e-book has 70 times the impact of 1 printed book, with the primary impact being particulate matter from energy use and production" (Green Press Initiative). In order to truly reap the environmental benefits of an e-reader, one would have to purchase and read enough e-books to outweigh the damage that print books have  the environment. The report goes on to state that the number of e-books would have to be somewhere between 30 and 70 a year, depending on the specific e-reader.  It is likely that many people do purchase this amount due to the affordability and accessibility of e-books. However, print books are the eco-friendlier option for occasional readers since the materials of printed books can be reused and recycled, especially through the use of libraries as well as personal book lending-which has always been the more sustainable way to read.

Both e-books and printed books possess advantages and disad-vantages in terms of accessibility, visual ergonomics and

environmental factors, and these attributes vary based on how individuals choose to use each medium. For avid readers, and readers with specialized needs, e-books may be the better solution simply for their accessibility features such as internal search capabilities, customizable settings, the flexibility to purchase books anywhere, as well as the ability to store hundreds of books on one device. However, there still remains the issue of the cost of the e-readers themselves, as well as weighing their environmental impact against one's own personal use. Otherwise, there still remains a massive appeal to the printed book likely due to the higher resolution of printed pages and the physical beauty that books hold as artefacts. However, one thing remains clear, and that is that Nietzsche was right- using different mediums can ultimately change how we interact with and receive certain messages which influence the forming of our thoughts. Whether one chooses to read using print books or e-books, the future of reading, as well as different modes of reading will continue to be based on one's own personal preference.

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# Social Media and the Democracy of the Press

Riley von Niessen

Since the early 1800s, the printed newspaper has been a dominant form of media in Western society. However, with digital technology quickly advancing, the printed newspaper has largely reached its end. With an aging readership and a lack of interest amongst younger generations, print sales have quickly plummeted. Deeply immersed in the digital era, younger readers are taking to online sources for their news, including social media websites and digital editions of newspapers on tablets and smartphones for the sake of convenience and efficiency. In order to understand how newspapers and the press can stay relevant with a younger and continually advancing demographic, this essay will examine the role of social media within the press to understand how rapid changes in technology have changed both newspapers and journalism as a whole by looking most prominently at the recent Jian Ghomeshi scandal which illustrates just how this change has occurred. Canadian newspapers like the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star have covered the scandal closely, and it can be said that Ghomeshi's career has publicly met its demise through the social media facets which sparked his own account of his dismissal from CBC as well as the debate which followed.

As the former host of the CBC's popular radio show, *Q*, Jian Ghomeshi was in a high position of power and influence in the realm of Canadian media. Being such a popular and well-loved figure in broadcasting, when Ghomeshi took to Facebook to post a status claiming he was fired from his position due to a jilted ex-girlfriend's slander, many fans quickly defended him and what he claimed were consensual practices of rough sex in his personal life (Ghomeshi 2014). Since that post was published on October 26th 2014, a total of fourteen women have come forward with sexual assault and harassment allegations towards Ghomeshi that were publicized considerably over Twitter, which then allowed more women to voice their experiences upon seeing they were not alone in their abuse by Ghomeshi (MacMillan 2014). The speed with which information travels over social media has exposed the public to one of the largest recent scandals in Canada before even the press reported on it, as Ghomeshi's Facebook post has shown. By looking at this example, it is clear that social media has changed the landscape of traditional news media as it allows the general public to form a perception that is not reliant on the opinion put forward by traditional press outlets who rely on journalists and reporters. The role of the press has been to represent an expert opinion formed through the careful judgment of facts, and social media has taken out the once integral middleman. Through this, social media seems to have broken the bridge between expert opinion and the press, allowing those with access to the Internet and a social media account to post freely and instantly, with a potential audience that could be even greater than that of any one print news source in the past and spout opinions as they

please. This includes Ghomeshi himself and those who spoke out to both support and oppose him following his social media outburst.

With the rise of social media, the democracy of the press has been claimed by the general public. People are now able to voice their opinions publicly whenever they like, rather than relay it to journalists and others in power in the press and publishing. Previously, readers' comments were private and only seen by way of letters to the editor, of which only a few were selected by the news source and actually published. The news sources then had less accountability to respond to the comments made by readers because they were not made visible to the public and therefore were of no real detriment. Now, anyone can potentially see the comments directed to the press that are left on social media postings, where comment modifiers have no control. In the case of Jian Ghomeshi, the impact of this change in the press and freedom of speech has been tremendous. When Ghomeshi chose to seek sympathy from fans by using social media, he broke the barrier between the press and the general public. Though this occurs regularly, the severity of his actions and his prominent role in the media shows the power that social media has in regards to public outreach on a grander scale than is often seen. Not only does Ghomeshi's Facebook post show how a single Facebook status can evoke an enormous reaction amongst the public, but it demonstrates just how large the online community is. While Ghomeshi's purpose was to create sympathy for himself and vilify the CBC for firing him, it worked to the opposite effect when more allegations of sexual assault against him came forward in response. The Twitter hashtag "#BeenRapedNeverReported" appearing shortly after the allegations against Ghomeshi were brought to light is one example of this. The hashtag brought together the stories of countless sexual assault victims and their reasons for not reporting their attackers to police (Ferraras 2014). As a result, not only did Ghomeshi lose much of his credibility and support, but the public reaction through social media exposed the larger issue of unreported sexual assaults and rape culture.

Victims of sexual assault have often been greeted with an intimidating response of victim-blaming and shame, and it is evident that predators, especially those in power like Ghomeshi, have had a type of security due to a presumption of innocence fostered by their public persona. A similar reaction was seen for many years in response to sexual assault allegations made against Bill Cosby which will later be discussed. Rape culture includes women being blamed for being sexually assaulted, as some assume that they allowed themselves to be put in dangerous situations and are therefore responsible for their own abuse (Perkel 2014). It can be said that the online users of today who spew hateful comments are far removed from the expert opinions Walter Lippmann, a reputable critic of media, most valued in the press, detailed in his book

Public Opinion spoke to. In his opinion, the press would now have the responsibility of combating incorrect or hateful opinions and information circulating in the digital world as the expert opinions of professional journalists and reporters have become dismantled in a mass of voices over social media. As the women harmed by Jian Ghomeshi began to come forward, they were met with support through social media as Twitter users employed the hashtags "#IBelieveLucy", referring to one of the women, and "#IBelieveThem" to encourage them to speak of their abuse and find out the truth about Canada's most loved radio personalities (""#IBelieveLucy"). Similarly, Barbara Bowman, an aspiring actress who was taken advantage of by Bill Cosby in her youth, attributed her confidence in speaking out about her rape by Cosby first in 1986 to social media for the voice it gave her and the thirteen others who were willing to come forward in court. Although Bowman first came forward in 2004, her allegations were not taken seriously until recently when more allegations began to surface and an influx of rumours and allegations could no longer be ignored. In response, Cosby took to his own social media and prompted his fans to ignore the serious rumours circulating him, asking them to post funny memes of him to distract from his allegations. However, certain users posted memes to the opposite end by emblazoning words like "AMERICA'S FAV DAD BY DAY, SERIAL RAPIST BY NIGHT" and "IT'S NOT RAPE, IF YOU'RE FAMOUS" across a smiling picture of Cosby. This example shows again how social media perpetuates conversation which is not controlled and can quickly backfire as a result, similar to the Ghomeshi case. When asked her opinion about the rise of social media resulting in a loss of the institutional control of the narrative in media which once belonged to more formal and contained outlets, Bowman had this to say: "Social media can be your best friend or your biggest enemy. I'm grateful that we have it now. Now, if we had had social media back then, I don't know that this would have been what it is. Because people weren't talking then. It was a different era" (Beusman 2014). Bowman supports the claim that social media gives those without power a voice which, like her own, has been unjustly ignored in the past. In these cases, those voices belong to the victims of sexual assault who have gone unheard due to a culture of victim-blaming that creates feelings of humiliation and shame and has silenced an issue in need of address and reform (Thériault 2014). These examples show the power that social media has to affect the public's judgment of a cultural icon. With numerous allegations of sexual assault going unreported over the course of Ghomeshi's career, much like the case of Bill Cosby, the problem of sexual harassment and abuse has evidently been covered up to avoid confrontation with a man popular within the media, as claims Anne Thériault of Vice Canada. Thériault cites Roman Polanski, Woody Allen, and Chris Brown as examples of men in power who have still managed to "come out on top" despite their

violence and sexual assault against women in a culture that would rather ignore their criminal and damaging behaviour than lose a popular figure in entertainment (Thériault 2014). In regards to this, the Ghomeshi case has opened up the larger discussion of a toxic rape culture, which social media has facilitated by allowing for democratic discussion unhindered by geographic boundaries and traditional media press outlets.

Canadian newspapers, especially the Toronto Star, continue to play a role in digital society, however, as they have provided the public with a trustworthy account of a story that has circulated amongst sometimes opaque rumours in social media and other unreliable sources. As the Ghomeshi case makes clear, the public's opinion can be articulated in simple and efficient ways, as the 140-character limit Twitter places on users demands. News has become more current than ever due to the rise of social media, with reporters live-tweeting events as they happen and the social media outlets allowing for public response and sometimes backlash following suit to hold them accountable. One example of this efficient simplification of reporting are the CBC staff at the Ottawa Parliament Hill shooting, who arrived on site and took to their phones to relay the actions of attackers and the police response as they occurred ("Parliament Hill"). Through this, it is clear that social media has elevated the speed at which news can travel to the public, a key aspect for newspapers. As people continue to speak out and initiate discussions of larger societal problems such as sexual assault through social media, they have been given the opportunity to form smaller communities of support unhindered by geographical boundaries. However, with so many opinions present in social media, credible newspapers face a new obligation. Rather than just reporting on an issue, newspapers also need to legitimize the stories circulating throughout social media and combat the hateful and misinformed voices that have been given a platform along with the good. As NPR social media strategist Andy Carvin has said, "My job has become a liaison with the public, sorting out fact from fiction" (Weiss 2011). In regards to this, newspapers that have adapted to social media and mobile formats, need to accept the responsibility of being a credible intermediary in order to maintain their ethical duty, which Robert A. Hackett referred to as being the "Great-Leveler" to society (Hackett 233).

By looking most prominently at the recent Jian Ghomeshi sexual assault allegations, this paper has examined how social media has collectively changed the press of today and the dynamic in which people are able to interact with and combat issues. Though social media gives a platform for good and bad opinions to surface, its democratic nature has allowed for a freedom of speech that was not always available through traditional media outlets. By helping to create a mass support and awareness of Jian Ghomeshi's victims,

social media has exposed an unresolved issue of sexual violence and the culture of victim blaming that has existed for so long. As news stories gain relevancy by way of currency, the on-site live-tweeting that reporters have taken to has allowed for breaking stories to be more in the present than ever before, showing that social media, when used by credible and reliable sources, can advance the speed at which news is passed to the general public.  This example of efficiency shows how seriously social media is being used today and the impact that it has on our society in facilitating a story of deep importance. The role of Canadian newspapers is to provide the public with a voice of authority which they can trust to combat the lack of restrictions and regulations surrounding information circulating on social media, which may or may not be correct given the diversity of opinion it expresses. As the printed readership continues to decline and technology continues to advance, the future of Canadian newspapers is within a digital setting, where social media continues to grow and maintain a democracy of opinion.

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