#### APPLYING YOUR MEDIA LITERACY

- Look for clues in the online editions of the New York Times, Wall Street Journal and USA Today for their ongoing and distinctive contributions to covering news.
- Explain how you would rank the importance of Ben Day, George Jones, Barney Kilgore and Allen Neuharth for their impact on the newspaper industry.
- What impact do you see mobile devices, e-readers and online subscriptions having on the way the New York Times, Wall Street Journal and USA Today report the news of the day?

## Magazine Industry

STUDY PREVIEW Advances in printing and in transportation, as well as postal discounts, propelled magazines into a major media industry in the 1800s. Content innovations like long-form journalism and photojournalism drew massive readerships. In recent times, competing media have eroded magazines' province on the innovations. Digital technology has cut into the audience and also advertising revenue.

#### Scope of Wagazine Industry

Early magazines were minor enterprises. The content was geared to classically educated and well-to-do elites. After the Civil War, however, several developments precipitated huge circulation growth, and an identifiable magazine industry took form. What happened?

- New rotary presses from R. Hoe & Co. made possible larger press runs.
- The growing national railroad system enabled wide distribution.
- Congress created second-class postage rates that cut distribution costs dramatically.

With the economy of scale from larger press runs, the per-unit production costs fell. In 1883, S. S. McClure dropped the price of his general-interest McClure's to only 15 cents. Rival publisher Frank Munsey then lowered the price of his Munsey's to 10 cents. Magazines became a mass medium, the leading titles offering an array of articles to appeal to broad spectrums of readers. An identifiable magazine industry soon took form.

Today about 17,800 magazines are published in the United Sates, although only 400 have circulations exceeding 100,000. Most have modest and tightly focused circulations, like employee magazines, college alumni magazines, and aficionado magazines. Even so, the industry is large with revenue of \$40 billion a year.

The industry is concentrated. Fifty companies generate 70 percent of the revenue. Here are leading U.S. magazine publishing companies with some of their titles:

- Condé Nast: Allure, Architectural Digest, Bon Appetité, Bridal, Details, Glamour, Golf Digest, GO, House & Garden, Lucky, New Yorker, Self, Vanity Fair, Vogue, W, Wired.
- Hachette Filapacchi: Car & Driver, Cycle World, Elle, Road & Track, Women's Day.
- Hearst: Cosmopolitan, Country Living, Esquire, Good Housekeeping, House Beautiful, Marie Claire, Popular Mechanics, Redbook, Seventeen, Town & Country, and O, the Oprah Magazine.
- Meredith: American Baby, Better Homes & Gardens, Family Circle, Fitness, Ladies' Home Journal, Midwest Living, Parents, Traditional Home.
- Primedia: Automobile, Car Craft, Home Theater, Horse & Rider, Hot Bike, Motor Trend, Motorcyclist, Power & Motoryacht, Sail, Snowboarder, Skateboarder, Soap Opera Digest,
- Time Inc.: All You, Cooking Light, Entertainment, Essence, Fortune, Golf, Health, Inside People, Life, Money, People, Real Simple, Southern Living, Sports Illustrated, Sunset, This Old House, Time.

### Magazine Innovations

Through their history, magazines have been innovators in media content. Other media then picked up on the innovations, which included long-form journalism.



A Daniel Defoe. The British novelist and pamphleteer had his quill in many ink pots. Defoe's Weekly Review, in publication from 1704 to 1713, created a legacy for magazines as a vehicle for essays and thought-provoking commentary.

### Magazine Circulation

Largest U.S. magazines listed by frequency of publication

| Weeklies                       | Biweeklies                | Monthlies                         |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| People 3.6 million             | Rolling Stone 1.4 million | Better Homes & Garden 7.6 million |
| Time 3.3 million               | Forbes 923,000            | Reader's Digest 6.1 million       |
| Sports Illustrated 3.2 million | Fortune 857,000           | Good Housekeeping 4.7 million     |
| Newsweek 1.6 million           |                           | National Geographic 4.5 million   |
| New Yorker 1.0 million         |                           | Good Housekeeping 4.4 million     |
|                                |                           | Game Informer 4.4 million         |

Essays. Although many flashy magazines these days have shifted toward infotainment tidbits and treat serious issues only briefly, an enduring magazine tradition is articles of length and depth that cannot be boiled down to a few sentences. This tradition dates to Daniel Defoe. Although remembered mostly for his adventure tale Robinson Crusoe, Defoe was also a magazine pioneer. In 1704 he established an influential journal in London, Weekly Review, which carried essays. Defoe's Review had a nine-year run, establishing a role for magazines as a bridge between society's book-reading intelligentsia and a broad audience.

The Defoe tradition carries on in what are called highbrow slicks. These magazines, of which Atlantic and Harper's are examples, work at being at the cutting edge of thinking on political economic, social, artistic and cultural issues. The New Yorker prides itself on breaking ground on significant issues in articles that run as long as editors think necessary, some the length of a small book. Ideological magazines like the New Republic, Nation and National Review frequently are both partisan and cerebral. Like the highbrow slicks, they are edited for literati.

Investigative Reporting. In the early 1900s, magazines honed muckraking, usually called investigative reporting today. Magazines ran lengthy explorations of abusive practices in government, business and other institutions in society. It was Theodore Roosevelt, the reform president, who coined the term muckraking. Roosevelt generally enjoyed investigative journalism, but one day in 1906, when the digging got too close to home, he likened it to the work of a character in a 17th century novel who focused so much on raking muck that he missed the good news. The president meant the term derisively, but it became a badge of honor among journalists.

Muckraking established magazines as a powerful medium in shaping public policy. In 1902 Ida Tarbell wrote a 19-part series on the Standard Oil monopoly for McClure's. As a result of Tarbell's reporting, the government broke up the monopoly. Lincoln Steffens detailed municipal corruption. Reforms followed. Other magazines picked up on the investigative thrusts. Collier's took on patent medicine frauds. Cosmopolitan, a leading muckraking journal of the period, tackled dishonesty in the U.S. Senate. Muckraking expanded into books with Upton Sinclair's The Jungle. In the novel, which only slightly veiled reality, Sinclair shocked the nation about filth in meat-packing plants. Federal inspection laws followed.

Personality Profiles. The in-depth personality profile was a magazine invention in the 1920s. Harold Ross of the New Yorker began pushing writers to a thoroughness that was new in journalism. In the 1950s the conversational Q & A was refined by Hugh Hefner at Playboy, adding cogent authenticity to long-form profiles. The exhaustive nature of lengthy Q & As like Playboy's can draw out people in ways that other journalistic forms do not. Most Playboy interviews are drawn from weeks, sometimes months, of face time, all recorded and then spliced into a coherent article running 7,000 words or more. Many political and religious leaders, scientists and other thinkers, celebrities too, covet the opportunity that long Q & As give them to expand and elaborate on what they have to say.

**Photojournalism.** Perhaps the most enduring innovation from the magazine industry is visuals. Brother Jonathan was a pioneer in the mid-1800s, but the illustrations were meager.

Daniel Defoe His 1704 Weekly Review established magazines as forum for ideas

highbrow slicks Magazines whose content has intellectual appeal

Well-educated people interested in literature and cerebral issues

muckrakino Early 1990s term for investigative

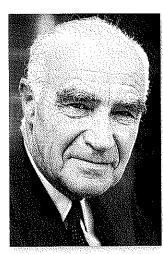
Ida Tarbell Exposed Standard Oil monopolistic practices in 1902 magazine series

> Lincoln Steffens Exposed municipal corruption

Upton Sinclair Exposed bad meat-packing practices

> personality profile In-depth, balanced biographical

> > Hugh Hefner Playboy editor who created modern Q-A

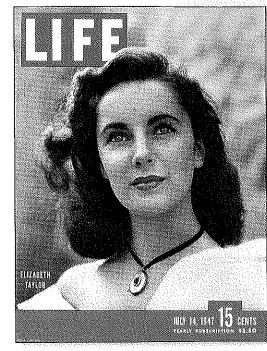


A Henry Luce.

His magazine empire included Time,

Life, Sports Illustrated, Fortune

Henry Luce



Oversize and Visual. With Luce's Life magazine, launched in 1936, photojournalism came of age. On slick paper for good resolution, closely cropped photos jumped off the page at readers for maximum impact. Some photos we bled into the margins and off the page to be even more potent. Life was a powerful weekly look, literally, at the world.

Otherwise magazines were entirely word-driven. A breakthrough came in the Civil War when Harper's Weekly sent artists to draw battles, leading the way to journalism that goes beyond words. Today visuals are a core element in all mass media except radio. This will not change in the digital age: Visuals pixelate well.

A whole new world of documentary coverage was opened in 1936 when magazine entrepreneur Henry Luce launched Life and propelled photojournalism into new importance. The oversized weekly demonstrated that newsworthy events could be covered consistently by camera. Life captured the spirit of the times photographically and demonstrated that the whole range of humane experience could be recorded visually. Both real life and Life could be shocking. A 1938 Life photo essay on human birth was so shocking for the time that censors succeeded in banning the issue in 33 cities.

#### Challenges For Wagazines

The U.S. magazine industry prospered in the 20th century. The number of magazines grew six-fold from 3,000 to 17,800, far faster than the population. Industry historian David Sumner has noted that although Time magazine co-founder Henry Luce coined the term The American Century, it could also be called The Magazine Century. Americans averaged less than half a magazine per month in 1920. By the end of the century, the average had tripled to 1.35. The U.S. magazine industry publishes three times as many magazines as any other country.

This was despite setbacks. Network television, for example, stole major advertisers from leading national magazines in the 1950s. Advertisers found the new networks more efficient at reaching potential customers. A case in point: A full-page in Life magazine ran \$65,000 in 1970. In advertising lingo, that was \$7.75 CPM, shorthand for cost per thousand, the M for the Roman numeral thousand. The network CPM was \$3.60 for the same number of eyeballs. Life and other leading general-interest magazines like the Saturday Evening Post, Look and Collier's were soon out of business. Exceptions among general interests title were weekly newsmagazines like Time and Newsweek, which continued to prosper. So did shelter magazines, like Ladies' Home Journal and Better Homes & Gardens. And so did niche magazine, which offered special-interest readerships to advertisers for products with narrower appeals.

These days Life shows up only on news racks as an occasional photo-strong, commemorative, thematic edition. There also is a Life partnership with Getty Images at Life.com, making use of the millions of images from their combined collections available on the internet. Of course, the site is filled with advertisements as well as opportunities to make purchases from the Life Store. Not quite a magazine anymore, the site takes a new approach to photojournalism, using the latest technology to do so.

The magazine industry's shift toward niche audiences was called demassification. The niche audiences, although significant, were really submass audiences-not the broader audiences that magazines like Life, with something for everyone, had cultivated. Some niches grew rapidly, especially new-breed celebrity and human-interest magazines like People. Launched in 1974, People today is the largest circulation U.S. weekly at 3.6 million.

APPIMING YOUR WEDIA LITERACY

- How has technology been both the bedrock and the nemesis of the magazine industry?
- Compare the innovations of Brother Jonathan, Harper's Weekly, National Geographic and Life in media visuals.
- What has become of word-driven magazine innovations like investigative journalism personality profiles that have identified magazines historically?

# Reinventing Magazines

STUDY PREVIEW The twin revenue streams for the magazine industry, advertising and direct sales to readers, are in rapid decline. Newsmagazines are a case study in survival strategies with no course guaranteeing success. Even so, some magazines continue to hold their own, particularly shelter and niche titles.

#### **Declining Wagazine Circulation**

When Jon Meacham, the editor at Newsweek, was invited to drop in at Columbia University to discuss magazines with a group of 100 grad students one day in 2008, he started by asking for a show of hands on how many read Newsweek. Nobody did. It was a telling moment. Two years later, with Newsweek losses passing \$71 million, the magazine's long-time owner, the Washington Post Company, put the magazine up for sale. Finding no serious bidders, the magazine went for a token \$1 to stereo-equipment tycoon Sidney Harman, who agreed to pick up the magazine's debts. What had happened at the once high-riding Newsweek? Meacham's explanation: The magazine had been caught in the same problems as almost all historically printbased periodicals—advertising declines, competition from digital media, and an increasingly fragmented audience. "The task before us now is to find the right economic and digital means to meet our traditional ends while trying to discover a sustainable business model," he said.

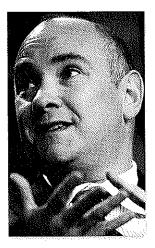
A tally of almost 500 leading U.S. magazines found that newsstand sales fell 9 percent leading into 2010, after a 24 percent decline the year before. A slight uptick in 2011, propelled by subscription sales, was not exactly bright news: Subscriptions are less profitable because of heavy discounting. Worse, the magazine industry's primary revenue stream advertising—was down about 26 percent as measured by ad pages.

The question is whether the magazine industry can survive with ink-on-paper products. One survival strategy has become: If you can't beat 'em, join 'em. Many traditional magazines have extended their presence online. The online environment however is already crowded, and these traditional magazines are trying to find a place in the frenzied internet array of sources for all kinds of information, amusement and enlightenment. The traditional strengths and distinguishing characteristic of magazines as a mass medium are no longer their exclusive province. The web is far more competitive than a newsstand.

Like newspapers, magazines historically have had two revenue streams—direct sales to readers and advertising. While single-sale and subscription revenue make a dent in fixed business costs, it is advertising revenue that drives profits. Now, with circulation dropping, advertisers have shifted to alternate vehicles to carry their messages. With broader media choices for readers and advertisers than ever before, the magazine industry is in a shakeout. The bottom line: At what point do circulation and advertising revenue drop magazines below a level of sustainability?

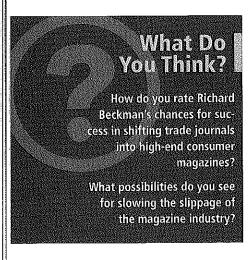
demassification Process of media narrowing focus to audience niches

# MEDIA DEODO E



#### Richard Beckman.

He sees life left in the print media. Beckman is adding glitz to old trade journals, like Hollywood Reporter, in hopes of attracting upscale outsidethe-trade readers. If Beckman's plan works, advertisers for high-end consumer products will flock to his publications.



### Ritzy, Risky, Rescue Plan

With the magazine industry flailing frantically to reinvent itself, Richard Beckman's B-to-I idea is at least as promising as any. B-to-I is shorthand for businessto-influentials. Beckman has taken a handful of dowdy trade journals, edited for small professional audiences, with the idea of building them into glitzy advertising-laden magazines. He's trying to do this without losing the trade journals' solid base.

Might B-to-I be the future of magazines? Beckman, a former executive in the tony Condé Nast magazine empire, points to the trade journal Hollywood Reporter. Beckman's Prometheus Global

Media bought the Reporter in 2009, the magazine had 12,000 circulation among movie-industry insiders. That was peanuts compared to Condé Nast's glossy flagships like tony GQ, Vanity Fair and Voque. But Hollywood Reporter, like many trade journals, was relatively recession-proof. Movie studios place their big-buck ads to sway members of the Academy of Motion Pictures to vote for their Oscar

Hollywood Reporter's readership was comprised of what Beckman calls influentials. Their influence far outdistances their numbers.

nominees. Oscars, of course, translate exponentially

into box office and video sales.

Beckman's vision goes further. In Hollywood Reporter, he sees potential to expand the audience by editing for not only Hollywood insiders but a broader audience of movie enthusiasts. The Reporter could become not just an advertising vehicle for reaching industry outsiders buy all for reaching general consumer advertising as well.

In his 24 years as a Condé Nast executive, Beckman learned the flashy side of the magazine and advertising businesses. In his last assignment with Condé Nast, he headed a company unit that included Footwear News, Women's Wear Daily and a handful of trade journals. He knows both the glitzy, high-visibility side of the magazine industry and the often-overlooked trade journal side.

The question is whether Beckman can parlay his experience and contacts into his B-to-I model.

For Beckman personally, a lot is at stake. In founding Prometheus, he convinced investors to pony up \$70 million to buy a polyglot assortment of trade journals that included not only Hollywood Reporter but also Adweek, circulation 47,000, mostly in U.S. advertising agencies, and Billboard, widely recognized for its music charts but not much read beyond 16,000 music-industry insiders. In magazine industry circles, Beckman was called

crazy for paying \$70 million. Too much, way too much, the critics said. Beckman's response: It's time to forget the conventional wisdom that magazines should be measured quantitatively by circulation. Instead, he said, look at circulation qualitatively and ask whether the readership has influence that can drive consumer demand.

Time will tell. The critics have difficulty envisioning a trade journal being more than a trade journal. Consider, for example, Footwear News, which focuses on news on shoe-making companies, retail shoe strategies and international regulations on footwear. The advertising in Footwear News is directed at shoe manufacturers, designers and retailers—everything from novel fabrics, new display rack designs, and manufacturing equipment. It's a classic business-to-business trade journal, B-to-B for short. The question: Can trade journals become a home for the high-fashion products of the sort on which the Condé Nast empire had polished its advertiser-to-consumer business model-Vuitton handbags, Armani suits, exotic travel, Rolex watches.

Some signs are positive for Beckman. In the first 15 months after relaunching Hollywood Reporter, advertising grew 50 percent. One 156-page issue carried 67 pages of advertising including ads from beauty, fashion, liquor and consumer electronic products. Traffic at hollywoodreporter.com was up nine-fold. Pounding the drum for his B-to-I model, Beckman proclaimed that the magazine gives access for advertisers to "the most influential constituency in the entertainment space." The entertainment magazine field, though, is littered with casualties-V Life, Premiere, American Film Monthly.

Also, doubters are leery of mixing media business models. Although tricky, it has been done. In the 1940s Barney Kilgore took the Wall Street Journal, a narrowly focused newspaper for investors, and broadened the audience and the advertising base to build the largest-circulation newspaper in the United States. Today the Journal is home for B-to-B advertising and also businessto-consumer advertising for the likes of high-end handbags and luxury vacations.

At Billboard too, Beckman is looking for striking up new endeavors to move into the B-To-I model. Billboard has partnered with MySpace Music to lend its brand name to unsigned bands. Beckman revived the annual Billboard Music Awards in Las Vegas to enhance the brand beyond that of a little-read B-to-B trade journal.



Michael Kinsley.



A Online Upstart. Backed by giant software developer Microsoft, Slate was a pioneer as a web-only magazine. Slate specializes in politics, arts and culture, sports, and news.

#### Web-Only Wadazines

For most of the 1980s and 1990s the worst kept secret in Washington was who wrote the must-read column "TRB" in the leftist magazine the New Republic. The column was witty, insightful, thought-provoking—and all Michael Kinsley. Although mostly associated with the New Republic, Kinsley was a magazine gadfly with editorships also at Harper's, Washington Monthly, the Economist, as well as editing the Los Angeles Times opinion section for a while and dueling intellectually with conservative columnist Pat Buchanan on the CNN political program Crossfire. He also took parts in three movies in the 1990s.

Slate. As home as Kinsley was with traditional media, he took an online plunge in 1996 with the Microsoft-funded Slate.com. Slate had been launched two years earlier, the first major online upstart of a magazine that didn't have ownership roots in the ink-on-paper magazine industry.

Under Kinsley, the Seattle-based Slate became known for the mini-columns "Explainer," "Chatterbox" and "Dear Prudence" as well as long-form journalism, usually an essay or project per week. In 1999 Kinsley was named Editor of the Year by Columbia Journalism Review for his work at Slate.

Although Slate made media history as a web-only magazine, its finances have been wobbly. From 1998 to 1999 it tried charging \$20 for an annual subscription. When that didn't work, Slate went free again with an explanation that advertising revenue was improving. In the meantime, Microsoft sold the magazine to a Washington Post Company subsidiary that specializes in web-only magazines.

Salon. A rival to Slate is Salon, founded in 1995 in San Francisco—also far from the U.S. magazine hub in New York City. Like Slate, Salon updates content daily with a focus on politics and current affairs and coverage and reviews on music, books and films. There is a leering, sassy tone. Editor David Talbot once described Salon as "a smart tabloid."

The Salon formula has attracted a following, but, like Slate, its finances have been iffy. In 2001, almost broke, Salon introduced pay-to-view "premium content" but continued free

business-to-influentials (B-to-I) A business model with advertising aimed at creating sales indirectly by reaching influential audiences.

Michael Kinsley Founding editor of Slate magazine as well as editor for the New Republic and numerous other publications

Online magazine of news, politics and

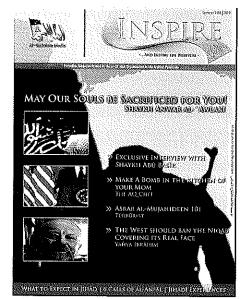
access to most of the site. The magazine picked up 130,000 subscribers at \$45 a year. But financial difficulties have been an ongoing issue, prompting ongoing pleas for donations.

Sponsored Web Magazines. Patrons keep some online magazines afloat. These sugar daddy-sponsored sites usually have a narrow bent, some ideological, which limits their broad appeal. Also, some sponsored online magazines are from zealots without deep pockets but who can create an internet presence without much investment.

Among the sponsored web magazines, appearing in 2010 was the shadowy Inspire that claims to be from the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula. An early issue reprinted messages from Osama bin Laden and other terrorist leaders. One article, "Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom," called for terror attacks in Britain and the United States. Suggestions included opening fire at a Washington, D.C. restaurant and using a pickup truck to mow down pedestrians.

Although in English, Inspire wasn't geared for a large mass audience. British and U.S. intelligence authorities saw Inspire as an attempt to recruit English-speaking Muslims into the Al-Oaeda cause.

The base of Inspire was Yemen. Intelligence experts believed the magazine to be mostly the work of Samir Khan, an American blogger who distributed terrorist propaganda online before moving to Yemen. He signed one article, "I Am Proud to be a Traitor to America," in the 74-page second issue of Inspire.



Online Hate. The slick web-only magazine Inspire, in English, appeared to be the work of disaffected American blogger Samir Khan. From Yemen, Khan operated the low-cost site to recruit young U.S. and British Muslims to jihad militancy and terrorism. The sponsors of Inspire measure the site's success not in advertising revenue but in blood.

Late in 2011 Khan was killed in a U.S. drone strike along with al-Qaeda leader Anwar al-Awlaki. Because both were U.S. citizens, the targeted killings raised questions about Constitutional guarantees of free expression for American citizens and the right to a trial. Even so, the deaths were a major blow to the al-Qaeda brand and to the organization al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

### MEDIATINGING

#### PRINT MEDIA MILESTONES

Gutenberg invented movable metal type (1446)

#### **PROLIFERATION**

Gutenberg printing technology in use throughout Europe (1500)

#### PIVOTAL EVENTS

- Joan of arc burned at stake (1431)
- First Christopher Columbus voyage to Americas (1492)
- Martin Luther posted his 95 Thesis, launching Protestant Reformation (1521)
- Spanish Inquisition began (1481)
- Leonardo da Vinci, artist, thinker (1452-1519)
- Copernicus posited that sun center of solar system (1512)
- Henry VIII established break-away Church of England (1532)



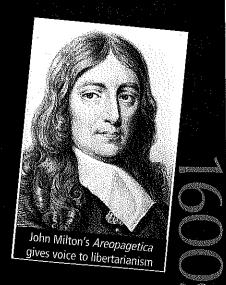
a long run

#### PRINT MEDIA WILESTONES

FIRST PRESS Puritans established Cambridge Press (1638)

#### PIVOTAL EVENTS

- Age of Science, Age of Reason began (1600s)
- Pilgrims founded Plymouth colony
- Isaac Newton discovered natural laws (1687)



#### PRINT WEDIA WILESTONES

**RISE OF BOOK INDUSTRY** J.B. Lippincott established as major publishing house (1792)

#### PIVOTAL EVENTS

- Industrial Revolution (1760s-)
- Revolutionary War (1776–1781)
- Thomas Newcomen invented steam engine (1712)
- Johann Sebastian Bach, composer (1685-1750)
- Jonathan Swift, satirist (1667–1745)
- Daily Courant, London, first daily newspaper (1702)
- Little Ice Age peaked (1750)
- French and Indian War (1754-1763)
- Antonio Vivaldi, composer (1648–1741)



#### PRINT MEDIA **WILESTONES**

**PENNY PRESS** New York Sun, first penny newspaper (1833)

New York Times founded as serious alternative to penny papers (1851)

#### **MEGA-CHAINS**

Hearst aguired San Francisco Examiner, which became flagship for major chain (1887)

#### PIVOTAL EVENTS

- Public education took root as social value. (1820s)
- Machine-made paper widely available (1830s)
- Civil War (1861-1865)
- · Public education spurs quantum growth in literacy (1880s)
- World population passed 1 billion (1804)
- Charles Darwin wrote On Origin of Species (1859)
- Heinreich Hertz produced radio waves (1886)



#### PRINT MEDIA **WILESTONES**

#### MUCKRAKING

Ida Tarbell magazine exposé on Standard Oil (1902) Upton Sinclair's The Jungle (1906)

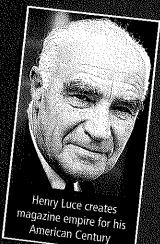
#### **MAGAZINE INNOVATION**

The compendium Reader's Digest founded (1922), newsmagazine Time (1923), New Yorker (1924)

#### PHOTOJOURNALISM

Henry Luce founded Life, coined term photo essay (1936)

#### **DIGITAL BOOKS** E-book introduced (1998)



#### PRINT MEDIA **MILESTONES**

#### WIKIPEDIA

Wikipedia launched as reader-edited online reference tool (2001)

#### NEWSPAPER CHAINS FALTER Historic chain Knight-Ridder fumbles

financially, sold (2006)

#### READERSHIP SHIFT

More people get news online than from newspapers, magazines (2008)

#### FAILURES

Rocky Mountain News, Denver, shut down, largest newspaper to fold; others follow (2009)

#### **PIVOTAL EVENTS**

- Dot-Com Bubble burst (2000)
- Great Recession (2007–2009)



102 CHAPTER 4 INK ON PAPER