Diversity Disconnects:

From Class Room to News Room

by Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte with Cristina Bodinger-de Uriarte & José Luis Benavides

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Dr. Robert Jeffrey, dean of the College of Communication at the University of Texas from 1979 to 1993, a man of social conscience, whose years of support for integration and difference inspired innovation and encouraged risk in pursuit of new ideas.

Advisory Board

Executive Summary

Twenty-five years ago, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) sought to motivate change in the nation's newsrooms. In response to findings a decade earlier by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known more familiarly as the Kerner Commission, the nation's editors agreed to integrate the press. They set a goal to reach parity reflecting national minority population by the year 2000. In doing so they addressed concerns raised by the Kerner Commission in 1968. They also set the stage to more effectively adhere to coverage standards set in 1947 by the Commission on Freedom of the Press (the Hutchins Commission). Headed by Robert Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, this Commission's work opened the communication era of post World War II.

Broadcast news has had a somewhat different profile because the Federal Communications Commission, which licenses use of public air waves, required that broadcasters respond to the needs of their audiences. Lawsuits in the mid 1970s toughened the requirements for integration and programming. The Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) never adopted a parity goal, but in 2000 included diversity as a core value.

The ASNE call for parity was perhaps the single most effective social force for newsroom change in U.S. press history. But for the past quarter century, minority participation averaged an increase of only one-half of 1% per year. During that time, the concept of integration (inclusion of those populations historically subject to segregation both by law and de facto) became confused with diversity (difference in perspective as a result of different race, class, history, social and gender experience). Integration was assumed to assure diversity; definitions of newsworthiness remained mostly traditional. As a result, newsroom culture changed little during these years.

Today print newsrooms are further from parity than they were at the start. There is now a larger minority population. But most significant is a lack of strategic planning, including an effort to change traditional newsroom culture to be receptive to intellectual diversity. Surveys show individual journalists remain traditional in their intellectual and professional activities. As a result, a series of disconnects between components needed to work for change-from classroom to newsroom-made failure inevitable.

Moreover, the lack of response among key sectors was evident in the earliest stages. Besides the slow newsroom integration, journalism education lagged behind. Not until 1984, sixteen years after the Kerner Commission report and six years after ASNE's call for parity, did the Accreditation Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) acknowledge the need to act. ACEJMC confronted the issue by adding Standard 12 to those a journalism school or department must pass for accreditation. This Standard calls for integration of faculty and student body and the inclusion of women. However, journalism education units fail Standard 12 more than any other. The second most failed standard is Standard 3, which calls for diversity in curriculum.

Where diverse curriculum exists, it is rarely a required course. Thus, journalism education fails to stimulate intellectual diversity. Neither ASNE nor RTNDA appear to have ever seriously tackled the limp engagement by journalism educators.

Journalism education has always served as a pipeline. ASNE did not focus on the educational track record; that would have called early attention to very serious problems. As part of the process, however, ASNE initiated an annual print newsroom census in 1979. Minorities then made up 4% of journalists—15% short of parity. By the early 1990s, it was evident that the goal would not be reached. In 1997, when ASNE admitted a shortfall and recast the goal for 2025, minority participation in print news had reached only 11%. By 2000 minorities made up only 12% of newsrooms. A report by the Freedom Forum issued in 2000 showed that between 1994 and 1999, print newsrooms had collectively hired an average of 500 minority journalists a year. An average of 440 a year had also left. By 2000 the gap widened to 600 hired, 698 departed. Over the twenty-five year period, national demographics changed as minorities grew larger in number and non-minority populations failed to increase. By the year 2000, population increase, slow minority inclusion and resistance to intellectual diversity, widened the gap between participation and parity to more than 16%. There has been no real change since.

Broadcast press appeared to do only slightly better. Although they never set a goal of parity, in 2000 the Radio-Television News Directors Association adopted diversity as one of their "core values." According to a survey that year by Ball State University, minorities on television staff reached 21%. But by 2000, radio only charted 10%, a significant drop from previous years. No set of figures is accurate, however, because Spanish-language media was included in both surveys until 2000, when, after criticism by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, RTNDA eliminated that practice.

During these years studies indicated that an unchanging newsroom culture caused problems, but there was little organized effort to address these by either of the professional organizations. Nor did these organizations set up any active system to re-recruit minorities who left newsrooms, despite a very high attrition rate. Although minority participation figures crept along for a quarter century neither ASNE nor RTNDA called for a formal assessment of their efforts.

Because of its pipeline role, journalism education is key to newsroom staffing. Educators signaled their support of inclusion in various ways, but there is little to indicate real commitment. Journalism education lags far behind both broadcast and print professionals in integrating the body of journalism educators and providing minority newsroom potential. The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), founded in 1912, is the largest organization for journalism educators. In 2000, AEJMC claimed a membership of 3,000 of whom 224 (fewer than 10%) were minorities: 104 were African-American (58 females, 46 males); 64 Asian-Americans; (25 females and 39 males); 37 Latinos (16 Latinas and 21 males); 19 American Indians (12 females and 7 males). Little has changed since. That year, minorities earned only about a quarter of all B.A. degrees and 10% of all M.A. degrees in journalism. Figures remain miniscule for PhDs, now almost universally required for a tenured position as a journalism educator.

Meanwhile, a diversity industry grew significantly. The professional service industry organized workshops, seminars and exercises, and crafted materials for use in classrooms and newsrooms. Professionals and educators gave scores of lectures at journalism conferences. Rough estimates indicate that at least $100 million dollars was spent on these activities, as well as on scholarships, fellowships and internships by the various organizations. ASNE was a major contributor. In 1999 ASNE initiated "Time Out for

Diversity," a coordinated nationwide effort to stimulate more inclusive coverage.

The Hutchins Commission set standards fifty years ago which called for inclusion. Since then much individual good work has been done—excellent stories, outstanding series—but the overall newsroom culture and the texture of the product has not shown consistent sustained change. Minorities continue to leave the profession. The first two reasons given for leaving a job are predictable, even expected—more money and better opportunity. Follow-up studies to document those reasons do not appear to have been undertaken. The third reason given, an unwelcoming environment, must be addressed. An absence of intellectual diversity contributes to this situation.

This report posits that efforts to reach true diversification were unsuccessful because crucial issues were not addressed. Such efforts could be more successful if the following needs were addressed:

- The need for ASNE to develop a strategy designed to meet the parity goal;
- The need for ASNE to assess progress and make necessary adjustments;
- The need for concerted, organized effort to re-recruit those experienced minorities who left newsrooms;
- The need for the press corps to develop a significant new knowledge base upon which to diversify news content;
- The need for non-minority journalists to self-educate in order to meet diversity content goals as ways to change both press population and the product;
- The need to establish interaction across race and ethnic lines in all but the most elementary activities directly connected to press practices;
- The need to establish intellectual participation on the part of non-minorities to construct a shared knowledge base that would routinize coverage of minorities in much the same way as coverage is now routinized for non-minority population.
- The need for journalism education to provide or to require that students demonstrate substantial basic knowledge of the histories and experiences of minority populations in preparation for covering the changing nation;
- The need for journalism education to provide aspiring journalists with practical skills needed to interact effectively as reporters and editors across cultures.
- The need to establish accountability procedures in the accreditation process to ensure that it is not circumvented by the "old-boy" network.

1 Introduction

If integration of institutions is difficult, diversity poses an even more complex challenge. Because many people believe the two concepts to be synonymous, those responsible for facilitating either are greatly disadvantaged.

Undertaken for the 25th anniversary of the American Society of Newspaper Editors' (ASNE) call for newsroom parity by 2000, this study provides a view of the journey. Begun as a bold call for integration of the nation's newspapers, the push for inclusion of minorities had the potential to provide pressure by example across the media spectrum. That goal serves as a point of departure for a survey of progress toward not only demographic change in newsrooms, but of the intellectual underpinnings and social experiences that should come with that change.

This report hopes to stimulate additional discussion of minority inclusion, moving it beyond numerical counting toward other aspects of change that must accompany any shift requiring a transformation of culture. Inclusion implies more than occupied space, it demands acknowledgment of difference beyond pigmentation or national origin. By virtue of their different histories in the United States, histories often warped by social injustice and economic abuse, many minorities view the nation, its institutions and its self-descriptions from a perspective that does not often find its way into the mainstream press. ASNE and its broadcast counterpart, the Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) draws its membership largely from those whose backgrounds do not reflect this minority experience. So in a concerted effort to change the newsroom population, what is done to nurture different ways of seeing and understanding the American experience that the press reports to its audience? What is the literacy of diversity? How does difference become more than "skin deep?" Are press ethics involved?

For more than thirty years, U.S. newsrooms have grappled with these issues. Basically, there are two paths toward a diverse newsroom: one is that of integration—a conscious effort to include individuals drawn from different racial and ethnic populations regardless of their intellectual preparation and perspectives. The other is to draw across demographic population groups with a conscious effort to include diverse intellectual world views. It is the contention of this report that one cannot be achieved without the other. Populations long excluded from educational equity and full participation in social-economic institutions may see a different nation. But the nation reported in mainstream media remains virtually unchanged. Much of this results from the way in which familiar mainstream perspectives are credentialed as accurate—so that different minority perspectives, often labeled as "opinion," become suspect. Thus, integration does not insure intellectual diversity because prevailing consensus determines newsworthiness.

This report further contends that most of the industry has focused on integration rather than on diversity, to the disadvantage of both. An unchanging intellectual culture in newsrooms discourages real diversity. In

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fact, about half (48%) of executives of color in the media industry believe that their organizations do not serve very well the news needs of people of color. More than half (59%) of these executives believe that at least sometimes they must exercise self-censorship when expressing opinions or ideas: 35% say they do this often.[1]

> One of the stark contradictions for leaders of color is that when they reach the level where they can most affect the way race and ethnicity are handled in organization, they are most wary of bringing up the subject. The reasons are longstanding and myriad, all resulting in a conversation across race that is sometimes insincere, incomplete and muted.[2]

Newsroom parity by 2000, set as a goal in 1978, is further from realization today than when ASNE began.[3] While the goal provided more visibility to the issue of integration and helped generate new scholarship about news coverage, it caused surprisingly little real change. This study focuses on this failure as a result of a disconnect between all the components—journalism education, professional organizations, newsrooms and individual journalists—needed for the goal to succeed.

Our conclusions are based on (1) in-depth, survey interviews of 613 print and broadcast journalists—491 reporters and122 editors and news directors, (2) an historical summary of press integration, (3) a review of journalism education accreditation history, (4) an overview of ethics and diversity curriculum through collection and examination of related syllabi, (5) a review of the most frequently assigned texts and (6) a review of related literature. These activities provide the basic data and contribute to conclusions drawn.

This study began at the cusp of the century, during a period of serious misgivings among many members of the press about the direction of their profession and among some journalism educators and media scholars about similar issues. Some of these critics raised questions abut the vigor of democracy itself—among them, Herbert Altschull, Ben Bagdikian, W. Lance Bennett, Noam Chomsky, Edward Herman, Robert McChesney, Michael Parenti, Mort Rosenblum and Studs Turkel[4]— who fear that democracy can be suborned by corporate ownership of or economic influence over the press. Here they echo 1947 warnings made by the Commission on Freedom of the Press. The Committee of Concerned Journalists, a relatively new organization of almost two thousand reporters and editors, raised similar worries. Emerging minority and non-minority writers—Pamela Newkirk, Robert G. Lee, Mary Ann Weston, their predecessors Ellis Close, Felix Gutierrez, Clint Wilson and others—describe a reluctant newsroom environment that fails to see the link between inclusiveness and democracy.

In 1996, Betty Medsger's study, *Winds of Change*, sponsored by the Freedom Forum, detailed growing distance between the professional press and journalism educators. In 1997, the Committee of Concerned Journalists began to focus on journalism's movements away from its civic role. In 1998, the American Society of Newspaper Editors announced that they would be unable to meet the organization's 1978 goal of print newsroom parity by the year 2000. Long time advocate for newsroom diversity and past ASNE president, Loren Ghiglone provided suggestions and urged continued parity efforts in his special report—"Goals for the New Century: Diversity/Unity 2000+5"—presented to that organization in 1998.

Soon thereafter another Freedom Forum Study—"Newsroom Diversity: Meeting the Challenge," by Lawrence T. McGill—documented the steady attrition of minority journalists; over the course of the previous five years, almost as many left the newsroom as were hired. By 2001, that trend accelerated. Similar plateau effects can be found in the broadcast industry where participation rates

have changed relatively little since the mid-1990s.

Many studies over the past thirty years chart a number of related events, each of which affects not only press vitality, but also the links to a healthy democracy. One of those links must be forged between growing minority populations and a press fulfilling civic obligation. This role becomes most crucial during a period of social change such as the nation faces as it moves away from a white majority society. However, these concerns grew during an era of accelerating compression of media ownership. A shrinking arena for those reporters, editors and news directors trying to contribute minority voice results from this compression. Moreover, in a culture increasingly tolerant of corporate concentration and bottom-line determinism, the press becomes evermore defined in product and profit-margin terms, undermining its obligations to self-governance.

The Hutchins Commission first raised concern about the corporatization of the press and the implications for democracy. For their insightfulness they elicited the ire of the *Chicago Tribune*, which sought to brand as communists the commission members—who included leading scholars, policy makers and social analysts of the day. Ben Bagdikian, a former editor at *The Washington Post*, again called the nation's attention to this trend in 1983 with his book, *The Media Monopoly*. At the close of World War II, at least 1,600 newspapers published daily; 38 years later, mass media—including newspapers, books, magazines, film, radio, television, cable and recorded music—were controlled by 50 entities. As our study began, media ownership had consolidated still further: Bagdikian's 1997 update reduced media powers to 10 major corporations, documented concern for the profit margin over civic obligations, and provided examples of the weakening of publication independence. "If the same kind of control over public ideas is exercised by a private entrepreneur, the effect of the corporate line is not so different from that of a party line."[5] Today, Robert McChesney describes the media scene thus:

> The "first tier" of media conglomerates includes Time-Warner, Disney, Viacom, Seagram, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation and Sony, all connected to the big six film studios. The remaining first-tier media giants include General Electric, owner of NBC and AT&T, which in 1998 purchased TCI, the cable powerhouse with vast holdings in scores of other media enterprises. GE (1998 sales: $100 billion), AT&T-TCI (1997 sales: $58 billion), and Sony (1997 sales: $51 billion) all are enormous firms, among the largest in the world. Their media holdings constitute a distinct minority of their assets. [6]

Indeed, as media corporations grow, the press loses its central role. Bill Kovach and Tom Rosensteil argue in *The Elements of Journalism*, published in 2000:

> At the beginning of the new century, we see this tradition of news companies owning journalism break down as news becomes a smaller component inside global conglomerates. ABC News represents less than 2 percent of the profits at Disney. News once accounted for most of the revenue of Time, Inc., but it is just a fraction of that inside AOL. NBC News provides less than 2 percent of the profits of General Electric.[7]

Although intellectual and political leaders since the pre-revolutionary era have addressed the role of this nation's press as a component of democracy, modern focus began as World War II drew to a close. The war experience sharpened concern. Monopoly press in authoritarian nations contributed to mass disinformation campaigns; democratic press became propaganda instruments in the national interest. The end result was a generally weakened commitment to an independent press.

(1) A truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which give them meaning.
(2) A forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.
(3) The projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society.
(4) The presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society.
(5) Full access to the day's intelligence.

Commission for a Free Press
(the Hutchins Commission)
1947

The most high-profile call for an integrated press corps was made in 1968 by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, more commonly known as the Kerner Commission for its Chair, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois.

The 1947 Hutchins Commission, which examined all media including radio and newspapers, defined the social responsibility of a democratic press in five standards of practice and made specific reference to press obligations to minority inclusion. As basic standards, they said the press must provide:

> (1) A truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which give them meaning. (2) A forum for the exchange of comment and criticism. (3) The projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society. (4) The presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society. (5) Full access to the day's intelligence. [8]

To meet its obligations, a constitutionally protected press needs the appropriate resources—among those, a corps that reflects the diversity, including the intellectual diversity, of its constituents. In fact, in their discussion of standards one and three, the Hutchins Commission made reference to marginalized, isolated and minority populations. The historic coincidences of calls for more diversity begin as press ownership began to consolidate. Both increased over time. But as corporate power grew, minority participation in newsrooms crept along and in 1990 plateaued. Indeed, in terms of parity, minority participation later shrank in relation to the overall population. The greater numbers simply do not represent the same proportion in today's U.S.A.

The most high-profile call for an integrated press corps was made in 1968 by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, more commonly known as the Kerner Commission for its Chair, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. At the request of President Lyndon B. Johnson, who named the members, the Commission also examined the role of the press in their study of a series of race riots that swept the nation in 1967. Among their findings, which faulted press activities, they concluded that the press "must make a reality of integration—in both their product and their personnel." They called for changes in staffing, perspective and preparatory education.

In 1973, journalism educators began tracking minority participation in colleges and universities in an annual census, augmenting the gender statistical records begun in 1968. Since then, Professor Lee B. Becker,[9] assisted by others, has provided journalism enrollment figures by sequence, gender, race and ethnicity although he warns that non-consistent reporting practices by participating colleges and universities provide more of a suggestion than hard documentation.

The contemporary focus on newsroom integration began in 1978 when the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) announced its parity goal and initiated an annual newsroom census. At that time, about 4% of all print journalists were minorities. Although the Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) began taking newsroom census in 1972, it was not so detailed until the mid-1990s when they commissioned Professor Robert Papper of Ball State University to provide similar annual information. The broadcast census was not linked to an inclusion goal; it provided data useful for license applications or renewal with the Federal Communications Commission, which regulated public air waves and required evidence of community relevance and service. In 1984, when journalism educators began to address inclusion, ASNE's census showed 5.75% minority participation; RTNDA reported 9% participation in radio and 15% in television, including those in Spanish-language media. Little real change since 1972.[10]

In both professional censuses, participation figures have been flawed by the inclusion of Spanish language publications and broadcast media. ASNE data still includes as part of the *Miami Herald*, the staff of *El Nuevo Herald*, a Spanish-language newspaper operated within the *Miami Herald's* main newsroom, but with a separate staff and decision-makers. However, published ASNE fig-

ures showing newsroom integration credits all workers to the *Miami Herald*. A similar situation exists in Hawaii, where 28% of the population is white and where historically, press integration was a reflection of the society itself. Including both these publications inflates the total percentages of newsroom integration.

In 2000, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) objected to RTNDA's inclusion of Spanish-language broadcasts because the figures were misleading. These practices allow inflated figures that fail to reflect accurately the demographics in white dominant newsrooms where change is sought. In response, RTNDA has changed its census procedure.

In all these efforts, which contribute in valuable ways toward changing the newsroom, advocates predominately considered intellectual diversity to be assured by genetic diversity—a sort of pigment-based guarantee of different perspectives. However, this concept eliminates examination of the socialization process or "professionalization" that requires a consensus definition of newsworthiness. Contemporary newsroom culture encourages content similarity between leading newspapers and networks. A similarity so reliable that former competitors now provide stand-in services for one another at news sites—one journalist doing the work for more than one newsroom. Indeed, accuracy is often defined by consistency across news products.

As news organizations proclaimed a need for integration, journalism educators largely ambled along on the margins of this call. Yet newsroom populations are greatly affected both by the demographics and by the intellectual quality of journalism education, (which acts as a main human resources pipeline). Journalism graduates fill more than 70 percent of all entry-level print press jobs.[11] Educators were slow to address the parity newsroom goals of ASNE. In fact, educators did not institutionalize a commitment to genetic diversity until 1984, seven years after ASNE's public call, and seventeen years after the Kerner Commission urged educational reform that would prepare minority journalists for mainstream press and also prepare mainstream journalists to do minority coverage.

In 1984, the Accreditation Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) added Standard 12 to those requirements that journalism education units must meet for accreditation. Each standard is supported by a description of evidence needed to demonstrate compliance. In 1985, the diversity requirement read:

> Organized efforts must be made to recruit, advise and retain minority students and minority and female faculty members and to include both in the curriculum information for all students about contributions to journalism and mass communications made by minority and female practitioners from early America to the present.[12]

Since then, there have been three changes in the wording of the diversity standard. None of these changes came as the result of an assessment study or any formal attempt to discern a connection between the standard and the performance of journalism education in serving this civic responsibility.

Over the course of the past twenty years, a handful of professional service organizations—including the Freedom Forum, the Poynter Institute for Media Study, the Pew Foundation and the Ford Foundation, and professional membership groups like the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Radio and Television News Directors Association, and the American Newspaper Association—began to address issues of diversity, offering workshops, conference presentations and publications dealing with these issues. Yet neither the ethnic press nor the alternative press was invited to participate (except in the rarest occasions and in miniscule numbers).[13] Half (51%) of editors responding to our survey reported attending diversity workshops including those who

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However, in the 17 years since the diversity standard was added, journalism education has changed very little. In fact, the 2001 census of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (the largest national organization of journalism educators) indicates 3,079 members of whom only 225, or 7%, are minorities.

went to Unity, the joint conference organized periodically by all four minority journalists associations. Almost as many editors (49%) reported sending reporters to these activities.

However, in the 17 years since the diversity standard was added, journalism education has changed very little. In fact, the 2001 census of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (the largest national organization of journalism educators) indicates 3,079 members of whom only 225, or 7%, are minorities. Over the past 25 years, minority participation in journalism education grew more slowly than corporate print newsroom participation, which increased 8% between 1978 and 2000—from 1,700 of 43,000 total to 6,600 of 56,400. In broadcast, figures grew from 14% (2,300) in television news to 21% and held steady at about 10% in radio including those in Spanish-language media. But journalism education floundered. When minorities were present, they were most often in temporary, not tenured, positions.

Meanwhile, journalism education is undergoing pressures to better accommodate the corporate model. "Downsizing and merger mania have become as popular on campuses as they are in corporations."[14] Among the resulting trends, journalism education has become more generic. Today almost half of all journalism programs offer no ethics courses. In place of classes meant to train "people with a mission to stimulate public discourse and serve the public interest," communication courses are substituted "to prepare generic communicators who could be hired to serve any interests. This approach often involves raising the number of communication courses required of students and decreasing the number of courses they take outside the major."[15] Non-major courses could include more history, sociology, political science or literature, for example, where a more comprehensive grasp of an intellectually diverse society might be found. Instead, journalism education socializes its students to fit into a corporate culture.

In 1999, ASNE promoted "Time Out for Diversity," an annual national project that focused renewed attention on newsroom efforts to achieve representative inclusion in news content. Diverse content became defined as a requirement for accuracy; 69% of editors and news directors and 58% of reporters surveyed say that diversity is an ethical issue. On the other hand, only 44% of journalism education programs require ethics courses.[16] And based on syllabi reviewed in this study, virtually none of the courses give more than a token inclusion of diversity.

Scarce minority coverage can result from and contribute to declining numbers (and even greater decreases in overall proportions) of minority press professionals; among new journalists 48% of minority journalists are considering leaving the business. Workshops and other activities to improve the quality of journalism, including those focusing on diversity, may also have limited effect; 42% of new non-minority professionals are also considering other options.[17]

All of these activities around increasing minorities and expanding coverage include a call for "diverse perspectives," but seldom include members of ethnic or alternative press as part of the leadership team or as discussion participants. Diversity continues to be mainstream defined. Yet both these publications provide other lenses on the world. Moreover, recent studies show that ethnic media reaches a large market still ignored by mainstream. In California, for example, where the population is 50% minority, ethnic press reaches 84% of the three largest minority groups.[18]

To some extent, minority newsroom exodus responds to the general newsroom environment. By 1993, overall morale had declined sharply. A study by the Associated Press Managing Editors (APME) showed 36% of all journalists said they were dissatisfied with their jobs—up from 26% in 1985. A 1992 survey by the Freedom Forum indicated that almost a quarter of all journalists

wanted to leave the field within five years, up from 11% ten years earlier. Most troubling is the finding that the more educated the journalist, the more dissatisfied. Almost half of those with graduate degrees were not happy in their work. Of non-whites, 62% wanted to leave their present jobs; 16% wanted to leave the profession. Leading reasons for dissatisfaction are feelings about the behavior of management, lack of opportunity and the perceived qualities of the newspaper.[19] "Some of the most sought-after people in U.S. newsrooms," says the APME study, "plan to leave them—the young, minorities and the most-well educated."[20]

Thus as the press continues to be subsumed within corporate organizations, the most critically needed journalists are leaving the field. A microcosm of this situation is evident in the 1992 "buy-out" experience at *The Los Angeles Times*. When the newspaper offered early retirement settlements, 659 journalists exercised that option instead of the predicted 200. Mainstream newsrooms continue to shrink as local civic news becomes less important to those corporations, who inhale smaller publications and generate a ubiquitous press culture nationwide. As this study goes to press, the FCC is considering allowing still more concentration of media ownership. If democracy is to survive, it must do so within the nation's diverse demographics and thought.

By providing additional information about the state of intellectual diversity in today's newsrooms, this study hopes to encourage a more precise and broader description of diversity. That, in turn, may advance more complex discourse about how intellectually diverse newsrooms succeed. Ultimately, the study aims to stimulate more strategic planning for expansive newsroom cultural change.

We began with rather basic concerns: Why is an industry famous for its ability to create merged giants, for its agility in slipping into restricted spaces to ferret out hidden information and to confront Congress demanding details, unable to significantly diversify its own population?

How does it happen that an intelligent body of individuals, willing to seize such a challenge, has been unable to make much headway in changing print or broadcast media participation? Why, with few exceptions, does news content retain its problems of stereotype, negativity and mono-culturalism?

Does the intellectual environment of newsrooms reflect an enriched foundation that encourages diversity of perspective? Upon what intellectual foundations do newsrooms seek to encourage diversity? Do these foundations show evidence of personal commitment and contribution by newsroom staff? Has diversity come to be seen as a matter of adhering to long-standing press ethics or simply fitting into a corporate culture? Has the ASNE goal been supported by the editors who lead the organization and call for inclusion? How do their own newspapers reflect their positions as the advocates they must become while presidents of ASNE? What role does RTNDA play?

We wondered whether integrating and diversifying the newsrooms were cohesive missions. Whether they were reinforced in philosophical and material ways across the network of interrelated organizations that comprise the structure of the press from classroom to newsroom. Is there a consistent, focused effort designed or implemented across these organizations?

We wanted to know what role journalism education actually plays in providing a pipeline for newsroom populations; what evidence does it provide of intellectual diversity? What commitment does journalism education have to integrate and to diversify its faculty and students and how is that evidenced?

We envision the material provided here as an initial step toward a more dynamic dialogue and action about these matters.

Our findings indicate that much more thoughtful interconnected strategies for change must be undertaken before the press

Over the past 25 years, minority participation in journalism education grew more slowly than corporate print newsroom participation, which increased 8% between 1978 and 2000—from 1,700 of 43,000 total to 6,600 of 56,400. In broadcast, figures grew from 14% (2,300) in television news to 21% and held steady at about 10% in radio including those in Spanish-language media.

As a result of ASNE's "Time Out for Diversity," diverse content became defined as a requirement for accuracy; 69% of editors and news directors and 58% of reporters surveyed say that diversity is an ethical issue.

Only 44% of journalism education programs require ethics courses.

Betty Medsger, Winds of Change

Some of the most sought-after people in U.S. newsrooms plan to leave them—the young, minorities and the most-well educated.

Mark Fitzgerald, "Sinking Morale," Based on 1993 APME study

can sustain integration and increase diversity. Paramount among these is tolerance for other ways of defining news. Moreover, it appears that journalism education does little to prepare either minority or non-minority students for the challenges of a changing nation.

The misgivings already evident from our research intensified after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack when, after excellent initial coverage, journalists moved further from news reporting to news conveyance—publishing government provided information, especially after the United States mounted sustained military operations in Afghanistan. Throughout this period, press ignorance of Islamic beliefs and Muslim communities—including those of Arab-Americans—contributed to its abdication of civic social responsibility and failure of its charge to contribute to an informed citizenry. As is so often the case for other minorities, Arab-Americans found themselves portrayed in stereotype, denied context and generalized in ignorance. Absent among the press corps and with little access to voice, these minorities suffered from a lack of informed diversity, a situation pervasive from classroom to newsroom.

We could locate no study exploring the diversity-effort interconnections among education, the profession and the service organizations supporting both. While existing studies provided useful snapshots of each element from pipeline to product, no overview of such interlocking environments had been explored. This report provides a modest attempt. For at least two decades, newsrooms were faulted for failure to integrate and to diversify, while journalism education was generally overlooked as part of the process. On the rare occasions when it was examined, the results spoke clearly, but into a vacuum. This study attempts to connect the diversity efforts of three major bodies—journalism education, newsrooms and professional organizations—which share responsibility for newsroom performance and ultimately for the news product.

Notes:

[1] Keith Woods, "Do We Check It At the Door?" A Report by the McCormick Fellowship Initiative, 2001, 24.

[2] Ibid., 14.

[3] Lawrence T. McGill, *Newsroom Diversity: Meeting the Challenge*: a Freedom Forum study, page 6.

[4] Beginning with the work of Ben Bagdikian in the 1970s, a growing number of scholars and professionals have warned about problems connected with the shrinking private ownership and the increased corporate control of the press. Mentioned here are a handful of the most influential: Altschull, Bagdikian,Kovach, Rosenblum and Rosensteil have long successful careers as members of the press. Bennett, Chomsky, Herman, McChesney and Parenti, scholars and media critics, all analyze the press in its civic role. Studs Turkel, known for his to-the-point social analysis, has had much to say about the press over the course of his career.

[5] Ben Bagdikian, *The Media Monopoly* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983).

[6] Robert McChesney, *Rich Media, Poor Democracy* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999) 19.

[7] Bill Kovach and Tom Rosensteil, *The Elements of Journalism* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2000) 32.

[8] Commission on Freedom of the Press, *A Free and Responsible Press*, Robert D. Leigh, ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947, 1974) 21.

[9] These studies appear annually first in *Journalism Educator*, which is published by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Becker is a professor at the University of Georgia and director of the Cox Center.

[10] Vernon Stone, "Survey Shows Little Change for Minorities or Women," *RTNDA Communicator,* June, 1984, 36.

[1] Betty Medsger, *Winds of Change: Challenges Confronting Journalism Education* (Arlington: Freedom Forum, 1996) 7.
[12] Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication handbook, 1987-91.
[13] In a 2002 e-mail survey of its members by the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies, no organization reported receiving such an invitation.
[14] Medsger, 5.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Medsger, 15.
[17] Medsger, 33.
[18] Study of 2,000 California residents conducted by Bendixen & Associates and released April, 2002.
[19] Mark Fitzgerald, "Sinking Morale," *Editor and Publisher*, October 2, 1993, 26.
[20] Ibid.

2 Research Methods & Profiles

The current study draws on three distinct research methods to address a broad set of interdependent and complex issues affecting American journalism institutions. First, a document and literature review was conducted to trace the history of targeted issues in the study as well as the insights about them provided by earlier work. Second, content analysis was conducted on syllabi of courses that were reported to address Standard 3 and Standard 12 for accredited units providing journalism education. The third and most comprehensive method consisted of confidential, one-on-one, telephone interviews with working reporters, news directors, and editors; interviews were conducted to capture aspects of newsroom occupational culture and personnel attitudes and background.

Document and Literature Review:

All bound copies of the annual the *American Society of Newspaper Editors Proceedings* from 1978 to 2000 were reviewed, with focus on the yearly Diversity Report and the Education for Journalism report included in each. All other material related to diversity included in these volumes was also reviewed, including keynote speeches and other activities related to diversity. All copies of the *ASNE Bulletin* for those dates were also reviewed as was *Gods Within the Machine: A History of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1923 – 1993* by Paul Alfred Pratte. Major studies by organizations involved with newsroom diversity efforts and material related to diversity in *Journalism Educator* were reviewed as was material found by regular internet research. *Journalism Educator* is a journal published by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, which devotes much of its attention to teaching. See bibliography for comprehensive list.

Initially, the history of recommendations for accreditation status from 1988 to 2001 was reviewed for information about Standard 12 (the professional journalism standard relating specifically to diversity). A collection was made of all versions of Standard 12, from its first inclusion in 1984 to

2001. Professional journalism association reports, newsletters, and relevant historical documents were part of the research, as were other studies of the profession. These efforts spanned just over a two-year period, from August of 2000 through August 2002.

Content Analysis of Course Syllabi:

Journalism education is situated to play a critical pipeline role in the diversification of newsrooms. This is particularly true at the decision-making level where the concentration of journalism degree is highest. Journalists are among the most educated workforce: 58% of all journalists were college graduates in 1971; 74% in 1982 and 82% in 1992. Of those under 36 years of age who became journalists between 1984 and 1995 94% hold B.A. degrees.[1] However, not all hold degrees in journalism. Of the 568 (93%) survey respondents with college degrees, 68% hold journalism degrees. If looking at only the editors and news directors surveyed, the figure increases; 80% of editors' and news directors' college degrees were in journalism. Given this context a review of course offerings included in accredited academic units granting journalism degrees was considered relevant as they related to diversity efforts. The Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) reviews units for compliance with twelve standards every six years. Included in these are Standard 3 (curriculum requirements including diversity) and Standard 12 (diversity inclusion), both of which deal with diversity in curriculum. Standard 12 also addresses integration efforts. Because ASNE has defined diversity as an ethics issue in its annual nationwide newsroom project "Time Out for Diversity," this study was interested in the ways in which this connection is reflected in the curriculum. Because of its pipeline role, the inclusion of diversity and ethics content in journalism education is important to a study of diversification issues in news organizations.

Research for this study included the collection of relevant course syllabi from academic units in accredited departments granting journalism degrees throughout the nation. In two separate efforts the research team solicited all syllabi for ethics courses and for those courses designed to respond to Standard 3 and Standard 12 of the Accreditation Standards required by ACEJMC. Findings include insight gained through document analysis of these course syllabi.

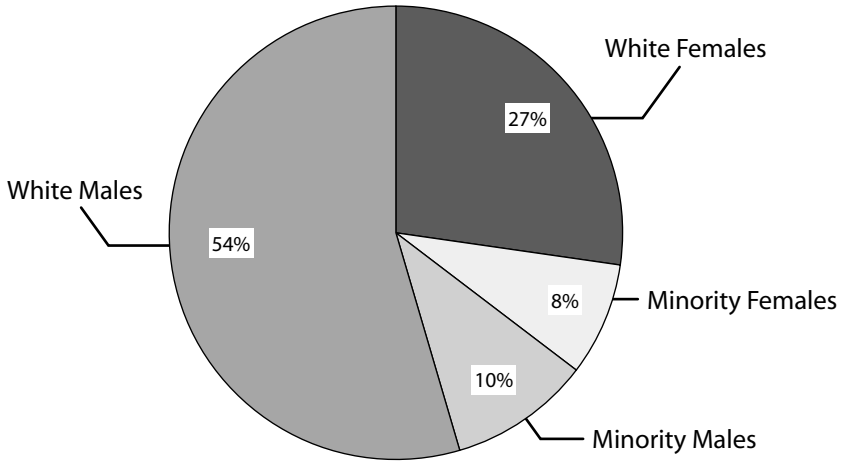
Researchers provided assurances to the journalism units that the study was not a program evaluation or departmental critique and that confidentiality would be carefully preserved. All 108 accredited journalism units were contacted by fax and by phone with requests for syllabi. Up to three follow-up calls and faxed requests were made over the initial 9-month syllabi-collection period. Due to a low response rate, the syllabi collection period was significantly expanded and included multiple email requests to non-responsive units, providing them with the option of response through email attachment. This information proved extremely difficult to obtain, a situation common among researchers seeking responses from these academic institutions.[2] The low response rate may be accounted for, in part, by the fact that, despite Standard 3, a significant proportion of journalism departments do not require an ethics course.[3]

Researcher persistence ultimately yielded a robust sample of course syllabi from which to draw insight about journalism education in these two crucial areas. Included in the analysis were 300 syllabi from 74 of the 108 journalism units (69%) who responded. This effort continued until August 2002.

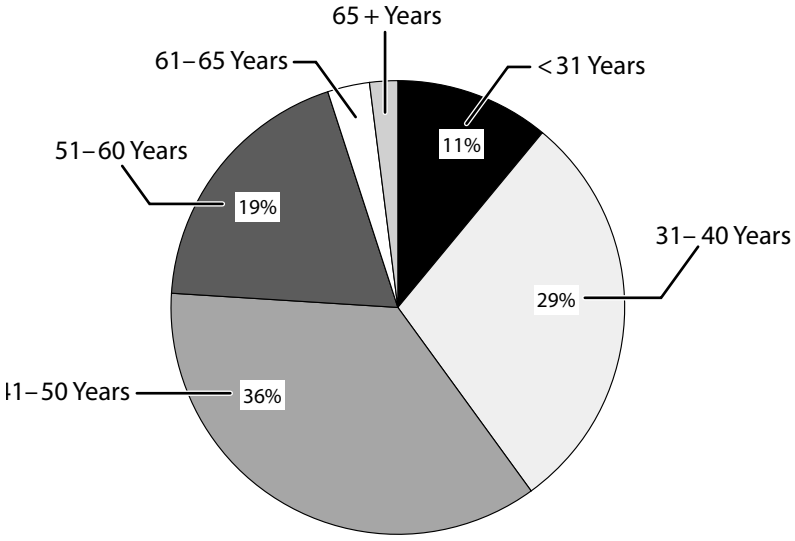
Who Are Our Reporters?

The following demographics show the profile of the sample of reporters we interviewed: sex and ethnicity distributions within the sample, age distributions, and educational background, are represented.

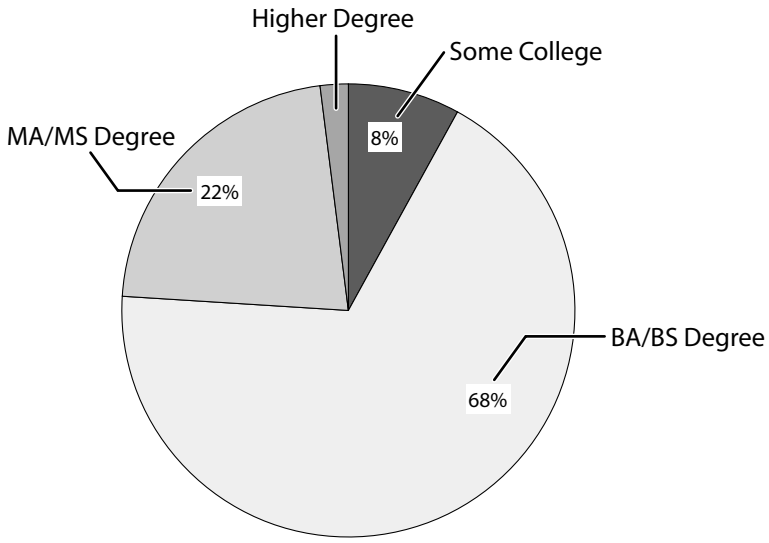
Reporter Gender and Ethnicity



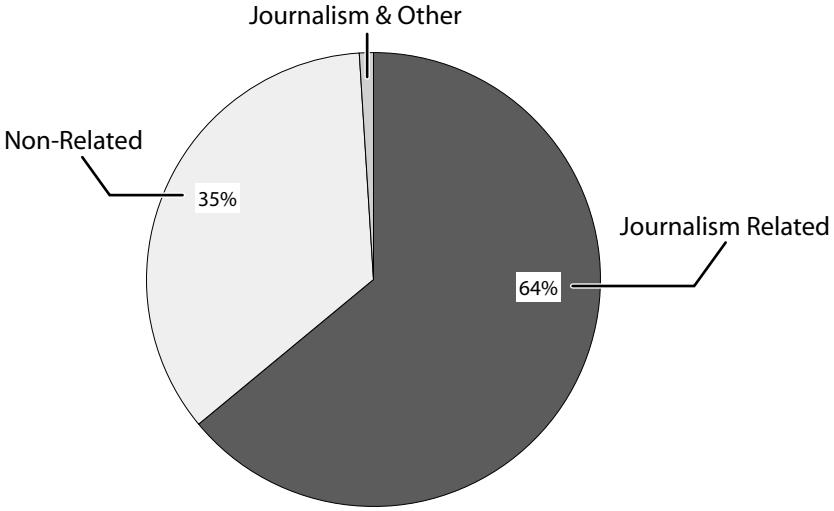
Reporter Age



Reporter Highest Degree Earned



Reporter Degree Subject



The Interview Survey:

In-depth, primarily open-ended, 32-item interview surveys were conducted over the telephone with 613 news directors, editors and reporters working in radio and television major and minor market newsrooms and in the newsrooms of mid-size to major circulation newspapers (100,000 and over). Both mid-size and high-circulation newspapers were included as they reflect both those best situated to recruit with significantly more organizational resource potential to dedicate to diversification, and those within the upward mobility chain through which diversity recruits are likely to pass.

The overall sample includes representation across 40 states and Washington DC. A total of 183 newspaper and broadcast news organizations are represented in the sample. The 72 broadcast news organizations include national network, independent, regional and cable/satellite stations. The 111 newspaper organizations are non-alternative press with circulation of 100,000 or more. The wide coverage of organizations, regions, and reporter-beats in the sample adds to the confidence that the overall sample has no patterned sampling bias.

Significant in this time frame is the fact that all interviews took place over the course of 28 months following various industry efforts to heighten sensitivity and awareness of the continuing need to diversify news coverage and newroom staff. For example, this period included the annual "Time-Out for Diversity" by the two flagship professional journalism associations for editors in the United States, the Associated Press Managing Editors and the American Society of Newspaper Editors (APME & ASNE). Also in 1999, UNITY, a group comprised by four major minority-journalism professional associations, held its conference, a gathering of every four years. Thus, the interview responses should reflect the peak of any professional socialization around issues of diversity and multicultural inclusion among the primarily monocultural staff of American newsrooms. Interviewers all received human subjects training; the project was cleared through the University of Texas at Austin human subjects review. Guarantees of confidentiality were provided.

122 editors and news directors were interviewed. 70 of them (57%) are from mainstream papers of 100,000 or more circulation. The remaining 52 of them (43%) are broadcast radio and television news directors. The sampling pool consisted of all broadcast news personnel and all personnel at newspapers with a circulation of at least 100,000 who were listed in current professional journalism directories available either in hard copy or on CD ROM; duplicated listings were removed. Only editors dealing with staffing and substantive content decisions were included in the pool (exclusions included photography, copy, and layout management and workers as peripheral to the issues in this study.) This pool was divided into two sampling pools stratified by reporters versus editors and news directors.

Randomized start interval sampling was undertaken to yield 100 editors. Because newspaper editors greatly outnumber broadcast news directors, this 100-person sample included a proportion of broadcast news management that was too small to allow significant comparisons among media, thus randomized interval sampling was resumed, suppressing the newspaper editors from the pool. The resulting sample of 122 allowed for more meaningful comparisons among media. In both cases, however, a "cap" was put on interviews with white editors and news directors. The intentional "over-sampling" of minorities in management is necessitated because minorities are severely underrepresented in the profession at large. Thus the accepted research strategy of purposive "over-sampling" was adopted.[4] Minority management comprise 20% of the interviews as opposed to the 9% of minorities the ASNE census counted as "supervisors" in the newspaper segment of the profession as a whole (1999: Table C). It is important to note that, although the position of editor and news

director is specified in the directories used drawing the sample, ASNE census categories are less specific, using the broader category of "supervisors." This may indicate that "9% "minority" is a larger proportion than a more specific job title census would have yielded. Further indication of this is that ASNE reports the number of newspaper "supervisors" to be roughly ½ of the number of newspaper reporters, common sense dictates that this ratio is too high to reflect the reporter-editor ratio for the editor category of interest here. Additionally, as demographic data are not provided in the directories from which the sample was drawn, and as parallel census figures were unavailable for broadcast news, the true minority percentage of editors and news directors in the pool cannot be determined.

The reporter sampling process paralleled that of the editor sampling process. The reporter pool was also intentionally oversampled for minority respondents in order to have a high enough number to allow meaningful data comparisons. Although only 11% of journalism newroom reporters are nonwhite (ASNE, 1999: Table C), the reporter interviews include 18% racial and ethnic minority respondents. As reporters with different assignment areas or "beats" might perceive diversification in significantly different ways, it was important to ensure that all the areas of specialization were represented. Thus, a much larger sample was drawn and 500 respondents were obtained. Nine of these were later omitted from the data due to failure to complete enough of the interview to provide reliable data. This yielded a robust sample of 491 newspaper and broadcast reporters representing assignments to the following areas—in order of concentration: (1) opinion section; (2) daily news, crime, and law enforcement; (3) social issues—including minority affairs; (4) business and economy; (5) arts, entertainment, leisure, and lifestyle; (6) politics and government; (7) religion; and (8) investigative reports, features, and special projects.

Aside from intentional over-sampling of minority journalists, reporter and editor interview samples mirror what is known about the demographics of the profession as a whole. This includes similar distribution of respondents across the following categories: age, educational background, seniority and sex. This increases confidence in the overall representativeness of the sample.[5] A simple random sub-sample of 150 reporter interviews was drawn from the larger sample of 491. The sub-sample was demographically parallel to the larger sample. Sub-sample findings are consistent with the findings from the larger sample—increasing confidence in the findings and demonstrating the appropriateness of the sample size for this population in this qualitative survey research.[6]

It should be noted that although ASNE and RTNDA census figures are used during the research period, some concern must be expressed for the total demographic profile projected by these studies. For example, ASNE figures include those for the Spanish language publication of the *Miami Herald*, noted as *Miami Herald* totals despite the fact that these are structurally separated newsrooms. This obfuscates the fact that the two product newsrooms function independently – *not* as a single, well-integrated news producing location whose personnel gain perspectives enriched by interdependence and localized diversification. Similarly RTNDA, until 2000, included Spanish language radio and television without distinguishing between those and English-language media.

Survey Research Firm:

The research firm of Questions Unlimited (QU) designed the survey in collaboration with the Principle Investigator and the Advisory Board established for this project. The Methodologist from QU received a BA degree in Sociology with a concentration in research methodology from Yale University and a PhD in Sociology with two areas of specialization, "Cultural Sociol-

ogy" and "Sociology of Occupations and Professions" from Harvard University. The Supervising Survey Director and Quality Control Consultant is an international reporter, and has a PhD in Sociology from Bowling Green State University with a specialty in "Popular Culture and Mass Media." All interviewers hired through QU were experienced in survey interview methodology. Interviews, coding processes, and data entry were subjected to rigorous quality control processes.

As with any initial research, this effort provides a beginning, an attempt to open discussion that will lead to more comprehensive analysis of newsroom diversity and organizational strategies for change.

Profiles

Expertise of Principle Investigators:

This study is informed by the research undertaken and by the professional backgrounds of its Principal Investigators: Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, Cristina Bodinger-de Uriarte, and José Luis Benavides. This report draws from material all three have presented in conference papers, articles and book chapters over the course of their careers.

Of particular importance are the experiences of Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, as primary author and lead investigator. Dr. de Uriarte was both a minority female writer and section assistant editor during her eight years with *The Los Angeles Times*, served an additional four years as consultant to the *Austin American- Statesman*, and has served fifteen years as a journalism professor at the University of Texas at Austin. While at UT-Austin, she pioneered *Tejas*, the first journalism classroom laboratory publication of diverse voice in the nation. She has also served for several years on such relevant national committees as Teaching Standards for the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication and the National Association of Hispanic Journalists Organizers for the Annual Student Conference. To date her expertise and insight in the field have earned her an Alicia Patterson Fellowship, a Fulbright Lectureship and a resident fellowship at the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center in New York. Media sociology, newsroom culture and history were the foci of her doctoral dissertation in American Studies at Yale University. She has authored articles and contributed to anthologies

Dr. Cristina Bodinger-de Uriarte and Dr. José Luis Benavides, contributing authors and principle investigators, participated significantly at every level. Both have published and taught in the communication field. Dr. Bodinger-de Uriarte earned her doctorate in sociology from Harvard University, qualifying in the subfield of occupations and professions. Her consulting work included managerial modeling and organizational behavior analysis for Fortune 500 firms. She went on to serve as senior evaluation associate and research analyst for government and public sector research firms for fourteen years before becoming a professor at California State University at Los Angeles, where she is currently the Associate Chair of the Sociology Department. She is author of a number of articles and anthology contributions as well as *Hate Crime: A Source Book for Schools Confronting Bigotry, Harassment, Vandalism and Violence* (winner of the Rising Star Award).

Dr. José Luis Benavides worked as a journalist in Mexico and served as an assistant editor for a bibliographic magazine produced by the President's office before coming to the United States as a Fulbright Scholar. He earned an interdisciplinary PhD in Communications and Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. While at UT he served as the teaching assistant for the classroom publication *Tejas* for five years, including when it produced its award-winning publications. His dissertation included a major study of news coverage of Mexican

and Mexican-American labor by the press on both sides of the border. Dr. Benavides co-authored *Escribir en prensa: redaccion informativa e interpretativa*, a journalism textbook distributed throughout Latin America and Spain. He has been a Poynter Institute Fellow in the Leadership and Management Program. He has also written several articles for communications journals in both English and Spanish. He is a professor of journalism at California State University at Northridge, where he is working on the development and implementation of a new Spanish-language journalism minor.

Notes:

[1] Betty Medsger, *Winds of Change* (Arlington, Freedom Forum, 1996) 27.

[2] Lee Becker, et al, describes similar need for repeated requests of academics for material necessary to his studies regarding academic activities.

[3] Medsger, 15.

[4] Therese Baker, Doing *Social Research*, 3rd edition, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1999) and Shanon Lohr, *Sampling Design and Analysis*, (Pacific Grove, CA:Duxbury Press, 1999).

[5] Sheldon Goldenberg, *Thinking Methodologically*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1999) and Lohr.

[6] Baker, Goldenberg, Lohr.

3 Press Historical Background

Social Documents and Civic Action

The contemporary struggle over race relations and the press began at the close of World War II, long before today's language of diversity. To some extent, it started over dinner in December1942, when two prominent white men—Henry Luce, co-founder of *Time* magazine and Robert Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago—found themselves seated together. Soon they shared worries about the future of the press: Would the press be able to return to its pre-war role independent of direct government guidance? Could the press regain equilibrium? Was freedom of the press in danger? Did the press have a social responsibility to its constituents in society? Was there a press obligation to the voiceless?

They were not alone. These questions troubled many media and intellectual leaders. The response would significantly shape press conduct for the rest of the 20th Century. Embedded in the emerging discourse were issues journalists grapple with today. The contemporary struggle for press independence, for minority representation and voice within mainstream media, became re-energized during World War II—led by American blacks. Already there were signs that race relations would become a pressing issue once minority veterans came home. The "Double V" campaign (victory for democracy abroad, victory for democracy at home), initiated by the *Pittsburg Courier* and picked up by other black press during the war, called attention to racial inequities.[1] The effort—postponed until the war's end under threats from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to bring sedition charges against all black newspapers supporting the campaign[2]—foreshadowed the civil rights struggle.

During the global conflict, the press was both censored and used as a propaganda tool in the interest of national security. But by the mid-1940s, as the war wound down to its then–predictable outcome, it faced a changing nation. In the coming peace, the United States would emerge as a major international, economic and political power—one with growing internal unrest over civic inequity. As Luce and Hutchins discussed these matters during their meal, they agreed that the end of the war opened a critical period for the press. They spoke of the need during the transition to peace for a leadership commission to examine the role of the media.

As always, war had also provided new tools. The U.S. press now enjoyed improved technology, and expanded international networks and audiences. In fact, because both England and France endured bombing and

battles within their national borders, their major wire services were severely limited or eliminated. The American press filled these European voids, gaining stature and power. It expanded at a time when government manipulation of the press was at a new high, justified by national security in time of war. It also framed the world for a Latino audience.

By the time the war drew to a close, the United States government, through the State Department and its Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA) provided about 75% of all Latin American world news.[3] These were gains no media executive wished to see weakened. In fact, the war had provided new ways to extend their reach with government assistance. For example, a deliberate effort to determine media content in the Western Hemisphere began in the 1940s. Through a tax exempt program sponsored by the U.S. Treasury Department, American companies had become responsible for over half of all newspaper and radio revenues in South America.[4] Led by Nelson Rockefeller, the CIAA selectively placed advertising with those media outlets that accepted its guidance, and withheld it from those less cooperative.

> The Rockefeller office provided not only 'canned' editorials, photographs, exclusives, feature stories and other such news material, but manufactured its own mass circulation magazines, supplements, pamphlets and newsreels. To assure understanding of the 'issues' being advanced in Latin America, the office sent 13,000 carefully selected 'opinion leaders' a weekly newsletter which was to help them 'clarify' the issues of the day. The CIAA also arranged trips to the United States for the most influential editors in Latin America (and later, scholarships for their children). More than 1,200 newspapers and 200 radio stations, which survived the economic warfare, were fed a daily diet of some 30,000 words or 'news' in Spanish and Portuguese, which were disseminated by co-operating news agencies and radio networks in the United States to their clients in Latin America. By the end of the War, the CIAA estimated that more than 75 per cent of news of the world that reached Latin America originated from Washington where it was tightly controlled and monitored by the Rockefeller Office and State Department.[5]

European and South American markets had become so important that U.S. press executives and professional groups like the American Society of Newspaper Editors mounted a major effort to protect new turf. In a campaign that elicited Congressional support, these expansion advocates called for unrestricted access and distribution of ideas and information—a concept they called "free flow."[6] In 1944, before the war ended, ASNE endorsed government policies that "would remove all barriers—political, legal or economic—to the free flow of information." In 1945, "a delegation of American editors, joining with representatives of the two major U.S. news agencies, traveled to twenty-two countries to carry tidings of the free-flow doctrine."[7] At the same time, they did little to improve coverage of U.S. minorities despite criticism from black and ethnic press about coverage of their communities.

In reality, ASNE promoted the system already in place — a U.S., white-male dominant process of news gathering, reporting and one-way distribution of "news." This unidirectional flow provided significant consumer promise. World War II sharpened public awareness of the social role of the press. At the same time, it ignited corporate interest in the commercial potential of global communication systems. To a world weary of propaganda from all sides, the free-flow concept was attractive. From the start, however, the concept had different meanings. To U.S. media leaders it meant continuation of their domination of news content and of other media. To those excluded from these medi-

ums it meant greater equity and balance though inclusion.[8] Among those expecting inclusion and fairness were U.S. minorities. But the efficiency with which editors expanded abroad and drew foreigners into their sphere has never been duplicated in the case of recruiting U.S. minorities.

World War II had not just affected white press. It had also expanded the reach of U.S. black press, despite censorship imposed by Hoover. But it also drew a color line across the First Amendment. White editors of mainstream publications ignored the suppression of the black press.[9] And, despite urgings of "a handful of ASNE members" that their colleagues provide more balanced reporting and highlight black contributions to the war effort,[10] mainstream press either ignored the black experience or provided mostly negative domestic coverage. All minority groups suffered similar treatment.

Throughout the war, other minorities (including those home on leave in uniform) suffered injustices, such as denial of services in restaurants, hotels and transportation. Their military casualties were often refused burial in "white" cemeteries; their children were excluded from southern and southwestern public schools.

In one of the most shameful episodes in U.S. history, Japanese-Americans and Japanese-Latin Americans visiting the United States were seized, their property confiscated and they were interred in U.S. camps under harsh conditions until the war's end. Almost 900 of these abducted Japanese-Latin Americans were traded to Japan in exchange for the release of American prisoners of war. Most of these individuals had never been to Japan and spoke only Spanish.[11] "The willingness to use racial categories (as the primary criteria) would result in physical hardship, economic ruin, family disintegration, and psychological trauma for more than 120,000 Japanese-American men and women, elderly and infant, citizen and immigrant."[12] But these individuals also sought to retain dignity and their civil rights. They resisted this mistreatment with mass meetings, protests, petitions and strikes. Often the children of those interned were serving in the U.S. Armed Forces at the time.

The press covered few of these events. And never adequately.[13] The white mainstream press virtually ignored or misrepresented forced relocations of West Coast Japanese-Americans. Press silence meant the general public had no knowledge of these government actions until after the war.

Only one editor, Paul Bellamy of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and a former ASNE president, protested the evacuations and internments. Only one writer from the Idaho *Daily Statesman* granted credibility to Japanese-American claims of loyalty.[14] The first article of significance about these events appeared years later in *Harper's Magazine* in 1945.[15]

The white press also largely ignored other minority experience in World War II—including contributions to the war effort. Much smaller, regionalized ethnic and minority press covered their communities and experiences, but had virtually no impact on the general public in combating news distortion, exclusion, negative stereotypes, and stigmatization. *The Los Angeles Times* 1943 coverage of the "zoot suit riots" remains one of the most disgraceful examples of this pattern.

For four days, between June 3rd and 7th, sailors from nearby bases began what became an organized assault on Mexican-American neighborhoods in East Los Angeles. At the height of the conflict more than 200 men descended on the area breaking into homes and attacking teenagers and other males dressed in the fad garb of the day—long jackets, pegged pants and exaggerated watch chains. In further abuse, police arrested the victims and other bystanders, eventually jailing almost 1,000 Mexican-Americans.[16] But Mexican-Americans had been made easy scapegoats by a local press that defined them as immigrants, criminals and slackers. In truth, "between 375,000 and 500,000 Chicanos served in the armed forces. In Los Angeles, Mexican Americans com-

prised one-tenth of the population and one-fifth of the casualties."[17] Although not recognized until decades later, minorities also racked up an impressive record of heroism.

But throughout the week of violence, local papers made villains of the Mexican-American population. *The Los Angeles Times* ran a series of biased articles led by racist headlines and editorialized against the victims. The nearby *Eagle Rock Advertiser* lamented in an editorial: "It's too bad the servicemen were called off before they were able to complete the job...Most citizens of the city have been delighted with what has been going on."[18]

Meanwhile, in the South, the lynching of blacks by whites still happened while police and press looked the other way. Incomplete records at Tuskegee Institute list 3,436 African American victims of these vigilante actions between 1882 and 1950.[19] These acts largely went uncovered by the white press.[20] "Lynching continued to be a vehicle of terror and a last resort in opposition to the drive for political and civil rights though the 1950s and 1960s."[21] The most widely known is the murder of Emmet Till, 14, in August, 1955; the last recorded lynching in the South took place in McGuffie County Georgia in 1965.[22]

Rigidly enforced segregation also meant an absence of equal justice. In October 1946, W.E.B. DuBois, then head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spoke to 861 black and white delegates attending the Southern Youth Legislature in Columbia, South Carolina, sponsored by the Southern Youth Congress. He called upon them to confront "the barbarities that prevail here (in the South)." To do so, he acknowledged, will call for sacrifice. But Southern blacks

> are in the midst of legal caste and customary insults; they are in continuous danger of mob violence; they are mistreated by the officers of the law and they have no hearing before the courts and churches and public opinion commensurate with the attention which they ought to receive.[23]

Generally, it was a period in the South, Southwest and elsewhere, of police brutality against people of color with little or no press attention to the situation.

The U.S. press, however, portrayed American Indians as eager defenders of the nation. But, although they gained the right to citizenship in 1924, largely as the result of Native American bravery in World War I, they also remained wards of the federal government. In at least three states they could not vote. Nevertheless an estimated 25,000 served in the Armed Forces. For them, the press tweaked the prevailing stereotypes toward the positive. The "cunning savage warrior" became "innate warriors and scouts who were instinctively superior fighters."[24] To them the press attributed the skills of "crack marksman," "natural fighters," "muscles that endure the most rigorous strain," "ability to sustain themselves in fighting condition on minimum water and rations," and "above all else, an enthusiasm for fighting," because they "employed the wiles of their ancestors."[25] But soon after the end of World War II, the press returned to hard news stories without context or to colorful features that reduced the American Indian to folklore and often restored old stereotypes.

> Indians have been patronized, romanticized, stereotyped and ignored by most of mainstream America. The twentieth century press has been complicit in this, seldom in design but certainly in the exercise of its own conventions and values. To be sure, journalism has reflected the images and stereotypes prevalent in popular culture. But it has done more. The very conventions and practices of journalism have worked to reinforce that popular—and often inaccurate—imagery…Too seldom did journalists look beyond the loud voices to investigate independently. Often they failed to add the layers of historical and cultural

context that would truly explain the meanings of events.[26]

Men and women returned with new expectations of their country. Minorities, who had fought for democracy abroad, were determined to experience its equal application at home. Women who had filled jobs at home vacated by men and worked in others made necessary by the demands of war, questioned traditional gender roles.

At the same time, the G.I. Bill of Rights, signed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1944, began providing major opportunities for upward mobility to those who had served in the armed forces. For the first time in U.S. history, a college education was available to broad sectors of the middle class. Between 1945 and 1951, colleges and universities grew at unprecedented rates to accommodate the 2.3 million G.I.s who enrolled.[27] Higher education was available to the white middle class and to minorities who otherwise might never have had that opportunity. The concept of advanced education as an elite privilege was undermined. But although college educations were available to all G.I.s, the experience proved inequitable for many. Segregated institutions still denied minorities, especially blacks, admission. The growth of black colleges during this period helped prepare lawyers, journalists and others for the civil rights era.

The demand for housing — along with its frustrating shortage due to building slow downs during the war — gave rise to the mass production of neighborhoods as tract building generated suburbia. But here too the GI Bill had a checkered application. Segregation and mortgage redlining limited home ownership despite federal provisions intended to guarantee it. These inequities drew little mainstream press attention, but they set the stage for demands for social change and for greater press reliability.

Commission on Freedom of the Press: The Hutchins Commission

During this time, a group of intellectual and public service leaders met regularly to draw up a report that sought to define the post –World War II role of the press. In 1944, Henry Luce, through Time Inc., provided a $200,000 grant to Robert Hutchins for convening a commission to study the role of the press in a democracy. Luce gave Hutchins $15,000 more from the Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. Hutchins then named a dozen white male scholars, lawyers and statesmen to the Commission on Freedom of the Press: economist John M. Clark of Columbia University; John Dickinson, professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania; Philosopher Emeritus William E. Hocking of Harvard; Harold D. Lasswell, professor of law at Yale; Archibald McLeish, former assistant secretary of state; Professor Emeritus Charles E. Merriam, a political scientist at the University of Chicago; Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of ethics and philosophy of religion at Union Theological Seminary; anthropologist Robert Redfield, University of Chicago; Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank; historian Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard and George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College. Zechariah Chafee, Jr. was appointed vice chairman.[28] They held their first meeting in December 1942, and regularly thereafter until the report was published in 1947.

In a climate of national change and sporadic conflict, the Hutchins Commission began their deliberations. Their report, A *Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines and Books* was published in 1947. Not surprisingly, it included the first standards advocated to assure inclusion and balanced coverage for minorities. It also sounded the first warnings about the dangers of corporatization of news

establishments and the compression of ownership.

Their findings were based upon information gathered from 58 press professionals and more than 225 individuals from business, government and private agencies that interacted regularly with the press. They held 17 two- or three-day meetings and studied 176 documents prepared by members of the commission staff.[29]

Their conclusions focused on the importance of the First Amendment, the need to assure press independence, and the reciprocal social responsibility of the press, including its obligation to minority coverage. They believed that citizens in a democracy were entitled to a socially responsible press committed to fostering self-determination. That, they believed, could only happen with a free press that reflected the vast array of intellectual and human diversity that makes up the cultural foundation of the nation.

The Hutchins Commission initiated the discourse about journalism that became among the most important of the 20th century: What is the role of the press in a democracy? The discussion began as the nation entered a period of major growth and significant social change.

A Free and Responsible Press drew upon three years of work by the 12-man Hutchins Commission These men, all with established leadership reputations, believed that the vitality of the press—a core component of self-governance— was at stake. The threat to freedom of the press was posed in part by "the consequence of the economic structure of the press, in part by the consequence of the industrial organization of the society, and in part the result of the failure of the directors of the press to recognize the press needs of a modern nation and to estimate and accept the responsibilities which those needs impose upon them."[30]

They considered these issues so critical that "the Commission confined itself to study the role of the agencies of mass communication in the education of the people [about] public affairs."[31] Although television had not yet become available, the Commission's work addressed broadcast through its examination of radio. The project initiated an interactive examination of the press that drew upon idealism, reality and performance. Much that they examined foresaw issues that have since become major contemporary media concerns: the concentration of ownership, limited information delivery, a narrow forum of exchange, omission from coverage of large sectors of the population, a tendency to stereotype and a constant struggle for freedom of expression.

"Freedom of the press is essential to political liberty...Free expression is therefore unique among liberties... It promotes and protects the rest,"[32] they wrote in the opening pages of their report. And to that end, they believed that a broad range of ideas must be found in press content. "Civilized society is a working system of ideas. It lives and changes by the consumption of ideas. Therefore, it must make sure that as many as possible of the ideas which its members have are available for its examination."[33] The first component of press freedom they argued, is diverse ideas. "The tremendous influence of the modern press makes it imperative that the great agencies of mass communication show hospitality to ideas which their owners do not share."[34] Here, clearly, they spoke of the need for intellectual diversity.

This they believed to be the central objective and moral energy of the First Amendment. "The moral right to free expression achieves a legal status because the conscience of the citizen is the source of the continued vitality of the state."[35] The Hutchins Commission recognized that this meant including unpopular ideas and acknowledged that some risk was involved, but they believed that such was the price of press freedom.[36]

The Commission recognized both the threat of hegemony and the power of ownership. "Through concentration of ownership," they warned, "the variety of sources is limited."[37] It was not a deliberate policy of exclusion, but an even more invisible behav-

ior shaped by the comfort of sameness — a newsroom culture which socializes its members to shared (and therefore predictable) perspectives. In 1955, veteran mainstream newsman and PhD Warren Breed, wrote about the assimilation to this culture in his classic article, "Social Control in the Newsroom."[38] For freedom of expression, the Commission reasoned, the press "must be accountable to society for meeting the public need and for maintaining the rights of citizens and the almost forgotten rights of speakers who have no press."[39]

Within the first 20 pages of their report, the Commission connected freedom of the press to inclusion and defined that inclusion as intellectual diversity, which they believed necessary to have accuracy in reporting the events of the world. As they defined the five ethical standards to which they believed the press accountable, inclusion emerged as a central value. The Commission held that the press in a democracy should be required to provide:

> —a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning;
> — a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism;
> —the projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society;
> —the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society;
> —full access to the day's intelligence.

They believed that a comprehensive account of the news required a broad perspective in order to assure context. "The account of an isolated fact, however accurate in itself, may be misleading and, in effect, untrue."[40] Providing context remains a major challenge to today's press. The press remains unable to adequately reach across social and economic boundaries to include all America. Yet in doing so they might tap a needed source of dynamism, innovation and renewal, not to mention direct circulation increases.

To ensure the greatest dissemination, the Commission believed that citizens should have access to the forum in which ideas compete. The large circulating, mainstream papers, which the Commission defined as communication giants, "can and should assume the duty of publishing significant ideas contrary to their own, as a matter of objective reporting."[41] This second standard led to the widespread addition of Op-Ed or opinion pages on which individuals and experts not on the newspaper staffs routinely publish pieces. However, studies show that these sections remain largely segregated.

Closely related to the presentation of ideas, said the Commission, is the representation of groups or individuals in society because people make decisions largely based on favorable and unfavorable images. They recognized the danger of stereotypes, noting that without a balanced image of individuals and groups, their ideas will not be granted credibility. "When the images they [members of the press] portray fail to present the social group truly, they tend to pervert judgment."[42] As examples the Commission pointed to negative stereotypes generated by the press about blacks, Asians and American youth. Thus they set as a third standard "the representative picture of the constituent groups in a society."[43]

To this end, the Commission recommended that focus be directed to "areas where minority groups are excluded from reasonable access to the channels of communication."[44] The third standard remains one of the most frequently violated, as demonstrated in countless studies of press content.[45] These flaws are among the most serious because the absence of a representative picture nurtures stereotyping and stigmatization. For example, although statistics prove otherwise, the image that emerges from press reports is one in which the largest number of illicit drug users are minorities; the largest numbers of welfare cheats are

minorities; that most minority youth are gang members and that youth is responsible for most violence. Statistics provided by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency and the U.S. Department of Justice prove otherwise.

In its service to its audience, the Commission noted that the press had a central role to play in reporting the goals and values of a society. "The Commission does not call upon the press to sentimentalize, to manipulate the facts for the purpose of painting a rosy picture. The Commission believes in the realistic reporting of the events and forces that militate against the attainment of social goals as well as those which work for them."[46] The failure of the press to do so would become more and more apparent as the nation moved into the Civil Rights era. As the nation began to confront internal social, political and economic inequities, the potential of the press's educational role needed leadership. "We must recognize, however, that the agencies of mass communication are an educational instrument, perhaps the most powerful there is; and they must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals toward which the community should strive."[47] To meet the responsibilities of self governance, people needed "full access to the day's intelligence."

This is a daunting goal. The Commission defined it as "a service of greatly increased responsibilities both as to the quantity and as to the quality of the information required."[48]

> In terms of quality, the information provided in such a form, and with so scrupulous a regard for wholeness of the truth and the fairness of its presentation, that the American people may make for themselves, by exercise of reason and conscience, the fundamental decisions necessary to the direction of their government and of their lives.[49]

To meet the requirements of the standards set by the Hutchins Commission required an intellectual engagement on the part of reporters. To report in context, and to provide wholeness of truth, one must begin from a foundation of knowledge. Just how limited the foundation of knowledge was would become more obvious over the course of the next twenty years.

Already the Hutchins Commission recognized that the compression of press ownership was an emerging threat to these standards. Between 1910 and 1930, 5,550 of the 16,000 daily newspapers disappeared; fewer than 10,000 existed as the Commission released its report. Fewer entities owned larger numbers of outlets including radio, and book and magazine publishing. While the Commission recognized that technology and labor costs contributed to the desire to expand, they noted other forces. "These forces are those exaggerated drives for power and profit which have tended to restrict competition and to promote monopoly throughout the private enterprise system,"[50] they wrote in 1947. "The greatest difficulty in preserving free communications in a technical society arises from the concentration of power within the instruments of communication…The danger is that the entire function of communications will fall under the control of fewer and fewer persons."[51]

Today these observations seem prophetic given the corporatization of the press. But at the time they were not welcomed by powerful publishers like Hearst and McCormick, the latter mounting a smear campaign to convince the public that the Commission was communist. Nevertheless these concepts swept the world as the standards to which to hold the press accountable for fairness and balance.

> They "came to dominate the discussions of press philosophy and ethics that followed, up to the present all over the world…Within a decade the U.S. press community had adopted the social responsibility thesis as if it, like freedom of the press and the public's right to know, had been handed down from some journalistic Mount Sinai."[52]

But today the press still fails to meet most of the standards, and flaws constricting the civic role of the press identified by the Commission have recently become more obvious. Their criticisms about the absence of balanced coverage on race relations and the importance of providing voice to those excluded were simply never addressed—until racial conflict became a national crisis in 1967.

But while the Hutchins Commission deliberated, U.S. white organizations were not the only ones focusing on press power. By 1945, groups within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) began examining communications issues—at first urged to do so by the United States, which sought to protect its newly developed commercial networks by advocating free-flow. But U.S. dominance would soon be questioned by newly independent nations, most of them less developed industrially and mostly populated by people of color. In other words, matters related to the role of the press in democracy drew both domestic and international interest as World War II ended. Here too began a dialog that would continue for several decades. Moreover, foreign populations of color raised complaints about mainstream press treatment similar to those made by American minorities.

In fact, the end of the war reenergized nascent civil rights activities which gathered strength throughout the 1950s. By the 1960s, the civil rights movement focused attention on race relations and the systemic discrimination against non-whites that affected all aspects of American life. The 1964 Civil Rights Act galvanized activists who worked for integration of the workplace. Among other issues, civic organizations, civil rights groups and community relations advocates also began to focus on the media.

But media is regulated under two separate pieces of legislation: Employment in the print press, which is defined as private enterprise, falls under regulations by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. Broadcast media, defined as users of public airwaves, respond also to regulations by the Federal Communications Commission. (FCC) Radio and television broadcasters must be licensed. The Federal Communications Act of 1934 required that licensees operate "in the public interest, convenience and necessity." This distinction between private enterprise and public domain significantly shaped early advocacy for press reform in its treatment of minorities. In the case of newspapers, individuals, either singly or through class action suit, fought for inclusion as employees. But the right to continue in business was at stake if groups challenged the public interest performance of broadcasters.

Precursors to growing federal concern included the United Church of Christ (UCC), a coalition of Protestant denominations, which believed that media exerted strong social influence and should therefore operate within Judeo-Christian ethics. The UCC Office of Communication assumed an advocacy role in the mid-1960s when they objected to programming practices by WLBT in Jackson, Mississippi.[53] The station made frequent racial slurs in on-air references to African-Americans and denied airtime to blacks who made up about 45% of the station's audience area. When the FCC refused to hear UCC and black petitioners' complaints that sought to deny relicensing to WLBT, the UCC turned to the Court of Appeals. This case set several precedents. The court ruled that public petitioners should not bear the burden of proof in such challenges; that licensees must be able to show proof of social responsibility. It further ruled under the Fairness Doctrine that the station had discriminated in both programming and hiring. In directing its attention to content, the court also manifested early concern for moving beyond color coding of the staff toward intellectual diversity. However, as part of an effort to demonstrate inclusion, the Radio Television and News Directors Association began a newsroom census in 1972.

The UCC brought several additional challenges; one on behalf of American Indians in South Dakota, another on behalf of citizens in Texarkana, Texas.[54] These cases legitimized public interest standing in matters of license renewal and had direct impact on the industry until deregulation beginning in the 1980s weakened the public role in favor of enterprise.

In October 1967, the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism hosted a two-day meeting organized by the American Jewish Committee with the assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union for the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice. In attendance were representatives of management and reporters for mainstream press, minority and progressive press, wire services, magazines, radio and television, civil rights and anti-poverty groups, integrationists, black militants and members of black and Puerto Rican communities. The matter of race relations and the press was coming to a head.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders: the Kerner Commission

On July 28, 1967, in response to the more than a hundred race riots in the nation that year, President Lyndon Baines Johnson named ten men and, at the insistence of Lady Bird Johnson, one woman to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The eleven members were Otto Kerner, Governor of Illinois (chairman); Fred R. Harris, Senator from Oklahoma; John Lindsay, Mayor of New York City (vice chairman); James C. Corman, Representative of the 23rd District, California; William M. McCulloch, Representative of the 4th District of Ohio; I.W. Abel, President of the United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO); Charles B. Thornton, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Litton Industries, Inc.; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Katherine Graham Peden, Commissioner of Commerce, State of Kentucky; and Herbert Jenkins, Chief of Police, Atlanta, Georgia. Johnson named Washington attorney David Ginsburg as Executive Director and David L. Chambers as his special assistant. The President asked this group to answer three basic questions:

- "What happened?
- Why did it happen?
- What can be done to keep it from happening again?"[55]

To these he added a specific question: "What effect do the media have on the riots?"[56] Chapter 15 of the Commission's report replies.

To address press matters, the Commission authorized a major content analysis of print and television coverage—the first of its kind. To gather related information they:

- Directed its field survey research teams to question government officials, law enforcement agents, media personnel, and ordinary citizens about their attitudes and reactions to reporting of the riots;
- Arranged for interviews of media representatives about their coverage of the riots;
- Conducted special interviews with ghetto residents about their response to coverage;
- Arranged for quantitative analysis of the content of television programs and newspaper reporting in 15 riot cities during the period of disorder and the days immediately before and after;
- Sponsored and participated in a conference of representatives from

all levels of the newspaper, news magazine and broadcasting industries at Poughkeepsie, New York, November 10-12, 1967 .[57]

The analysis of press content included 955 television sequences and 3,779 newspaper articles. The Commission's conclusions were highly critical of press performance. "We have found a significant imbalance between what actually happened in our cities and what newspaper, radio and television coverage of the riots told us happened."[58] They noted the cumulative effects of coverage across the period of the civil rights movement in which certain symbols came to be associated with sensational or negative images of blacks.[59] Thus the Commission argued that the press has suggestive powers that further strengthen inaccurate or imbalanced reporting. Moreover, they said, "To be complete, the coverage must be representative. We suggest that the main failure of the media last summer was that the totality of its coverage was not as representative as it should have been to be accurate."[60]

Because the third Hutchins Commission standard calling for representative portrayal of all constituents was not universally applied, press ethics failed to cross the color line. "The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world," the Commission noted.[61] Blacks interviewed referred to the mainstream media as "the white press" for three chief reasons: They believed "that the media are instruments of the white power structure…that white interests guide the entire white community, from the journalists' friends and neighbors to city officials, police officers, and department store owners (who place lucrative display ads). Publishers and editors, if not white reporters, defended these interests with enthusiasm and dedication." [62]

Blacks also believed that journalists relied exclusively on official versions of events. Editors and reporters later acknowledged this impression at the Poughkeepsie meeting called by the Kerner Commission to discuss press professionalism. Blacks pointed to an absence of context in newstories, selective coverage of actions and events that unfairly ignored white violence and illegal official behavior, including police brutality, and overlooked positive black activities.[63] Thus the first Hutchins standard requiring "a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account in a context that gives meaning" experienced a segregated, and thus not equal, application. The press, said the Kerner Commission, "had not yet turned to the task [of covering race] with wisdom, sensitivity and expertise it demands."[64]

Journalists had an obligation, they said, to cover "the Negro both as a Negro and as a member of the community. It would be a contribution of inestimable importance to race relations in the United States, they said, "simply to treat ordinary news about Negroes as news of other groups is now treated.[65] They further stated that "by failing to portray the Negro as a matter of routine and in the context of the total society, the news media have, we believe, contributed to the black-white schism in this country."[66] This conclusion indicates that instead of fulfilling its civic responsibilities, the press contributed to polarizing society.

What the Kerner Commission called for demands the intellectual engagement of reporters and editors. Context requires in-depth knowledge, not just of the event of the moment, but of the society itself. Because the white norm is pervasive and because whites define "objectivity," journalists and their mainstream audiences come to the news with shared foundations of limited knowledge. Through years of repetition this becomes perceived as common knowledge or common sense interpretations of reality.

Minority news operates from the fringes of that foundation. Neither the history nor the daily realities of minorities are an integral part of news consciousness. As a result, news stories too often serve as a pastiche, an overlay of superficial information which neither draws upon nor contributes to audience knowledge of the trajectory of events that

represent an historical evolution or context. Both traditional education and journalism training still exclude the contextual blocks of history, literature and sociology of non-white groups, even though these groups will soon comprise one-half the nation's population. Thus intellectual diversity, which nurtures diverse perspectives and which newsrooms now urgently need, remains absent from the preparation process through which most journalists pass, despite the wise recommendations of the Hutchins and the Kerner Commissions.

In their concluding remarks, the Commission said, "Along with the country as a whole, the press has too long basked in a white world, looking out of it, if at all, with white men's eyes and a white perspective…They must make a reality of integration—in both their product and their personnel."[67] To do this, said the Commission, required the highest standards of accuracy, meaningful perspective, fairness and courageous journalism.[68] Both the industry and the educators were slow to respond.

At the start of the 21st century, these goals remain.

Notes:

[1] *The Black Press: Soldiers Without Swords*, produced by Stanley Nelson, (San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1999).

[2] *The Black Press: Soldiers Without Swords.*

[3] Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American: Anglo-American Media in the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 140.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Edward J. Epstein, "Power is Essential..," (London: *Sunday Times Magazine*, December 14th, 1975) as quoted in Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American*, 140.

[6] J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy*, 2nd edition (New York: Longman, 1995), 297-300.

[7] Ibid., 299.

[8] Ibid., 299-300.

[9] Paul Alfred Pratte, *Gods Within the Machine: A History of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1923-1993* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), 62.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Congressman Ciro D. Rodriguez, "With Liberty and Justice For All," *The Role of Crystal City, Texas in World War II.* 11/19/2000 www.foitimes.com/internment/Rodriguez/htm.

[12] Robert G. Lee*, Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 147.

[13] Pratte, 61.

[14] Vincent F. Arraya as referenced by Paul Alfred Pratte in *Gods Within the Machine: A History of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1923-1993,* 61-62.

[15] Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper Perenial, 1995), 407.

[16] Rudy Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (Cambridge, San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988, 3rd edition). 255.

[17] Raul Morin, *Among the Valiant* (Alhambra, California: Borden, 1966) and others including unpublished dissertations as quoted in Rudy Acuña, *Occupied America*. 256-260.

[18] Rudy Acuña, *Occupied America*. 252-259.

[19] John Allen ed., *Without Sanctuary*, (Santa Fe: Twin Palms Press, 2000).

[20] Robert L. Zangrando, "About Lynching," www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/g_/lunching/lynching.htm. (7-14-2001).

[21] John F. Callahan, "About Lynching," www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/g_/lunching/lynching.htm.

[22] Cynthia Tucker, "Stark photos of past horrors promote healing," *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 4/28/02.

[23] Philip S. Foner ed., *W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses 1920-1963*, (New York: Pathfinder, 1970), 199.

[24] Mary Ann Weston, *Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 87.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., 163-164.
[27] Historians R.F. Butts, L.A. Cremin (1953), S. Noble (1960) and G. Gutek (1986) have written on this era. Data also appears at www.usu.edu/registrar/admrec/history.htm (112/31/2002), and at fcis.utoronto.ca/~daniel_schgurensky/assignment1/1944gibill.html (12/31/1002).
[28] Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, *A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communication, Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines and Books* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).
[29] Ibid., viii.
[30] Ibid., 2.
[31] Ibid., vi.
[32] Ibid., 6.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., viii.
[35] Ibid., 9.
[36] Ibid., 7.
[37] Ibid., 17.
[38] Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces*, Vol.33, May, 1955.
[39] Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, 18.
[40] Ibid., 22.
[41] Ibid., 24.
[42] Ibid., 26.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 101.
[45] For example, among the most well known are those done by the Sean McBride, Kerner Commission, Carolyn Martindale, bell hooks, Oscar Gandy, La Raza Unida, Noam Chomsky and others.
[46] Ibid., 27.
[47] Ibid., 28.
[48] Ibid., 29.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 48.
[51] Ibid., 104.
[52] J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power:The Media and Public Policy* 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1995), 137-139.
[53] Clint Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez, *Race, Multiculturalism and the Media* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 1995), 219-222.
[54] Ibid.
[55] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), 1.
[56] Ibid., Chapter 15 "The News Media and the Disorders," 362.
[57] Ibid., 362.
[58] Ibid., 363.
[59] Ibid., 364.
[60] Ibid., 365.
[61] Ibid., 366.
[62] Ibid., 366-67.
[63] Ibid., 374-75.
[64] Ibid., 384.
[65] Ibid., 386.
[66] Ibid., 383.
[67] Ibid., 389.
[68] Ibid.

TOTAL	YEAR	%
54,400	2002	12%
54,700	1998	11%
50,400	1984	6%
43,000	1978	4%
	1968	1%
	1947	

4 Historical Background

The Insiders: Professionals and Educators

A quarter of a century ago, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) set newsroom parity as a goal. They immediately began detailed annual newsroom censuses to measure gains. The goal was noble and the organization talked about the project with high optimism, enthusiasm and a number of new committees. But evidence indicates other than a smooth series of cooperative efforts from classroom to newsroom.

Indeed, even ASNE quickly revealed a fractured vision. In 1982 the ASNE Minorities Committee led by Al Fitzpatrick, an African American editor at the Akron *Beacon Journal*, concluded: "The odds of achieving a truly integrated American newspaper industry by the year 2000 range somewhere between slim and none."[1] These predictive words came after a year's evaluation of the situation and review of a confidential survey in which 350 editors expressed their personal opinions of minorities in journalism. At the same time, the mostly white ASNE board of directors unanimously adopted a resolution to meet parity earlier than 2000.[2] The perception gap would prove prophetic.

Other gaps soon became obvious. Even a narrow "numbers focus" should have immediately pulled journalism education into the forefront of the integration effort. But educators did not formally seek to integrate journalism programs for another six years. Subsequent academic figures also show even less change than in the industry.

The intent to integrate newsrooms requires change from pipeline to destination—a major challenge, indeed. Sociologists of business organization indicate that those who expect to foster change must take clear, coordinated steps. Both new and established role definitions must support necessary actions. This prompts the socialization of newcomers and the resocialization of established professionals, which involves more than the simple articulation and dissemination of the direction of change and its attendant goals.[3] Such a process requires a cohesive mission consistently reinforced in philosophical, intellectual and material ways—ways that ultimately apply theory to press practice. For change to occur, these efforts must be made across the network of inter-organizational relationships that structure the profession.[4]

In other words, change relies on "connectedness" among social institutions of that profession. Leadership, policies and practices must overtly reflect a shared mission and receive acknowledged support from gatekeepers, educators and employers, as well as buy-in from established professionals.[5] Absence of these varied factors can lead to an

The intent to integrate newsrooms requires change from pipeline to destination—a major challenge, indeed.

From the start, the focus centered on numbers of minorities—not on cultural change in newsrooms.

internal organizational culture that is "resistant" to change and that is structured in ways that reproduce a workforce largely "incapable" of change despite significant "environmental pressures."[6] Newsrooms seek to bring about change across a number of somewhat loosely connected components upon which it must rely for success. Therefore coordination, assessment and commitment—and focused action—become central to the process in order to reach the objective. These things require tough critical analysis all along the way to measure movement. And to adjust for stagnation.

Economics also play a role. Beyond the basics that are routinely covered, professional organizations serve as main resources for special journalism education projects. In the past twenty-five years of diversity effort, an estimated $20 million has been spent by foundations—including Ford, the Freedom Forum, Knight, Pew and others—and professionalization groups like the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Poynter Institute, the Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA). In fact, a diversity industry grew in a pace with organizational mission statements.

But an absence of coordination across these same structural elements seems to have significantly deterred the goal to integrate and diversify newsrooms. In spite of ongoing dialog, projects, protestations and surface activities, little has changed since the 1980s. Moreover, in some activities ASNE has come full circle, repeating low-yield projects tried earlier. And journalism education has been an unreliable partner. But central to the process in both arenas is a soft approach that includes avoidance of tough issues—increased activity remained within corporate comfort zones. Across the quarter century, ASNE invited professors from black colleges to describe difficulties their students had during their job searches; they heard about obstacles that minorities faced within the newsroom, but these were mediated messages. For example, ASNE did not deliberately expose itself to angry unsuccessful job applicants or design a retrieval program to re-recruit those who left the business.

And good intentions had a way of disappearing. For example, although editors agreed in annual meetings that stories should be written in ways that distinguished between the minority and white American experience, today news largely remains a segregated matter. It does not report how the impact of news events often affects different communities. On December 31, 1978 Abe Rosenthal, executive editor of the New York Times, being interviewed on the "Today" television show provided an example. He said that the big story of that year was the story of unemployment. But, he said, that coverage had to go beyond the average figures or 6 or 7 percent reported by government and specify that much more intense impact of perhaps 30 or 40 percent on black urban youth.[7] Today most news stories still only provide the government reported national average, leaving Americans without awareness about the distinct distribution of socio-economic well being.

This section considers three major interdependent groups from classroom to newsroom—key professional associations, crucial journalism organizations and journalism education, particularly its curriculum related to diversity efforts.

Constructing Culture Clash

From the start, the focus centered on numbers of minorities. First came the 1972 census by Professor Vernon Stone of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, who provided figures relevant to the RTNDA. These figures were important for broadcast sites seeking to apply for or renew operating licenses because must show that they serve public interest and need.

But even as the move to increase participation began, television news directors rejected black cultural styles. In 1971, Melba Tolliver of WABC-TV in New York was sus-

pended for appearing on air in an Afro hairdo. Over the ensuing years, blacks were required to imitate a white presentation style.[8] In 1977, *Washington Post* reporter Robert Maynard and director of the Institute of Journalism Education told those attending the Kerner-Plus-Ten symposium sponsored by industry leaders that most of the twenty-five minority journalists he knew in 1968 had already left the field. A 1978 survey found that minority journalists' unemployment rate was nearly three times that of non-minority peers.[9] Both broadcast and print news organizations increased, but did not change, their outreach activities. They undertook no major studies about newsroom culture. At this point the trend was to seek minorities who fit or who could be made to fit into prevailing values.

The RTNDA and the ASNE annual census appropriately measure the integration of newsrooms by body count. They ask how many of which minorities enter newsrooms. ASNE tied their census to a goal of parity by the year 2000. The annual results appear in major mainstream newspapers. RTNDA never set such a goal and its figures appear in its in-house publication, *Communicator*. Nevertheless, both broadcasters and print journalists consistently express a commitment to integration which they regularly recorded.

What that process does not do, however, is measure intellectual diversity. Integration does not assure diversity of points of view, experiences or cultural differences. But the latter term soon entered the discourse as if the two were synonymous. Traditional newsrooms identified "diversity" by the numbers of non-whites in their ranks.

Unlike "tokenism," where a minority is hired to inject color—but also knowingly because he or she can be relied upon to support established content values—the absence of intellectual diversity leads to a newsroom that operates as if all minorities represent similar points of reference and perspective regardless of how accurately that reflects newsroom reality. And it assures a familiar comfort zone.

In these cases, the difference between races is accepted within familiar limits, but the diversity within race, ethnic and gender groups remains obscured. This reductionism—of not white, but all the same—has had two important consequences. First, it compartmentalizes people in ways that preclude comprehensive portrayals. Second, it submerges perspectives that challenge traditionally accepted "truths" that frame much of news content and its reliable sources. This lack of intellectual diversity in the newsroom mirrors its general absence within white mainstream news content as well.

As the goal became a call for "diversity," *all* difference became largely understood as a matter of race or ethnic identity fostering an assumption of genetic determination.[10] This limited definition applies to gender as well when people are assumed to be different on the basis of chromosomes. But these distinctions become useful only in the most basic sense of difference. Nevertheless, in the process of seeking integration, newsrooms interchanged the terms, identifying the diverse by phenotype or sex with little thought or accommodation given to intellectual, emotional, experiential or class background.

As the push for integration began, media sociologist Herbert Gans published the results of a ten-year study of newsrooms in which he found ethnocentrism to be a central cultural value. Intellectual homogeneity has prevailed. Among his findings, he concluded:

> With some oversimplification, it would be fair to say that the news supports the social order of public, business and professional, upper-middle-class, middle-aged and white male sectors of society…the news is generally supportive of governments and their agencies, private enterprise, the prestigious professions and a variety of other national institutions including quality universities. But

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Many advocates of integration assume that by hiring minorities the press would be assured a representative account of the nation's experiences, opinions and perspectives—and that those would fit easily within the traditional mainstream view of accuracy.

here too, always with a proviso: Obedience to the relevant enduring values.[11]

Here were all the ingredients for culture clash. On the one hand, news organizations said they sought minority journalists. On the other hand, their news products supported groups and institutions that included some of those most resistant to civil rights gains and affirmative action—the very obstacles minorities had to overcome. Predictably, they might have different views of social order.

But newsrooms moved forward assuming that they could just find and add minorities without experiencing discomforting cultural change. This attitude, perhaps more than any other, suggests how strongly white newsrooms perceive themselves as the norm—autonomous, homogeneous and objective. Minorities trained as journalists would see the world as whites did. Newsrooms operate within a constructed consensus. Professionalism may encourage a constricted perspective; certainly it is assimilationist. Clearly, no push to learn more about the history and experiences or the perspectives of American minorities went along with the numbers call.

As the effort began, I was one of the early numbers—one of three Latinos (all of us Mexican-Americans, two males and me) on an editorial corps of 821. At an editorial board meeting soon after I was hired to expand coverage of Latin America and U.S. minorities in the Opinion section of *The Los Angeles Times*, content for the next week was under discussion. President Jimmy Carter was negotiating gas purchase agreements with Mexico; that nation was not willing to lower its price to meet the U.S. offer. Around the table there was much agreement about the "anti-American" behavior of Mexican officials. I wondered aloud why we could not perceive this instead as a "pro-Mexican" position by officials constitutionally bound to act in the best interest of their country. The ensuing silence indicated that this was a novel—and unwelcome—idea. But it alerted me early to the issue of selective perception. On the domestic side, minority contributors, with rare exception, came from those whose work needed little editing. This requirement assures predominantly a certain class perception. In fact, in 1978 then-publisher Otis Chandler lamented on national television a lack of minority readers. *The Los Angeles Times* was, he said, "not their kind of newspaper; it's too big, it's too stuff,…it's too complicated."[12]

A solid body of research discusses selective perception and the role of the newsroom gatekeeper—he or she who determines what becomes news content. But few newsrooms need gatekeeper intervention because newsrooms cultivate selective perception—socialization of the journalist begins early, reinforced throughout his or her career. White journalists and scholars first addressed this as an intellectual problem,[13] but as newsrooms integrated, minorities began to disclose their similar discomforts. Pamela Newkirk, another former journalist turned academic, collected scores of examples similar to my own experience in *Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media*. "The unspoken expectation was for blacks and other minorities to fit into an established culture that was not expected to bend to accommodate them."[14]

Many advocates of integration assume that by hiring minorities the press would be assured a representative account of the nation's experiences, opinions and perspectives—and that these would fit easily into the traditional mainstream view of accuracy. Some believe that a variety of demographics indicate equity. But the core culture of mainstream or corporate newsrooms revolves around a prevailing, shared cluster of values within which a group can anticipate the behavior, perception and activities of others.[15] A shared culture requires a shared history—an experience denied most minorities, especially where class, skin tone and sex differ from the mainstream.

The call for minority hires sounded without any similar priority placed on an

expanded intellectual foundation within the press corps that might encourage an accompanying, more comprehensive discourse about coverage issues and perspective. At the time, the U.S. press was, to a large extent, culturally illiterate where minority history, politics, sociology and the arts—the grist of news context—can be found.

But corporate newsrooms, not unlike university classrooms, operate within the cultures in which they were created originally. Concepts of truth, success, qualification, and upward mobility remain defined by earlier white male norms now made invisible by long acceptance and ratification; thus they are class, race, ethnicity and sex biased. Regardless of well meant intent, perceptual filters persist. In these situations, systems that seem rational and fair are culture bound. They cannot operate outside the cultural conditions within which they began and have become normalized. Perceptual filters remain tuned to the environment that fostered them.

Professionals and Journalism Educational Structure and Standards

Journalism education provides the main pipeline for students who aspire to be members of the press. Educators are supported by a number of organizations and professional groups, the most active among them ASNE, RTNDA, the Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) and the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (AEJMC). All have been involved in a variety of ways in both the move to integrate and to diversify.

The 450 journalism and mass communication programs in the nation contribute to the flow; only 108 programs, departments or schools (often called "units") are accredited. Journalism graduates and those who studied the field at some level fill more than 70 percent of all entry level press jobs; thus journalism education greatly determines the profile of newsrooms.[16] Strategies to change that profile logically begin here.

However, a curious fracture exists between ASNE and key components of the educational configuration for press preparation. Most obvious is the organization's selective disengagement from the ACEJMC, which sets educational standards. Among these standards are several related to diversity; thus this report focuses primarily on units that are accredited and therefore presumably committed to meeting these standards.

ACEJMC is a voluntary evaluation system that includes both press professionals and journalism educators within its organizational structure. ASNE helped strengthen the independence of the organization in the 1970s. Along with other professional groups and membership fees, it still provides financial support today. Members of ASNE and RTNDA are active participants of ACEJMC's board and committees. And members of other professional organizations also participate in the ACEJMC structure and activities.

Despite its economic support and participation in process, however, ASNE does not appear to have asked for much in return. Since the obvious trajectory toward parity begins with students, one expects to find high-profile ASNE leadership motivating dynamic organizational coordination. There is a record of RTNDA and ASNE sponsorship of conferences, workshops, internships, scholarships and lectures. But the professionals and the educators operate in parallel worlds, increasingly out of touch in critical ways. For example, many broadcast internships are unpaid, including those offered by the richest networks. These easily eliminate potential along class lines, despite the fact that low income is disproportionately distributed among minority populations.[17]

Most minority students who accept unpaid internships must take additional student loans to support this venture. In such

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cases, the student becomes the conduit of federal money in support of private enterprise—a questionable role at best—where first taxpayers wind up paying the employees of media corporations.

Annual ASNE reports by its minority affairs committee and its journalism education committee make reference to the creeping progress of integration across the spectrum. But as far as can be determined, informal assessments of journalism education's track record by ASNE committees, charged with monitoring progress and assisting in meeting the parity goal, led to lamentations but not to insistence that a track record become established; although it is possible that these matters fell under the purview of "gentlemen's agreements" or "quiet diplomacy."

ASNE's committee reports acknowledge bureaucratic and economic problems that slow some academic action, but did not cite lack of academic innovation. By 1983, ASNE's Minority Committee Report notes: "There is nothing in any of the available data to change the grim forecast by the Fitzpatrick committee last year."[18] In 1984, the Committee admitted "meager" gains of two-tenths of one percent in newsroom employment.[19] In 1985, ASNE created the position of Minority Affairs Director, but still generated no significant change.

Early ASNE efforts also reflected the different experiences between minority groups. For example, in 1980 ASNE invited professors at historically black colleges to discuss the experiences of their journalism graduates in the job market. No similar institutional framework existed for other minorities, who either made their way into predominantly white institutions—and learned to succeed and be judged by those cultural norms—or did not experience higher education. This situation, and a roster of black publications and broadcast sites, largely determined the greater numbers of African Americans in the field. It also contributed to a strong sense of black identity grounded in a significant body of scholarship.

The gap between goal and accomplishment that marks the intersection between journalism education and mainstream press associations stretched beyond ASNE. In 1973, five years after the Kerner Commission called for major educational reform in the coverage of minority communities, the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation (ANPA) organized a conference: "Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond." Although ANPA (now the Newspaper Association of America) sought assistance from academics, the results did not identify visionaries. Sixteen research papers were presented. One, "The Study of Urban Life," discussed community coverage and made some minor reference to minorities, although no note was made of the Kerner Commission Report, nor any of the press reforms it recommended. No other paper noted anything about minority education or minority press concerns.

In his opening conference remarks, Kenneth McDonald, then Vice President and Editor of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune* in Iowa, acknowledged that there could "be little question about the dependence of newspapers on the academic world." Noting the impact of technological advances and the symbiotic relationship with educators, he said:

> As readers become better educated, as our world grows increasingly complex, as our problems become more and more insoluble, the newspaper must provide better definitions of news, sharper analysis of current events, deeper insight into community problems. This means that newspapers today, as never before, need the brightest trained minds which journalism education can provide the intellectual resources of the journalism campus and the innovative ideas of journalism research and criticism.[20]

These remarks might be made today. In fact, within press organizations similar sen-

timents are made on a regular basis at professional gatherings, ringing statements that sound a somewhat ritualistic tone.

The collegial interdependence implied, however, may also have another dimension—organizational incest—in which close relationships discourage real critiques of either party. Throughout professional press organizations and educational associations, individuals hold joint appointments. Rewards and recognition—press fellowships, scholarships and awards—are distributed based on nominations from the same circle of predominately white male decision makers and those with whom they easily interact. Financial support for educational projects also comes from the corporate circle. While the intent may not be overt, the effect reinforces homogeneity. The pattern of reinforcement and circular support therefore seems more curious when broken.

By virtue of its membership and its function, ACEJMC is one of the most direct connections between ASNE and professors. Some ACEJMC members hold overlapping memberships. But in 1978, when ASNE announced its 2000 parity goal, ACEJMC did not put into place standards designed to help realize that objective. In fact, by setting a goal, ASNE placed itself in a key position to seize leadership in these educational arenas. Although it named committees, sponsored workshops, conference panels for professional journalists, summer internships for the few minority faculty members and provided money for various related activities, its actions were mostly mediated by others. Direct ASNE energy was often lacking and sometimes pro-forma activities replaced credibility. For example, once elected an ASNE president becomes, for the year, the organization's ascribed advocate of newsroom integration regardless of his or her own newsroom track record, knowledge of or experience with minority issues. Based on the 2000 census and the area population figures for that year as provided by the *Boston Globe*, consider the table below.

Meanwhile, journalism education lagged far behind. ASNE's partner in this effort, ACEJMC, did not institutionalize a commitment to integration until seven years after ASNE's public call, 17 years after the Kerner Commission urged educational reform to prepare minority journalists for mainstream press and non-minority reporters to cover excluded communities and 30 years after *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruled segregated public schools unlawful.

Year:	ASNE President	Publication:	Newsroom Integration		Area Minority Population:
			then	2000	2000
1990	Loren Ghiglione	*The (Southport Evening) News*[21]	20.0%		13.55%
1991	Burl Osborne	*The Dallas Morning News*	14.8%	17.0%	36.05%
1992	David Lawrence	*The Miami Herald*[22]	34.7%	42.9%	63.75%
1993	Seymour Topping	*The New York Times*	14.1%	16.2%	44.89%
1994	William Hilliard	*The Oregonian*	11.6%	15.4%	16.48%
1995	Gregory Favre	*Sacramento Bee*	23.1%	28.1%	32.47%
1996	William Ketter	*The Patriot Ledger*	9.6%	3.7%	12.43%
1997	Robert Giles	*The Detroit News*	18.3%	19.0%	26.12%
1998	Sandra Rowe	*The Oregonian*	14.1%	15.4%	16.48%
1999	Edward L. Seaton	*The Manhattan Mercury*	12.5%	7.1%	10.25%
2000	N. Christian Anderson	*Orange County Register*	18.5%	18.5%	52.28%
2001	Richard Oppel	*Austin American-Statesman*	22.3%	20.3%	37.90%
2002	Tim J. MCGuire	*Star Tribune*	13.6%	13.6%	15.23%

"As readers become better educated, as our world grows increasingly complex, as our problems become more and more insoluble, the newspaper must provide better definitions of news, sharper analysis of current events, deeper insight into community problems. This means that newspapers today, as never before, need the brightest trained minds which journalism education can provide the intellectual resources of the journalism campus and the innovative ideas of journalism research and criticism."

Kenneth McDonald, then Vice President and Editor of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, 1973

Over the past quarter century the number of minorities in print media has grown by an average of .5% per year.

Professionals and Education

Founded soon after the end of World War II, ACEJMC is a contemporary of the post-war Commission on Freedom of the Press, which advanced the concept of "press social responsibility," a commitment ASNE claims to have endorsed soon thereafter. The central finding of the Hutchins Commission requires that the press be inclusive, comprehensive, interactive and representative. The commissioners called for the elimination of racial stereotypes and for more inclusive news content and coverage in 1947. ACEJMC echoed that concept 37 years later with its adoption of Standard 12, a diversity requirement. It was journalism education's first real attempt to address racial inequities within the professional preparation experience.

Traditionally journalism education units seek accreditation for credibility and funding advantage. Certification assures eligibility for federal funding and enhances an ability to qualify for foundation grants. ACEJMC requires units to submit evidence demonstrating compliance to each standard. To maintain accreditation, units must undergo review every six years. In a four-step process, (1) the unit prepares a self study; (2) an evaluation committee named by ACEJMC makes a site visit to review the academic unit independently and submits a report of their own, (3) an ACEJMC Committee reviews the reports and makes a recommendation, then (4) the ACEJMC Council makes a ruling. However, members of the site visit committee must be approved by the unit up for review. In other words, the unit must feel comfortable with those assigned to review it. Or, as one department chairman recently said, "We want people who are on our side." At each level of review, one of the reviewers is often a member of ASNE. RTNDA members also participate.

In 1984, ACEJMC added Standard 12 to its requirements for accreditation. Effective in 1985, the diversity requirement read:

> Organized efforts must be made to recruit, advise and retain minority students and minority and female faculty members and to include both in the curriculum information for all students about contributions to journalism and mass communications made by minority and female practitioners from early America to the present.[23]

At that point, ASNE's annual newsroom census showed an increase of diversity from 3.95% in 1978 to 5.75% six years later—roughly 2%. Since the addition of Standard 12, ASNE's census shows a total minority participation growth of not quite 7%—a growth significantly less than pre-Standard 12 of 2% per annum. These figures provided an early indication that the parity goal would not be met. That same year, Professor Vernon Stone's minority data for RTNDA showed 9% minority participation in radio;15% in television. Little real change since 1972.[24]

Over the past quarter century the number of minorities in print media has grown by an average of .5% per year. During the same time, Standard 12 has undergone three changes—none of them the result of any known formal assessment of effectiveness. The original emphasis focused on integration and on race and gender press history. No operational suggestions, strategies or mandates were adopted, although instructions on how to provide evidence for compliance was detailed. The standard was rewritten in a 1991, in an attempt to address the intellectual and cultural aspect of diversity:

> Units must make effective efforts to recruit, advise and retain minority students and minority and women faculty members for their intended career paths. They also must include in their courses information about the major contributions made by minorities and women to the disciplines covered in the unit.

In course offerings across the curricu-

lum, units also must help prepare students to understand, cover, communicate with and relate to a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and otherwise diverse society.[25]

Designed to apply theory to practice, this version of Standard 12 sought to connect integration with skills needed by members of the press to interact with a changing society. It was mindful of the Kerner Commission's conclusion that the press "must make a reality of integration a reality in both its product and its personnel."[26] Integration and intellectual diversity became defined as dual needs—as two separate, but equally necessary, components of a diverse newsroom. Thereafter, however, that intent became fuzzier.

The 1997 standard was changed to read:

> Units should demonstrate a commitment to increased diversity and inclusivity in their student bodies and faculties and to the creation of a learning environment that exposes students to a broad spectrum of voices and views[27]

The word "minority" was eliminated. The Standard can be perceived as having both moved away from the intent of affirmative action and from the Kerner Commission's call for press improvement in covering and including those groups addressed by affirmative action. It also moved away from the very clear earlier recommendations by the Hutchins Commission to assure access to minority groups. One more positive explanation for the change may well be a sense that the prior version failed to achieve its goal. A more cynical view is that Standard 12 changed because its units habitually failed to meet it. Regardless of the version in place, Standard 12 remains the most frequently failed standard since its inception.[28] This is both an important indicator of, and an entrenched element of, journalism educational culture.

By 1997, Standard 3, which addresses curriculum, also included a modest concern for intellectual diversity. It read:

> The unit must teach students to communicate in a diverse and democratic society. This requirement calls for a balance between courses in journalism and mass communications and courses in other disciplines, primarily in the liberal arts and sciences. Balance also should be provided between professional skills courses and theoretical and conceptual courses.
>
> Graduate programs will concentrate on skills and other professional courses but they should not be limited to such courses.[29]

Those faculty members interested in addressing the racial and ethnic exclusivity of the press by diversifying the pipeline and enriching the curriculum, at first saw the ACEJMC Standards as support—albeit tardy—for the ASNE parity goal. Standard 12's and Standard 3's potential for change could provide a unifying backbone to an otherwise dispersed target for change agents. For faculty, who are usually on the frontlines of new curriculum, their challenge is compounded by the nature of the educational structure. But the absence of accountability for failed standards eliminates their potential. Moreover, lack of effective support for minority faculty who try to make change can contribute to their marginalization. Here ASNE, RTNDA and other corporate leaders could play a more influential role.

Between 1987 and 2002, 70 of 281 units failed Standard 12. But the records raise some questions. There are no detailed accounts from 1984 to 1987; then, for the next three years only three of 35 units failed Standard 12. Between 1991 and 2002, a little more than one-third (56 of 195) failed. Of these, 17 failed three or more standards.[30] However, passing Standard 12 often means describing a "good faith effort" to comply.

Any editor or publisher or educator who thinks seriously about the problems of journalism education must recognize a paradox. At a time when the world needs better communications, more perceptive newspapers and better educated journalists, there is remarkably little discourse between the newsroom and the campus. There is pleasant fraternizing and amiable speech making, but lamentably little probing discussion.

Kenneth McDonald, then Vice President and Editor of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, 1973

And lapses do not bring about automatic provisional or denied status. In fact, there is no requirement that units must meet a minimum compliance.[31] Nor must units that fail a standard during one review period pass it six years later. Despite the relaxed approach to Standard 12, units fail this one most often: twice as frequently as the next most failed standard—Standard 3.

As ACEJMC Executive Director Susanne Shaw explains it, provisional status is a matter judged more on a case-by-case basis and dependent upon a number of flexible factors.[32] There is, in other words, no real incentive to meet diversity standards. Although the accreditation process is perceived by some as "the most powerful force in journalism education, which pressures journalism education programs,"[33] an analysis of the process reveals an abdication of leadership and casualness about accountability. Too often case-by-case treatment within any shared culture of implicit meanings benefits those who share the unspoken codes. Evaluation navigates along issues of collegiality rather than those of excellence.

Such cronyism often stymies necessary candor, as noted by *Des Moines Register and Tribune* Editor Kenneth McDonald about 30 years ago.

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Journalism Education: Social and Intellectual Fabric

Journalism educators are a loosely affiliated group connected primarily by the accreditation system and their membership in the AEJMC. Shared cultural factors mirror most major institutions in the nation and that of the press itself. But only 2% of all journalists in our survey belonged to any journalism education association—a confirmation of the Medsger study that charts increasing disaffiliation between journalism professionals and educators. Statistics document a dominance of whiteness within journalism units:

- "a primarily white organizational structure within which journalism units operate;
- "a collection of unit hierarchies largely dominated by white males at the decision-making levels;
- "a growing number of women at the assistant and associate professor level;
- "an affirmative action pattern that significantly benefits white women over minorities and
- "a primary reliance on white scholarship for use as course material.

This is not to suggest that white men and women are not supportive of integration or that all white individuals resist intellectual diversity. But evidence indicates that traditional participation and perspectives dominate AEJMC. For one thing, "the percentage of faculty of color has remained constant since 1979"—a percentage (8%) of integration lower than that of the print press corps.[35]

AEJMC records its 2001 membership of 3,079 as 1,833 men and 1,246 women. Its minority membership includes: African-Americans: 69 women, 54 men; Asian-Americans: 24 women, 47 men; Latinos: 22 women, 22 men; American Indians: 9

women, 8 men—a total of 255 individuals. The organization notes that not all members provide race or ethnicity identities. Based on AEJMC figures, minorities make up about 7% of the organization. Or about half the percentages of minority professionals in print newsrooms and a third of the percentage of those in broadcast. In fact, the percentage of faculty members of color has remained constant over the past two decades—still less than 10%.[36]

But these figures do not tell the full truth, nor the more critical story, which is more closely related to the matter of diversity. Survey results of Professor Daufin's research on minority professors' experiences and satisfactions quantify diversity conflict within journalism educator ranks. Minority faculty are more qualified, more likely to have professional and educational experience than their white counterparts; yet almost half of all respondents attributed covert and overt racism as the number one source of job dissatisfaction.[37] Other academic environment studies document that black (70%) and Latino (51%) professors are most likely to experience covert and institutionalized racism.[38] Moreover, it could be argued that the high ratio of failures to comply with Standard 12 and Standard 3 are examples of covert racism. Beyond the scope of this study, but indicated by anecdotal and personal evidence, accreditation site team members are less likely to perceive misgivings and complaints made by minority and female faculty as significant when preparing their reports. Majority satisfaction seems to be a prevailing indicator of unit environment.

A review of journalism curriculum indicates that white textbook authors predominate—this is predictable given the slow pace of academic integration. This does not suggest that non-minority journalism scholarship or publications on race and ethnic topics are inherently flawed. In fact, some excellent scholarship about the minority American experience emerged long before the end of segregation.

But intellectual diversity also values scholarship across the curriculum from less traditional directions and material that raises less conventional perspectives. Change comes very gradually. Dr. Gene Burd, a communication and cultural scholar, finds that it took more than ten years after the Kerner Commission Report in 1967 for journalism textbook discussion of minority coverage to move from "how to cover crime" to more general topics.[39] A 1990 study indicated that most journalism textbooks failed to introduce key terms used in intercultural reporting. [40] Based on the textbooks examined, the authors concluded that journalism education ignores or minimally acknowledges reporting of under represented groups, communities and their related issues. This is also reflected in failures to comply with Standards 3 and 12.

As with any narrow perspective, constricted vision can distort minority discourse by minorities as well. Absent intellectual diversity, the academic forum, which presumably encourages debate in the interest of clarity, is also stymied here. Any group that operates from a shallow foundation of knowledge is vulnerable to manipulation. For example, any opinion or perspective can be more easily labeled as "racist" or as "reverse discrimination" without refutation or verification.

The advantages of diverse intellectual vigor seem evident from classroom to news page. For example, one finding in the major 2001 study of faculty integration by Becker, Punathambekar and Huh cites curricular diversity as a key factor in minority faculty draw. Their study cited three journalism programs that had significantly surpassed others in an ability to attract women and minorities. Among other factors, "The faculty said curricular diversity was an indicator of the flexible nature of the program and an interest in topics other than those of concern to white males."[41] In such an environment, aspiring journalists graduate with source and story ideas long before they are given a diversity mandate by editors.

But intellectual diversity also values scholarship across the curriculum from less traditional directions and material that raises less conventional perspectives.

Today these concepts of superiority make circular export-import journeys across the U.S. southern border.

"Whiteness means the power to position through representation and practice."

John Gabriel, Whitewash

This curricular component cannot be overlooked if intellectual diversity is to thrive. One step is to eliminate the equation of whiteness with authority, intelligence, universalism and objectivity. At the very least, aspiring journalists should be familiar with minority and class history. *A People's History of the United States*, for example, or a similar resource that provides a more inclusive historical record, could easily be included in any number of journalism courses now taught. Beyond that, of course, material by minority and international communication theorists are a must to avoid intellectual isolationism and to resist ethnocentrism. Syllabi reviewed for this report indicate virtually no use of such material.

Noting traditional definitions of reality, British sociologist John Gabriel, who heads Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, draws upon historian Tom Narin, "the interconnections of narratives of nation and race took root in the nineteenth century… During this period race became inscribed with ideas of superiority which were then used to justify expanding empire and relations of subordination."[42] These ideas thrived in a period of nation building and familiarity with these implications, for example, could contribute to more useful coverage of foreign policy issues, especially today as we confront conflict in the Middle East.

Pointing to a shared history of colonialism and racialization in both the United States and England, Narin describes the use of race in the white imagination. He further quotes Ali Rattansi who argues that "ideas of race were integral to ideas of progress, morality, reason and certainty on which the modernist project was built…"[43] These ideas lay behind the French and English arbitrary division of Arabia into agglomerations—fictional states—in 1916 after the Sykes-Picot agreement.[44]

They shape history closer to home also—not only in historic treatment of American Indians, but to the seizing of one half of Mexico's territory in 1846 and the superimposition of racist definitions upon citizens of Mexican descent. Today these concepts of superiority make circular export-import journeys across the U.S. southern border.[45] They also lay behind the eugenic ideas that inspired North Carolina and other southern states, which until the mid-1970s practiced forced sterilization (mostly of black women), to eliminate undesirable character traits and perceived low intelligence.[46]

Historically, whiteness was defined through its difference to "otherness" and its association with purity and virtue. Intelligence was also attributed to whites as an indicator of their superiority and, as one of its manifestations, so was objectivity. Thus, the culture of the academy, which often fails to insert even minimal multicultural content, does not really prepare students for a changed world. Nor does it prepare them to produce fair or balanced reporting, which requires a foundation of knowledge to attain context.

To further clarify race discourse about intellectual activity, John Fiske, author of *Media Matters: Everyday Culture and Political Change*, provides a concept of "*whiteliness*." Whiteness, he says "refers to some physical state; whiteliness to the ideology of white dominance. Whiteness is defined more by what it does than by what it is." [47] Thus John Gabriel notes that, "Whiteness means the power to position through representation and practice." Whiteliness is the thought process and perspective that supports that power. [48]

White is the unnamed norm, largely distributed through media. The academy presocializes aspiring journalists to this perspective. Speaking to this process, media scholar Herbert Altschull notes that journalists, regardless of place of origin, "are true believers. If they are the products of journalism schools in market or socialist systems they tend to endorse and promote the goals and values they have learned."[49] In other words, journalists learn what is valued in the dominant culture as well as professional

skills. In this way, they are prepared to fit into the newsroom culture as well.[50]

More reason, therefore, to insist that journalism education prepare critical thinkers to be as comfortable explicating diversity issues as they are in expressing mainstream issues. This is best done by insisting that journalists have strong liberal arts preparation that includes scholarship by and about minorities. In the failure to intellectually prepare contemporary newsrooms, even affirmative-action opponent William McGowan, author of *Coloring the News*, is similarly critical. "Efforts to expand newsroom representation by ethnicity, gender and race have not been accompanied by any corresponding effort to expand or enhance intellectual or ideological diversity or an appreciation for it."[51] The first line of responsibility for such expansion is journalism education and its requirements for graduation. The second is the professional journalist's by continuing self education. These efforts are made easier when related professional organizations move beyond lip-service to engage actively in reaching similar goals. It helps when organizations that seek to enrich professionalization do regular assessment of their efforts as well.

Members of the press and the academic world do not struggle alone with these issues. In 1997, the Smithsonian published a collection of essays documenting how curators grappled with similar issues. William Yeingst and Lonnie G. Bunch noted the tension between documented history and popular memory. How does a museum respond to the changing acknowledgement of a nation's past? As an example, they described acquiring the famous "sit-in" Woolworth lunch counter from Greensboro, North Carolina.

> As curators, what we collect, whose stories we preserve, what interpretations we present, and our mandate to convey those decisions to millions gives us power. The power to determine who and what has value. The power to save or to forget a people's culture. The power to shape memory. And the power to help determine what is historically meaningful and culturally significant. In essence, curators have the power of choice and the power to convey meaning—powers that should be used judiciously and openly.[52]

For press and journalism educators, a similar tension exists between context and reader recognition. Members of the press and those we prepare for that role must come to understand its similar responsibilities. Reporters, editors, news directors and educators share a key role with curators —providing context that includes acknowledgement of past struggle.

It is painful for members of excluded groups to have to teach journalism in ways that reinforce flawed practices. To do so requires that one "succumb to 'whiteliness' but not to benefit from its mechanisms."[53] It means remaining part of the defined "other" while teaching in ways that perpetuate that construct. Derrick Bell, African-American social scholar and law professor, perhaps says it best: "It is a very grave matter to be forced to imitate a people for whom you know…you do not exist."[54]

But to teach otherwise goes against entrenched intellectual assumptions. This situation addresses a prevailing irony in journalism education: although presumably preparing students to become journalists willing to confront power in relentless searches for accuracy, neither curriculum nor journalism's academic culture seem to encourage challenge beyond those welcomed by mainstream newsrooms.

So it requires both courage and an environment that nurtures intellectual diversity to criticize significantly the status quo. It mandates a reexamination of academic definitions of value. Without an intellectually enriched environment, creativity struggles. "Even being taken seriously requires major effort when our views differ from those who by reason of their majority status presume to know better," notes Bell.[55]

"Efforts to expand newsroom representation by ethnicity, gender and race have not been accompanied by any corresponding effort to expand or enhance intellectual or ideological diversity or an appreciation for it."

William McGowan, Coloring the News

Moreover, affirmative action discussions both in the industry and the academy too often encourage inclusion without noting that culture must change to sustain it.

Fear to risk being labeled a "racist" eliminates challenge that is often well justified when anchored in facts.

The issue of intellectual culture remains on the margins of integration discussions. Like members of the press, academics talk largely in terms of personnel change. Diversity is believed to be accomplished mostly by defining difference as residing within the individual racial or ethnic (or gender) identity. For institutions like the press and the academy, which revolve around the dynamic of ideas, this concept presents a significant oversight. For this reason, the potential of Standards 3 and 12 must fully be realized.

Moreover, affirmative action discussions both in the industry and the academy too often encourage inclusion without noting that culture must change to sustain it. Some organizations labor long over the wording of a mission statement but spend no time defining or implementing practices necessary to fulfill the mission. The accreditation process requires of each unit a mission statement, for example, but no clearly defined actions. Although perhaps not intended, this omission reinforces the "buddy system," favoring those least likely to oppose the status quo.

Organizational studies show that institutional change requires not only committed leadership, but a change of culture.[56] "Traditionally, the American approach to diversity has been assimilation. Newcomers are expected to adapt so that they 'fit.'"[57] In fact, one major flaw of William McGowan's *Coloring the News* is its tendency to overlook the power of whiteliness and, in monolithic terms, to attribute ideology to gender-, race- and ethnicity-linked identity. Based on anecdotal evidence, McGowan also disproportionately ascribes power to those with the smallest participation numbers. Lack of real knowledge by the majority about the components of racism, historical experience and sociological behaviors generates a newsroom deficient of mutual respect. Such ignorance can contribute toward manipulation by a few individuals around racial issues. Fear to risk being labeled a "racist" eliminates challenge that is often well justified when anchored in facts. Moreover, in both academic and newsroom politics, race can become a pawn manipulated for white goals—to eliminate the more outspoken minority in favor of a one more compliant. McGowan does not address this aspect.

The multicultural battles of the 1980s on college campuses over curriculum revisions highlighted the resistant nature of prevailing educational models. But democracy charges the press with social responsibility and the obligation to inform a self-governing citizenry. "Civilized society is a working system of ideas," wrote the Hutchins Commission in 1947, "It lives and changes by the consumption of ideas. Therefore it must make sure that as many as possible of the ideas which its members have are available for its examination."[58] Clearly, this is the role of journalism education rooted in a strong liberal arts foundation.

The absence of intellectual variety is also reflected among those attending AEJMC annual conferences. Queries made of the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies (AAN) members indicate that only two can recall being invited to any journalism education conference in the past five years. This exclusion denies a significant historical record of alternative press coverage. It is time to acknowledge that this coverage often leads the mainstream media by a significant time period in breaking stories that become major news. This is largely due to their greater diversity of sources.

Consider, for example, AAN's track record in coverage of civil rights issues, Vietnam, Central America, and contemporary minority issues. Here many members repeatedly led mainstream media with stories that have earned the validation of history. Nevertheless, they are not represented on the ACEJMC Committee or Council or on journalism unit site visit groups. Neither included are critical media or education analysts. Instead, press and academic organizations duplicate a circular cronyism. Despite this, however, few mainstream journalists participate in AEJMC activities unless invited as speakers or panelists. This again testifies to the compartmentalization of profession and

professor—and of the distance between them. At the same time, excluded by both groups are those media that represent diverse intellectualism. How can a call for diversity be validated within such patterns of exclusion?[59] Moreover, how can organizations that avoid diverse perspectives about white America be prepared to welcome diverse perspectives by or about minorities?

Ironically, the hegemonic nature of U.S. media has been a topic of significant study and research by media scholars for at least 25 years, but this scholarship does not affect the culture of journalism education itself, which remains equally monochromatic. To the extent that the press gathers, constructs and distributes selective knowledge, it maintains hegemony. Many journalism educators play the same role. Educators are not only positioned to confront the great inequities of information reach and delivery, however, but are mandated to do so by accreditation standards. Nevertheless, the power of entrenched education culture contributes to a slow and limited attempt to expand the intellectual boundaries. Generally, journalism course syllabi reflect minimal change and innovation, as a review of thee hundred syllabi attests. At a time when citizens need comprehensive reporting about the changing nation's issues, we may be preparing journalists who will be most ill prepared to do so.

To assist newsrooms in covering the emerging nation, journalism education must be a leader in change, including stimulating intellectual diversity. This, however, presents a significant challenge because a preference for conformity fuels the culture's assimilationist values. In fact, corporate studies, including those done in newsrooms, show that when surveying differences between racial groups "on some matters, group membership is the most powerful predictor of perception—even when there were 'objective facts' about the issue."[60] This phenomenon, known also as "peer pressure," in some circumstances and "consensus" in others, hampers critical insight. Unfortunately, tenure, promotion and salary review processes also often stifle innovation by using only traditional evaluation measurements that mostly serve to reinforce curricular and intellectual hegemony.

Media scholar Herbert Gans's 1978 finding that the strongest underlying value in the press is ethnocentrism should have warranted closer attention by the academy. Ethnocentrism undermines change by valuing everything in relation to its sameness, consistent with established norms. It solidly advances an assimilation perspective. In some cases, even nationally recognized and rewarded innovation is resisted or eliminated by intellectually ethnocentric, conservative units.[61] By the early 1990s, major corporate consultants advised clients that success required more than color coding the workplace. "Assimilation is now generally regarded as a dysfunctional business strategy in this country because the resulting homogeneity may stifle creativity and breadth of view that is essential to compete in today's market."[62]

Yet the structure of educational units, like that of newsrooms, remains mostly traditional in intellectual content. The cautious wording of ACEJMC Standards 3 and 12, which call for change but fail to describe—either in evidence requirements or general narrative—what that might entail, provides no support for the kind of leadership that will inevitably encounter some resistance. This weakness might be argued as respect for academic freedom, but the repetitive failure of ACEJMC to hold units clearly accountable to Standards 3 or 12 raises questions about its integrity and intent. Moreover, it gives tacit support to the marginalization of professors and courses working to achieve these goals.

Journalism Education: Faculty and Students

One assessment of Standard 12's light application can be drawn from the

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Documentation of absence comes from all directions.

There is no evidence that accreditation stimulates the small increase in minority faculty.

enrollment and graduation census conducted by journalism educators. It documents why the pace of integration of the field is not apt to change soon.

First begun in 1937, Dr. Paul V. Peterson took over the census in 1968 and was succeeded by Lee B. Becker in 1988. Assisted by others, Becker provides journalism enrollment and graduation figures by sequence, gender, race and ethnicity. ASNE, among others, funds this accounting process. For years it has charted the miniscule increase of minority journalism students—especially those in graduate education. These are the only consistent records aside from those provided by the American Council on Higher Education. Becker's census appears in each fall issue of *Journalism Educator*, which is published by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.

These figures represent both future minority journalists and faculty. They predict very few of either any time soon. Documentation of absence comes from all directions. Adding to the problems of integration are the problems of students from historically black colleges and universities and those from Hispanic serving colleges and universities. Graduates from these institutions have "considerably less success in the job market upon graduation than did graduates of other programs."[63]

Faculties change even more slowly than student bodies. There is no evidence that accreditation stimulates the small increase in minority faculty.[64] In 1984, fewer than 2% of all tenured and tenure-track journalism faculty were minorities. By 1998, change measured since 1989 in full-time faculty at 263 journalism and mass communications programs in the Becker, *et al* study "averaged a third of a person (.34). The change resulted from the addition of just more than three-quarters of a woman (.81) and half a minority (.55) (sometimes also a woman) and a decrease of three-fourths of a white male (–.79)."[65]

By 2000, the original target year of parity, the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, the largest academic association in the nation for educators in the discipline, reported that of its 3,000 members, minority faculty made up fewer than 10%, counting tenured, tenure-track and adjunct professors. These were: 58 African American females, 46 males; 25 Asian American women, 39 men; 16 Latinas and 21 Latinos; 12 American Indian women and 7 men.[66] This body is barely integrated—let alone prepared to address minority gender issues with only 111 minority women members.

But its whiteness reflects the institutional color and gender dominance, where the greatest number of minorities clusters at the least powerful levels. As adjuncts, those scarce minority journalists willing to try teaching often find themselves marginalized in ways that limit their ability to contribute to necessary changes. Adjuncts and part-time lecturers wield little influence in program structure or content. Full professors—mostly white males—still hold the majority of power. (Few women had made their way to that rank by 1998 (22.1%)). Minorities account for one in ten faculty members, the largest number being African-American (9.1%). Hispanics comprise 1.4%, Asian-Americans 2.3% and American Indians fewer than 1%.[67] An academic body that remains so segregated cannot hope to soon achieve intellectual diversity.

Besides the relaxed application of Standard 12, and the absence of real leadership in this area by ACEJMC, the slow increase reflects the lingering impact of segregation. But it also coincides with changing credential criteria in journalism education. Requirements for tenure-track positions grew harder to meet as women made their way into the field. By the mid-1980s journalism academics—overwhelmingly white males—more often insisted that new faculty members have both acquired newsroom experience and earned PhDs.[68] This made integration of faculty ranks virtually impossible. Minorities had barely made their way into newsrooms at that point, as ASNE documented. Again,

journalism educators took actions that worked against ASNE goals.

By 1983, although ASNE's Education for Journalism Committee report made no reference to minority faculty, it expressed dismay about the dwindling value placed on professional experience. A joint committee of ASNE and AEJMC members became the Committee on News and Editorial Education (CONEE). Unanimously, they proposed "that outstanding professional activity be given equal weight with scholarly research and publication as a criterion, along with teaching ability and service, in tenure and promotion decisions at those institutions that emphasize both professional practice and scholarly research." But neither the research nor the recommendations led to change. As Medsger's report *Winds of Change* shows, PhD emphasis has grown since 1983. Meanwhile, minority faculty continue to trickle in.

Here lies a central problem in journalism education, one documented in *Winds of Change*. There is a tendency for many Journalism PhDs to disdain the profession for which they educate students and the professionals who succeed there. Those who seek to move from newsroom to classroom are increasingly required to arrive with earned doctorates if they wish more than an adjunct position. Those who teach without tenure have virtually no influence on policy or curriculum—let alone the power to affect change.

Moreover, the annual journalism student body census also shows few minorities arriving in graduate school since 1978. At the present rate, should all figures hold steady at the 1998 levels, faculty parity will not be reached before 2035.[69] And if the present trend continues, the largest number of minority professors will be bunched in the lower professorial ranks.

Newsrooms won't change much either. The AEJMC student census covers all communication sequences, including public relations, advertising, speech, theater and others. However, those that seem most obvious contributors to newsroom integration are: news editorial, broadcast news, journalism, RTV/telecomm, magazine journalism, community journalism, agricultural journalism, science journalism and photojournalism. Historically, minority figures for these sequences have been low. Percentage gains must be taken in the context of raw figures. Even a dramatic percentage gain in a low mass indicates a small increase in individuals. Within the past several years, as anti-affirmative action sentiment grew, fewer units recorded minority participation. Becker reports that "only about four in ten units report enrollments by race."[70]

Course content, especially in the practice of classroom journalism and field work, must change. "Managers desiring to advance this initiative [diversity] must be able to tolerate challenge and ambiguity. They must also be willing to let their people pioneer."[71] But as academic journalism increasingly requires completion of a PhD, and thereafter evaluates candidates for promotion, tenure and salary increases on the basis of traditional academic measurements, the flexibility to imagine, to innovate and to risk significantly diminishes. As journalism education more often values the PhD over press experience, the distance between theory and practice grows.

If the academic population remains non-reflective of the nation's variety in terms of class, race, ethnicity, and perspective and if socialization and standards toward upward mobility in the academy remains traditional, inclusive intellectual diversity will not thrive.

Journalism Education: Curriculum

Over the course of this study, calls were made to accredited units requesting syllabi that responded to Standards 12 and 3 and for those used in ethics courses. In all, 300 syllabi were received from 74 institutions.

While there were many comprehensive examples of rich curriculum, a review of all

At the present rate, should all figures hold steady at the 1998 levels, faculty parity will not be reached before 2035.

Evidence indicates that the more concentrated the focus on minorities, the more likely it is that the course is optional.

received syllabi sent indicates a strong pattern of intellectual segregation. Those courses that include specific material on diversity tend to be elective courses. A number more visit minority content in a quick trip for a few sessions. The range of inclusion varies from those courses which specifically deal with minority authors, issues, history and content, to those which offer approximately three lecture hours on related topics. Given that students learn through repetition, these latter exercises are virtually useless. Evidence indicates that the more concentrated the focus on minorities, the more likely it is that the course is optional.

Minority-focused courses tend to be those that include minority scholarship. Thus, if students do not take the optional courses with minority content, they graduate with outdated preparation. They remain unaware of minority scholarship—and of potential minority sources. They will hardly be ready to cover a changing society. More seriously, many graduate without a consciousness of concurrent but dissimilar minority history in the United States. Omitted from participation in the major institutional structures either by legislated exclusion or *de facto* segregation, minority populations constructed, experienced and recorded a different America. These perspectives are found in their scholarship, literature, art and press. Familiarity with these concepts helps provide context necessary for intelligent coverage by today's newsrooms. Accreditation standards, while calling for courses in the liberal arts, do not encourage requirement of any that would provide future press members a foundation other than a traditional white-focus.

In early Standard 12 versions calling for minority participation, the national target group was clear—those covered by affirmative action legislation. Later, diversity and inclusivity often became defined in international terms—immigrant and foreign students and faculty. While these groups are important and deserve press and education attention, the U.S. minority experience is distinct. Covering a changing nation requires a significant familiarity with all American experience.

Language related to curriculum also became vague; gone was specificity. Among syllabi sent to demonstrate evidence of compliance with Standard 12, for example, came courses on international media. This is valuable, but definitely shifts away from minority focus. The Standard 12 phrase "contributions of women and minorities" was eliminated. Instead the new standard urged "a broad spectrum of voices and views." But except in rare examples, a review of syllabi for Standards 3 and 12 do not reflect a broadness of perspective that includes progressive thought, where much minority discourse appears historically. The same two textbooks appear on more than half of the syllabi responding to Standards 3 and 12.[72] Thus, while standards seem to call for change, the spectrum of evidence provided and accepted offers the traditional monolithic culture of predictability within both the classroom and the newsroom. This helps explain the history of standards that are largely neither met nor encouraged.

More specifically, the limits of intellectual diversity become obvious in the lack of reference to alternative and ethnic press in course content. When it appears, it too is relegated to separate space. Its material does not appear "across the curriculum," nor does the alternative press often appear in "diversity courses" where ethnic press is most apt to be noted but not explored. For example, with the exception of one submitted syllabus, which uses its annual publication as text, none of the work from Project Censored[73] appears. Yet this collection of under-reported news broadens definitions of news worthiness that includes both those matters excluded from mainstream and those that significantly affect minorities. In other words, it provides an example of intellectual diversity.

About the same time that the standards backed away from minority specificity and legal challenges to affirmative action pro-

grams in schools and the workplace grew, newsrooms began covering affirmative action as a "race-based" issue. Few articles defined the concept as inclusive of women, the disabled or Vietnam veterans.[74] Mainstream journalists managed to miss this oversight even after the *Seattle Times* reported that in the State of Washington, the largest benefactors of affirmative action were white males.[75] Most mainstream coverage addressed these issues only as race and ethnicity based, thus masking the fact that nationally, those whom most benefit from affirmative policies are white women.[76]

Press reports about affirmative action became saturated with terms like "quotas" (without reporting that these have always been illegal) or "racial preference" (clearly a distorted representation).[77] Here again, the connectors between ASNE (whose editor members had the power to insist on accurate coverage and precise language), journalism educators (presumably preparing all students to cover a changing America), and parity goals seem to operate totally disconnected from one another.

None of the accreditation standards changes came as the result of a formal assessment study to discern effectiveness between Standard 12 and the performance of journalism education in recruiting or retaining either minority students or minority faculty. Nor was there any formal study to determine what educational practices might lead to successful increases in minority entry-level journalists. The language of Standard 12 addressed educational skills directly related to the practice of journalism for only four years. Thereafter, Standard 3 made weak references to social responsibility.

The 1985 and 1992 standards mandated "curriculum information for all students about the contributions to journalism and mass communications made by minority and female practitioners." However, few of these courses have ever been required—certainly accreditation guidelines have never called for this.[78] Even the more vague mandate of a broad spectrum learning environment was optional. A review of course curriculum and syllabi indicate that virtually none of the courses provided as evidence of compliance with Standard 12 are required courses. In other words, although the information is provided, neither ACEJMC nor most journalism educators define it as "need-to-know" knowledge. The choice to learn this material remains a student choice. "Optional" status undermines the perceived value of the course. This contributes toward later difficulties in newsrooms needing to change, especially since studies show that few white males enroll in these courses.[79] Equally disconcerting is the finding by Professor Matias Venezuela's research that journalism students perceive diversity almost purely in terms of race.[80]

Winds of Change indicates that 59% of those who have been journalists one to three years say that they had instruction in communicating effectively across racial, ethnic, class and cultural lines, but they do not indicate the nature of that instruction, nor do they indicate how they evaluate "effectively." These figures drop for those who have been members of the press longer—among these ranks are editors/news directors. However, 75% of journalists say that they have taken no college or graduate courses since they received their most recent degrees. Of those 25% taking a course, 10% took a journalism course.

Given evidence provided by syllabi, such instruction would have varied over a wide range of exposure from a brush with diversity to an opportunity to explore it seriously. Such education is less likely the longer it has been since one earned a degree. This, of course, speaks to the necessity for ongoing educational workshops, seminars and newsroom consultants. This is especially true for those individuals who are most apt to be out of school longer than three years and even more dependent upon ongoing education opportunities.

For a survey taken in 2000, more than half (55.8%) of minority faculty in journalism education said that their expectations of journalism education had not been met.

Impact and Implications

According to Becker's figures, between 1978 and 1998, on average, fewer than a dozen African-Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and American Indians a year received PhDs in communication fields. The most represented within this group are African-Americans. Across the board, experienced press members, once welcomed into the classroom and granted tenure, found themselves offered only yearly contracts as adjuncts or lecturers. In other words, the two avenues through which to integrate journalism education are not functioning.

In 1996, Betty Medsger found that:

> As the first century of journalism education draws to a close, those (newsroom experiences) are not the criteria used to build most journalism faculties. Doctoral degrees are the top priority, not experience as journalists. The hiring requirements have created a population of teachers—journalists and scholars alike—who are filled with bewilderment, if not outright frustration, about the puzzle that journalism education has become.[81]

This priority contributes to the broad gulf between what journalism students need to become skilled members of the press, and what PhD faculty must do to advance their own careers in research–oriented units. First, academic writing—required to complete a dissertation and to publish in those journals favored by annual salary reviews—is time consuming and of a fundamentally different style than that of the press. Teaching journalism writing classes are labor intensive and often must involve one-on-one sessions. These teaching activities cut into research time for work that must be completed if faculty members are to meet publishing demands. As a result, many programs use part-time and adjunct faculty for journalism skills courses. Others use adjuncts to meet conflicting needs for faculty and budget restrictions. Among the adjunct ranks one finds a cluster of minorities. But as such positions do not assure ability to help shape a program, they may be least likely to influence intellectual diversity.

By all appearances, journalism educators and their organizations did little to help ASNE meet its goal by either vigorously recruiting minority students or seeking to include minority faculty who could not only assist in this effort, but who might enrich the curriculum as well. Nor did journalism educators provide environments that would nurture minority faculty or the intellectual diversity they might add to curriculum. For a survey taken in 2000, more than half (55.8%) of minority faculty in journalism education said that their expectations of journalism education had not been met. The number one reason given for this—fifteen years after the adoption of Standard 12—cited by almost half of all minority faculty is racism (both covert or overt).[82] Much of this treatment "is often masked by adherence to a mythical academic meritocracy regarding professional qualifications that subtly favors whites."[83]

It is therefore no surprise to find that only 1% of all whites surveyed for *Winds of Change* considered diversity as the most important change needed in journalism education. At the same time that it has failed to carry its message into newsrooms, ASNE failed to advocate effectively and publicly with journalism educators for any change in the ACEJMC standards or evidence criteria. Moreover, it has not mounted any vigorous opposition to business as usual.

In an interview with Roberto Moreno in 1992, Robert Ruggles recalled the struggle to increase the number of minorities in journalism education and in the profession. Academics credit Ruggles as principal advocate and author of the original Standard 12. He said that he'd personally been working with an integration aim for 24 years. He remembered that he had optimistically believed that part of the battle was won when Standard 12 was adopted in 1984. "God, was I wrong,"

Ruggles told Moreno.[84] Almost a decade after adopting it, Ruggles worried that educators and ACEJMC were "still not taking Standard 12 seriously. The problem is," he said, "that no one's accreditation is affected by being out of compliance with one standard."

His concerns were well founded: Standard 12 remains the most frequently failed.

Newsroom Education Projects

In 1998, ASNE created "Time Out for Diversity," an annual nationwide exercise of several days to a week when newsrooms, with the help of ASNE-provided materials, primarily focus on race and ethnicity issues within their communities. This ASNE project draws connections between accuracy and inclusiveness, thus making diversity an issue of ethics. It may be the first time some journalists hear about such connections. Journalism education does not socialize students to these ideas. The syllabi collected and reviewed for this research indicate that within the academy few ethics courses make more than a brief mention of minority issues.

Because only 44% of all units offer any courses in ethics, the ASNE project may be the most effective introduction to this concept. Of the 613 journalists surveyed, 60% believe that diversity and ethics are connected, 285 (58%) of reporters and 84 (69%) of editors/news directors made this connection. Not surprisingly, more minority editors/news directors (79%) than non-minorities (66%) held this opinion. Female editors/news directors made the connection far less often (45%). All groups perceived ethics most important to everyday jobs: 79% of editors/news directors and 64% of reporters defined ethical issues related to general reporting as the most involved in the practice of journalism. On the other hand, 21% of all editors/news directors and 26% of all reporters stated that diversity is not relevant to their work. Moreover, 64% of reporters and 53% of editors/news directors defined diversity in non-specific, vague and generalized terms. This gives the impression that an intellectual gap exists between theory and practice.

In all these areas the role of journalism education could be stronger. Much more must be done to integrate curriculum and to foster intellectual diversity before graduation. Ethics courses should include significant treatment of diversity pointing out its relationship to accuracy, representation, balance and fairness. Diversity content must make its way into other required courses as well. Without a reservoir of knowledge similar to the one accrued about the non-minority experience, these annual exercises and similar workshops provided by organizations serving the profession provide only a veneer or brief awareness. This is evident from newsroom survey results taken for and described elsewhere in this report. Moreover, % of editors/news directors say they do not seek feedback or change as part of these activities. An in-depth information base is best built in college. Then the journalist must augment it regularly throughout his or her career.

Equally important to the success of new ideas is a secure environment for discourse. The facilitation of new information depends upon open communication in newsrooms, including the safety to disagree. Only 26% of all journalists surveyed in *Winds of Change* indicate that their print or broadcast newsrooms enjoy "open communication."[85] This ease is expressed mostly by those over the age of 40, where the smallest number of minority professionals can be found. "The lowest 'very well' ratings for 'honesty' were given by those who worked at medium-sized dailies (33%), by ethnic minorities (42%) and by those who worked at large dailies (43%)."[86] In other words, more than half of ethnic minorities were not comfortable with the "honesty" of their newsrooms. Weekly publications scored highest in honesty.

Standard 12 remains the most frequently failed.

Ease of discourse directly impacts the ability to raise issues of diversity. Only 11% of all journalists said that their newsrooms were preparing well for the future needs of the field. Almost half, (42%) rated their newsrooms as preparing "not at all well" or "not too well."[87]

Clearly, there is a need for strong interlocking leadership across the components of press and preparation that are committed to diversity goals. Studies show that "in the absence of a champion, change seldom occurs."[88] That finding is supported by the faculty diversity study undertaken by Lee Becker, Aswin Punathambekar and Jisu Huh. In the three journalism and mass communication programs that were determined to have "achieved above average diversification from 1989 to 1998," administrative leadership was "crucial" to success.[89] "It was clear that change comes only when there is strong commitment to diversification on the part of the unit leader."[90]

Curiously, ASNE never seemed to take journalism educators to task. Between 1977 and 1998, when ASNE announced a failure to achieve parity, annual journalism education census showed too few minorities receiving BA degrees in press–related fields to meet the goal. (In fact, newsrooms were further from parity in 1998 than in 1977.) Meanwhile, integration of newsrooms crept forward, moving from near 4% minority participation in 1978 (1,700 of 43,000 total) to almost 12% in 2002 (6,600 of 56,400) —an increase of 8% in a quarter century or an average of less than .05% a year. In other words, ASNE had plenty of advance knowledge that parity would not be met.

And although editors sit on the accreditation council and its committees, the editors' organization paid no attention when journalism educators flaunted intent to circumvent accreditation standards. In 1990 the National Association of Black Journalists sought to reinvigorate diversification efforts and announced its intent to follow the accreditation process and, in particular, the re-accreditation of the journalism units that demonstrated little diversity. The University of Texas was up for review that year and came under careful scrutiny. But when NABJ documented false information supplied in its self-study, and even when the subsequent conflict made news, ASNE remained publicly silent, in effect signaling acquiescence to these actions.[91]

As a result of this highly visible conflict, minority faculty, many drawn to teaching by a desire to help integrate newsrooms, came to understand that if they ran into departmental disinterest or roadblocks in trying to address Standard 12, they needed their own seat belts. ASNE would not take on journalism education.

Ten years after the NABJ challenge, and 16 years after Standard 12 was adopted, the ACEJMC Diversity Committee announced plans to review and publish a "best-practices" manual describing successful diversity initiatives being used by accredited schools. This is an admirable project, but must be considered in context: there has been minimal gain over years of limp commitment by and to the accreditation organization while Standard 12 and Standard 3 remain the most frequently failed standards.

Furthermore, the "best practices" information risks falling into the same void as that of so many other studies cited here, and still others published and ignored. There exists a substantial record, for example, of studies pointing to wide discrepancies between minority perception of newsroom experiences and that of non-minority editors.[92] The attrition record puts tracks to the findings. For at least a decade, studies have documented problems within the academy for minority professors, the scarcity of courses to address the requirements of first Standard 12 and then, also, Standard 3. But no call to action resounded.

Findings of this study indicate that intellectual incestuousness warrants urgent consideration. Here one finds a pattern of overlapping memberships, evaluation materials, journal production and reward systems that remain within a tight segment of the aca-

demic and professional world—one of shared cultural and "professionalization" values.

This is perhaps the greatest obstacle to all forms of diversity.

Notes:

[1] ————————, (1983) *ASNE Bulletin*, "Minorities Committee Report," 399.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Richard Hall, *Organizations: Structures, Processes and Outcomes*, eighth edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2002); John Ivancevich and Michael Matteson, *Organizational Behavior and Management*, fourth edition, (NY: McGraw Hill, 1996); Susan E. Jackson and Associates, *Diversity in the Workplace* (NY: Guilford Press, 1992); Herbert Kaufman, *The Limits of Organizational Change* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1971); Marilyn Loden, *Implementing Diversity* (Chicago: Irwin Professional Publishing, 1996); Marilyn Loden and Judy Rosner, *Workforce America: Managing Employee Diversity as a Vital Resource* (NY: McGraw Hill, 1991); Audrey Mathews, *The Sum of the Differences: Diversity and Public Organization* (NY: McGraw Hill, 1999); Ann M. Morrison, *The New Leaders: Guidelines on Leadership Diversity in America* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1992); R. Roosevelt Thomas, Jr., *Beyond Race and Gender* (NY: America Management Association, 1991).

[4] Hall, 2002.

[5] Ivancevich and Matteson, 1996; Loden, 1996; Loden and Rosner, 1991; Matthews, 1999.

[6] Hall, 2002; Kaufman, 1971.

[7] _____, *Problems of Journalism: Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 1978, 405.

[8] Pamela Newkirk, *Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) 80.

[9] Ibid., 92.

[10] In addition to citations throughout this report, also see Matitas Valenzuela, "Expanding Coverage of Diversity Beyond Ethnicity and Race," *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, Vol. 53, 1999. News coverage of affirmative action almost exclusively focuses on race as the central issue, excluding women, Vietnam veterans and the disabled. See "White Man's Burden" by Janine Jackson, *Extra!* September/October 1995; "Spinning the Press," by Mikal Muharrar, *Extra!* May/June 1998; "Affirmative Action Coverage Ignores Women—and Discrimination: A six-month study of media coverage," by Janine Jackson, *Extra!* January/February 1999.

Although accreditation documents indicate that minorities are defined as those covered by federal affirmative action regulations, definitions have been inconsistent; often foreign nationals are counted as minorities for reporting purposes and international courses are considered to equate courses on U.S. minority groups. Studies show a variety of operative definitions within journalism course work, as perceived by students and educators. See, for example, a study by Matitas Valenzuela. For an extensive discussion of this, see especially Carmen L. Manning-Miller and Karen Brown Dunlap, "The Move Toward Pluralism in Journalism and Mass Communication Education," *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, Spring 2002.

[11] Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) 61.

[12] Clint Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez, *Race, Multiculturalism and the Media*,

(Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995) 23. In response to these remarks and others on national television to host David Frost, the 11minority journalists, then members of the editorial staff at the *Times* asked for a meeting with Chandler. This was granted with the proviso that we not raise issues related to hiring. A two hour discussion followed in which we raised many issues, including hiring. But little changed.

[13] For the earliest work on this concept see Warren Breed, (1955) "Socialization in the Newsroom," in *Social Forces*, Vol. 3. However, a number of scholars contribute to this concept, including Herbert Altschull, Michael Parenti and Mort Rosenblum.

[14] Newkirk, 80.

[15] A significant body of scholarship defines these values including that of Herbert Altschull, Derrick Bell, Christopher Campbell, Ellis Close, Herbert Gans, Oscar Gandy, Felix Gutierrez, Jonathan Kwitny, Mark Pedelty and Clint Wilson II.

[16] Betty Medsger, *Winds of Change: Challenges Confronting Journalism Education* (Arlington: Freedom Forum, 1996) 7.

[17] At the University of Texas at Austin one older black graduate student, convinced by professors that the experience would improve her resume, borrowed against her home to take an unpaid summer internship at a New York network affiliate. A few years later, burdened by additional debt, it remained unclear just what advantage this provided beyond having been able to serve coffee to some of the best known names in the business and polishing her clerical skills.

[18] ————(1983) *ASNE – 1984: Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 400.

[19] ————(1984) *ASNE—1985: Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 183.

[20] American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation, *Proceedings: Education for Newspaper Journalists in the Seventies and Beyond* (Reston, VA, 1973) 347.

[21] *The News* of Southport, Massachusetts became *The Southport Evening News* in 2001.

[22] These figures include the staff for the Spanish-language publication produced in a shared newsroom.

[23] Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication handbooks, 1987–91.

[24] Vernon Stone, "Survey Shows Little Change for Minorities or Women," *RTNDA Communicator*, June, 1984, 36.

[25] Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication handbooks, 1992–97

[26] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968) 389.

[27] Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication handbook, 1997.

[28] History of accreditation records provided by ACEJMC.

[29] Accrediting Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication guidelines, 1996–2003.

[30] "History of Recommendations for Accreditation Status," records supplied by ACEJMC.

[31] Fact-checking conversation with staff by research assistant Chuck Halloran. May 20, 2002.

[32] Telephone conversation with research assistant Chuck Halloran, May 20, 2002.

[33] Medsger, 7.

[34] Ibid.

[35] E-K. Daufin, "Minority Faculty Job Experience, Expectations and

Satisfaction," *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, Spring 2001, Vol. 56, No. 1, 19; Medsger, 21.

[36] Carmen Manning-Miller and Karen Dunlap, "Diversity 2000: The Move Toward Pluralism in Journalism and Mass Communication," Study funded by the AEJMC Oversight Commission on Diversity, No. 15.

[37] Ibid., 26-27.

[38] Ibid., 21.

[39] Gene Burd, "Minorities in Reporting Texts: Before and After the 1968 Kerner Report," *Mass Communication. Review,* 1988, Vol. 15, Nos. 2 and 3 (combined), (Kerner Plus 20 Special Issue), pp 45-60, 68.

[40] Kenneth Starck and Roshelle Wyffels, "Seeking Intercultural Dimensions in Textbooks," *Journalism Educator*, Autumn 1990, Vol. 45, No. 3.

[41] Lee B. Becker, Aswin Punathambekar and Jisu Huh, *Evaluating the Outcomes of Diversification Initiatives: Stability and Change in Journalism & Mass Communication Faculties, 1989–1998* (Athens, GA: James M. Cox Jr. Center, University of Georgia, 2001).

[42] John Gabriel, *Whitewash* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 24.

[43] Gabriel, 40.

[44] Jonathan Raban, "Here We Go Again," *The Guardian*, December 11, 2002.

[45] Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, "Crossed Wires: U.S. Newspaper Construction of Outside 'Others,' the Case of Latinos," unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1996.

[46] Kevin Begos, "Against Their Will: North Carolina's Sterilization Program," *Winston-Salem Journal, 2002*.

[47] J. Fiske, *Media Matters: everyday culture and political change,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994) 49.

[48] Gabriel, 40-42.

[49] J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy* (New York: Longman, 1995) 379.

[50] Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces*, 1955, V3, 437.

[51] William McGowan, *Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism,* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2001) 31.

[52] William Yeingst and Lonnie G. Bunch, "Curating the Recent Past: The Woolworth Lunch Counter, Greensboro, North Carolina," *Exhibiting Dilemmas: Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian*, Amy Henderson and Adrienne L. Kaeppler, eds. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1997) 153.

[53] Gabriel, 15.

[54] Derrick Bell, "Forward," *Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media*, Pamela Newkirk (New York: New York University Press, 2000), x.

[55] Bell, x.

[56] Richard Hall, *Organizations: Structures, Processes and Outcomes*, eighth edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2002); John Ivancevich and Michael Matteson, *Organizational Behavior and Management*, fourth edition, (NY: McGraw Hill, 1996); Susan E. Jackson and Associates, *Diversity in the Workplace* (NY: Guilford Press, 1992); Herbert Kaufman, *The Limits of Organizational Change* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1971); Marilyn Loden, Implementing Diversity (Chicago: Irwin Professional Publishing, 1996); Marilyn Loden and Judy Rosner, *Workforce America: Managing Employee Diversity as a Vital Resource* (NY: McGraw Hill, 1991); Audrey Mathews, *The Sum of the Differences: Diversity and Public Organization* (NY: McGraw Hill, 1999); Ann M. Morrison, *The New Leaders: Guidelines on Leadership Diversity in America* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1992); R. Roosevelt

Thomas, Jr., *Beyond Race and Gender* (NY: America Management Association, 1991).

[57] Thomas, Jr., 7.

[58] Commission on Freedom of the Press, *A Free and Responsible Press* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947; Midway Reprint, 1974) 6.

[59] It should be noted that the alternative press has also been justifiably criticized for its non-integrated newsrooms. These have often been described as bastions of white male liberalism where journalists rail against racial injustice on behalf of those they have excluded.

[60] Clayton P. Alderfer, "Changing Race Relations Embedded in Organizations: Report on a Long-Term Project with XYZ Corporation," *Diversity in the Workplace*, Susan E. Jackson and Associates, ed. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1992) 141.

[61] Perhaps one of the most widely discussed examples of this is the case of *Tejas*, a low-budget University of Texas journalism classroom publication of diverse voice for an interdisciplinary course. I created the publication in a J359 Community Journalism course in 1989 in a response to a plea by representatives of 15 Latino campus organizations. These students complained that campus media was not inclusive. The history of the publication and its early obstacles and triumphs are described in my article "Demonstrations in Intellectual Diversity: Applied Theory to Campus Press Hegemony," which can be found in *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections,* edited by Donna Allen, Ramona R. Rush and Susan J. Kaufman.

The course began as an attempt to attract minority students from across the campus to explore journalism. The *Tejas* masthead noted its intent to recruit writers from across disciplines for diverse newsrooms. In 1996, it published a series that earned the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Award for Outstanding Journalism. Within months, the chair of the department initiated a secret plan to eliminate the publication and to terminate the lecturer—a journalist with more than 20 years of professional experience who had worked in the department seven years. In that capacity he had won the 1994 Teaching Excellence Award; his teaching evaluations consistently ranked among the very highest in the department. This was done without my knowledge although I had pioneered the publication and continued to work closely with it. This plan, which was laid out in a series of e-mails available through FOIA and which claimed the support of the dean of the college and a Latino vice–provost, was eventually leaked. Neither the dean nor the vice–provost ever denied the e-mail allegations.

The publication, which had served as a model at Poynter Institute workshops and for other universities, was terminated. (Among those publications it inspired is *Native Directions*, which is still produced at the University of North Dakota and supported by the Knight Foundation.) Several years prior to its termination, *Tejas* diversity was described by UT President Berdahl in a keynote speech as a "model of the future newsroom." It was frequently featured in education and professional conferences and its success was described in a 1997 *Quill* cover story. Job recruiters with major mainstream press often called ahead to seek candidates for interviews.

This experience, in which a product was eliminated that appeared to address those criteria defined as ASNE objectives and ACEJMC standards, provides an example of why efforts to work toward a more diverse press

needs greater, active professional and educational support. Although this history tells a tale in which I have a vested interest, it is included because it well demonstrates how the burden of change falls on the shoulders of minorities alone. This situation has also been described in presentations for an AEJMC panel at its annual conference in 2000. No note of its absence or inquiry about its well being was ever received from the organizations who say that they are most interested in diverse newsrooms. However, the *Wall St. Journal* and its DOW education projects were actively supportive throughout its tenure.

[62] Morrison, 6.

[63] Lee B. Becker, George L. Daniels, Jisu Huh, Tudor Vlad, The Role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Hispanic-Serving Institutions in Journalism Education: Supplemental Report to the 2001 Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments and 2001 Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication, James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research, University of Georgia, August 2002.

[64] Lee B. Becker, Aswin Punathambekar and Jisu Huh, 10

[65] Ibid., 6.

[66] Census report by Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.

[67] Lee B. Becker, Aswin Punathambekar and Jisu Huh, 8-10.

[68] Medsger, 5-26.

[69] Lee B. Becker, Aswin Punathambekar and Jisu Huh, 7.

[70] Lee B. Becker, Tudor Vlad, Jisu Huh and Joelie Prine, "2000 Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, Vol. 56, No. 3, Autumn 2001, 28–60.

[71] Thomas, Jr., 38.

[72] The two most cited books are *Race, Multiculturalism and the Media* by Clint Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez, and *Facing Difference* by Shirley Biagi and Marilyn Kern-Foxworth. The former, which expands upon the earlier *Minorities and Media*, provides a light historical survey of minority contributions to mass media history. The latter is a collection of studies, surveys and articles across a broad topical area related to minority experiences.

[73] For the past 25 years, a group of professional journalists and professors working through the department of sociology at the School of Social Sciences at Sonoma State University in California have mounted Project Censored. Together with community experts, research interns, funders, peer judges, staff and students, journalists and educators publish an annual collection of the twenty-five most overlooked newsworthy stories of the year. Each example includes sources and other fact-checking data.

[74] This is well documented in material produced by FAIR (For Accuracy in Reporting) for its publication *Extra!,* and in a wide range of academic journal articles.

[75] Challenges to the state's affirmative action laws were organized by University of California Regent Ward Connerly and others. Connerly, an African-American, had spearheaded a successful drive to eliminate affirmative action in California before moving the anti-affirmative action campaign to Washington. In response, *The Seattle Times* mounted a year-long investigative project to examine the role of affirmative action in their state. Using ground-breaking computer assisted reporting, they tracked its record to the surprising result that veterans, overwhelmingly white males, were the greatest benefactors of

affirmative action policies in the State of Washington. See 1999 cover story of *Newswatch* for complete description of *Seattle Times* role, including that of publisher Frank Blethen.

[76] The success of white women through affirmative action is well documented in mainstream media.

[77] FAIR called early attention to this trend in their publication *Extra!*, September/October, 1995, wherein Janne Jackson wrote "White Man's Burden: How the Press Frames Affirmative Action."

[78] To examine curriculum, researchers made a call for syllabi used to provide evidence of compliance with Standard 12. Professors were then asked to indicate whether these courses were required or optional. Syllabi that urged students to include diversity in their work, but assigned no material or lectures relevant to diversity or integrated content, were not considered as inclusive of diversity. In some cases, optional courses fulfilled a university requirement that all undergraduate students take one course related to diversity to earn a degree. However, journalism students did not have to take a journalism course or any specific course to fulfill this requirement. In many cases selections could include ancient history or music, which while valuable are not clearly related to enriched coverage of a diverse population.

[79] Felicia Jones Ross and Jamila P. Patton, "The Nature of Journalism Courses Devoted to Diversity," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, Spring 2000, Vol. 55, No. 1.

[80] Matias Venezuela, "Expanding Coverage of Diversity Beyond Ethnicity and Race," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 1999, Vol. 53.

[81] Medsger, 41.

[82] Daufin, 25.

[83] Phillip G. Altbach and Kofi Lomotey, *The Racial Crisis*, 168, as quoted in E-K Daufin, 21.

[84] Robert Moreno, "Standard 12 and the Myth of Latino Journalism Education," *Twelve* (Publication of the AEJMC Commission on the Status of Minorities),1992.

[85] Medsger, 34-39.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Thomas, Jr., 36. Also see Morrison.

[89] Lee B. Becker, Aswin Punathambekar and Jisu Huh, 4.

[90] Ibid., 17.

[91] In providing evidence of compliance with Standard 12 in 1990, three years after I joined the UT faculty, data purporting to document minority faculty participation in the department was misstated and a course that had not been taught in 15 years was listed. When local NABJ members and their education committee expressed concern, they did not receive direct response. Eventually this matter garnered the attention of the National Association of Black Journalists and of the media. As criticism grew, the chair of the department created a Standard 12 Committee and named Professor Steve Reese as its chair. One brief meeting was held before the department accreditation report made its way through the ACEJMC committee review. Controversy over information provided in the report led to a confrontation between representatives of NABJ, journalism chair Dr. Maxwell McCombs and the Accreditation Council. The department was found not to be in violation of Standard 12. ACEJMC President Richard Cole later told NABJ members and this report's author that there was no regulation in the accreditation process that addressed problems caused by discrepancies in reporting. This matter was discussed

in "Standard 12 and the Myth of Latino Journalism Education," by Roberto L. Moreno in the 1992 issue of *Twelve,* a publication by AEJMC Commission on the Status of Minorities. Mention of these events appears also in the April, 1992 issue of *Quill*.

Although members of ASNE sit on the AEJMC council where compliance with Standard 12 was challenged, no known action or position was taken by ASNE.

After re-accreditation, regional representatives of NABJ continued to press UT's Department of Journalism for commitment to Standard 12. In a meeting with regional members, the department agreed to take 11 steps toward this aim through its Standard 12 Committee. This body, however, held no more meetings until three years later when then-NABJ President Dorothy Gulliam called then-chair Dr. Reese for a progress report. At that point the department had fulfilled one of the 11 steps by hiring two minority professors, both alumni of the department. In 1998, the department hired another minority professor, also an alumni. Until 2002, with one exception, the department had never hired a minority faculty member who was not an alumnus. In response to this situation said one former chair, "We need to hire people who know how to get along with us."

In 2002, the dean of the College of Communication hired Lorraine Branham, an African-American with significant professional experience, to head the unit (now called a "school"). At the time, the only African American female faculty member, an associate professor of the department, was suing the College and UT for racial discrimination. And I, the only other female associate professor, also a minority, had filed a grievance against the department for hostile environment. Between 2000 and 2001, one-half of the female faculty, three assistant professors, had left. These matters were brought to the attention of the 2003 accreditation team. The department was found to be in compliance with Standard 12 in its 2003 accreditation site visit.

[92] See "Muted Voices: Frustration and Fear in the Newsroom" by NABJ, 1995, and "Women Journalists of Color: Present Without Power" by International Women's Media Foundation, 1999, for recent examples.


?
Journalism
Educa
Diversity

5 Intellectual Diversity:
Overlooked and Undervalued

My job, I feel, is like a daily assault on my integrity, my sense of self, who I am. Every day I have to justify myself, my ideas, the people I write about, to a bunch of people who don't care—a bunch of white folks who assume they're superior solely on the basis of their skin color.

At work I am treated like a great, big, intimidating Negress, so I spend half my time trying to make myself nonthreatening, even though I'm not really threatening, so the Caucasians can deal with me—even though it's not really me they are threatened by, it's their image of me. I mean, actually, I'm a really nice person, a softie. I wear my feelings on my sleeve. Is that so wrong? I feel like a criminal every day I go to work because I love myself and I love African-American people. I really feel if I don't get away, I'll go berserk… Jill Nelson, reporter for the Washington Post[1]

In 2001, nearly a hundred more minority journalists left print newsrooms than were hired that year (698 and 600, respectively). The 2002 ASNE figures for minorities show a percentage gain, but only because the numbers of non-minority journalists fell. The actual number of minority journalists remained the same. The figures provided by the Radio and Television News Directors Association fell slightly. Although the drain is quantifiable, once these experienced minority journalists leave newsrooms, no discernable industry or professional development organization seeks specifically to re-recruit these resources.

Mainstream publications attribute their departure to the lure of higher pay and better job offers elsewhere. But other evidence suggests that minorities also move away from an unchanging perception of how to cover news, an unaddressed continuing gap in minority vs. white perceptions of news, and a traditionalist newsroom culture where they find little opportunity, recognition or reward.

What is needed besides an understanding of personal diversity founded on biological identities of race, ethnicity and gender, is intellectual diversity. This remains a much overlooked definition of diversity— a comprehensive grasp of information drawn from

"…you cannot absolve white people from educating themselves," said an African-American editor of a newspaper responding to this study. "You cannot have a newsroom of clueless white people and then put the burden on people of color to educate white people."

a wide spectrum of histories, ideas and socio-economic experiences that provides context to the variety of life's events. To generate such diversity requires intellectual independence, a quality too often missing in both journalism education and newsroom routine.

Problems related to minority recruitment and retention reach back to the classroom, where a largely unresponsive academic culture hampers intellectual evolution. Here a disconnect between newsroom needs and journalism education contributes to an unchanged newsroom environment. But other factors maintain a workplace resistant to diversity inclusion. At least four central issues contribute to this situation: (1) traditional mono-cultural newsroom, (2) lack of intellectual diversity, (3) absence of context in news product and (4) cultural, social and knowledge distance from a growing sector of the nation.

Traditional Mono-Cultural Newsroom

Herein perhaps lies the greatest obstacle to diversity. We are what we think— and in newsrooms we too frequently think alike. For most of us the path to journalism is similar; our social backgrounds and intellectual preparation remains largely predictable. Part of the problem lies in traditional perceptual filters, even among the most well-meaning individuals: if a system or method seems rational and fair, it is judged to be so. But the filters are generated in a white world with a class bias that prevails through schooling. What one acquires along the way is "cultural capital"—common unquestioned values.

Compounding the problems of perspective are those of socialization. As Warren Breed noted almost 50 years ago, a fledgling journalist "like a neophyte in any subculture...discovers and internalizes the rights and obligations of his status and its norms and values."[2] This induction assures continuity in the fabric of the product—endurance of the culture that media constructs and through which it defines objectivity.

"Objectivity is a mechanism for ensuring the status quo."[3] Given the whiteness of journalism education, this is especially true where minority issues are concerned. We write best about those matters we know most, so press content tends to become a variation on redundancy. It is not that journalists intend to exclude roughly a third of the constituents in the nation—those the Census reports as racial or ethnic minorities. But even when difference is claimed as a goal, the consensus factor plays a strong role in the definitions of newsworthiness. But difference, or diversity, collides with these assumptions, generating friction among information, knowledge and experience. It is one thing to be aware of minority experi-

Figure 1.

DIVERSITY

Physical

- genetic base
- census driven

Intellectual

- information base
- knowledge driven

Individual

- diversity vested in person

Organizational

- diversity vested in collective

ences, it is another to live them. "At best, however, information is not knowledge, and it is a fatal error to mistake one for the other."[4] We see through the eyes of our history.

Or, as Professor Theodore Glasser explains, the assumption that there are accurate or objective facts is rooted in "the belief in the possibility and ultimately the superiority of a permanent, transcendent, universal and objective knowledge that can 'represent' the world as it really is…that there is a finally 'right' way to know ourselves and the world in which we live." This, he explains (drawing on philosophy and Walter Lippman), is impossible because "there are no privileged sites from which to judge whether we have achieved an 'accurate' or 'correct correspondence.'"[5]

For breaking stories about minorities, most reporters cannot draw from a well of information. When minorities make their way into news stories, much is shaped by entrenched newsroom conviction rather than real knowledge born from experience or saturation in the subject, as it is when we report white middle-class America, which is largely presented as ubiquitous.

"Thirty-five years ago people assumed that if you had people of color or women in decision-making positions, things would get solved. A diverse decision-making group serves to have better and deeper coverage, but you cannot absolve white people from educating themselves," said an African-American editor of a newspaper responding to this study. "You cannot have a newsroom of clueless white people and then put the burden on people of color to educate white people."

An ability to succeed in newsrooms too often requires adhering to entrenched definitions of newsworthiness. As veteran journalist Warren Breed pointed out in his now classic 1955 article "Social Control in the Newsroom," staffers said they learned what was expected "by osmosis," reading their papers daily as a guide to "norms."[6] This circular reinforcement continues. (Figs. 2 and 7) Concluded Breed, "There is no one factor which creates conformity mindedness, unless we resort to a summary term such as 'institutionalized statuses' or 'structural

"It is a grave matter to be forced to imitate a people for whom you know…you do not exist."

Derrick Bell

Figure 2.

Editor/News Director Pursuit of Mainstream vs. Diverse Perspectives

Percent Attended Workshops	
Across All Workshops	*Diversity Workshops*
79%	*51%*

Percent Members in Professional Journalism Associations	
Across Associations	*Race-Ethnicity Specific Associations*
72%	*14%*

Percent Who Read Particular Types of Publications (Aside from Trade Journals)			
Mainstream Pubs.	*Conservative Pubs.*	*Progressive Pubs.*	*Race-Ethnicity Targeted Pubs.*
96%	*16%*	*12%*	*5%*

Percent Who Consume Particular Types of News Programming				
Anchor-Style News	*Talking Heads*	*News TV Magazines*	*NPR*	*PBS*
85%	*38%*	*33%*	*25%*	*15%*

n = 122

So ingrained are these values in the fabric of newsroom culture that they have become like the air one breathes—invisible to the eye, but critical to survival.

Visible differences "serve as a proxy, and I would argue a crude proxy, for ideas."

Peter Bell

roles'."[7] These are key components of cultural maintenance.

Learning by osmosis means adapting to models that define success or, in the case of newsworthiness, by mirroring that which exists. But for many minorities, the cost is high. "It is a grave matter to be forced to imitate a people for whom you know…you do not exist."[8] But it is often the price of survival, law professor Derrick Bell reminds us. Studies show, in fact, that even senior minority decision makers hesitate to raise these matters.[9] Yet until newsrooms can confront and discuss the issues among themselves, the assumption that they can report them anywhere with insight is false.

Shared definitions of newsworthiness—anchored in shared cultural experience—build consensus, which helps assure smooth newsroom routine. Consensus eases newsroom functions. "Many stories virtually sell themselves," observed noted media sociologist Herbert Gans in the 1980s, "for buyers and sellers are, after all, fellow-journalists with a common conception of newsworthiness."[10] Newsrooms still operate in these same ways. An intellectual "whiteliness" affects the thought process by maintaining the norm.[11]

As noted earlier, Bell says, "Even being taken seriously requires major effort when our views differ from those who by their majority status presume to know best." He describes the plight of any black professional—and by extension, any minority journalist.[12] Consensus also serves as a form of imposed conformity useful in maintaining traditional news values. So ingrained are these values in the fabric of newsroom culture that they have become like the air one breathes—invisible to the eye, but critical to survival. Those who remain in newsrooms may most reflect an ability to conform, at least professionally—to wear a necessary facade of sameness.

"It's hard to envision an ethical paper without seeking diversity—seeking qualified individuals who reflect diversity. [The tendency of] only hiring the 'whitest' blacks has to change. We have to get real diversity of thought, not skin color," observed one minority respondent.

The work of Herbert Gans foreshadowed problems for integrated newsrooms. His decade-long studies of news content in two leading news publications and two major networks revealed in 1979 that among the ten strongest values in news content, ethnocentrism—judging the value of others according to how similar they are to one's self, culture and value system—ranked first.[13] More recent work echoes his conclusions about the ethnocentricity of content and may also provide greater insight to the growing exodus of minority journalists from American newsrooms.[14]

Gans's findings were published about the time the American Society of Newspapers Editors began to call for greater demographic diversity within the working press. Yet Gans and ASNE provide a snapshot of cross-purposes operating within the news industry. Gans examined news values and functions that underpin the news product, while ASNE suggested a goal at cross purposes with those values.

ASNE advocated the inclusion of minorities, which would require a change of newsroom culture in order to improve coverage of underrepresented communities. But the attempt failed to address the conflicts and ambiguities of cultural change. "The argument for diversity based on representation…at its core, presupposes that persons of the same race or gender think alike because of shared experiences of racism and sexism," says Peter Bell, an African-American business executive quoted in *Elements of Journalism*. Visible differences "serve as a proxy, and I would argue a crude proxy, for ideas."[15] This proxy is, in effect, a color coding where race or ethnicity serves as indication of diversity, regardless of perspective.

Both Gans and ASNE focused on critical aspects of the press, but they came from different directions. In 1978, Gans studied the culture that was there; that year ASNE

Definitions of Diversity & Ethics Linkages

Significant differences were found in what elements of diversity were emphasized by male versus female Editors.

Figure 3.

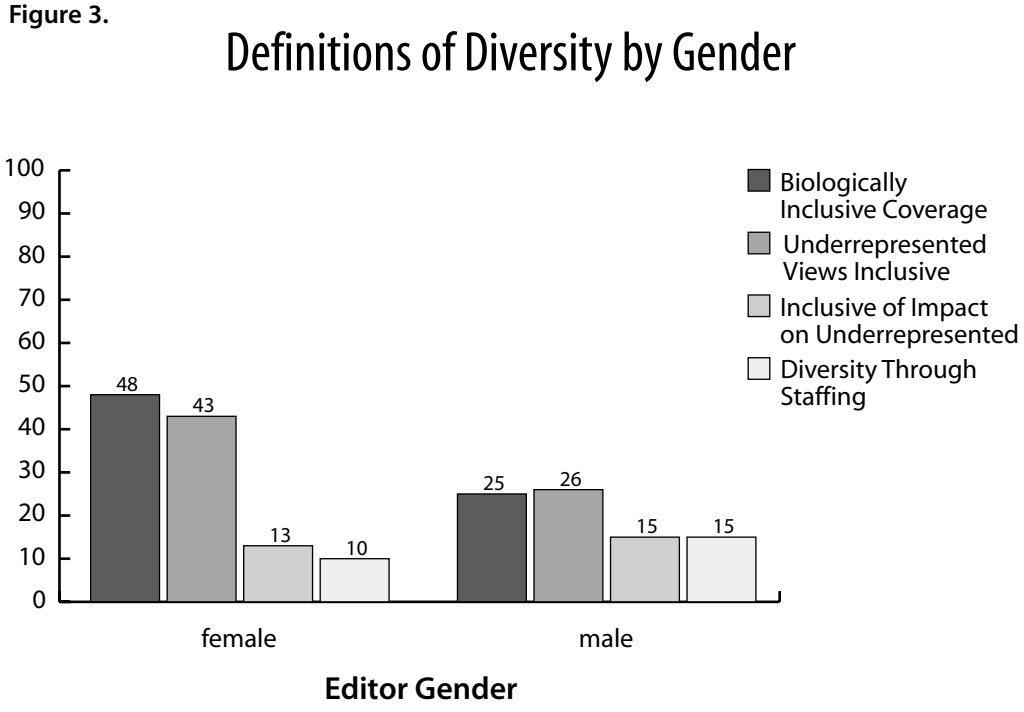
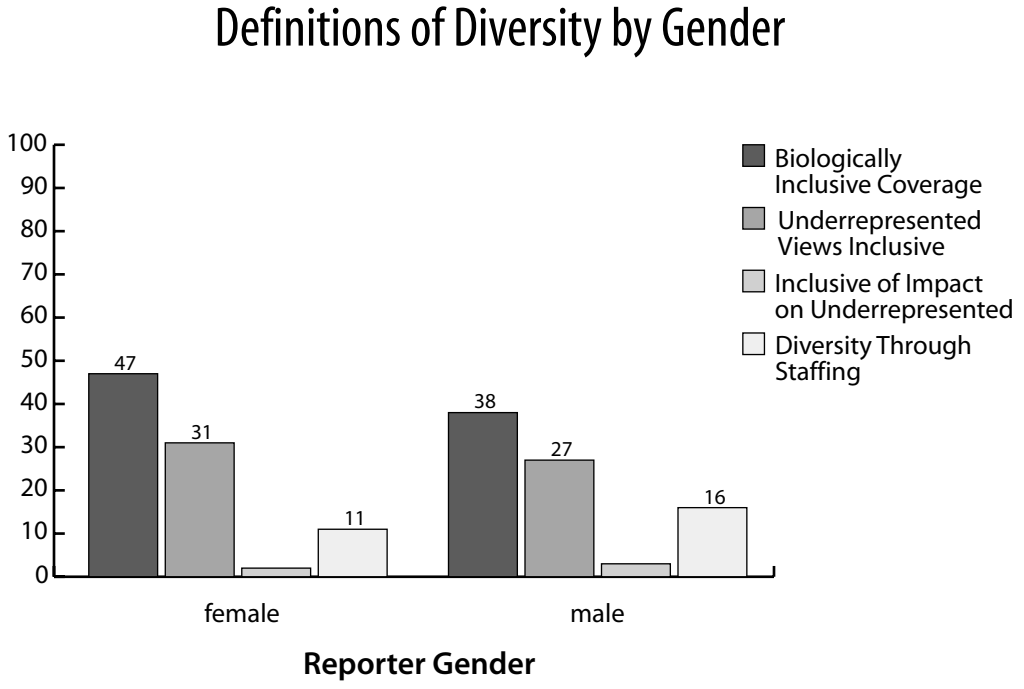


Figure 4.



Only 14% of editors/news directors belong to race or ethnic-specific professional associations, 5% read general race or ethnic targeted publications—96% read mainstream press.

proposed bringing about changes called for by critics without considering the culture.

"They (the news media) must make a reality of integration—in both their product and their personnel," concluded the Kerner Commission in its 1968 report.[16] The 1978 ASNE plan addressed the personnel mandate with affirmative action advocacy. But the product content reflecting the culture of its origins went largely unaddressed.

Decision makers in the press originally assumed that despite demographic changes, generating new sources or topics, it would be largely business as usual. The continued strength of that conviction is indicated in a number of this report's findings. A gap appears between the intellectual, professional and social activities in which reporters and editors/news directors participate, and the diversity goals which they say they support. Diversity discussions by participants apparently did not stimulate curiosity or the pursuit of diverse perspectives. Only 14% of editors/news directors belong to race or ethnic-specific professional associations, 5% read general race or ethnic targeted publications—96% read mainstream press. (Fig.1)

Reinforcement of the familiar is repetitive; diverse insight remains remote or mediated by others. Self-education on less familiar points of view does not appear to be a high priority. Even alternative publications, which revolve around intellectual diversity and less familiar perspectives, are not used as tools: only 12% of editors/news directors read progressive publications and 16% read conservative perspectives. (Fig. 2) The rest read each other. This circular reassurance contributes both to an unwarranted newsroom overconfidence and a resistance to hear criticism or accept new ideas.

Findings in this survey repeatedly indicate that non-minority editors/news directors and reporters are not engaged in the sort of self-education that would share accountability for diverse content among all members of the newsroom. Although organizations that serve the press offer a number of workshop activities with excellent discussions and exercises, they are brief and topical. The intellectual depth required for real change is not possible with this design. However unintentionally, the lopsided commitment generates minority frustrations not unlike those experienced by Sisyphus, whom Greek mythology condemned to push a boulder uphill over and over again only to see it roll down once it almost reached the top.

Within the past twenty-five years this sort of neglect is common—even in newsrooms supposedly diversified. Those journalists who see or know differently are too often considered suspect or dismissed. Entrenched perceptions led to repeating coverage patterns that draw upon a shared pool of resources, definitions and advantages.

Newsrooms do not draw upon minority audience publications in an attempt to broaden definitions of newsworthiness. (Fig. 2) Survey respondents named no ethnic or alternative publications as routine or occasional reading material, even though some excellent ones have been available for some time. The cross pollination evident among mainstream products does not extend to other venues.

Among the most visible recent casualties was *Emerge*, the nation's only black news weekly. It folded after nine years when its publisher decided in 2000 to invest instead in entertainment media. The magazine had never acquired high circulation rates, despite an African-American population of more than 20 million and a total national broadcast and print press corps of more than 80,000.

Edited by George Curry, former bureau chief at the *Chicago Tribune, Emerge* included quality writing by some of the nation's leading mainstream black journalists, often providing cutting-edge, tough coverage of black political and social life. Many of the articles that appeared in *Emerge* had been first submitted to and rejected by white editors.[17] So it may not be surprising that not a single white news editor/director surveyed mentioned *Emerge* among the publications that

he or she read. It is another indication, however, of narrow newsroom intellectual engagement with diversity. This despite the fact that Curry often participated in diversity workshops and half the editors surveyed had attended such workshops. It appears that although Curry interacted in predominantly non-minority forums, he and his product were mostly invisible.

Intellectual segregation makes it hard to introduce ideas that are different because their unfamiliarity makes them seem comparatively out of sync, or even extreme—even if they are commonplace within minority communities. This in turn weakens the knowledge reservoir that we take for granted when thinking about the majority community, whose history, culture and heroes are the familiar norm. "We are sometimes out of touch with attitudes and issues in minority communities," said one African-American reporter surveyed at a major paper in a highly diverse urban area, "We either miss or are surprised by these issues."

"I think the biggest issue in the paper is class, economic class," said one African-American editor. "The example that comes to mind immediately is when we write about community college. When you read the stories a tone comes with them says that we, our reporters, don't think much of community colleges or the people who go there. Then you read a story about…an Ivy League school and you don't get that sense…We seem to be amazed that people at a community college can attain things."

Moreover, systems expected to draw in others too often disproportionately reinforce inequity. Minorities still go on to higher education in lesser numbers. Consider what happens along the way in journalism education. Minority students who must work long hours have less time to spend in unpaid work on a college paper or broadcast sites. Socialization to difference in the campus newsroom setting becomes minimal. Internships are often unpaid, especially within the broadcast industry, or require the sort of prior experience that one commonly acquires on college media. Minorities who make it through this maze tend to be middle-class or affluent, assured by cultural as well as economic capital. This pattern continues along a spectrum from student to faculty—often with a tight commitment to "traditional standards" and less interest in perceptual variety. Despite industry calls for integration, an accumulation of disadvantages limits the possibility for working class minorities.

Within newsrooms there is a subtext of different points of view, even about shared environments. Every significant survey that compares perception of shared newsroom experiences between white managers and minority journalists charts widely contra-

63% of reporters say that diversity context is provided only through the editing process; 62% of editors/news directors concur.

Figure 5.

Editor/News Director & Reporter-Identified Obstacles to Diversification

Diversification Obstacles	Editors n = 122	Reporters n = 491
Staffing is not adequate to diversify coverage	61%	34%
Generating representative portrayals is problematic in attempts to diversify coverage	45%	15%
Editor input is the only help provided in developing appropriate context for diverse coverage	62%	63%
No help is provided in developing appropriate context for diverse coverage	27%	30%

"If you look at how old we are, and if you look in a staff roster of where we live, you know that we are going to be out of touch with a lot of reality," said one African-American newspaper editor.

dictory views.[18] Out of touch with their own realities, how can these newsrooms expect expanded definitions of newsworthiness?

Asked directly if there were obstacles in the newsroom to diversity, 60% of editors/news directors and 70% of reporters surveyed said that there were no obstacles. In fact, only 16% of editors/news directors and 5% of reporters said there was a need for more minority journalists. However, in open-ended responses, 61% of editors/news directors and 34% of reporters cited staff issues, including a need for more minority journalists. (Fig. 5) Among more complex issues, 45% of editors/news directors said that ensuring representative portrayals of underrepresented groups was problematical. Only 15% of reporters noted portrayal as a problem. This may be because 63% of reporters say that diversity context is provided only through the editing process; 62% of editors/news directors concur. Virtually all of the remaining reporters (30%) say that there is no help provided to develop context in diversity stories; 27% of editors/news directors agree. (Fig. 5)

A homogeneity that denies race, class and gender conflict through the use of content and sources, constructs and extends a narrow norm. Sources that differ biologically too often serve to echo the predominant point of view, with at best, token exception. The result is, in fact, ideological. This is evident in the "framing" of news content. "Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse whether verbal or visual."[19] In other words, news stories are constructed in ways that repeat traditional patterns of understanding. In newsrooms where the overwhelming majority is white,[20] a corresponding world view remains entrenched.

Newsrooms construct and maintain a belief system that supports a particular set of values and the power that maintains their validity. This can effectively eliminate diversity regardless of the race, ethnicity, class or gender of the bylined author.[21]

Socialization is much easier to maintain when those in the group are pre-socialized by virtue of similar backgrounds, education, generation, gender, class, race and perspective. Of the 613 journalists, editors and news directors interviewed, more than half had 20 years experience or more. Moving through highly homogeneous institutions and social experiences prior to becoming journalists, then working their way though a culturally entrenched news career ladder, most members of the press share compatible world views.

"If you look at how old we are, and if you look in a staff roster of where we live, you know that we are going to be out of touch with a lot of reality," said one African-American newspaper editor.

Or in the words of one *Los Angeles Times* editor, talking symbolically about the environment of easy comradeship, "We all grew up in the same neighborhood." Peer expectations curb difference. The proof is in the product.

> Three factors contribute to the absence of challenges. First there is the educational system under which journalists learn to adopt those goals and values as their own. Second the hiring process weeds out nearly all those who might be likely to raise challenges. And third, those rebels who make it through the first two screening processes are pressured into conformity either by their colleagues or by their own wish to rise up the ladder. Desirable assignments go to those who make a minimum of waves.[22]

When the Kerner Commission concluded in 1968 that the press projected a white perspective, they called for a change in product and newsrooms that necessitated cultural change and intellectual challenge. But for the Kerner recommendations to have worked, wrote former journalist Pamela

Newkirk three decades later, minority hires would need, "the freedom to reflect ideas and attitudes that could contest mainstream—meaning white—thought. The hiring of African-Americans would mean that the assumptions of white America could be challenged from within the very institution that reflected and sustained America's identity as a white nation."[23] Instead, she noted, "the burden to conform fell squarely on the lone black in the newsroom."[24]

This is not surprising. Herbert Altschull points out in *Agents of Power*, that regardless of the political system within which it operates, the news media serve to reinforce the status quo. Until the 1960s, in the United States that meant systems of both legislated and *de facto* segregation. Today only the latter remains. The civil rights movement eliminated the legal protection of segregation, but changing the cultural nuances of institutionalized racism remains difficult. Indeed, the conceptual tools that permit us to recognize and understand racism are still evolving. This is true in both newsrooms and journalism education.

At first, many people thought that numbers alone defined integration that, by adding a demographic mix to the workplace and the university, racism would be eliminated. It was perhaps a reasonable first assumption. If racism depended upon exclusion, then inclusion would remove the problem. The first discrimination lawsuits and professional census projects supported this premise. How many of what kind of Americans could be found in a given work site? Affirmative action addressed numbers. It also meant slicing the same size pie for different distribution. But except for defending these hiring practices on the grounds of social justice, affirmative action ignores the intellectual, economic and political aspects of power redistribution that territorial changes imply.

This was a particularly unwise strategy for the press, because it had never dealt significantly with race relations, a situation that remained unchanged even after the Kerner Commission criticized this press practice. "Along with the country as a whole, the press has too long basked in a white world looking out of it, if at all, with white men's eyes and a white perspective. That is no longer good enough."[25]

Media convey definitions of reality both expressed and implicit. Upon these definitions cultural "truths" are constructed and maintained. But too often they defeat diversity. "The ultimate goal of newsroom diversity is to create an intellectually mixed environment where everyone holds firm to the idea of journalistic independence."[26] But, said one white West Coast reporter, "Lip service is paid to diversity—a commodified bandwagon notion. Not a genuine attempt to understand different experiences. It's political posturing."

Ironically, as ASNE called for greater newsroom inclusion, the industry began to compress ownership and seek greater product uniformity. In 1983, 50 corporations held almost all media products; by 1987 the figure was down to 27. Today there are 10 major media corporations.[27] Accuracy was often perceived as a matter of similarity among news stories produced by various media sites. This also pressures, however subtly, against diversity both of content and perspective. Along the way, the recognition that we can all be ethical journalists without being uniform in content or conclusions weakens or disappears. "While a quiet and homogeneous newsroom may be easier to manage, the larger and more abstract interests of a news company require a culture that is more complex than that."[28]

So during the quarter century that ASNE called for diversity, two situations worked against its success in both broadcast and print newsrooms: first, they faced the resistance of an ethnocentric newsroom culture. And second this was compounded by conformity sought by ownership compression. There is, as veteran journalists Bill Kovach and Tom Rosensteil point out, a "tendency in modern newsrooms to create a single corporate culture…."[29] Newsrooms really never bridged the gap created by years

"The ultimate goal of newsroom diversity is to create an intellectually mixed environment where everyone holds firm to the idea of journalistic independence."

"Migrant workers, mostly Hispanic, were almost never covered until last year when a Hispanic woman was hired."

"There's a black reporter who constantly brings story ideas about issues in his neighborhood that affect a lot of people; ideas that we didn't know. If we didn't have that, I don't know how we would touch that sector of the population. It would be constantly negative."

of exclusion. As a result, they often reinforced cultural blinders.

Especially in dramatic incidents, best intentions disappear. Consider school shootings as a case in point. Although violence on inner city schools is equally costly to its victims and brings comparable grief to those affected, youth victimization mostly takes place outside the vision of the mainstream press—until someone brings a gun to a suburban school. Intellectual diversity would include balanced coverage of youth—especially minority youth who tend to be pilloried by the press. Teenagers, who are society's most frequent victims of violence (especially inner-city young people), are disproportionately represented in media as the perpetrators. Public opinion polls consistently attribute almost 50% of all crime to them.

In 1995, however, the Department of Justice found that of every 1,000 elderly, four would be victims of crime. For youth that figure rose to 91 in every 1,000. Government violent-crime figures consistently attribute the largest percentage of incidents to white male perpetrators over the age of 30. Teenagers between 15 and 17 years old are responsible for the highest percentage of violent crime (12%) among individuals under 20. Moreover, 70% of all victims of violent crime are youth—people under age 20. Teenage victims are disproportionately minorities.[30]

The problem goes beyond the present. For once headlines fade, diverse communities remain distanced without intellectual engagement of, social interaction with, or investigatory curiosity of the press. Diversity means that we should "reflect the community in all its contexts," said another editor, "reflect it in the news rooms—age, ethnicity, gender, diversity of opinion and thinking." But newsroom culture too often does not validate these issues as newsworthy or regard diverse opinion holders as credible sources. As the survey indicates, most editors/news directors and reporters are tourists in diverse communities, engaged only as required by the assignment of the moment.

Intellectual Diversity

Professionalism works against diversity by promoting consensus, which is certified as "objectivity." "Professionalism means quite the opposite of diversity. Whereas the goal of diversity fosters an appreciation for differences in experience and therefore differences in knowledge, the goal of a professional education is—in effect and usually by design—to unify knowledge by glossing over differences in experience."[31] In other words, in the process of becoming professional, accuracy becomes defined as consistency. For those of diverse experience, this sort of "accuracy" requires denial—including a denial of self.

"The solution," suggest Kovach and Rosenstiel, "is to recruit more people from a diversity of classes and backgrounds and interests in the newsroom to combat insularity. The journalism that people from a diversity of perspectives produce together is better than that which any of them could produce alone."[32]

Despite the visible variety of individuals, a "news think" consensus predominates. Across a range of color, class and gender, newsrooms mostly remain unchanged in regards to who evaluates newsworthiness and who analyzes major social institutions or the power brokers who run them. This is especially important when the nation's press ever more frequently shies away from challenging both corporate and political decision makers. All of these problems compound as the press abandons social responsibility and slides toward "infotainment"—a small element of information largely buried in entertaining styles of presentation.

Obviously racial and ethnic diversity is valuable. But too often minorities are invited into newsrooms and then placed there merely to certify diversity. They are not expected to sound different. Sometimes it is assumed that they alone must provide the newsroom's minority coverage, while at the same time navigating through newsroom cultural illiteracy. Observed one reporter, whose paper covers an agricultural area:

"Migrant workers, mostly Hispanic, were almost never covered until last year when a Hispanic woman was hired."

Responding to this report's survey questionnaire, one white TV news director said: "There's a black reporter who constantly brings story ideas about issues in his neighborhood that affect a lot of people; ideas that we didn't know. If we didn't have that, I don't know how we would touch that sector of the population. It would be constantly negative."

Yet despite the positive contribution of the black reporter, the editor's acknowledgment raises two key issues embedded in the surface practice of diversity—the disproportionate responsibility given to minority reporters to "watchdog" coverage. And the misguided assumption that by virtue of being a minority, one brings an inherent expertise—some genetic determination useful to the press.

Journalist Linda Wallace described one aspect of these determinates in the *Christian Science Monitor* in August, 2002. She explained why she turned down a promotion to assistant city editor after her boss, the managing editor, said: "We need a black on the metro desk."

In the intellectually diverse newsroom, as she points out, any capable editor could handle that job because it would be about providing room for a broad range of perspectives and all —minority and white—journalists would be expected to know more about an entire population.

Pointing to the 30 percent minority population and its spending power of $1.2 trillion, Wallace adds: "In the 21st century, human capital is the most reliable indicator of our country's capacity for growth. Supervisors who can't manage multicultural staffs, blend together a diversity of cultural styles, and acknowledge their own biases, are hurting the corporate bottom line." Beyond that, they are giving Americans who know better a dull, monochromatic product that can't locate the pulse beat of the nation.

"We need to be able to cover other communities and do a good job," said one African-American newspaper editor. "People need to get out of their comfort zone. Reporters do not expose themselves to a particular thing—say a Black church—until they have to cover something [related to it]….We need to get out of our routines, be in places as people."

Half of all editors/news directors and almost a third of reporters surveyed have attended diversity workshops, including those at the 1999 Unity Conference, organized by the four major minority journalists associations and sponsored by mainstream press organizations and foundations. Yet there is little evidence that diversity work-

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Figure 6.

Editor/News Director and Reporter Definitions of Diversity

Definitions of Diversity	*editors* *n = 57**	*reporters* *n = 162**
News includes coverage of *biologically diverse groups*	32%	41%
Newsroom includes *biologically diverse personnel*	13%	14%
News coverage includes *views* of traditionally underrepresented groups	31%	28%
News coverage of events includes *potential impact on* underrepresented groups	14%	3%

* NOTE: The remaining 65 Editors/News Directors and 329 Reporters gave definitions that did not include the definitional elements listed here and were too vague or general to otherwise categorize.

26% of reporters and 21% of editors state that diversity is not relevant to their work.

shops, conferences or training have had a lasting or significant impact on those who participate beyond agreement that diversity is a laudable goal. Survey-respondents who attended such functions still define diversity in superficial and compartmentalized terms. (Fig. 6) This is not to fault these activities: they cannot hope to bring about significant change without a receptive, active intellectual foundation to provide resonance and follow-up activities by the journalist that enrich and refresh these topics..

This is also evident among print journalists who participate in ASNE's annual "Time Out for Diversity," a focused concentration on content with mixed success. On the one hand, with "Time Out" ASNE began to define diversity as an issue of ethics, just as the Hutchins Commission did more than 50 years ago. This appears to have had significant influence: more than two thirds (69%) of news editors/directors and more than half (58%) of reporters said that diversity and ethics are connected.

"Diversity is a fundamental issue of accuracy and fairness in American media," said another print editor. "It has often been overlooked in a media environment in which some newsrooms are still overwhelmingly white. It is easy to take a myopic viewpoint towards an issue. Myopia affects a person who operates without the recognition that diverse perspectives bring a clearer picture, another way of looking at things. A fair representation of minority viewpoint is very much a part of doing ethical journalism." (Fig. 7)

On the other hand, although the survey was conducted over a period of time shortly after Unity and "Time Out," little other residual effect is evident on the part of respondents. In open-ended responses, 53% of editors/news directors and 64% of reporters defined diversity in vague terms or with gross generalizations. A third of editors/news directors and 41% of reporters defined diversity simplistically—the process of including members of racially and ethnically diverse groups without considering intellectual, political or social issues. About the same number of editors/news directors and 28% of reporters stated that including the views of minorities was important to diversity. Only 14% of editor/news directors and 3% of reporters believed that coverage that includes the differential impact of news events upon diverse sectors of society or its significance to them is part of dealing with diversity. These

Figure 7.

Relative Importance of Various Ethical Issues: Reporters versus Editors/News Directors

Ethical Issues Named as MOST IMPORTANT in Journalism	**Editors** n = 122	**Reporters** n = 491
General Reporting Practices → *Truth, Accuracy, Fairness, Balance*	*73%*	*76%*
Conflict of Interest → *Accepting Gifts, Memberships*	*23%*	*21%*
Civil Liberties → *E.G. Pictures/names of Arrested Juveniles*	*21%*	*11%*
Source Attribution → *Credibility through Identifying Source/Type of Source*	*9%*	*> 2%*
Source Protection → *Confidentiality of Sources*	*4%*	*9%*
Legal Concerns → *E.G. Libel*	*5%*	*2%*
News Coverage of → *Underrepresented Groups / Underrepresented Views*	*3%*	*3%*

are very narrow definitions of difference. (Fig. 6) Worse yet, 26% of reporters and 21% of editors state that diversity is not relevant to their work.

"Everyone is forced to talk diversity and to have a more diverse staff," said one Latino (male) reporter at a mid-size paper. "But no one really cares. I think that the only reason we have these staff meetings is so that the editors get their bonuses at the end of the year. It is all fake, artificial. It's sickening!"

"The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective is a complex, on-going negotiation," says cultural scholar Homi K. Bhabha, "that seeks to authorize hybridities that emerge during moments of historical transformation."[33] In other words, the discourse about diversity must be evolutionary and continuous. In order to even discuss difference, one must define the complexities of what exists, the fractures as well as the melding (or hybrids), a matter not easily dealt with in the average newsroom where traditional routines foster reductionism.

Consider the complex matters of identity, including those of mixed race (only recently provided as an option on the national census). Reductionism obscures the merger of differences that increasingly represent both the United States and globalization—and that offer compelling stories. These dissimilarities involve race, class and gender issues that shape perspective. But group labels mask important realities. To give but one example, the U.S. Census tabulates "Hispanics," more than two-thirds of whom are Mexican-Americans, as if they are a monolithic entity. But even for these individuals identity is negotiated—an issue that the press largely overlooks.

For example, south of the border, a Mexican would likely reject a Hispanic identity, known in Spanish as *gachupin*—a reference not unlike the demeaning *gringo*. The majority of Mexicans are *mestizo*, an acknowledgment of Spanish and Indian heritage, as are the largest portion of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. Most Central Americans also share a mixed heritage. However, north of the Rio Bravo/Rio Grande, the indigenous disappears in favor of "Hispanic," which suggests the more welcome Western-European Spanish heritage. But "Hispanic" lumps together all individuals with Spanish-language cultures, regardless of their dissimilarity. A lot is lost in the process, including black Latinos—many from Puerto Rico, Cuba, the rest of the Caribbean, the east coast of Central America and the north coast of Columbia. For instance, because these groups "disappear" news coverage fails to report how drug violence in Columbia affects its large black population.

"In broad terms," said one editor surveyed, "[Diversity means] whatever differences exist between people that affect world views, politics, religion—temperament, economic and racial diversity. Each brings diversity, contributes value. White guys contribute too." Diversity requires, the editor continued, coverage of "problems that have been ignored—race and economic diversity." Yet when asked to describe activities that they undertook for intellectual growth, both news editors/directors and reporters most cited networking and collegial activities—this in a profession that is overwhelmingly monocultural.

Newsrooms often seek to mask this majority disinterest with staff color coding. The newsroom cultural impulse to retain traditional "objectivity" may force minority journalists to choose between producing what they know reinforces stereotypes or to resist reproducing inaccurate or ethically inappropriate reporting at the risk of being perceived as biased. Challenges to traditional coverage are usually labeled as non-objective and dismissed, except in the most obvious need for varied perspectives. "Some reporters develop a certain interest in the area of diversity issues," complained one white editor, "These reporters need to be reminded from time to time that their job is to be fair and objective."

Ultimately, these choices often foreshadow departure from the industry. Intellectual uniformity often means that the bur-

Diversity requires, the editor continued, coverage of "problems that have been ignored—race and economic diversity."

Asked if diversity issues affected coverage, one reporter replied, "This question is a political question and I avoid political questions."

den for diversity remains the responsibility of the minority. Frequently this responsibility is tiresome to carry alone. It can also cast suspicion upon a minority reporter that harms a career. "We hired a Vietnamese to cover that community," said one white reporter. "That might be good, but it can also backfire if you loose objectivity."

Said another, "Diversity is nonsense, crap, stupid…Special programs for affirmative actions make people think—'we gave this person a break.' How does that change things? At what point does that bias disappear?"

Minority journalists repeatedly complain that stories they propose are rejected because editors perceive them as politically partial. On one hand, those with the usual collection of sources (including a few "appropriate" minority sources) and predictable conclusions are perceived as balanced. In other words, within prevailing definitions of balance, there is little room for the sort of intellectual growth required for something new to emerge.

Events that are seen as most problematic or threatening to the interests of the white majority tend to be most prominent, and visa versa, events and situations that are most problematic and threatening to the interest of minorities are covered less prominently. In other words, ethnic affairs covered in the press rather closely reproduces and legitimates prevailing ethnic ideologies as

Figure 8.

Diversity Issues Identified as Most Involved in their Own Editing/News Direction & Reporting

Diversity is NOT Relevant to My Work					
Editors/News Directors 21%			*Reporters 26%*		
Which Diversity Issues are Most Relevant to my Work					
Editors/News Directors 79% (n = 96 of 122)			** Reporters 65%* (n = 319 of 491)		
Coverage-Related Issues					
Ensuring Representative Portrayals — Avoiding Stereotypes		*Ensuring Relevant Coverage of Underrepresented Groups & Views*		*Ensuring Context & Background for Underrepresented Groups & Views*	
Editors 31%	Reporters 13%	Editors 26%	Reporters 34%	Editors 7%	Reporters 5%
Personnel & Sourcing Related Issues					
Obtaining / Providing Relevant Sources for Underrepresented Groups / Views			*The Need for More Minority Journalists Diversification of Newsroom Staff*		
Editors 24%	Reporters 24%		Editors 16%	Reporters 5%	

* NOTE: An additional 9% (44) of the reporters refused to answer the question, dropping the n from 363 to 319

well as the power relations based upon them.[34]

As a result, little news attention is paid to class or to the implications of the intellectual structure provided by social institutions like family, religion, education, or to the structures that distribute well-being along established patterns. These values remain the norm.

Little personal responsibility is indicated for providing a "representative portrayal of constituents in the society." Indeed 63% of reporters say that the responsibility for providing diversity in news content was that of editors or news directors. (Fig. 5) Others reject the idea of diversity all together. Asked if diversity issues affected coverage, one reporter replied, "This question is a political question and I avoid political questions." (Fig. 8)

Selective professional association reinforces intellectual segregation. Half of the editors (48%) belong to media specific organizations like the American Society of Newspaper Editors or the Society of Professional Journalists. But only 14% belong to any race or ethnicity specific one like the national associations representing American Indian, Asian-American, Black or Hispanic journalists. (Fig. 9) Virtually all this membership comprises minorities. Some white editors/news directors do attend the annual minority journalists' conferences—usually by invitation to present on a panel. In other words, these professional neighborhoods mirror the residential areas that the U.S. Census shows to be mostly clusters of sameness whether whites or minorities live there.

All these examples defy US melting pot mythology. And intellectual hospitality.

One reporter described how reporting is affected by diversity issues as "the requirement to get more minority voices. Have to get a minority just for the sake of getting a minority." Said another, "We are most affected by issues specific to (our) own readership. We are forever worrying about offending blacks unintentionally or whites

Professional neighborhoods mirror the residential areas that the U.S. Census shows to be mostly clusters of sameness whether whites or minorities live there.

Figure 9.

Reporter Pursuit of Mainstream vs. Diverse Perspectives

Percent Attended Workshops	
Across All Workshops	*Diversity Workshops*
70%	*31%*

Percent Members in Professional Journalism Associations	
Across Associations	*Race-Ethnicity Specific Associations*
50%	*12%*

Percent Who Read Particular Types of Publications (Aside from Trade Journals)			
Mainstream Pubs.	*Conservative Pubs.*	*Progressive Pubs.*	*Race-Ethnicity Targeted Pubs.*
93%	*11%*	*18%*	*1%*

Percent Who Consume Particular Types of News Programming				
Anchor-Style News	*Talking Heads*	*News TV Magazines*	*NPR*	*PBS*
75%	*19%*	*43%*	*33%*	*12%*

n = 491

who feel we are being PC and favoring blacks."

Regardless of newsroom discussions, professional workshops or educational backgrounds, journalists give little evidence of the curiosity expected of them. Not until a breaking news story involves minorities are members of the press engaged—and then they seem to "enter unfamiliar territory."[35] Newsrooms function as an intellectual enclave, limiting the introduction of diversity. There is little attempt at self critique.

Neither print nor broadcast journalists reported reading critical publications such as newsletters or magazines published by media watchdog groups like Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting, the Institute for Media Accuracy, the Media Channel or Media Alliance. However, half of each group reported reading mainstream journalism review magazines. None reported reading journalism academic journals, which often include media critiques.

Only a quarter of all editors/news directors and a third of all reporters said they listened to National Public Radio. Fewer than 16% cited the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) as a source. News anchors were overwhelmingly the most popular source of television information, with talking heads and TV news magazines appealing to fewer than half the respondents. Sunday press talk shows were repeatedly dismissed. (Fig.1)

Group think mitigates critical thinking. This in turn stifles story concepts that seek to explore systemic problems in a changing society. Career journalist and media scholar Herbert Altschull wrote in the mid-1980s that "only in the rarest circumstances are challenges raised to basic goals and values."[36] His 1995 update reaffirmed these findings.[37] Without intellectual exploration, journalists produce the mundane.

There have always been more than two sides to an issue; today that is ever more obvious, yet we still construct news stories with a two-sided model in mind. This approach, however, constricts today's journalists who must begin to report "collective experiences of nationess, community interest or cultural values" and include communities where, "despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and incommensurable."[38]

The human experience is a textured one not easily reduced to the neat packaging that race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation categories imply. In fact, it may be necessary to contextualize news by explaining historical sources of injustice and the intensity of lingering resentments for news to be useful to citizens seeking an inclusive community. This goes against the dominant news formula that describes the conflict, but not the context. Meanwhile, inside most newsrooms the appearance of harmony, team playing and consensus remain a strong cultural preference to the sorts of tensions that can be generated by a discussion of race or difference.

Consider the experiences of two mid-size newspapers tackling thorny issues in the 1990s at opposite ends of the nation—the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Austin American Statesman*. In both cases, articles that angered minorities triggered the original concern.

In 1988, the *Star Tribune* ran a story about a single black teenage mother. Immediately thereafter a complaint of negative stereotyping and distortion was filed with the Minnesota News Council. The continuing debate in the newsroom, where 8% of the 358-person editorial staff were minorities, eventually led to a twelve-part series on race that ran between June 10 and June 24, 1990. A diverse group drawn from those who worked in the shared newsroom was assigned to the project, seven of whom were women. In the last issue they described the experience this way:

> There were 11 in the core group shaping the project on race—three black people, one Chinese person, seven white people.

> We kept diaries for several weeks. In mid-February the group met for an all day session to discuss what everyone had written. We argued a lot but we also listened a lot. We left the meeting exhausted—but also feeling that perhaps we'd begun to understand each other a little better. Perhaps we were setting the groundwork for the future in the newsroom.[39]

Before they could even get started, heated disagreements flared. The group found that they had to confront their own attitudes about race. This they did for several months, led by Managing Editor Linda Picone who headed the project. To everyone's surprise, although the series was well received, most reader response came in reaction to diary excerpts. "The diaries," Picone said, "struck a chord with other people struggling with the same feelings."[40]

Minorities wrote of isolation. "The noon hour can be a lonely time at the Star Tribune," wrote Rosalind Bentley, a black reporter. Not because she was not included in lunch gatherings, but because when she was no one could relate to the books, magazines and entertainment she enjoyed. "How many times have I eaten alone to avoid that exchange… to avoid discussion of an article in last week's *Harper's* when I long to discuss something I read in *Essence*?"[41] Intellectual acculturation remains a one-way experience.

"What this showed me," wrote Picone, "is that like most other things I value in life, this is going to take work. Work at the personal level—thinking a bit more about how I interact with others, more about what advantages I have because I am white. Work at a professional level—we can do better at hiring minorities."[42]

Some editors recognize the connection between content and retention—that providing context to the stories of a multicultural nation may be a significant step toward diversifying the newsroom in every sense. In 1990 the *Austin American Statesman* faced the difficulties of recruiting for a mid-size paper unable to provide major mainstream salaries. Then-editor Maggie Balough reasoned that job satisfaction might provide incentive to resist the lure of money. She mounted a long-term project to make first editors and then reporters at the paper aware of minority history and culture. The city—with growing minority population, educational inequities, environmental racism issues and conflicted police-community relations—needed more inclusive coverage.

The gap had been apparent and criticized for some time. It became a highly visible issue shortly before, under the watch of a previous editor Arnold Rosenfeld, when a piece on local bakeries described a popular Mexican-American establishment as being located in an "undesirable neighborhood." Residents of the area, including some law makers, professors and other professionals, noisily disagreed. To Rosenfeld's credit he went to the bakery with the reporter to face critics. But coverage of the area, its residents and issues, remained sparse and superficial.

Balough's objective was to make the newsroom generally more receptive to diverse perspectives and more insistent on context by providing a framework of reference against which the editorial staff could evaluate story proposals, sources and quotes. She hoped that this, in turn, would help the newsroom see the community of growing diversity with fresh eyes. By changing newsroom culture, Balough improved minority retention and over time moved more minority reporters into decision-making positions.

The four-year project involved lunch time discussions with a variety of invited guests, videos and required reading that ranged across minority history, literature, ethnic and alternative publications and both in-house and professional press critiques.[43] It included a few field trips and meetings with members of the local ethnic press.[44] It also made evident the disadvantages that hampered journalists who were shaped by a traditional white education and newsroom socialization.

"How many times have I eaten alone to avoid that exchange… to avoid discussion of an article in last week's Harper's when I long to discuss something I read in Essence?"

Rosalind Bentley

Social distancing may be acute even where geographical distance is insignificant.

"Management here is mostly white," said one black reporter. "They don't make the organization minority friendly. They [minorities] are left on an island."

For most participants almost all the project material provided new views of the American experience. Soon reporters said that they had better success pitching less traditional perspectives. More inclusive coverage of minority communities and issues began to appear. Some previously contentious minority leaders began to remark upon the change. The editor said she was called upon less often to run interference between an angry minority reporter and resistant editor. The changed attitudes also positively affected other personnel interactions. But this insight, and press willingness to undertake long-term investments in intellectual diversity, is not common.

Both the case of the *Star Tribune* and that of the *Austin American Statesman* provide examples of how strong leadership makes a difference—a component identified in studies, including those cited in this report, as key for change to occur. Other examples are evident in the policies of *The Seattle Times*, where publisher Frank Blethens plays a strong leadership role and expects the entire newsroom to reflect diversity in contextual coverage and at the *Los Angeles Times*, where Frank del Olmo conceived the Latino Initiative, an effort to "mainstream" (integrate) coverage throughout the publication.

Distance

Distance strengthens the power of the press, but it also demands responsibility. When people have no first-hand experience of events, they must trust press accounts. This is especially the case in matters of race and class where a society remains segregated, however informally. One of the most important newsrooms dilemmas remains that of distance, including intellectual distance. Social space helps explain the boundaries of interaction between minority communities and the dominant culture, including neighborhood enclaves. Knowledge-voids contribute to gaps in newsroom comprehension which are reflected in its product.

> Distance, psychological or even geographical is not therefore a straight-forward question. Distance is complex and relative and is constantly established, undermined and renegotiated in our response: there is a process of distancing. … Distance is established, maintained and overcome in social relationships through concepts which are created, negotiated and shared within a given culture. … *Social distancing may be acute even where geographical distance is insignificant*.[45] (Emphasis added.)

Findings of this report indicate that virtually no significant immersion in "otherness" is sought by reporters, editors or news directors. Few ever read media outside the mainstream, let alone in the ethnic or immigrant press. (Fig.1) Few belong to minority journalist associations or socialize in minority communities. (Fig.1) In other words, little effort is made to know about minority realities beyond the superficial, to become familiar with, let alone comfortable with, diverse perspectives—or to hear debate and disagreement within diversity. "Management here is mostly white," said one black reporter. "They don't make the organization minority friendly. They [minorities] are left on an island."

Here the newsroom is not unlike society, but its responsibility includes spaning the gap between majority and minority realities. This is not a new suggestion. In 1968 the Kerner Commission concluded that "the news media had failed to analyze and report adequately on racial problems in the United States and, as a related matter, had failed to meet the Negro's legitimate expectations."[46] The press so often forgets that inclusive, enlightened coverage is a legitimate expectation. To meet its obligations, the press must bridge separations.

According to the latest census data, neighborhoods remain mostly race or ethnicity specific. In an era of open housing, economics largely determine where one lives. This in turn affects school experiences, social interaction and political awareness. It often crimps the hand of justice. Few audiences have direct knowledge of reported incidents; especially in areas and among groups with which they are not familiar. They must therefore justify granting the press significant credibility. The more distant the event, the more the press asks in trust. The media claim "objectivity" to warrant such trust.

But objectivity has long been white defined and largely remains so today. Whites perceive the world through a grid compatible to the news media's definition of objectivity. The concept of objectivity provides circular reasoning. It assumes publication as both measure and proof of fairness, a standard still defended by decision-makers, from reporters to editors and news directors, who sometimes call the process "even-handed" or "balanced" coverage. By virtue of the fact that it appears in print or broadcast, it is defended as objective by those who produced it originally. These are protected definitions by those with vested interests.

"Management," said one mid-career white male reporter, is the biggest obstacle. "They are not good about opening their ranks to hiring a diverse staff, so when we try to cover a minority community, we have trouble with credibility and sourcing. We are not representative of the community."

Professional Distance

Consider a few major examples. In the early 1980s individuals fleeing violence in Central America made their way into Los Angeles in growing numbers. As might be expected, they migrated to neighborhoods where other Latinos—mostly Mexican-Americans—lived, where the language and the culture were largely familiar. And where that familiarity provided a background of protection, instruction and disguise that helped the refugees remain undetected. To that environment they added their own food preferences, music and certain Spanish-language lilts that signaled "non-Mexican." Local restaurants and merchants responded to the influx. Menus and grocery products altered. Latino reporters from the *Los Angeles Times* soon noticed and pointed out to editors these markers of change. But not until several years later, when activists organized protests around police treatment of these undocumented residents, would editors recognize them as news. By then, authorities estimated the new population at 250,000.

In 1981, the *Los Angeles Times* published a three-part series on the city's black population. Two top *L.A. Times* white male reporters wrote the articles, and then-Editor Bill Thomas personally did the editing. The final piece appeared as a lead Sunday story in which the word "marauders" appeared more than 20 times. Maps accompanied the copy showing the location of "criminals" (poor minority neighborhoods) and of their "targets" (middle-class and affluent white communities). All residents were broadly defined by zip code. Thus, in poor neighborhoods, where the crime rate was higher, the *L.A. Times* map criminalized both victim and perpetrator.

The coverage generated a storm of protest in the black press. For weeks African-Americans surrounded the building with demonstrations. The *Columbia Journalism Review* and other media critics lambasted the editorial decisions that produced the series. Outrage by *L.A. Times* black reporters led to a sit-in in the editor's office with demands that they be allowed to report and edit their own series. The conflict led eventually to the first major *Los Angeles Times* series on minorities—*Black Los Angeles: Looking at Diversity*— that African-Americans wrote and edited in1982. The success of this venture led *L.A. Times* Latinos to produce a similar series, *Southern California's Latino Communities*, which earned a Pulitzer Prize in 1984.

"Management," said one mid-career white male reporter, is the biggest obstacle. "They are not good about opening their ranks to hiring a diverse staff, so when we try to cover a minority community, we have trouble with credibility and sourcing. We are not representative of the community.

The *Los Angeles Times* coverage of South Central Los Angeles in 1981 generated such intense criticism that the fiasco was thought at first to have ended blatant negative labeling of minority populations. But subsequent events disproved this. Old problems surfaced in 1992 when riots broke out in South Central Los Angeles after a jury acquitted white policemen accused of beating Rodney King, an African-American stopped for traffic violations. Press myopia and short memory led to weeks of distorted coverage about both blacks and Latinos. Local media kept reporting the rage as a black-white conflict even though the Census documented a 50% population split in the area of African-Americans and Latinos. And despite the fact that more than half those arrested in the area were Latinos. Clearly the press had little familiarity with the community.

Television coverage was so flawed that the *MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour* did a special segment on its failures. "We don't know where this fire is," says a newscaster reporting a major blaze, "all we can tell you is that it is hot." Murray Frompson, a former CBS reporter and professor of journalism at the University of Southern California, noted that the reporters covering the violence seemed to be in "alien territory." At the very least, said Frompson, they ought to be reporters with experience in the community.[47] Minority reporters and editors from *The Los Angeles Times* publicly criticized the paper's performance which significantly repeated earlier serious mistakes.[48] The Korean community also protested distortion, omission and long misrepresentation that they believed contributed to neighborhood tensions where their businesses were vandalized.

On December 23, 1997, broadside labeling came full circle when the *New York Times* published a map of "the criminal communities," indicting neighborhoods in the Bronx, Queens and Manhattan. It noted that criminals from those neighborhoods return there after serving time and prey upon others. This time, the *N.Y.Times* map criminalized both victim and perpetrator. Both these mainstream newsrooms employed minorities. But newsroom culture often outweighs diverse insight.

More recently, however, both newspapers have a checkered record that includes both old problems and improved coverage through special projects: the *Los Angeles Times* began the Latino Initiative in 1998. In July 2000, *The New York Times* published a major series—"How Race is Lived in America"— which won the Pulitzer Prize. *The Seattle Times* won the second place in the Pulitzer Prize competition for its 1998 series "Are We There Yet?"—ground breaking coverage on affirmative action. But aside from the occasional accomplishments such as these, change is slow coming and even among the best, inconsistencies in news reporting still exist. Throughout the news industry today, daily coverage that portrays minorities "as a matter of routine and in the context of the total society" remains scarce.

Social Distance

Three images most effective at creating an impression of distance are those who are foreign, those whose language cannot be understood and those who are deviant.

Immigration issues are among the largest category of stories about Latinos, reinforcing the perception that Latinos are foreigners.[49] These stories are predominantly used to raise images of fear. Repeating metaphors associated in coverage with immigrants include those associated with threats— floods, brown tides, menace, and wild animals.[50] News stories also tend to focus on Spanish as a defining feature although most Latinos either speak English or are bilingual. Criminalization problems are found in stories about minority youth and youth in general. Drug stories, like immigrants, cross borders and contribute to bounce-back.

For example, minority youth are frequently identified only as "gang members." This is not only often inaccurate and non-

representative, it is also dangerous because negative images divert attention from threats to young people's welfare and can generate an inappropriate hard-heartedness. For example, a 1994 Gallup Poll found that the average adult believes that teenagers commit 43% of all violent crimes whereas federal statistics indicate that they are responsible for only 13%. On the other hand, teenagers are most vulnerable as victims. In 1995, the Department of Justice reported that those under the age of eighteen are 23 times more likely than the elderly to be victims of violent crime. Michael Males, whose books *Scapegoat Generation* and *Framing Youth* dismantle stereotypes of adolescents and especially minority youth, provides more reliable statistics than does the press. Alienated by negative stereotypes, citizens are not empowered nor motivated to find solutions for such victimization of young people. Moreover, a misled public becomes vulnerable to calls for harsher punishment of younger offenders.

On the other hand, coverage of music, festivals and food are considered appealing minority stories. Entertainment provides safe inclusive imagery. Sports, food and entertainment remain the most diversified sections of both television and print reporting. But here, too, cultural illiteracy can become embarrassing. Consider the ironic matter of cinco de mayo.[51]

During the civil rights movement, Chicano graduate student activists sought to promote a holiday that would highlight Mexican-American cultural richness. The goal was laudable. As the Latino population becomes the largest U.S. minority population—with Mexican-Americans comprising about two-thirds of this group—an understanding of basics that shape their history and, as a result, their culture, becomes crucial. Most Americans know about the Holocaust's impact on Jewish-American life, and about the legacy of slavery on African-Americans. They are frequently told about the Cuban-American experience. But they know much less about key events in Mexico and Central America that underlie Latino history here. These events propelled Latino immigration to areas where Mexican-Americans have lived since before the United States seized half of Mexico in the mid-1800s (to become the U.S. Southwest). The plan to raise Mexican-American visibility by establishing a holiday was commendable and generally well received.

After teachers rejected the proposed September 16th (Mexican Independence from Spain) as falling too early in the school year, cinco de mayo (May 5th), was selected. It was a peculiar choice. On this date in 1862, poorly equipped Mexican soldiers defeated the stronger, well armed French in a battle at Puebla. That outcome was reversed within days in a war that the French soon won. France then occupied Mexico for four years and Napoleon III installed as monarch Archduke Maxmilian of Austria and his wife Carlota, a Belgian princess. Cinco de mayo has never been a major holiday in Mexico. But, uncorrected by Chicano activists, U.S. media have misidentified it over the years as Independence Day, or as marking liberation from the French, or in other inappropriate ways. In the 1990s, the *Austin American Statesman* defined it as "a turning point in Mexican history." Ignorance has further mystified it. Ironically, since it is now so widely celebrated in the United States, some Mexican dignitaries, especially those stationed along the borderlands, feel obliged to pay it more homage too.

Its visibility is largely related to its support by the beer and liquor industry, beginning with payment of over $350,000 by Coors in 1985 to three of the largest Mexican-American organizations—National Council of La Raza, the American G.I. Forum and the League of United Latin American Citizens—in exchange for an end of their support to a boycott of Coors products over labor issues. The deal became known among Chicanos as "Drink a Coors for La Raza."[52] In a combination of well meaning intent to provide minority coverage and intellectual provincialism, the press facilitated the construction of myth. The enthu-

In a combination of well meaning intent to provide minority coverage and intellectual provincialism, the press facilitated the construction of myth.

The press significantly manages this distance, including the way in which it predominantly conveys government agenda through the perspective of officials.

The absence of context inserts distance.

siastic embrace extended to cinco de mayo may also signal its mildness. Unlike the holiday for Rev. Martin Luther King, cinco de mayo is benign. It neither commemorates political struggle nor focuses renewed efforts at equity.

Knowledge Distance

Meanwhile, the more important 1910 Mexican Revolution goes unrecognized despite its obvious significance to Mexican-American history, including the largest period of Mexican immigration to the United States. During the first thirty years of the 1900s, these immigrants provided much of the base for today's communities. Revolutionary leaders, including Francisco Madero who would become president of Mexico, spent months in San Antonio, Texas, organizing their final strategy. Madero and his followers marched back across the border on November 20th for the Revolution's opening battles. The Revolution was Mexico's first broad struggle for civil rights—a fitting marker for Chicano acknowledgement—and one connected to press history as well.

During this period two of Mexico's most important progressive journalists, Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon, fled to the United States, where they continued writing in Texas. They moved on to St. Louis to become part of the international progressive community. Through their writing, they agitated for reform in Mexico until they were seized by U.S. authorities and jailed.[53] Ricardo Flores Magon died in Leavenworth. The ideas espoused by the Magons, however, inspired much of the 1917 Constitution of Mexico.[54]

Just as the 1846 War with Mexico significantly shaped the American press, by requiring the first U.S. foreign correspondents and the formation of the group that became the Associated Press, this period also influenced U.S. journalists. A number of young progressive writers covered the war, including John Kenneth Turner, John Reed, Lincoln Steffens and Carlton Beals. Their work appeared in alternative press and remains historically valuable.

The mainstream press provided another perspective. At the time, the William Randolf Hearst family owned 200,000 acres in Mexico. The Harry Chandler family, which owned *The Los Angeles Times*, held more than 230,000 acres. The Revolution threatened these properties—a matter that many critics believe influenced the pro-dictatorship coverage by their newspapers, which never mentioned their vested interests.[55] As corporate interests expand and ownership compresses, vested-conflicts today provide similar constraints to context.

Distance "Bounce-back"

For U.S. Latinos, a "bounce-back" impact of distance is also harmful. "Generally speaking, the further from America the country is geographically, politically, culturally or racially, the larger the number of victims necessary for the story to receive attention."[56] For Latinos the connection between distant crisis and domestic realities has significant impact given the immigrant sector of these populations. The more distorted the coverage of Latin American nations, the more those inaccuracies bounce back to affect perceptions about Latinos in the United States.[57] Immigration stories rarely provide information about the role of U.S. foreign policy as an element of instability in Latin American countries,. Instead, those who come to the United States are mostly perceived as wanting something American to which they may not be entitled.

The press significantly manages this distance, including the way in which it predominantly conveys government agenda through the perspective of officials. "Media coverage of global crises both creates and undermines a variety of forms of distancing."[58] Consider the field work of anthropologist Mark Pedelty. His book, *War Stories: The Culture of Foreign Correspondents*, documents the workings of the foreign press

corps in El Salvador during the early 1990s, when he spent more than a year among them. At the time, the U.S. government provided financial support, training and equipment to the Salvadoran military, which has since been found by the United Nations Truth Report to have been responsible for massive human rights abuses against civilians. During these years and the decade before, U.S. foreign policy motivated thousands of Central Americans to flee their homes and head north in search of safety and ways to support their families. So much coverage erroneously reduced the conflict to a struggle between the U.S. and Soviet super powers, however, that the reality of the refugee situation was obscured. As a result, their struggle to survive in the United States was made more difficult.

In a discussion about institutionalized biases and the intellectual accommodation they require, Pedelty reproduces one reporter's news stories: one written for the U.S. press and one for a British publication.[59] Same event, but a different value of context evident between the mainstream papers. The absence of context inserts distance.

Concurrent to this U.S. military assistance, a number of U.S. minority, refugee and immigrant groups tried—mostly vainly—to elicit the interest of mainstream media in their perspectives about these events. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition had a similar experience during the 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama when they tried to bring the plight of Panamanian civilians—more than 90% of whom are black—to U.S. press attention. Their press conference, which was televised on C-Span, was most remarkable for the absence of mainstream journalists. Yet many black U.S. Latinos or their families come from Panama. A similar difficulty faces Black Latinos whose families come from Haiti, or the eastern coast of Central America or Puerto Rico or Cuba or the coasts of Columbia and Venezuela. Media distance makes both the homeland and the black Latino presence in the U.S. virtually impossible to find. Nor do we learn about the affects of U.S. foreign policy on the large black population in Columbia.

Mort Rosenblum, former editor of the *International Herald Tribune* and author of *Coups and Earthquakes*, made similar observations in 1979. "Because of the system—and in spite of it—most Americans are not able to follow distant events which shape their lives. Most are shown generalities, simplicities and vast empty spaces, a parody of the real world beyond their borders."[60] In 1996, Martin Shaw wrote:

> Western people respond to global crises with these factors of distance built in; they share elements of culture, for example the legacies of colonialism and racism, which reinforce distance; and they respond to how states present issues to them.[61]

Many of the unwritten guidelines to which Breed makes reference and the concepts of "whiteliness" argued by Gabriel—and to the resulting narrow information grid—are still an understood way of doing business for mainstream media. "The power of whiteness lies precisely in its ability to render itself invisible or normal."[62] Once established as the unracialized norm, it defines those unlike itself as "others." "Whiteness is defined more by what it does than by what it is."[63] But others become defined in simplistic terms, stereotypes or codes. So the possibilities of complex identity are reduced. "This reductionism has had two important consequences, one of which has been to compartmentalize being racialized from becoming other things, including being gendered and/or sexed."[64] Perhaps this is most obvious in deportation stories which are reported as if the experience is the same regardless of gender.

One might argue that tiny Central American nations so far away are largely unknown to American readers and not much better known to foreign editors.[65] But the parallel is useful to better understand how distance also affects minority coverage.

"Whiteness is defined more by what it does than by what it is."

Distance is constructed through absence.

Ignorance, bias or superficial coverage of situations in Latin America or the Middle East have a bounce-back effect that imports stereotype or misconstruction in ways that reflect upon Latinos or Arabs or Arab-Americans in the United States.

Reform toward accuracy will require, for example, an expanded index of heroes. It calls for a broader common reading of history.

News with empty context, legitimized through publication, is further validated by frequent repetition. Editors, writers, viewers and readers can expect mainstream stories, with few exceptions, to duplicate one dominant perspective. There is a tendency today for consistency to define accuracy.

Distance is constructed through absence. The annual "Brownout" report produced by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists—a review of all network news—shows that in 2000 only 0.53% of all network news dealt with Latinos. Of 16,000 stories ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN that year, only 84 were about Latinos, not counting the 348 stories about Elian Gonzalez—the Cuban child rescued at sea after the boat sank in which he, his mother and other refuges fled Cuba.[66] Most stories revolve around predictable images.[67] Despite waves of protest over the past twenty-five years, correction of blatant stereotyping has been slow.

The dilemma of selective coverage that projects distance is most easily seen in the reporting of foreign events, but changing Latino demographics provide interlocks between the role of the press and that of geographic and political distance; stereotypes which travel in both directions can affect local affairs as well.[68] This situation occurs as a result of coverage responding to U.S. foreign policy (studies show that news media mirror State Department positions.[69]) When distance intersects with inadequate comprehension—due to a lack of routine coverage of minority communities and local events, but also with little, poor or no coverage in homelands—much harm can be done. This becomes magnified by repeated distortions over time. The more mainstream content concurs, the more credibility it extends to its fellows.

Consider the case of South Central Los Angeles, an area comprised of several communities of color. The population remained fairly evenly divided between African-Americans and Latinos for almost twenty years. Over this period the Latino population, at first mostly Mexican-American, came to include Nicaraguans and Salvadorans. Sometimes within these groups were individuals on different sides of the conflicts at home, including death squad participants, members of the secret police and nascent gang leaders. But mostly they were families fleeing danger and seeking to rebuild lives in Los Angeles. For years the entire area was ignored by the press, the new residents made invisible by their presumed Mexican identity. Then came foreign conflict.

Press treatment of the long-established minority communities often responds to U.S. foreign policy. For example, in 1982 the United States supported elections in El Salvador despite the absence of a free press and the unchecked activities of the death squads. After election results were not acceptable to the United States the outcome was overturned. Instead, Alvarado Magana, a banker whose name did not even appear on the ballot, was installed as president with U.S. and military approval. Nevertheless, television network newscasters defined the end result as proof of democracy. A year later, on March 23rd, CBS news casters reported: "It's been a year since moderates won the election in El Salvador."[70] Almost immediately the refugee status sought by Salvadorans who had fled to the United States was made to seem unnecessary.

Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the current situations for Arab-Americans. Negative or "enemy" portrayals are exacerbated in the public mind as the result of entrenched press ethnocentrism and the lack of local coverage earlier, before the impact of international crisis. One Pakistani journalist, who is now a professor, said recently, "It's as if they operated on the theory of 'better fast and dumb, than slower paced and reliably informative.'" In the 1980s and 1990s this affected Latinos, today it affects Arab-Americans.

Ignorance, bias or superficial coverage of situations in Latin America or the Middle East have a bounce-back effect that imports stereotype or misconstruction in ways that reflect upon Latinos or Arabs or Arab-Amer-

icans in the United States.[71] Coverage without context fuels domestic tension. This process parallels much treatment of minority news—especially those most voiceless.

Contextualization

Although the debate is largely framed in terms of participation, the real struggle over diversity in the newsroom is a conflict over points of view. Numbers alone will not change perspective. Such change requires in-depth understanding of the variety of experiences within the identity "American." As argued throughout this chapter, this requires re-examination of the perception of accuracy, which in turn requires confronting the ethnocentricity that is embedded in that perception. These problems are not confined to newsrooms. Early socialization in the educational system largely constructs a conception of reality as white, and the variations as small, separate and occasional—and not definitive of who we are as a people.

The press most frequently covers more complex components of the American experience during Hispanic Heritage Month or Black History Month or other short-lived projects. They will no doubt show up as well in the more recently created American Indian Month. In these models, the whole does not equal the sum of its parts. Every year, each group has a 30-day news presence that expands beyond negative coverage.

For the rest of the year, coverage with context becomes a struggle. Surveyed, one black reporter said of the other eleven months, "Some of my African-American stories are not given the prominence they should have. Editors are too likely to encourage stories that reinforce stereotypes. I have trouble getting attention to an issue that is not connected to their lives."

Observes another white editor who responded to the survey: "A Korean reporter feels her stories do not get played well, that there's an institutional bias against the stuff she is writing. And I think there's certainly some of that… Something that only affects a small group of people doesn't always make the cut."

Integrated content will require redefining the news toward complex inclusion, rather than the traditional considerations of size or proximity. But only 38% of reporters and 35% of editors/news directors said that diversity content increases the need for context over more traditional stories.

Reform toward accuracy will require, for example, an expanded index of heroes. It calls for a broader common reading of history. Here, first our schools and then our media fail us. Beyond that lies popular resistance to a story reinterpreted. A complete civil rights history has been shortchanged by the press which fails to help white Americans recognize the advantages they acquired as a result of mostly black leadership. Instead, civil rights has taken on a bland identity as if all Americans equally sacrificed to accomplish these late 20th Century changes. Popular memory believes black leaders led black Americans through social reforms that affected primarily the African-American community. These narrow versions are compatible with those subtexts of news products that also promote the perception that only white directed history affects the whole society.

"What remains unassimilated into American consciousness," writes historian Michael Schudson, "is how much the NAACP and Martin Luther King made this a land for you and me, even if the 'you and me' are white and middle class."[72] As Schudson points out, the respect paid to Founding Fathers and their original restrictive definition of democracy, which gave rise to this nation, must also be extended. Among those who must be included are Thurgood Marshall, the litigator; Chief Justice Earl Warren; and civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King. These men expanded democracy to its current, more comprehensive state.

They did so, as many historians agree, by making Constitutional rights become enforced as individual rights. This was a 20th

A complete civil rights history has been shortchanged by the press which fails to help white Americans recognize the advantages they acquired as a result of mostly black leadership.

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"We are increasingly less tolerant of the poor," said an editor of a major publication. "Reporters here make more than twice the median income."

Century experience.[73] This perspective largely contradicts popular mythologies that underlie prevailing ethnocentric newsroom culture where leadership is broadly represented as white.

Eyes that have been mostly socialized by white education have often been detoured around a more painful minority American history. It is not surprising that "The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world."[74] When prioritizing news items, decision makers too often automatically evaluate them against the prevailing image of America. That is why, despite repeated tales throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s of police brutality and corruption in Los Angeles, and despite the 1991 Warren Christopher report which documented these problems of abuse, Americans were stunned at the different reactions to the O.J. Simpson acquittal. For white America, the system failed; for blacks, its racist flaws had finally been revealed.

But as any anthropology student can explain, there is a difference between the "ideal" culture and the "real" culture. Anthropologists often travel a parallel path to journalists. During the 1980s when museums also began grappling with exhibiting a broader context of history, they ran into U.S. racial contradictions. Curators now find themselves facing resistance to revision necessary to include the history of minorities. Part of expanding the public's understanding of U.S. racial history also means learning how to identify, acquire and display symbols of that experience.

"The need to understand and embrace the ambiguity and complexity of America's past, especially the more recent past, is one of the most difficult concepts for the museum-going public to grasp," write William Yeingst and Lonnie G. Bunch, curators at the Smithsonian who, in 1993, were in charge of acquiring the Woolworth lunch counter from Greensboro, North Carolina, and four of its small stools

In February, 1960, four black college students sat in these stools to protest whites-only service.

> The lunch counter at the Greensboro store was more than just a place to eat while shopping; it symbolized to both white and black southerners the segregated world that existed throughout large portions of the United States. For whites, the segregated lunch counter reinforced notions of power and racial superiority. For African-Americans, the counter was a constant reminder of their second-class status and their vulnerability.[75]

"The ambiguity is reflective of multiple perspectives of the past and the fluidity of historical interpretation."[76] Like the press, museums now confront their own limitations.

> Even calls like the pleas from the Association for the Study of State and Local History during the 1980s for the museum to 'collect the twentieth century' failed to raise all the issues and ambiguities that make exploring contemporary history in museums so contested, so difficult, so dangerous and ultimately so important to museums and to the publics they serve."[77]

As the first recorder of history, the press serves much the same purpose with similar power and problems. Because of its extended reach, to a great extent it is the press that influences the perspective of the museum goers. The press also serves the public.

The journalist is not unlike the anthropologist, especially in the matter of field work. Reporters enter a community or a situation to gather news. The basic advantage of field work in an unfamiliar place allows discovery of aspects the "real," but only after focused preparation, much of which entails unlearning easy assumptions and resisting archetypes like the "welfare mother."

Consider one example: during the 1990s, anthropologist Laura Lein lived for a period of time in public housing in San Antonio, Texas, studying that community. Much of her work involves overcoming stereotypes, many reinforced by the press, that lead to inaccurate assumptions by legislators. For example, policy makers weighing budget appropriations attributed the purchasing of VCRs by welfare mothers to frivolous consumerism, but Dr. Lein was able to show that these purchases were made with child safety in mind. Watching videos in the evening kept children away from dangerous streets where drug dealing and gang conflict were nightly events. Women on stringent budgets banned together seeking ways to rent movies and buy popcorn.

In coverage of poverty, reporters rarely describe such choices made by these mothers as survival skills. Nor do they attribute the ability to endure depravation as a sign of strength. "We are increasingly less tolerant of the poor," said an editor of a major publication. "Reporters here make more than twice the median income."

Class distance distorts perception and contributes to an inability to see poverty beyond its disproportionate distribution within communities of color. Newspapers need "a relatively representative mix," said one black reporter, "They may have the right numbers, but no economic diversity. Poor people and the under-educated are not represented. We have diverse elite."

Economic distance also leads to a form of cultural illiteracy. Imagine pitching series about welfare mothers as American heroines to the average editor or news director. And yet many would argue that those women epitomize American family values played out within the painful disadvantage of poverty.

Social control is mostly sustained by the way we think. "A story is a story," said one white television news director who was surveyed, "I would hope diversity issues would not come into play."

Conclusions

Clearly, "objectivity" is culture bound. The less we know of an area, group or population, the more likely news will duplicate entrenched perceptions. These, says Christopher Campbell, are the "preferred readings."[78] Such news content reassures that the world remains predictable, comfortable in its familiarity. This comfort rests on confidence that the social order remains unchanged, says Gans. "Beneath the concern for political order lies another, perhaps even deeper concern for social cohesion, which reflects fears that not only the official rules of the political order but also the informal rules of the social order are in danger of being disobeyed."[79] Today's newsroom tension over diversity reflects that process. By resisting intellectual inclusion, gatekeepers may protect elite values buried within the unspoken corporate culture.

The power of informal or unwritten rules upholds social mythologies, the lynchpin of constructed realities. These define us in terms of wishful thinking; they make us appear to be the egalitarian society we accept as the ideal. However, as Gans pointed out, "…the news especially values the order of the upper-class and upper-middle-class sectors of society…the middle-aged and old against the young."[80] Given newsroom demographics in which decision-makers also fit this description, content is bound to be affected.

Marginalized voices seek access to their own stories. The problems begin with the tiny number of minority print journalists—9% black, 3% Latinos, 2% Asian-Americans or the fewer than 1% of American Indians—represent newsroom integration.[81] Broadcast journalists are also represented by small groups; in television 9% are black, 8% are Latino, 3% Asian-Americans and fewer than 1% American Indians. Radio claims 4% black, 2% Latinos and fewer than 1% Asian-Americans and American Indians.[82] Little wonder that those who make it up the ladder

Newspapers need "a relatively representative mix," said one black reporter, "They may have the right numbers, but no economic diversity. Poor people and the under-educated are not represented. We have diverse elite."

Social control is mostly sustained by the way we think. "A story is a story," said one white television news director who was surveyed, "I would hope diversity issues would not come into play."

"The account of an isolated fact, however accurate in itself, may be misleading and, in effect, untrue… It is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact." That truth is provided by context.

sometimes feel compelled to mute their observations.[83]

For an authentic diverse press, all journalists must encourage a more intellectually diverse newsroom and news content with more context. This will require relinquishing traditional definitions of newsworthiness. "Press conception of both racial integration and gender equality is basically assimilatory; the news prefers women and blacks who move into the existing social order to separatists who want to alter it."[84] This, says John Gabriel, is a matter of rewarding non-whites who exhibit "whiteliness." "Whiteness is not a monolith (although it might function on occasions as such)," wrote Gabriel in 1998, "but a disaggregated set of world views and ideologies." [85]

To succeed today, minorities in newsrooms move along a still largely uncharted path, trying to fit into a culture unaccustomed to different—at times diametrically opposite—points of view, while at the same time respecting press ethics calling for accuracy, comprehensive background and context.

What newsrooms too often demand is a middle-class white perspective superimposed upon a minority reality, which often includes a different class experience as well. To the extent to which journalists can assimilate to consensus, they are respected as "professional." But "knowledge gained through experience is the principal source of what little diversity remains in journalism…."[86] To achieve diversity, newsrooms must find ways to accept intellectual difference and unfamiliar "realities." Perhaps the Hutchins Commission said it best in 1947: "The account of an isolated fact, however accurate in itself, may be misleading and, in effect, untrue… It is no longer enough to report *the fact* truthfully. It is now necessary to report *the truth about the fact*."[87] That truth is provided by context.

Notes:

[1] Jill Nelson, *Volunteer Slavery—My Authentic Negro Experience,* (Chicago: Noble Press, Inc. 1993), 231.

[2] Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces*, Vol. 3, 1955.

[3] Ibid., 425. Also Gans, Altschull, Parenti and Beth Sanders,director co-producer with Randy Baker, *Fear and Favor in the Newsroom*, California Newsreel, 1999.

[4] Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy* (New York: Longman, 1995), 441.

[5] Theodore L. Glasser, "Professionalism and the Derision of Diversity: The Case of the Education of Journalists," *Journal of Communication*, Spring 1992, Vol. 42 No. 2. 131-132.

[6] Breed, 328.

[7] Ibid., 329.

[8] Derrick Bell, foreword in Pamela Newkirk, *Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media,* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), x.

[9] Keith Woods, "Do We Check it at the Door," A Report by the McCormick Fellowship Initiative, 2001. This report, based on responses by executives of color, provides a comprehensive overview of how accommodations must be made by such individuals to "fit into" the white world.

[10] Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 91.

[11] John Gabriel, *Whitewash: Racialized Politics and the Media* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 15.

[12] Derrick Bell, forward, *Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media*, x.

[13] Gans, 39-42.

[14] See Pamela Newkirk, Christopher Campbell, Ellis Cose, John Gabriel, Jill Nelson.

[15] Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, *Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople*

Should Know and the Public Should Expect (New York: Crown, 2001), 105.

[16] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), 389.

[17] Newkirk, 66.

[18] For example, *Fear and Frustration,* NABJ, 1995; *Present Without Power*, International Women's Media Foundation, 1999.

[19] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 7.

[20] Both ASNE and RTNDA provide annual newsroom census reports showing high white majorities. In these figures, however, both organizations include minorities at Spanish-language media and in Hawaii, where segregated newsrooms are not a problem. The inclusion of minorities in these sites distorts the figures for minority inclusion in ways that appear to reflect higher percentages of minority participation in mainstream media than are accurate. ASNE, for example, includes the staff of the Spanish-language publication of the *Miami Herald*, thus boosting both the *Herald's* figures and the overall figures. RTNDA figures include staff in Spanish-language broadcast with the same results. The figures provided by the International Women's Media Foundation are also problematic. They show that 27% of Latinas in the newsroom hold PhDs. This is a higher percentage than is present among the press in general. Repeated requests made to IWMF executive director and members of the board for clarification of these figures over the course of this study received no response.

[21] Breed, Gans, Gitlin, Chomsky, Herman, Close, Newkirk, Campbell and others.

[22] Altschull, 258.

[23] Newkirk, 72.

[24] Newkirk, 71.

[25] *The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, 389.

[26] Kovach and Rosentiel, 108.

[27] These figures appear in a number of sources. Former *Washington Post* editor Ben Bagdikian is credited with having produced the first extensively documented study on ownership in *Media Monopoly,* 1983. Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman in *Manufacturing Consent* (1988 and 2002) and Robert McChesney in *Rich Media, Poor Democracy* (1999) document this more recently. *The Nation* published an extensive analysis in its cover story "Big Media", in the January 7–14, 2002 issue.

[28] Kovach and Rosenstiel, 183.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Department of Justice figures for 2000, the most recent data. Very detailed information is available in the work of Mike A. Males, author of *Framing Youth* and *Scapegoat Generation*.

[31] Glasser, 134.

[32] Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, *Elements of Journalism* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001), 104.

[33] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 2.

[34] Teun van Dijk, *Racism and the Press: Critical Studies in Racism and Migration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 117.

[35] Murray Frompson, MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour, No. 2281, May 21, 1992.

[36] Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (New York: Longman, 1984), 258.

[37] Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy,* (New York: Longman, 1995).

[38] Bhabha, 2.

[39] "Issue of Race," *Star Tribune*, June 24 1990, Minneapolis, MN. This quote is taken from remarks in the introduction to

the final piece of the series, which included diary excerpts from all participants. Project leader, Managing Editor Linda Picone, recalls that the sessions of discussions about race that were held before and during the compiling of the series were among the most difficult part of the assignment, but that they dramatically changed the lives of some members of the group.

[40] Picone in 1991 interview, discussing the *Star Tribune* series June 10 through June 24, 1990.

[41] Rosalind Bentley, "The noon hour can be a lonely time at the Star Tribune," *Star Tribune*, June 10, 1990.

[42] Picone in final piece about project.

[43] The idea for the project, for which I served as a consultant, was conceived by Balough. It began with the editors because Balough believed that this would quickly ease stress between minority reporters pitching fresh ideas and editors who were unfamiliar with the context from which these ideas emerged.

[44] The meeting between the ethnic press editors and those at the *Statesman* led to later conversations between them. At one point, the editor *of La Prensa* was working on a story about oil tank farms in the middle of a large Mexican-American neighborhood, but her resources were limited. She shared the information with the *Statesman's* Metro editor, who also assigned it to a general assignment reporter. The resulting story went on the wires and soon appeared on the front page of the *New York Times*. The tank farm was soon removed.

[45] Martin Shaw, *Civil Society and Media in Global Crisis: Representing Distant Violence* (New York: Pinter, 1996), 8-9.

[46] National Advisory Commission, 366.

[47] See MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour No. 2281, which aired on May 21, 1992.

[48] The NABJ did a special report on coverage of the riots and related news; the president of the National Association of Asian-American Journalists (then a *Los Angeles Times* reporter) published an article in *Editor & Publisher* condemning the coverage. Minority journalists appeared on radio and television talk shows to criticize press treatment of the issues.

[49] For statistical reference see NAHJ "Brownout" reports and Otto Santa Ana's *Brown Tide Rising* for the use of metaphor in coverage about Latinos. Other examples are provided in the work of Clint Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez.

[50] Otto Santa Ana, *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

[51] Months are not capitalized in Spanish.

[52] Rodolfo Acuña, *Anything But Mexican: Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles* (New York: Verso, 1996), 31. In some circles the slogan was "Let's get stinko for *cinco*." A negative aspect of this appears in studies that show that "nearly one-third of Mexican-American males can be considered 'heavy' or 'problem' drinkers" and that they are 40% more likely to die of alcohol-related cirrhosis of the liver than white males.

[53] William Weber Johnson, *Heroic Mexico: A Narrative History of a Twentieth Century Revolution* (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 407.

[54] Johnson, 427.

[55] Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolt, *Thinking Big, The Story of Los Angeles Times, Its Publishers and Their Influence on Southern California* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), 165-184.

[56] Gans, 36.

[57] Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, "Crossed Wires: U.S. Newspaper Constructions of Outside "Others"—the Case of

Latinos," unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1996.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Mark Pedelty, *War Stories: The Culture of Foreign Correspondents* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 9-14.

[60] Mort Rosenblum, *Who Stole the News?* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1993), 3.

[61] Shaw, 9.

[62] Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom…" and Gabriel, *Whitewash*, 2.

[63] Gabriel, 15.

[64] Gabriel, 1.

[65] Mort Rosenblum, *Coups and Earthquakes* (1979); *Who Stole the News* (1993).

[66] The "Brownout" report by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists charts the number of television stories on four major networks produced annually. In 2000 the number of stories aired declined from a high of 1.3 in 1999 to half of 1% produced annually. A total of 84 Latinos were interviewed in 2000, an increase over 1999 when only 27 were interviewed.

[67] Clara Rodriguez, ed., *Latin Looks: Images of Latinas and Latinos in the U.S. Media,* (Boulder: Westerview Press, 1998).

[68] de Uriarte, "Crossed Wires…".

[69] Gans, Rosenblum, Chomsky, Herman, Parenti, Bennet, Beth Sanders and others.

[70] *Making News Fit*, independent video produced and directed by Beth Sanders, California Newsreel, 1984.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Michael Schudson, "Good Citizens and Bad History: Today's Political Ideals in Historical Perspective," keynote address at Middle Tennessee State University, November 12, 1999 for a conference on "The Transformation of Civic Life."

[73] Ibid.

[74] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders Report, 366.

[75] William Yeingst and Lonnie G Bunch, "Courting the Recent Past: The Woolworth Lunch Counter, Greensboro, North Carolina," *Exhibiting Dilemmas: Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian*, Amy Henderson and Adrienne L. Kaeppler, eds. ,(Washington, DC, Smithsonian Institution, 1997), 146.

[76] Ibid.,144.

[77] Ibid., 145.

[78] Christopher P. Campbell, *Race, Myth and the News,* (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 1995), 44.

[79] Gans, 59.

[80] Ibid., 61.

[81] ASNE 2002 newsroom census.

[82] RTNDA 2002 newsroom census.

[83] Keith Woods, "Do We Check It At The Door?," A Report by the McCormick Fellowship Initiative, 2001, 24.

[84] Gans, 61.

[85] John Gabriel, *Whitewash,* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 15-16.

[86] Glasser, 139.

[87] Hutchins Commission, 22.

6 Conclusions & Recommendations

With its call for parity, ASNE clearly took the leadership role to move the Kerner Commission recommendations from back burner to high visibility. Today newsroom inclusion of minorities finds broad approval across broadcast and print press. A quarter century of workshops, lectures, consultants and other activities fostered an active diversity industry, greater acceptance of integrated newsrooms, more awareness of coverage flaws, but low minority numbers gain and shallow intellectual diversity.

Trouble meeting the goal was evident right from the start. ASNE members pointed to pitfalls. A growing number of studies over time highlighted serious problems. These matters, however, seem to have been mostly ignored as signals that ASNE and RTNDA needed a focused strategy reaching across all components necessary to assure minority inclusion. Over the years numerous mission statements substituted for clear steps designed to address the obstacles to success. Although newsrooms have become corporate entities during the past twenty-five years, and have adjusted to downsizing, joint-operating agreements and other changes requiring major newsroom adjustments, the press remains unable to significantly integrate. It has yet to become diverse.

Journalism education remains central to the staffing of newsrooms. But it continues to be less integrated than the press. Minority faculty are few in number and, according to surveys, more than half are dissatisfied—they cite problems with both overt and covert racism. This issue warrants further exploration. Better support and reward systems need to be constructed for minority faculty.

Journalism education must vigorously diversify its curriculum and require all students to confront the realities of a changing nation. Standard 12 and Standard 3 are well intended, but do not appear to be well respected. They are the two standards that deal directly with integration and diversity and they are the two failed most often.

Both newsrooms and education units must become much more intellectually diverse. They must provide students with a base of knowledge about minorities that encourages contextual reporting in an increasingly complex world. A strong and more diverse liberal arts base is necessary to reach this goal.

This study hopes to energize discourse about challenges facing integration and diversity. As an initial attempt to examine interactions of coordinating components from classroom to newsroom, this study is necessarily limited in its scope. It seeks to provide only an initial analysis of related issues across the preparation and practice of journalism. It seeks to introduce the concept of intellectual diversity as a necessary aspect of newsroom culture.

More must be done. For example, there is a need to review the preparation provided graduate students to ready them to teach aspiring journalists. There is a need to systematically review the sort of liberal arts coursework required of journalism students. There is a need for candid analysis of what obstacles journalism education faces in the

recruitment and retention of minority students, including high school preparation in writing skills. There is a need for a candid evaluation of how well minority graduates have been prepared for the newsroom, including the fostering of independent thinking. Similar reviews are needed for all students; this study focuses on integration and intellectual diversity in journalism.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- ASNE's goals to integrate the newsroom are more valuable now than ever. They should be supported from classroom to newsroom by a strategy designed to overcome identified obstacles.
- Professionals need to provide real leadership toward reaching these goals.
- ASNE and RTNDA should organize a summit bringing together all components needed to make a diverse newsroom possible.
- These components should construct a plan to which they will agree to be accountable by regular assessment of progress, innovation and motivation.
- They should establish a realistic incremental timetable.
- Accreditation should become less ritualistic and include real accountability aspects. In particular, there should be real consequences intended to lower the failure rate of Standards 3 and 12.
- Unpaid internships should be eliminated.
- Fellowships should be initiated to allow more minorities with financial need to work in college press.
- A more vigorous liberal arts foundation must be required including more in-depth knowledge about the minority American experience.

Abridged Survey-Interview Guide

Official interview scripts (with confidentiality agreements, encouragement to explain answers, and directions on recording answers) comprise 11 pages. This is an abbreviated form of the questions in order to provide general information on the sequencing and topical content of the interview survey.

NOTE: 1. Background information was not asked of interviewee but was filled in on the survey prior to contact; 2. Unless otherwise indicated, all questions were asked of Reporters, Editors and News Directors.

I. Background

i. News Organization:
ii. Sex of Interviewee:
iii. Media Type (Print, Radio, TV/Cable):
iv. Newspaper Circulation:
v. Newspaper Minority Staff %:

II. Training, Personal & Professional Development and/or Pursuit of Intellectual Diversity

1. Attendance at Workshops, Seminars, Symposia, or Other Training (12 months):

2. [Editors / News Directors] Workshops, Seminars, Symposia, or Other Training You Sent Reporters To (12 months):

3. Journalism Association Memberships:

4. TRADE Publications Read:

5. OTHER News, Non-News, Regular & Occasional Reading:

6a. Watch or Listen to Which BROADCAST News Sources? (such as NPR, PBS, network, cable, etc.)

6b. Watch or Listen to What BROADCAST News & News-Related Types of Programs? (such as anchor-style news, news magazine-format shows, "talking heads," etc.)

7. Sources of EDITOR/News Director Professional / Intellectual Growth or Breadth: (such as civic involvement, networking, extracurricular professional activity, etc.)

NOTE: Questions 8-10 ONLY asked where reporters had attended ethics training of some kind.

8a. Who Decides whether Reporters Go to Ethics Training / Workshops?

[ONLY asked if Editor or Other Management-Level Staff Sent Reporters]

8b. Why were Specific Reporters Sent to Ethics Training?

8c. Where & How Regularly was Ethics Training Provided?

8d. Who Provided the Training & What Type of Training was it?

9. What is the VALUE (if any) of Ethics Training?

10. How is Ethics Training Assessed?

III. Ethics Perceptions & Experiences

11. Are OTHER Editors/News Directors in your Paper/Station Ethics-knowledgeable?

12. Are Newly Hired Reporters in Your Paper/Station Ethics-knowledgeable?

13. Do Your Reporters and Editors/News Directors Agree on a Basic Understanding of Ethics?

14. OVER–Emphasized Ethical Issues for Journalism (if any):

15. UNDER–Emphasized Ethical Issues for Journalism (if any):

16. Ethical Issues MOST IMPORTANT in Journalism as a Profession:

17. Ethical Issues Most Involved in (Editing / Reporting):

IV. Diversity Perceptions and Experiences

18. DIVERSITY Issues Most Involved in (Editing / Reporting):

19. Are Ethics and Diversity Connected or Separate?

20. Organizational Obstacles to Diversity in News Coverage:

21. [If obstacles identified] Personal Experience with Such Obstacles:

22. [If obstacles identified] Editor/News Director Role Concerning Organizational Obstacles to Diversity in News Coverage:

23. Definition of Diversity:

24. Do Diversity Stories Require Added Context/Background?

25. Does News Organization Help in Developing Context on Diversity Stories?

26. Organization Making Serious Efforts to Diversify Staff?

27. Organization Proactive around Diversity (aside from staffing)?

V. Demographic Information

28. Other Press Employment Experience:

29. Time Spent in News Careers:

30. Education Level:

31. [If BA/BS or Higher Education Level] Degree in What?

32. Age Group:

33. Racial / Ethnic Background

Survey designed & conducted by
Cristina Bodinger-deUriarte, Director of QU

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