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ABSTRACT

The Minorities and Communication section of these Proceedings contains the following 10 papers: "L'affaire Jake Powell: The Minority Press Goes to Bat against Segregated Baseball" (Chris Lamb); "Strategies for Surveying Small, Urban Publications on Patterns of Writing Staff Racial Diversity" (Yvonne Laurenty); "Sensing, Valuation, and the Portrayal of African American TV Newsmakers" (Camilla Gant and John Dimmick); "The Influence of Television Use and Parental Communication on Educational Aspirations of Hispanic Children" (Alexis Tan and others); "Hire and Higher: An Analysis of the Relationship between Numbers of Asian-American Editors and Coverage of Local Chinese by 'The Oregonian' in Portland, Oregon" (Herman B. Chiu); "Tuskegee Airmen, Censorship, and the Black Press in World War II" (Michael S. Sweeney); "Policy and Press Coverage: Changing Coverage of Native Americans and Native American Issues in the Press, 1963-1983" (Jennifer Bowie); "The Invisible 'Model Minority': Images of Koreans on American TV" (Hoon Shim); "A Bumpy Carpet Ride: Disney and Cultural Controversy" (Keri Helene Bartok); and "More Sex Than Consequence: The Sexual Health Content of Latino Magazines" (Melissa A. Johnson). (CR)

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L'affaire Jake Powell:

The Minority Press Goes to Bat

Against Segregated Baseball

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L'affaire Jake Powell:

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Against Segregated Baseball

ABSTRACT

During a radio interview on July 29, 1938, New York Yankee outfielder Jake Powell said he worked as a policeman in the off-season and kept in shape by cracking "niggers" over the head with his nightstick. Powell was immediately suspended for 10 days.

The "Jake Powell Incident" provided the catalyst to challenge segregation in baseball -- mobilizing pressure from black activists, journalists, and others who wanted to integrate baseball. This article examines how this story was covered by mainstream dailies, black weeklies, and the *Daily Worker*, a Communist daily published in New York City.

L'affaire Jake Powell:
The Minority Press Goes to Bat
Against Segregated Baseball

During a pre-game interview at Comiskey Park in Chicago on July 29, 1938, WGN radio announcer Bob Elson asked New York Yankee outfielder Jake Powell what he did during the off-season. Powell replied that he was a policeman in Dayton, Ohio, where he kept in shape, he said, by cracking "niggers" over the head with his nightstick. Before the next day's game, a delegation of blacks presented a petition to umpires demanding that Powell be banned from baseball for life. Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis suspended the ballplayer for 10 days. The *Sporting News* reported that it was the first time that a major league ballplayer was suspended for a racist remark.[1]

"*L'affaire* Jake Powell," as *The Nation* referred to it, captured the hypocrisy of segregated baseball. Landis punished a ballplayer for making a racist remark, yet he and team owners had prohibited blacks from the game since the 19th century. While baseball had thus far turned a deaf ear to criticism of its color ban, it could neither dismiss nor deny the outcry over Powell's remark, made live on radio and heard by thousands of listeners. Author William Donn Rogosin

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suggested that not only did the incident solidify the sense of outrage against baseball's color line, it illustrated the instability of segregated baseball, where a single intemperate remark embroiled the sport in controversy.[2] Both Commissioner Landis and the New York Yankees, the best team in baseball, were forced to take action to mollify the outrage in the black community.

It's doubtful whether Landis, known derisively in the black press as "The Great White Father" for blocking all attempts at integration, would have suspended Powell without outside pressure.[3] Furthermore, the Yankees' management, responding to the threat of a boycott of their games, met with black journalists and activists, asking what could be done to improve relations with the black community. The team also ordered Powell on an apology tour of black newspapers and black-owned bars in Harlem. And finally, *L'affaire* Powell provided a single incident to unify segregation critics in the press -- black, communist and liberal -- who had become increasingly impatient and vociferous in their criticism. Powell's intemperate joke left no one laughing. But it shook baseball at its seams, publicizing the existence of the color ban, putting the game's establishment on the defensive, and unifying critics who would use the remark as a metaphor for the unfairness of segregation.

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Throughout the 1930s, the black press had grown increasingly frustrated over segregated baseball. Sportswriters such as Rollo Wilson and then Wendell Smith of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, Frank "Fay" Young of the Chicago *Defender*, Joe Bostic of the *People's Voice*, Dan Burley of the *Amsterdam News*, and Ed Harris of the Philadelphia *Tribune* let their readers know that segregation denied black players an opportunity to play in the major leagues and white spectators the opportunity to watch some of the best ballplayers in the country.[4]

In 1934, Rollo Wilson wrote that racism precluded the possibility of blacks playing in the white leagues.[5] Two years later, Ed Harris criticized baseball's ban on blacks as unfair, unreasonable, and unprofitable. He said that the addition of black players would weaken racial stereotypes, improve the game, and put more fans in major league ballparks.[6] In May 1938, less than three months before the Powell interview, Wendell Smith questioned why blacks should continue to patronize major league baseball games, though they were not allowed to play in games.[7]

Black newspapers would be supported in their campaign to integrate baseball by the *Daily Worker*, a Communist daily published in New York City. The newspaper espoused the beliefs and philosophies of the U.S. Communist Party, which found it propitious to champion the cause of ending

segregation in baseball, as part of an overall campaign to end discrimination against blacks in all phases of American life.[8] *Daily Worker* journalists understood that ending discrimination in baseball could make a truly revolutionary change in American society.[9]

On Sunday, August 16, 1936, the *Worker* published a page-one story with a headline that said, "Fans Ask End of Jim Crow Baseball," which became the beginning of its campaign to end discrimination in baseball.[10] Over the next decade, the newspaper's sportswriters brashly challenged baseball's establishment to permit black players; condemned white owners for perpetuating the color ban; organized petition drives and distributed anti-discrimination pamphlets; publicized the exploits of Negro League stars; and let their readers know of successes in the campaign to end segregation in the national pastime.[11]

In addition, during this period, a few progressive-minded sports columnists working for mainstream dailies, such as Hugh Bradley of the New York *Post*, Jimmy Powers of the New York *Daily News*, and Westbrook Pegler of the Chicago *Daily News*, also would take up the issue. The issue had been ignored until the early 1930s, but, during that decade, sportswriters, such as Pegler, said that the exclusion of blacks made it difficult for the sport to claim to be the national pastime. He also expressed his amazement that other

journalists had not criticized the color line.[12] As Jules Tygiel wrote in *Baseball Great Experiment*, the campaign waged by the black press, the communists, and a number of other white sportswriters helped weaken the apathy that nourished segregated baseball.[13] Powell's slur united and ignited these different voices as no story did from the early 1930s until Robinson signed a contract with the Brooklyn Dodgers' organization in 1945, ending segregation in so-called organized professional baseball.[14]

In 1938, segregation was so institutionalized that mainstream America, including the press, gave little thought to such concepts as civil rights or racial equality. To most of America, civil rights was little more than a black story.[15] This included segregated baseball. Most white sportswriters working for mainstream dailies, failed to recognize, at least in print, the severity of Powell's remark, specifically, and, more broadly, the injustice of a sport prohibiting athletes based on skin color. As one white columnist, Shirley Povich of the Washington *Post* once put it: "I'm afraid sportswriters thought like the club owners -- that separate was better."[16]

To black sportswriters and the black press, the Powell story represented something bigger than a careless remark by a bigoted outfielder. The black press was "a fighting press," largely circulated outside white America.[17] It clearly

understood the need for racial equality and the evil of discrimination. In 1919, a white newspaper in Somerville, Tennessee, told its readers that no black newspaper could be circulated. In 1920, the Mississippi Legislature passed a law that made it illegal for black newspapers to promote social equality." Two decades later, the Chicago *Defender* reported that its newspapers were often removed from stands and halted at the post office.[18]

Baseball, it is important to understand, was one of the first institutions in the country to accept blacks on a relatively equal basis.[19] In recent years, scholars and other writers increasingly have studied the role of journalists -- particularly black sportswriters -- in their reporting of the integration of baseball. Much of this research has focused on press coverage of Jackie Robinson.[20] When Montreal signed Robinson to a contract in October 1945, sportswriters working for black weeklies reported the story as historically significant, while metropolitan newspapers treated it as relatively unimportant.[21] Additional research of Robinson's first spring training with Montreal in 1946 came to the same conclusion. [22] An analysis of press coverage of Robinson's first year with Brooklyn in 1947 found instances of subtle racial bias.[23] This article notably examines the issue not in the mid-1940s, but nearly a decade before.

In another article on the press and the integration of

baseball, it was suggested that Powell's slur was one of several events that led to the signing of Robinson.[24] But there has thus far been just one study of the press and the Powell incident. Historian Richard Crepeau said that the story reflected differences in press coverage between the white and the black press. But his analysis was limited in content and in context. In addition, Crepeau perpetuated a falsehood that Powell was, as the ballplayer claimed, a Dayton policeman. This inaccuracy has been repeated in subsequent references to the incident but this does not make any more true. This article corrects that and also examines how the story was reported in the ballplayer's hometown of Dayton. It also draws from a larger sample of newspapers than Crepeau did.[25]

More importantly, though, this article fills a gap in the Crepeau research, which primarily examined the story from the time Powell made his remark until he returned to the field after his suspension. But the story transcends those two weeks. It is, as it has been suggested, an influential story in the years preceding the integration of baseball. In the early years of the campaign to integrate baseball, this story put the national pastime on the defensive, brought together different sportswriters who understood the injustice of segregation, and provided foreshadowing of the effectiveness of protest in securing civil rights. Therefore,

it is important to put the story within the context of the expanding field of literature on the press and the integration of baseball but also within the larger framework of segregated American society in the late 1930s.

The publicity surrounding the Powell story made it harder, though obviously not impossible, for baseball to ignore the issue of race. If the ballplayer contributed to integrating the sport, it was not the story's only irony. For instance, Powell was suspended by Landis, an adamant segregationist. In addition, in 1936, the Washington Senators traded Powell to the New York Yankees for the virulent racist Ben Chapman, of Alabama. Finally, Powell was never a police officer in Dayton or anywhere else -- though a decade later he would die as a petty criminal in a police station in Washington, D.C. This part of the story went virtually unreported. Newspapers -- with the exception of two black weeklies -- reported that Powell was a policeman in Dayton without making any attempt to verify it.

Alvin Jacob Powell was born in Silver Spring, Maryland, in 1908. He played three games for the Washington Senators in 1930 and then spent the next few years on several minor league teams, including the Dayton Ducks. Powell and his wife made their home in Dayton. He talked frequently with friends of wanting to become a police officer in Dayton. According to one account, he applied once but was rejected; according to

another, he was offered a job but rejected it, thinking he could become a police officer when he retired from baseball. If he were a cop, he would use his nightstick on blacks, he used to joke to friends.[26] The joke, as he would later learn, was not really that funny after all.

Powell returned to the major leagues with Washington for nine games in 1934. In his first full season in 1935, he hit .312 with 98 runs-batted-in. During the 1936 season, he was traded to New York for Chapman, who had become unpopular with the team's management after making anti-Semitic and racist slurs at fans at Yankee Stadium. The Senators, for their part, wanted to unload Powell because his creditors threatened to sue the team to settle the ballplayer's debts.[27]

Powell hit .302 in 80 games after joining the Yankees, who won the American League pennant in 1936. He led the team in hitting and runs scored during the World Series -- the first of four straight series championships for the Yankees, who had a lineup that included Lou Gehrig, Tony Lazzeri, Joe DiMaggio, Bill Dickey, and pitchers "Red" Ruffing and "Lefty" Gomez, all members of Baseball's Hall of Fame. Powell played in 97 of the team's 154 games in 1937 and hit .263. His playing time was reduced more during the 1938 season -- especially after his "nightstick" comment. In fact, he would play little with the Yankees after that, even though he would

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remain with the team for two more years. In late July 1938, Powell's statistics for the season included just 30 games, 134 plate appearances, and a batting average of .254.[28]

After Powell finished batting practice on July 29, WGN broadcaster Bob Elson asked him for a dugout interview and the ballplayer obliged. As soon as Powell made his derogatory remark, the station cut off the interview. Unaware he had said anything offensive, Powell went to the locker room to change into his uniform. He did not learn his comment had caused an uproar until he returned to the field.[29] There was some question over the precise language used by Powell. The station did not tape the broadcast.

Newspapers had different interpretations of what was said, and these interpretations varied, for the most part, according to the race of the journalist reporting the story. For instance, the *New York Times* characterized the comment as "a flippant remark that was taken to be offensive" to Chicago's black population.[30] The Washington *Post* said that Powell had made an "uncomplimentary remark about a portion of the population."[31] Shirley Povich, the newspaper's sports columnist, quipped that blacks in Dayton had little to worry about if Powell "is no more effective with a police club that he is with his bat."[32] The Associated Press characterized the comments as "slighting remarks" against blacks.[33] This description was repeated in the Dayton *Daily*

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News in Powell's hometown.[34] Another daily in that city, the *Journal*, published nothing about the incident. The *Sporting News*, the influential national sports weekly, described the tone of the interview as "remarks considered derogatory by the colored race."[35]

By comparison, it was a page-one story to black newspapers, which included a lot more details, including reactions from the black community. The Chicago *Defender* reported that Elson asked, "How do you keep in trim during the winter months in order to keep up your batting average?" Powell then replied: "Oh, that's easy, I'm a policeman, and I beat niggers over the head with my blackjack."[36] The same language appeared in the Dayton *Forum*.[37] The New York *Age* quoted the ballplayer as saying he spent most of his time as a policeman "whipping the heads of niggers."[38] The Pittsburgh *Courier* reported that Powell's "chief hobby was `hitting niggers over the head.' "[39]

Hundreds of people protested the comment by calling the radio station, the commissioner's office, and the Yankees' hotel in Chicago. After Elson cut off Powell, according to the Associated Press, the station broadcast at least a half-dozen apologies and pointed out that it was unable to control the remark "because of the spontaneous nature of the interview."[40] Elson also apologized.[41] Powell initially denied making the remark, telling baseball writers that he merely

explained that he was a police officer during the winter and that his beat was in the black section of town."[42]

Powell did not accompany his team the next day for another game against the White Sox at Comiskey Park in the city's predominantly black part of town, possibly for fear of concerns for his safety. In the morning, the owner of the Chicago White Sox heard the protests of a delegation, including the executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League, the wife of the former owner of the Chicago American Giants in the Negro Leagues, and executives of the Chicago *Defender*, including sports editor, "Fay" Young.[43]

When umpire-in-chief Harry Geisel and the other umpires came onto the field before the game, they were met by another delegation of representatives of Chicago's black community, which presented a resolution demanding that Powell apologize and be suspended from baseball for life. A formal petition would be sent to Landis, the Associated Press reported.[44] The Chicago *Tribune* mentioned the pre-game meeting at Comiskey Park while the Chicago *Daily News* did not.[45]

The baseball establishment and the mainstream press did not recognize the severity of the comment. In his official statement announcing the suspension of Powell, Landis said: "In a dugout interview before Friday's game by a sports announcer, player Jake Powell of the New York Yankees made an uncomplimentary reference to a portion of the population.

Although the commissioner believes the remark was due more to carelessness than intent, player Powell is suspended for 10 days."[46] Powell's reaction was brief: "I'm suspended. That's all there is to it."[47]

The Yankees did not question the suspension but fell short of criticizing Powell. New York general manager Ed Barrow said the comments by Powell did not reflect the attitudes of the Yankee management. Barrow said that it had denounced Ben Chapman's anti-Semitic remarks when he played for the team. He added that there was nothing more the team could do about Powell. He added that he had checked with his two "colored servants," who told him they thought it was just an unfortunate mistake and could not happen again.[48] In addition, New York manager Joe McCarthy said Powell meant no harm and blamed the radio station for broadcasting the slur.[49]

The *Sporting News* agreed with McCarthy. The fault lay not with the message but with the messenger. An editorial characterized Powell's comment as "careless" and not intentional, using practically the same language as Landis. The *Sporting News* was edited by J. Taylor Spink, whom one writer called "a spokesman for white big league resistance."[50] Landis and *Sporting News* editor J. Taylor Spink were in agreement on the issue of the color ban. According to the editorial, the remedy against such remarks

was restricting radio interviews.[51]

In a column, Dan Daniel reported that the controversy would lead to a ban on broadcast interviews of ballplayers. Daniel called Powell the first player in baseball to be suspended for using derogatory language, adding that he thought the controversy would quickly fade away with no impact on the ballplayer or his career. Daniel was sympathetic: "Powell could have been more careful. But he is a hustling player, aggressive, and always getting into a jam."[52] To Daniel, talking of cracking blacks over the head with a nightstick was equivalent to trying to take an extra base on a hit.

The *Sporting News* -- as with most of the mainstream press -- would not give the Powell story anymore attention until the ballplayer returned to the Yankees' lineup on August 16. Daily newspapers reported the suspension and a few other details about it, then let the story fade. This reflects generalizations about press coverage of black issues in the mainstream press. One was that nothing important happened in black communities. The other was that the white press was subservient to commissioner Landis and the baseball establishment.[53]

This was not the case with black sportswriters. Ed Harris of the Philadelphia *Tribune* acknowledged that the story had received little attention in the daily press by

writing that it was "astonishing the ease with which our so-called `fair' sportswriters found it convenient not to say anything about the case of that half-wit Jake Powell."[54] "Fay" Young, however, mentioned that the communist newspaper, The *Daily Worker*, Jimmy Powers of the *Daily News*, and syndicated columnist Westbrook Pegler had criticized baseball's handling of the Powell incident.[55]

Pegler, for instance, criticized Landis and the baseball establishment for enforcing a racist policy and then suspending Powell for making a racist statement. "Powell got his cue from the very men whose hired disciplinarian had benched him for an idle remark," he wrote.[56] New York *Post* columnist Hugh Bradley accused Landis and baseball of "smug hypocrisy." Baseball executives, he said, expressed their disgust and horror at Powell's uncouth comment through Landis: "Then they calmly proceed with their own economic boycott against this minority people," Bradley said.[57] Six months earlier, he had condemned baseball owners for "not permitting a minority race" to earn a living in the game.[58] The liberal weekly, *The Nation*, editorialized that baseball was quick to denounce Powell -- even though no team had any blacks on their roster.[59]

Daily Worker sports editor Lester Rodney also recognized the irony of the suspension coming from Landis and called on the baseball establishment to suspend themselves.[60] He

acknowledged Powell's reputation as a dirty player, noting that he had once run over Detroit first baseman Hank Greenberg, a Jew. He also pointed out the irony that Powell had been traded to the team for the "viciously anti-Semitic Ben Chapman" to ward off a boycott by outraged fans in Yankee Stadium.[61] The newspaper reported that many people wanted Powell expelled from baseball and fired from the Dayton police department.

To black weeklies, such as the Pittsburgh *Courier*, Chicago *Defender*, New York *Age*, *Amsterdam News*, Atlanta *World*, Philadelphia Tribune, Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, Dayton *Forum*, and the Afro-American chain, the Powell incident provided an opportunity to channel their collective and longstanding indignation at a single act of racism that represented the laws and customs of the country. The *Defender* reported that the black community was incensed over the remark, adding that the city's racial climate was the worst since a race riot in 1919.[62]

The black press provided a lot more on the developments of the story, including such information as the reaction of the black community; an extensive interview with New York Yankee president Ed Barrow; and Powell's apology. The Amsterdam *News* reported that thousands of names appeared on a petition to ban Powell from the game.[63] The Philadelphia *Afro-American* editorialized that Powell merely reflected the

opinions of the baseball establishment.[64] The Chicago *Defender* called Powell "a skunk," "a riot breeder," "a professional bully," and "a dangerous man to trust."[65]

The contrast in coverage between white and black newspapers was apparent in Powell's hometown of Dayton, Ohio. The *Daily News* reported in a three-paragraph story on its front page that Powell had been suspended. In its sports section, it published a separate story with more details on the suspension, including the ballplayer's denial that he had made the racist remark. In addition, it said that Powell had once played for the Dayton Ducks and had been offered a job by the police department but had rejected it to play baseball.[66] The *Journal* did not mention the incident until Powell returned to the field after serving his suspension.[67]

By contrast, the story received two front-page stories on August 5 in the Dayton *Forum*, the city's black weekly. One story told its readers that Powell had said during a radio interviewer that he was policeman in Dayton, where he "beat niggers over the head with a blackjack." A sidebar quoted the city's director of public safety as saying that the ballplayer had never been an employee of the police department. "In so many words," the official "branded as lies the alleged statement made over the air of the big-mouthed, cocky professional baseball," the article added.[68]

The *Defender* also published a denial by the mayor of

Dayton that Powell was a police officer. It also told its readers that Ruppert had written a letter to the Dayton police department, asking it to "overlook Mr. Powell's thoughtless blunder and give him a second chance."[69] But the Dayton police department could not have fired Powell if it wanted; he did not work as a police officer in Dayton or in any other city. Newspapers -- with the exception of the *Forum* and *Defender* -- made no attempt to verify whether Powell was a police officer, simply taking the word of a racist as the truth.

The black press and black community used the threat of an economic boycott to make certain they were not only heard but listened to. A Norfolk *Journal and Guide* columnist said that if the Yankees did not do something about Powell, not only would thousands of fans stay away from their ballpark, but others might seek revenge against Powell in Dayton.[70] Ed Harris wrote that Powell's remark could cost the Yankees. "The Yankees and the players on other teams have got a good lesson in just what decency and a sense of non-prejudice is worth. By the hard way -- the cash box," he said.[71]

In New York City, the New York *Age* and *Amsterdam News* reported that blacks were calling for Powell's expulsion from baseball and the number of names on a petition to ban Powell were increasing every day. The *News'* sports editor sent a telegram to the Yankees' owner demanding a stronger

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punishment for the ballplayer.[72] The *Age* reported that hundreds of letters had poured into the Yankee office.[73] Blacks in Harlem protested outside Yankee Stadium.[74] In an open letter to brewer Jacob Ruppert, the owner of the Yankees; Old Gold cigarettes, the tobacco company that sponsored the broadcast of the interview; and the citizens of Dayton, Ohio, the *Defender* demanded that Powell be banned from baseball and fired from the Dayton police department and insisted that Ruppert and Old Gold cigarettes apologize to black America.[75]

Whether it was the threat of a boycott, the petition drive, or something else, the Yankees ordered Powell on an apology tour of black newspapers, businesses, and bars. Powell began at the Chicago *Defender*. The newspaper published his letter of apology. In it, he said he regretted his slur and asked to be forgiven by those he had insulted. He probably should have quit there; instead, he unfortunately added: "I have two members of your race taking care of my home while myself and wife are away and I think they are two of the finest people in the world. I do hundreds of favors for them daily."[76]

When the Yankees returned from their road trip, Powell went from bar to bar in Harlem apologizing to patrons. He explained that he had not intended to hurt anyone's feelings and offered to appear at a benefit game for a black

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charity.[77] Then at some point, curiously, he began denying that he had ever made the comment attributed to him -- though tens of thousands of listeners had heard it.[78] Of the dailies in New York, only the *Daily News* mentioned of the apology tour.[79] New York *Age* sports columnist William Clark questioned the sincerity of the apology. It added that Powell should make his apology on the radio -- in the same manner as he had made it.[80]

The New York Yankees hoped that the story would go away. When it did not, the team realized it needed to defend itself to the black community. In an interview with an American Negro Press reporter, Barrow pointed out that the team distributed hundreds of complimentary tickets every year to black spectators, donated regularly to the Harlem branch of the YMCA, and hired blacks as plain clothes security officers to patrol the stands, reporting gambling and breaking up fights."[81]

In an interview with the *Amsterdam News*, Barrow and McCarthy asked what the team could do to improve relations with the black community. When they were told that they should trade or release Powell, they responded that it would be unfair to the ballplayer who had contributed to the team's success.[82] Neither the Yankees, the mainstream press, or the white community seemed to understand what all the uproar was about. Instead of releasing the ballplayer, they

kept him on the team's roster but did not play him.

The Chicago *Defender*, meanwhile, continued to press for stricter punishment against Powell and the Yankees. In a front-page editorial, the *Defender* reported that blacks in Harlem had protested outside Yankee Stadium and it called on all blacks to boycott Ruppert's beer and Old Gold Cigarettes until they apologized.[83] An editorial used the Powell story as a metaphor for "fair play" in society. Within an hour after his remark, it said, hundreds of protests had poured into the newspaper's office and WGN radio from people who recognized a violation of American ideals of decency and fairness.[84] "Fay" Young told readers to continue to put pressure on Landis and the Yankees to keep Powell out of baseball.[85] The Philadelphia *Afro-American* reported that blacks were staying away from Yankee Stadium.[86] The Dayton *Forum* said that "America is beginning to take notice when the negro protests en masse."[87]

In his column the following week, Young wrote that the upcoming negro league East-West All-Star game in Chicago could be a turning point for black baseball. There would be white sportswriters, baseball executives, and spectators at the game. An increasing number of white journalists, such as Powers and Pegler, had begun calling for the integration of the national pastime, joining the communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, and black weeklies such as the Pittsburgh

Courier, Washington *Tribune*, and the *Defender*, Young said. "Because of the constant `rapping at the door of the major leagues by some of our talent,' and the recent uttering of one Jake Powell," he wrote, the issue of segregated baseball had been laid at the feet club owners and the baseball establishment.

The *Defender* reported the story not just on its front page and sports pages but also on its editorial page. In one editorial, the newspaper said that Powell reflected the prejudice and disrespect of segregation."If black players had been in baseball," it said, "the Jake Powell incident would never have occurred, for as in Congress, legislatures and city councils, where we have elected officials, the presence of our men reminds -- and demands -- respect."[88]

Black sportswriters gave their readers an extensive account of the negro league's annual all-star game in Chicago, which drew a crowd of about 50,000, including such sportswriters as Lloyd Lewis, the sports editor of the Chicago *Daily News*.[89] Young quoted Lewis as saying it was "inevitable" that blacks would one day play in the major leagues. He said that there was not any written rule prohibiting blacks but that integration would require approval by a majority of the owners, and there was not any owner right now who was willing to go on record with such a motion. "It is inevitable," Lewis said. "Just how soon no

one can tell, but it is sure to come."[90]

When Powell returned to the field in Washington on August 16, fans reacted angrily, booing, cursing, and even throwing bottles at him. There were several delays during the game as, ironically, black groundskeepers came onto the field to pick up bottles thrown by black spectators at a white ballplayer, the *New York Times* reported.[91] McCarthy defended his decision to play Powell. The *Sporting News* reported that Powell would have to "face the music" for his radio remark.[92]

Powell's return received some attention in New York City dailies and other white newspapers. The New York *Sun* called Powell's return to the lineup one of the more unpleasant situations faced by any major leaguer.[93] Writing in the Washington *Post*, Shirley Povich questioned the judgment of playing Powell in a city where blacks were segregated in one section and could feed off one another's anger.[94] New York's next road game would be in Philadelphia. In the *Tribune*, Ed Harris said that fans were preparing for Powell by warming up their throwing arms.[95]

In September, several black newspapers reported that Powell was on the trading block but the team could not unload him because of his baggage.[96] The Yankees would not trade Powell until 1943, but he became, in effect, *persona non grata* after his radio interview. He would bat just 30

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times in the last two months of the 1938 season and only once in the World Series. He played 31 games in 1939 and then cracked his skull running into an outfield wall during a spring training game in 1940. After three years in the minor leagues, he was traded to Washington. About halfway through the 1945 season, he was then dealt to the Phillies, where his manager was the racist Ben Chapman.

Powell's career ended after the 1945 season. A month after the end of the season, the Montreal Royals, the Brooklyn Dodgers' top minor league team, announced it had signed Jackie Robinson, ending the national pastime's ban against blacks. After Powell retired, he returned to Dayton, where he worked as a security guard. In 1947, however, he was arrested for writing $300 worth of bad checks in a Washington hotel room but never formally charged. On November 4, 1948, Washington, D.C., police arrested him and a female companion and charged them with writing bad checks. Inside the police station, Powell shot himself to death.[97]

L'affaire Powell caused a crack in the barrier that separated the two races in professional baseball. The New York *Age* editorialized that the incident was important in molding public opinion in the black press. One of its columnists said the white press would not take up the issue but the black newspapers did, forcing an apology by Powell and concessions by his team.[98] It demonstrated the ability

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of the black press to mobilize public opinion and organize a significant protest to challenge racial injustices, something that would become obvious to much of the country during the civil rights movement. While the integration of baseball was still years away, those journalists who wanted to end segregation became unified over a racist remark to make their case loud and clear. In doing so, they won an early victory in their campaign to erase baseball's color line.

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1. Sporting News, 4 August 1938.

2. Donn Rogosin, Invisible Men (New York: Kodanshu International, 1983), p. 192

3. William Donn Rogosin, "Black Baseball: Life in the Negro Leagues," Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1981, p. 234.

4. Telephone interview with Sam Lacy, 17 February 1995.

5. The Crisis, October 1934, pp. 305-306. See, Herbert Aptheker, ed., A Documentary History of the Negro People, 1933-1938 (New York: Citadel Press, 1974), pp. 113-115.

6. Ed Harris, "Abstract Reasoning," Philadelphia Tribune, 6 August 1936. See, James Reisler, Black Writers/Black Baseball, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Co., 1994), pp. 149-151.

7. "We keep on crawling, begging, and pleading for recognition just the same. We know they don't want us, but we still keep giving them our money. Keep on going to their ball games and shouting till we are blue in the face," Wendell Smith wrote. See, "A Strange Tribe," Pittsburgh Courier, 11 May 1938. The column was reprinted in Reisler, Black Writers/Black Baseball, pp. 36-38.

8. The Community Party realized the possibilities of increasing its popularity by appealing to liberal whites and blacks; its rank-and-file members, however, sincerely believed in the cause of equality of the races. See, Kelly Rusinack, "Baseball on the Radical Agenda: The Daily and Sunday Worker on the Desegregation of Major League Baseball, 1933-1947" master's thesis, Clemson University, Clemson, S.C., 1995.

9. See Chris Lamb and Kelly Rusinack, "Hitting from the Left: The Daily Worker's Assault on Baseball's Color Line," unpublished paper, 1998.

10. Lester Rodney, "Fans Ask End of Jim Crow Baseball," Sunday Worker, 16 August 1936, p. 1.

11. Lamb and Rusinack, "Hitting from the Left," unpublished paper, 1998.

12. Richard Crepeau, Baseball: America's Diamond Mind, 1919-1941 (University of Central Florida: Orlando, 1980), p. 169.

13. Jules Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 37.

14. The Montreal Royals, the top minor league team in the Brooklyn Dodgers' organization, signed Jackie Robinson to a contract in October 1945. Robinson played the 1946 season with Montreal, before integrating the major leagues in 1947. Organized professional baseball referred to the major and minor leagues, which had an organized schedule of games from April until October. The black leagues -- or negro leagues as they were called -- played a less formal schedule.

15. Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 13).

16. Telephone interview with Shirley Povich, 8 July 1996.

17. Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1948), p. 289.

18. Roland Wolseley, The Black Press, U.S.A. (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, 1971), p. 53.

19. The integration of baseball came years before other landmark events in civil rights, such as the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education, the March on Washington in 1963, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. See, Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment, pp. 9, 99.

20. See, Bill L. Weaver, "The Black Press and the Assault on Professional Baseball's `Color Line,' October, 1945-April 1947, Phylon 40 (Winter 1979): 303-317; William Simons, "Jackie Robinson and the American Mind: Journalistic Perceptions of the Reintegration of Baseball," Journal of Sport History 12 (Spring 1985): 39-64; William Kelley, "Jackie Robinson and the Press," Journalism Quarterly 53 (Spring 1976): 137-139; Patrick Washburn, "New York Newspapers and Robinson's First Season," Journalism Quarterly 58 (Winter 1981): 640-644; David K. Wiggins, "Wendell Smith, The Pittsburgh Courier-Journal and the Campaign to Include Blacks in Organized Baseball," Journal of Sport History 10 (Summer 1983): 5-29; Chris Lamb and Glen Bleske, "The Road to

October 23, 1945: The Press and the Integration of Baseball," Nine: A Journal of Baseball History and Social Policy Perspectives, accepted for publication, 6 (Fall 1997): 48-68; Chris Lamb, " `I Never Want to Take Another Trip Like This One': Jackie Robinson's Journey to Integrate Baseball," Journal of Sport History, 24 (Summer 1997): 177-191; and Chris Lamb and Glen Bleske, "A Different Story," accepted for publication, Journalism History(1998).

21. Kelley, "Jackie Robinson and the Press," pp. 137-139.

22. See, Lamb and Bleske, "A Different Story."

23. Washburn, "New York Newspapers and Jackie Robinson's First Season," pp. 640-644.

24. The integration of baseball happened when it did, why it did, and how it did for several reasons, including: (1) the efforts of a number black social activists, including sportswriters; (2) the growing popularity of negro league baseball games, which represented a source of potential revenue for white owners who felt they could increase their attendance by attracting black spectators; (3) the Jake Powell incident; (4) the death of commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis; (5) a series of failed attempts that made integrationists more determined; (6) political pressures that resulted in the creation of such committees as the New York City Major's Committee on the Integration of Baseball; and (7) Branch Rickey, a white baseball executive who had the clout to make it happen, and Jackie Robinson, a black ballplayer who had courage to break the color line. See, Lamb and Bleske, "The Road to October 23, 1945," p. 9.

25. The newspapers included in this survey included the New York Times, New York Post, New York Daily News, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Daily News, Dayton Daily News, Dayton Journal, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, Daily Worker, Herald Tribune (Paris edition), Portsmouth (Ohio) Times, The Nation, Sporting News, Chicago Defender, New York Age, Amsterdam News, Pittsburgh Courier, Baltimore Afro-American, Philadelphia Afro-American, Philadelphia Tribune, Dayton Forum, and Norfolk Journal and Guide.

26. Dayton Journal, 5 November 1948.

27. Dayton Journal, 5 November 1948.

28. Sporting News, 4 August 1938, p. 4. By comparison, his teammate Red Rolfe had played in 84 games and batted 349 times.

29. Sporting News, 4 August 1938.

30. New York Times, 30 July 1938.

31. Washington Post, 31 July 1938.

32. Washington Post, 1 August 1938.

33. New York Herald Tribune (Paris edition), 31 July 1938.

34. Dayton Daily News, 31 July 1938.

35. Sporting News, 4 August 1938.

36. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

37. Dayton Forum, 5 August 1938.

38. New York Age, 6 August 1938.

39. Pittsburgh Courier, 6 August 1938.

40. Portsmouth (Ohio) Times, 31 July 1938.

41. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

42. This Associated Press account was published throughout the country in newspapers such as the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, 31 July 1938, and Portsmouth (Ohio) Times, 31 July 1938

43. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1946

44. Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, 31 July 1938.

45. Chicago Tribune, 31 July 31 1938.

46. Chicago Daily News, 30 July 1938.

47. New York Herald Tribune (Paris edition), 31 July 1938.

48. Norfolk Journal and Guide, 13 August 1938.

49. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

50. Mark Ribowski, A Complete History of the Negro Leagues, 1884-1955 (New York: Birch Lane Publishing, 1995), 253.

51. Sporting News, 4 August 1938.

52. Sporting News, 4 August 1938.

53. Crepeau, "The Jake Powell Incident," p. 36.

54. Philadelphia Tribune, 4 August 1938.

55. Chicago Defender, 13 August 1946.

56. Chicago Daily News, 4 August 1938.

57. New York Post, 4 August 1938.

58. Ira Berkow, Red (New York: New Times Co., 1986), p. 108.

59. The Nation, 6 August 1938.

60. Daily Worker, 13 August 1938.

61. Daily Worker, 2 August 1938.

62. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

63. Amsterdam News, 13 August 1938.

64. Philadelphia Afro-American, 20 August 1938.

65. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

66. Dayton Daily News, 31 July 1938.

67. Dayton Journal, 17 August 1938.

68. Dayton Forum, 5 August 1938.

69. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

70. Norfolk Journal and Guide, 6 August 1938.

71. Philadelphia Tribune, 4 August 1938.

72. Crepeau, "Jake Powell Incident," p. 38.

73. New York Age, 13 August 1938.

74. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

75. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938."(Black) fans are wondering why Jake Ruppert, owner of the New York Yankees, who hires Powell, will continue to let him play when Mr. Ruppert enjoys the patronage of thousands of black citizens in his Yankee Stadium and sells his beer all over Harlem to black people, making thousands of dollars from this race. Old Gold cigarettes that sponsored Powell's talk also enjoys lucrative business from the black race, but so far has been entirely mum on an apology. Black people have learned how to `fight fire with fire' and will expect all sources in any way connected with Powell and his slur to see that he is banned from baseball and kept where he will not have the opportunity to exhibit his ignorance," the letter said.

76. Chicago Defender, 20 August 1938.

77. New York Age, 20 August 1938.

78. Pittsburgh Courier, 20 August 1938.

79. Crepeau, "Jake Powell Incident," p. 40.

80. New York Age, 20 August 1938.

81. Dayton Forum, 12 August 1938.

82. New York Age, 1 October 1938.

83. Chicago Defender, 20 August 1938.

84. Chicago Defender, 13 August 1938.

85. Chicago Defender, 6 August 1938.

86. Philadelphia Afro-American, 3 September 1938.

87. Dayton Forum, 12 August 1938.

88. Chicago Defender, 20 August 1938.

89. The annual East-West game drew crowds of 50,000 in the mid-1930s and 1940s. But, more importantly, it gave black stars the opportunity to display their skills in front of white spectators and sportswriters. On August 7, 1941, Ed Harris wrote in the Philadelphia Tribune: "You read about the 50,000 persons who saw the East-West game and the thousands who were turned away from

the classic, and you get to wondering what the magnates of the American and National Leagues thought about when they read the figures." See, Reisler, Black Writers/Black Baseball, pp. 158-159. Author William Donn Rogosin called the annual East-West all-star game "the single most important black sports event in America" in the 1930s and 1940s. Many of the games attracted crowds of 50,000. See, Rogosin, Invisible Men, p. 25. Mark Ribowsky also devotes a lot of attention to the importance of the all-star game in generating a lot of interest in integrating the national pastime. See, Ribowsky, A Complete History of the Negro Leagues, 1884-1955.

90. Chicago Defender, 27 August 1938.

91. New York Times, 17 August 1938.

92. Sporting News, 25 August 1938.

93. Crepeau, "Jake Powell Incident," p. 42.

94. Washington Post, 17 August 1938.

95. Philadelphia Tribune, 25 August 1938.

96. Crepeau, "Jake Powell Incident," p. 44.

97. Dayton Daily News, 6 November 1948.

98. New York Age, 1 October 1938. See Crepeau, "Jake Powell Incident," p. 44.

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'Strategies for Surveying Small, Urban Publications on Patterns of Writing Staff Racial Diversity'

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March 30, 1998

Title: "Strategies for Surveying Small. Urban Publications on Patterns of Writing Staff Racial Diversity"

Short Abstract:

This study pre-tests the design of a questionnaire customized to survey racial diversity among writing staffs at 50 small Brooklyn and metropolitan New York City publications unreported by the print media's annual national diversity census. The survey's 42 percent initial response supports the feasibility of expanding the scope of inquiry to include managers' attitudes toward diversity. Evaluation of design strategies, which offers "best practice" guidelines for probing sensitive, race-based issues within the industry, anticipates a more comprehensive future study.

Long Abstract:

To gain a close-up look at racial diversity for writing staffs within the print media market that serves as primary employers for our journalism program graduates, a customized survey polled 50 small circulation Brooklyn and metropolitan New York City publications on the extent of diversity and attitudes toward diversity.

This study pre-tested a questionnaire aimed at media organizations unreported in the industry's annual national diversity census. The survey aimed to go beyond the tabulation of descriptive demographics to include data on hiring trends, policies and managers' expectations of benefits to diversity.

The 42 percent initial response affirms the idea that questionnaires can be designed to probe in-depth sensitive, race-based issues in an industry with a poor record of racial diversity. Hiring projections signaled some limited opportunity for diversity within these markets, with 10 percent of respondents reporting a lack of diversity. Among these, no affiliations to organizations formally espousing *benefits* to diversity were reported. However, efforts to blunt the survey's language and disguise its purpose to reduce psychological threat to respondents rendered the attitude data largely indeterminate. Thus, the study weighs the pros and cons of explicit vs. disguised formatting and discusses other design dilemmas as a guide to a future, more comprehensive survey.

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'Strategies for Surveying Small, Urban Publications on Patterns of Writing Staff Racial Diversity'

Over the 30 years since the 1968 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders – the "Kerner Commission – first alerted the American print media to the alarming lack of diversity in writing staffs, industry efforts to improve this situation have undergone periodic scrutiny from within. A major professional news organization, The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), has spearheaded diversity efforts with its long-term campaign aimed at focusing the industry's attention on this issue. Specifically, the campaign urges newspaper editors to take steps to make newsrooms significantly more diverse by the year 2000.

To monitor progress toward this goal, the organization annually surveys and publishes statistics on employment diversity at print media organizations nationwide. These polls, which newspaper managers respond to voluntarily, have painted a somewhat bleak industry picture, even though prospects for diversity are a good deal brighter than in 1968. Commenting on the trends, for example, author Kay Mills reported in 1990 that "a stunning 56 percent of American newsrooms have no minorities. . . . Only 3.9 percent of newspaper executives are minorities." Mills also said of ASNE's "Goals 2000" hiring projections: "they probably won't make it" (*A Place in the News*, p. 175).

Indeed, ASNE does report a slowdown after earlier progress: Minority hiring rose from a low of 1.5 percent in 1972, but appeared to stall out after peaking at 11.4 percent in 1996.

With these figures in mind, a close-up look at diversity in the New York City print media markets is an important area to study for a journalism degree program like ours which prepares students for this occupation. This is especially useful, given our program's overall demographics. As part of New York City's university system, we are an urban public two-year college which enrolled 14,758 students in 1996, of whom 50.2 percent were non-white minorities. Our Journalism and Print Media Program reflects these percentages and each year graduates a significant number of minority students who look for work mostly at small local print media outlets. Following ASNE's lead, and out of concern about the employment environment into which we graduate our students, our journalism program needs as much specific knowledge as possible about current diverse hiring trends, policies and attitudes, specifically among these potential employers.

Thus, a preliminary questionnaire, designed by this investigator and reported in this paper, anticipates a future, more comprehensive survey research study of small Brooklyn and metropolitan New York City publications. The instrument discussed here aims to poll publication managers to establish a limited first-time diversity profile of these media organizations, many of which are not included among the annual ASNE diversity polling of daily newspapers. Further, the questionnaire attempts to elicit a different kind of data than does ASNE (which lists respondents by state, gives circulation figures, tallies percentages of minorities

employed in newsroom job categories -- supervisors, reporters/writers, copy/layout editors, photographers/artists -- and provides figures on minority and white first-time hires or interns). Instead, our survey answers will enable us to learn more about the "mainstream" and "minority" press in our own specific employment area, to know something about their diversity and attitudes toward diversity, and to derive some indicators of job opportunities at these local media outlets.

It should be noted that survey research of this sort is plagued with problems of questionnaire design and procedure that must be addressed and resolved to enhance the likelihood of good response rates that lead to project success. Beyond this factor is the concern over viability of attempting to probe sensitive issues of race and employment, given the superheated political environment surrounding these questions in today's world (see Sam Howe Verhovek. "In Poll, Americans Reject Means But Not Ends of Racial Diversity," *New York Times*, 14 Dec. 1997, p. A:1) In planning this questionnaire, it was felt that the first question to answer is whether an effective survey instrument can be developed to incorporate all the advantages of the ASNE survey (its traceable, signed responses, its explicit and unambiguous questions), and yet effectively expand the scope of its inquiry.

This paper reports on the development and testing of such a survey instrument. Specifically, it discusses the difficulties that researchers can expect when undertaking a probe of sensitive, race-based issues. These include resolution of discretionary considerations (e.g., anonymous vs. signed surveys, explicit vs. disguised questions, etc.) and other factors that may affect the response rate for such questionnaires. Not only does this project stand as a basis for an enlarged study, but

its results offer additional insight to professional print media organizations, like ASNE, that aim to influence the course of diversity within the overall industry.

Background and Literature

As recently as the 1960s, it was only necessary to scan the average American newsroom to discover that journalism was an almost monolithically white (and male) occupation, reflecting the "invisibility" of minorities in many of the country's traditional arenas of power. The 1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the "Kerner Commission") noted: "The press acts and talks about Negroes as if [they] do not read newspapers or watch television, give birth, marry, die, or go to PTA meetings,"[1] and warned that only a reversal of this pattern would prevent a fatal fragmentation of the country. Despite this challenge to the *status quo*, efforts would have remained largely quixotic had print journalism policy-makers not moved beyond moral imperatives to exploit "institutional self-interest" – the practical benefit to inclusion.[2] Accordingly, interest in diversity grew as the mainstream press became aware that adding minorities to writing staffs could positively affect profits, and a "doing well by doing good" rationale began to take hold in the industry. Journalist educator Ted Pease describes these attitudes in a Freedom Forum document:

> "The media must be able to see the large body of unserved and disenfranchised potential customers out there in the growing communities.... Making the news product fill those customers' needs is not just good economic sense, but the key to economic survival in an increasingly multicultural melting pot.[3]

Underscoring this need for inclusion of minority news coverage, Picard and Brody outline the difficulties publications face because staffs do not understand these communities, and "because the number of minority journalists and editors is so low."[4]

Many industry watchdogs, like renowned Pulitzer-prize winning journalism educator Donald M. Murray, have long exhorted both training institutions and the industry to remain alert to opportunities to advance diversity.[5] Practical responses, however, have had a checkered history, with some special efforts – like the Los Angeles Times minority sections "CitiTimes" and "Nuestro Tiempo" – eventually falling victim to corporate downsizing.[6]

Minority press organizations, though, have moved to keep the pressure on for change. This concern was much in evidence at a five-day First National Unity Conference convened in Washington, D.C. in 1994. With some 5,000 minority journalists present, and with the additional endorsement of mainstream industry leaders (including Knight Ridder, Times Mirror, The Washington Post, Gannett and The New York Times), the conference went on record to deplore the lack of sufficient progress in diversifying the industry subsequent to the Kerner Report.[7]

Additional efforts are evident within other sectors of the profession. A national higher education organization, the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), for example, continues to prod members to increase the pool of minority job applicants, to recruit minority students and faculty, to teach contributions of minorities and women in journalism, and to prepare students to report on multicultural issues.[8]

Foremost among the working press, the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) has consistently urged news publications to pledge to hire, recruit, promote and retain minority journalists equal to their numbers in U.S. society by the year 2000.[9] A sampling of longitudinal data from ASNE's annual national newsroom employment survey confirms, however, the industry's slow advance toward this goal, showing:

- In 1972, 1.5 percent of editorial positions occupied by people of color;
- 1978 showed an increase to 4 percent;
- 1983 registered 5.6 percent;
- 1993, a rise to 9.8 percent (but fully one-half the U.S. daily newspapers had no non-white journalists, either because they had never hired any, or had failed to retain any hired in the past);
- 1996 reached a total of 55,000 minority journalists nationwide, equaling 11.4 percent of all U.S. journalists;
- In 1997, although the 11.4 percent held steady, totals slumped to 54,000 minority journalists nationwide.[10]

News reports have pointed to the 1997 data as "a stalling out" of progress, and lend credence to the voices of those who conclude that within the U.S. news industry, diversity is yet an unfulfilled goal with an uncertain future.[11]

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Project Description

Given the negative projections of recent industry surveys on the pace of newsroom diversity and the slackening of progress toward achieving adequate representation of minorities on publication writing staffs, this researcher sought to design and pre-test a questionnaire that would pilot an inquiry into the current state and future outlook for diversity among small Brooklyn and metropolitan New York City publications.

The questionnaire was planned to incorporate some proven ASNE survey strategies. For example, the ASNE yearly census requires respondents to sign surveys to facilitate ready identification and follow-up. It also asks direct, explicit questions about racially relevant hiring statistics. My new questionnaire was designed to push beyond this kind of simple, descriptive data, but in doing so to preserve statistical integrity while expanding the scope of its inquiry to cover the following objectives:

- Provide in-depth comparative demographics for target publications, (including publication schedule, circulation, readership span, writing staff totals, hiring projections and management's organizational memberships – in ASNE or otherwise;
- Contrast reported writing staff diversity for two sub-groups – "mainstream" and minority-based publications;
- Use hiring projections to gauge opportunity for writing staff diversity at the study's targeted local publications;

- Document the range of perceived benefits to diversity reported by respondents, with special attention to "mainstream" publications;
- Provide a means of correlating the incidence of *anticipated benefits* with respondents' reported professional organization affiliation.

This last objective specifies a key hypothesis connecting two questionnaire items that explore the organizational ties of those individuals within the sub-group of "mainstream" publications matched against acknowledged benefits to diversity. Analyzing answers to questions in these two categories will test the following hypothesis:

H= There is no significant positive relationship between the perception of positive benefits to diversifying writing staffs at small "mainstream" local New York City publications and their managers' membership in one professional organization (ASNE) espousing such benefits.

This paper reports on the efficiency of the pilot questionnaire to elicit appropriate statistical data and proposes methods of refining its design to better accomplish these goals.

Selection of the Sample

As this questionnaire was designed to pre-test a newly-developed survey instrument, a sub-sample of those organizations which ultimately will be polled in a larger, main phase of this research was selected for this first-round survey. The sample consisted of 50 publications in the Brooklyn and local metropolitan New York City area that normally serve as internship sponsors or entry-level employers of students pursuing degrees in our Journalism and Print Media Production major at our

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public, two-year community college. These publications were also deemed an acceptable sample because most are not reported by the American Society of Newspaper Editors annual diversity census. Also, most do employ at least 15 people (including writing staff), which makes them subject to Federal anti-discrimination regulations under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and it is reasonable to expect, therefore, that their managers hold attitudes toward hiring diversity worth probing. This is especially likely, given their location in the increasingly diverse New York City markets.

Managers at the 50 target publications were asked to respond to a 10-item mailed survey that was accompanied by a statement of the survey's intent and a self-addressed stamped envelope for their reply.

Questionnaire Design

The overall plan for designing the questionnaire was to construct items to elicit factual answers that could be analyzed separately or together to provide specific bits of information that would contribute to forming a snapshot of diversity among local publication writing staffs. Most survey items were aimed at compiling descriptive statistics, but two specific items ("Your management staff's organizational affiliations?" and "What impact might adding more women or minorities have on your publications?") sought to operationalize the question of whether perceptions of diversity benefits can be shown to correlate with ASNE-membership.

To design the instrument, the investigator resorted to several standard questionnaire development techniques (see Walter R. Borg and Meredith Damien

Gall. *Educational Research*, New York: Longman Inc., 1979). For example, it was decided to hold the questionnaire to only two-pages; and its 10 check-off questions used a multiple-choice format (a, b, c and d) so data could be generated in an efficiently quantifiable form.

Also, because this questionnaire is meant to be exploratory, it was decided to include "other" among some multiple-choice options, and to add a space to accommodate explanations. Likewise, a "Comments" section was appended to allow respondents to write-in remarks that would help to delimit some categories or retool multiple-choice options on any future questionnaires.

The "letter of transmittal" took the form of a friendly explanatory request from the college located at the top of the survey form. However, because of a lingering concern about the racial sensitivity of the study, this "letter" sought to disguise the survey's purpose by mentioning only that answers would help us "now and in the future to most efficiently prepare students to anticipate the range of opportunities" that exist at local publications.

Design Uncertainties

Whether to disguise the survey's purpose was just one of several design decisions whose wisdom it was difficult to determine in advance. It also was necessary to weigh the pros and cons of conducting an anonymous survey (coded only for tabulation of results) or to follow ASNE's lead and ask respondents to completely identify themselves by name and title. Certainly while there are benefits to promising anonymity to persons completing surveys that touch on sensitive issues like race, there are other advantages to requiring identification. For one thing, signed

surveys make it easy to follow-up with phone calls and urge non-respondents to reply. The investigator also may contact respondents for answers to overlooked or ignored questions, or to get clarification on any ambiguous responses (e.g., where respondent writes in remarks that seem to contradict checked off answers). As a guide to future surveys, it was decided to test the feasibility of asking respondents to identify themselves on this pilot survey.

Other uncertainties involved whether to build bare-bones, explicit questions about racial diversity and attitudes into survey items. As a rule, in constructing questionnaire items it is important to avoid questions that may in some way be psychologically threatening to the person answering. In many cases, respondents who receive such questionnaires may not feel inclined to return them. Surely items requiring managers to admit a "lack of diversity" could be felt by some to imply some degree of racial insensitivity or ethical irresponsibility. For this reason, a decision was taken to deflect the potential for non-response by framing questions #9 and #10 on diversity to include college graduates, full-timers, women *and* minorities.

Sequencing of questionnaire items presented another quandary. It is generally best not to leave difficult-to-answer questions for last. However, it was decided to do so, in this case, so as to retain a logical sequence of questions and avoid the risk of turning off the respondents by broaching the diversity questions too early in the survey.

This survey's final form, then, was designed as follows: the phrasing of the letter of transmittal disguised the study's purpose; several blank lines were left open at the very end, with instructions to write in the respondent's name and title to

prevent the survey's being anonymously completed; and two key items -- #9 on need for diversity and #10 on benefits to diversity – sought to refer to "minorities" inconspicuously, as described above.

Procedures

A single mailing was conducted, with exactly one month allotted for reply from the date of the mailing. The survey's two pages were printed back-to-back, using black ink on goldenrod colored paper as it was felt that contrasting colors could then be used to distinguish subsequent mailings, should they become necessary.

As this was a pilot survey, telephone or postcard reminders were not planned, and indeed did not prove necessary since a useful enough number of surveys -- 21 -- were completed and returned spontaneously by respondents within the allotted time. This 42 percent response rate is the basis on which the following results are reported.

Results

Quantification of the responses by 21 managers at local publications is reported in Table 1 below, which shows raw data for the overall survey population. It is important to note that these respondents, for the most part, do not publish daily and would not be included in ASNE polls. Most fit the profile of local small publications: two-thirds describe themselves as neighborhood or inter-neighborhood news weeklies; more than half list circulations below 30,000; almost 50 percent operate with a minimum number of staff writers (1 to 3), with just over 50 percent under the

management of a publisher/editor-in-chief. It is critical to note that not one respondent listed membership in ASNE as the manager's organizational affiliation (indeed, nine of the 21 listed no memberships at all, not surprising for the population of small publications targeted by this survey). It also is interesting to note answers reported in the "other" category for question #6 on professional memberships. Managers reported belonging to the National Newspaper Publishers Association, the North East Publishers Association, the Foreign Press Association, the American Society of Magazine Editors, the National Association of Black Journalists, and the National Association of Hispanic Journalists.

Hiring projections spanning the next two years ranged from very low to low, with only one publication expecting to hire up to five new writing staffers. However, at least nine respondents reported intentions of adding two to three more staff writers -- which signals some limited opportunity for further diversification within this job category at some local publications.

As it turns out, the questions on *need for diversity* and *benefits of diversity* yielded indeterminate results, perhaps because the survey deliberately disguised the purpose of these questions by conflating the term diversity to include women, minorities, college graduates and full-timers. In only two cases did respondents report a lack of minorities on their writing staffs, but another two reported lacking *either* women or minorities, which made it difficult to unravel responses to the "benefits to diversity" question that followed. The most that could be said is that these four publications reported mixed expectations of positive benefits to some form

of racial and/or gender diversity, (with three expecting a broadening of variety of coverage, and one expecting a boost in circulation). The ambiguity of these results points to a lack of clarity that requires correction in subsequent surveys.

Data from non-minority vs. minority press sub-groups were discretely tabulated to begin to assess the extent of writing staff diversity and attitudes toward diversity at "mainstream" publications. (It should be noted that assignment to these two groups was based on investigator's prior knowledge and did not rely on respondent's self-identification.) Three "mainstream" and one minority publication reported a lack of diversity. Since no publication in the total population reported any membership affiliation with ASNE, it seems fair to conclude that for members of either sub-group, this quite limited survey found no association between positive attitudes toward diversity, however defined, and organizational ties to ASNE.

As should be expected for pilot studies, results of this survey were not at all definitive, but did indeed point the way to an expanded future study that could capitalize on these preliminary findings.

Discussion

Because this questionnaire pre-tested an approach to probing racially sensitive questions in an industry with a poor record of racial diversity, overall response to the pilot survey was reassuring. The survey's success helps to resolve many issues, including its lack of anonymity, which seemed problematic at the outset. For example, respondents answered the survey even though it was not anonymous, and none, as it turned out, avoided signing a name and title. As expected, however, features of the survey that could be improved did indeed surface.

For example, while six omissions for a key question on "need for diversity" (see Table 1, question #9) is perhaps explained by respondents' over-sensitivity to this issue, the more likely cause is insufficient clarity in the survey's definition of diversity. Some generalizations on designing racially sensitive questionnaires, as revealed by this pre-test, are discussed below.

Design Solutions: It should be recalled that in designing this survey, the investigator chose to disguise the instrument's purpose and to use ambiguous language to blunt the thrust of its most sensitive questions. However, to judge from the experience of this study, adopting a more direct form of inquiry does not seem to compromise chances for high response rates, even when surveys are not held anonymous. And while intentionally clouding the language of survey items or burying their intent in ambiguously defined choices may reduce sensitivity, such strategies also unnecessarily create an opportunity for the respondent to omit answering what may seem unclear. As noted, a disappointing number of respondents omitted answering the "need for diversity" question altogether. Even more harmful than omissions is the statistical burden which unclear survey items create. If results are to be validly quantified or analyzed, items must mean the same thing to all respondents. For this reason, the decision to blur categorical distinctions in this pilot survey (i.e., to conflate racial diversity with gender, class or educational diversity) resulted in data that prevented easy statistical calculation. Any future study must take care to design questions that yield the kind of dichotomous data (e.g., yes/no, plus/minus, minority/non-minority responses) on which valid statistical results may be based.

Conclusion

A pilot study was conducted with the main goal of pre-testing a survey instrument to begin establishing a profile of writing staff diversity and attitudes toward diversity among a population of small, urban publications that comprise the main job market for graduates of our two-year college journalism program. The questionnaire received a level of response from this target population that seems to warrant plans for a more comprehensive study of a larger pool of similar metropolitan New York City publications, particularly all small non-dailies that are not polled by the annual American Society of Newspaper Editors diversity census.

The main lessons derived from this pilot were: (1) that questionnaires can be designed to successfully probe news industry diversity issues that national surveys do not attempt to cover; (2) that small urban publications not ordinarily polled by national surveys are responsive to local, customized surveys; and (3) that despite concerns over racial sensitivities, such surveys are best designed to query these publications in direct and unambiguous language that yields the most statistically sound results.

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NOTES:

[1] Robert G. Picard and Jeffrey H. Brody, "Contemporary Business/Management Issues and Problems," *The Newspaper Publishing Industry* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997), 147-148.
[2] The term "institutional self-interest" appears in a "Week in Review" article by David K. Shipler. "My Equal Opportunity, Your Free Lunch," *New York Times* 5 March 1995.
[3] Ted Pease, "Philosophical and Economic Arguments for Media Diversity," in *Pluralizing Journalism Education – A Multicultural Handbook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993), 12.
[4] Picard and Brody, 147.
[5] Donald M. Murray, *Writer in the Newsroom* (St. Petersburg, FL: Poynter Institute for Media Studies, 1995), 37.
[6] Picard and Brody, 148.
[7] Sidmel Estes-Sumpter, "Responding to a Revolution," in *Kerner Plus 25: A Call to Action* (n.p., March 1993), 1-2. Report prepared by Unity '94, a non-profit corporation comprising the four national minority journalism groups: the Asian-American Journalists Association, the National Association of Black Journalists, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, and the Native American Journalists Association.
[8] Thomas V. Dickson, "Sensitizing Students to Racism in the News," *Journalism Educator* 47 (Winter 1993):28-33; Bruce Itule and Douglas A. Anderson, "Multicultural Reporting," chap. 17 in *News Reporting for Today's Media* (New York: McGraw –Hill, 1994).
[9] ASNE does not talk in terms of quotas, but urges the industry to view the "Goals-2000" timetable as a prod to bringing about full equality in the workplace. See Iver Peterson. "Report Shows Newsrooms Inching Toward Diversity," *New York Times*, 17 April 1996.
[10] Sources for all figures include: Clint Wilson, III and Felix Gutierrez, *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 12; Iver Peterson, "Report Shows Newsrooms Inching Toward Diversity," *New York Times*, 17 April 1996; and "Employment of Minorities Stalls at Papers," *New York Times*, 10 April 1997.
[11] Picard and Brody, 149.

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TABLE 1. **Kingsborough Local Publications Study (1/98) - N= 21**

1) **Publication Type:**

(a) news publication	10
(b) gen'l interest magazine	3
(c) newsletter	3
(d) other	5

2) **Publication Schedule:**

(a) daily	0
(b) weekly	11
(c) bi-weekly	5
(d) monthly	5

3) **Circulation:**

(a) above 30,000	10
(b) 10-30,000	7
(c) under 10,000	1
(d) under 5,000	3

4) **Readership Coverage:**

(a) trade specialists	2
(b) neighborhood	6
(c) inter-boro	8
(d) unlimited	4
[omitted question 1]	

5) **Management Profile:**

(a) editor-in-chief	2
(b) publisher/editor	11
(c) managing editor/editor-in-chief	6
(d) other combination	1
[omitted question 1]	

6) **Professional Organizational Ties:**

(a) Am. Soc. of Newspaper Editors	0
(b) Soc. of Newspaper Publishers	1
(c) New York Press Association	6
(d) other memberships	5
[omitted question 9]	

7) **Current No. Staff Writers:**

(a) 1 to 3	10
(b) 4 to 6	5
(c) 7 to 10	2
(d) over 10	2
[omitted question 2]	

8) **New Hiring Projections:**

(a) up to 1 (very low)	8
(b) 2 to 3 (low)	9
(c) 4 to 5 (moderate)	1
(d) over 5 (excellent)	0
[omitted question 3]	

9) **Increase Diversity By Adding More:**

- Women only	2
- Minorities only	2
- Either women or minorities*	4
- College grads only	3
- Full-timers only	3
- All categories	1
[omitted question 6]	

10) **Anticipated Benefits of Racial & Gender Diversity:**

- Broaden variety/coverage only	4
- Boost circulation only	1
- Other effect**	1
- No effect	1

**Includes write-in: "need for diverse involvement"*
***Includes write-in: "image/improve content"*

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Sensing, Valuation, and the Portrayal of African American TV Newsmakers

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Abstract

In content analysis after content analysis, media analysts have documented that African Americans are rarely seen and heard as TV newsmakers, and the roles and news story topics in which they appear lack diversity. However, any attempt of parity will require media analysts to bridge content analyses to TV news decision making research as a framework from which to explain how often TV newsmakers will be seen and heard, and in what roles and news story topics they will appear. A field study of this nature suggests that infrequent and partial portrayals of African American TV newsmakers originate in the sensing process. In turn, sensing suggestions are offered for TV news decisionmakers and TV news sources.

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African Americans in TV News: From Description to Explanation

Historically, African Americans like other racial minorities have not had the economic or social power to influence their portrayal in TV news. However, shortly after the turn of the 21st century, the racial minority population is expected to increase from 21% to 40% of the American population (Ziegler and White, 1990). These numbers suggest two trends are likely, if TV news is to remain the source of news for most Americans,. First, TV news decisionmakers will increasingly grapple with ways to equitably portray African Americans, America's largest racial minority group. Second, research that suggests how to do so will increasingly be in demand. Since the 1970s, media analysts have documented disparities between the portrayal of African American TV newsmakers, and that of white American TV newsmakers. A TV newsmaker is defined as an individual who is a primary or related subject in a TV news story. Specifically, African Americans are reported to be seen and heard less frequently as TV newsmakers, and to appear in roles and news story topics that lack diversity. Unfortunately, research on African Americans in TV news has been largely confined to content analysis. Although content analysis has served as the magnifying glass through which media analysts have clearly described disparities, the same magnifier sheds faint light on how to bring parity to portrayals of TV newsmakers. That is, content analyses are descriptive only, and do not answer why questions. Why are African Americans seen and heard less frequently as TV newsmakers? Why do the roles and news story topics in which African Americans appear to lack diversity?

Any attempt at answering *why* questions, however, will require media analysts to simultaneously analyze content and the decision making process that produces content. As a start in this direction, this paper explores the relationship between TV news decision making and the way TV newsmakers are ultimately portrayed. Simply stated, TV news decision making involves *sensing*

and *valuation* (Dimmick, 1974). During sensing, TV news decisionmakers evaluate news story ideas against a set of news selection criteria in order to select potential news stories for broadcast. Then during valuation, TV news decisionmakers evaluate potential news stories against another set of news selection criteria in order to select actual news stories for broadcast.

This paper probes the concept that infrequent and partial portrayals of African American TV newsmakers are engendered in the sensing and/or valuation process. By pinpointing specific sensing and valuation decisions that produce infrequent and partial portrayals of African American TV newsmakers, media analysts put themselves in a posture to offer educators, practitioners, and the public valid suggestions about how they might bring parity to such portrayals. To date, drawing on content analyses, media analysts can only offer suggestions based on speculative explanations. This paper may also inform research concerned with infrequent and partial portrayals of other racial minority TV newsmakers.

African American TV Newsmakers

Few studies have analyzed the portrayal of African Americans as TV newsmakers. In a pioneering study of this subject matter, Roberts (1975) argued that the visibility and voices of African Americans in network news are both scarce and silenced. Roberts' content analysis of network news in 1972 and 1973 found that African American TV newsmakers and correspondents appeared in 23% (n=874) of the news stories, and their appearances were limited to political, economy, and crime news story topics. Also, in 52% (n=90) of the newscasts, African American TV newsmakers appeared in non-speaking roles. Consequently, Roberts concluded, "in the context of world and national affairs, the viewpoint of blacks is seldom expressed" (p. 55). Roberts also found that most African American TV newsmakers appeared as blue-collar employees with technical skills or no skills at all.

The report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1977) underscored Roberts' findings. Based on a content analysis of network news in 1974 and 1975, the Commission reported that racial minorities rarely appeared as TV newsmakers, accounting for 11% (n=141) of newsmakers. Racial minorities appeared mostly as criminals (27%) and private individuals (18%), and less frequently as public figures (12%) and government officials (5%). Concomitantly, white Americans accounted for 89% of the TV newsmakers, and their appearances were more evenly distributed across roles, comprising 73% to 95% of each category. The Commission concluded that network news' exclusion of racial minorities imply they are not significant to society.

Two years later, the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1979) updated its analysis of the portrayal of racial minorities in network news. Their investigation revealed that in 1977, appearances by racial minority TV newsmakers had decreased 64% compared to their last analysis. Racial minorities accounted for 5% (n=249) of network newsmakers, representing 16% of private individuals, 5% of government officials, 3% of public figures, and 0% of experts and criminals. Conversely, as was the case in the 1974-1975 analysis, there was a more even distribution of white American TV newsmakers across roles, comprising 84% to 100% of each category.

Echoing earlier content analyses, Ziegler and White (1990) analyzed network news in 1987 and 1989, and found that racial minorities appeared less frequently than white Americans as TV newsmakers. In 1987, racial minorities comprised 15% (n=1059) of TV newsmakers, and white Americans comprised 85%. Racial minority TV newsmakers appeared as 18% of government officials, 14% of private individuals, 10% of criminals, and 10% of public figures. White American TV newsmakers appeared as 82% of government officials, 86% of private individuals, 90% of criminals, and 90% of public figures. Ziegler and White attributed the high percentage of white American, criminal newsmakers to the high number of white American males involved in the

Iran/Contra Hearings during the time of the study. In 1989, racial minorities comprised 27% (n=402) of TV newsmakers, appearing as 100% of criminals, 45% of public figures, 26% of government officials, and 9% of private individuals. In contrast, white Americans comprised 73% of TV newsmakers, appearing as 0% of criminals, 55% of public figures, 74% of government officials, and 91% of private individuals.

Two other recent studies (Entman, 1990, 1992) specifically examined the portrayal of African American TV newsmakers in local news. Unlike analyses of network news, in Entman's (1992) analysis, African Americans were quite visible in Chicago's TV news, appearing in 37% of the news stories. However, despite their higher visibility, 50% of their appearances in 1992 and 61% in 1990 were limited to crime and political news stories.

Inconsistent categories of analysis across content analyses makes it difficult to make strict comparisons, i.e. level of news (network/local), role (speaking/non-speaking, blue collar, private, government, public, expert, and criminal), and news story topic. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence to conclude that African Americans are seen and heard relatively infrequently as TV newsmakers, and the roles and news story topics in which they appear lack diversity. Media analysts speculate that little or no involvement of African Americans in the TV news decision making process is the primary reason for infrequent and partial portrayals of African American TV newsmakers (Drummond, 1990; Gandy & Matabane, 1988; Gray, 1989; Johnson, 1991; Thomas, 1984; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, 1979; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1985).

Although this explanation may be convincing, its validity is questionable because content analysis has been the sole basis for this inference. Moreover, social control research (Berkowitz, 1993; Bogart, 1974; Breed, 1960; Dimmick, 1974; Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1972; Epstein, 1973b; Garvey, 1971; Parenti, 1993) suggests that regardless of race or any other personal

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characteristics, TV news decisionmakers may conform to the same newsroom sensing and valuation policy, and therefore are likely to similarly portray TV newsmakers. Hence, TV news decision making research is a framework with which to explain the infrequent and partial portrayals of African American TV newsmakers.

TV News Decision Making

Sensing

One area of sensing research attempts to identify routine sources TV decisionmakers rely on in order to originate news story ideas. Routinely and aggressively, information subsidies, particularly business, government, and education affiliates, supply TV news decisionmakers with news story ideas (Abbott & Brassfield, 1989; Berkowitz, 1987, 1988; Berkowitz & Adams, 1990; Gandy, 1982; Harmon, 1989; Harless, 1974; McManus, 1990). However, their news story ideas do not always end up on the small screen. Harless (1974) reported that an assistant editor at a local TV station rejected 68% of news story ideas suggested by information subsidies. Similarly, at another local newsroom, Berkowitz and Adams (1990) discovered that 78% of news story ideas suggested by information subsidies were discarded.

When local TV news decisionmakers did select news story ideas suggested by information subsidies, they favored those suggested by government, business, and civic/service affiliates (Berkowitz, 1987; Berkowitz & Adams, 1990; Harless, 1974. In terms of topics, local TV news producers favored information subsidies that pitched political and violent news story ideas (Harmon, 1989). Media and police/fire scanners are also frequent news sources during sensing (Altheide, 1976; Harmon 1989; McManus, 1990). Media sources include network feeds, newspapers, news wires, police/fire scanners, and radio/TV programming. Less frequently, TV news decisionmakers

rely on their own suggestions and enterprise efforts to originate news story ideas (Harmon, 1989; McManus, 1990).

A second area of sensing research attempts to gauge which news selection criteria best determine whether TV news decisionmakers will select news story ideas as potential news stories for broadcast. Research identifies information subsidy, normality, proximity, resource constraints, significance, timeliness, and visual potential as determinative news selection criteria (Abbott & Brassfield, 1989; Berkowitz, 1991; Berkowitz & Adams, 1990; Buckalew, 1969-70; Harless, 1974). See Table 1 for definitions of TV news selection criteria as defined in the present research.

Valuation

Valuation research attempts to gauge which news selection criteria best determine whether TV news decisionmakers will select potential news stories as actual news stories for broadcast. Critical news selection criteria include conflict, information subsidy, news format, normality, proximity, resource constraints, significance, timeliness, and visual potential (Berkowitz, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1993; Buckalew, 1969, 1969-70; Gelles & Faulkner, 1978; Tuchman, 1978). See Table 1 for definitions of TV news selection criteria as defined in the present research.

Molar Influences

Although TV news decisionmakers sense and valuate news autonomously, their autonomy is exerted within the latitude allowed by internal and external newsroom influences, namely, advertisers, business and political elites, government, news sources, and newsroom policy and economics. Hence, it is prudent to keep in mind that an understanding of sensing and valuation must be coupled with an understanding of molar influences. See Table 2 for molar influences references.

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Research Questions

The objective of this study is to examine whether disparities between portrayals of African American and predominantly white American TV newsmakers are engendered in the sensing and valuation process. To achieve this objective, five research questions were posed.

1. Which news selection criteria best determine if news story ideas will be selected as potential news stories?
2. Which news selection criteria best determine if potential news stories will be selected as actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers?
3. As a result of TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior, what are the primary sources and topics of actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers?
4. As a result of TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior, how frequently are predominantly white American and African American TV newsmakers seen and heard in newscasts?
5. As a result of TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior, in what roles are predominantly white American and African American TV newsmakers portrayed?

Note that the first research question does not involve a dual analysis—potential news stories and potential news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. The rationale is that the race of TV newsmakers is usually known only upon actual coverage. However, dual analysis for subsequent research questions allowed for strict comparisons to explain disparities, if any, between portrayals of African American TV newsmakers and predominantly white American TV newsmakers.

Methodology

Design

To inform the research questions, a field study of the sensing and valuation process at a network affiliate TV news organization was conducted. To gain access to the newsroom, TV news decisionmakers were told that the study was being conducted to examine the TV news decision making process. The field study was conducted over a seven-week period. The first two weeks involved orientation-- establishing trust and rapport with TV news decisionmakers, and getting familiar with their sensing and valuation process. The next two weeks involved pretesting and refining coding instruments. During the final three weeks, TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior was analyzed, and resultant newscasts were recorded for a content analysis of TV newsmakers.

The research agenda concerning African Americans was concealed to ensure that TV news decisionmakers behaved naturally. Concealing details of research agenda to decrease reactivity is considered acceptable as long as serious risk is not involved (Singleton, Straits, B., Straits, M., and McAllister, 1988). To further control for reactivity, the final data set excluded data gathered during orientation and pretesting.

Sample

The study involved three tiered, purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is adequate for studies not designed for generalization (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991). Midwestern TV news decisionmakers at a mid-30th-market, network affiliate news organization comprised the first sample. See Figure 1. During any given day, 9 to 12 decisionmakers sensed and valuated news stories. News story ideas that filtered through the sensing and valuation process during a randomly selected three-week period comprised the second sample. See Figure 2. The third sample included 15

recordings of the 6:00 p.m. weekday newscast to analyze TV newsmakers. The recordings paralleled the three-week period in which TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior was examined. The 6:00 p.m. weekday newscast was the focus because it tends to attract the largest audience. Weekend newscasts were excluded because they involve a different set of decisionmakers and a different sensing and valuation process (Berkowitz, 1988; Stempel cited in Berkowitz, 1987). Also, newscasts selected for study excluded sweeps months that are likely to bias findings.

Instruments

The researcher coded all data. Sensing and valuation data were coded based on dialogue with, and observation of TV news decisionmakers as individuals and as a group (morning decision making meetings). Newsmaker data were coded based on recorded newscasts. Coding instruments were adapted from past analyses (Abbott & Brassfield, 1989; Berkowitz, 1987, 1988. 1991; Berkowitz & Adams, 1990; Harmon, 1989; McManus, 1990; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, 1979; Ziegler & White, 1990). During valuation, news selection criteria was coded as Considered or Not Considered. Considered denotes that either the presence or absence of a news selection criterion was a consideration during selection of actual news stories. Not Considered denotes that neither the presence nor absence of a news selection criterion was a consideration during the selection of actual news stories. TV newsmakers of any variation of brown skin pigmentation were coded as African Americans. TV newsmakers' roles were coded based on attire, caption, and identification.

Measurement/Analysis Procedures

Q1. *Which news selection criteria best determine if news story ideas will be selected as potential news stories?* A qualitative analysis of TV news decisionmakers' sensing behavior was conducted to answer the first research question. Qualitative analysis was suitable because TV news

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decisionmakers used a fixed set of news selection criteria to select news story ideas as potential news stories to be valuated during morning meetings.

Q2. *Which news selection criteria best determine if potential news stories will be selected as actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers?* Two discriminant analyses were performed to answer the second research question. As an interpretation application, discriminant analysis serves two functions (Klecka, 1980). First, it measures the relationship between a nominal-level dependent variable and several interval-level independent, discriminating variables. Canonical correlation coefficients vary between 0 and 1, with larger values representing increasing degrees of association. The dependent variable for the discriminant analyses is the selection or non-selection of actual news stories or actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. By dummy coding news selection criteria 0 and 1, they could be treated as interval level independent variables (Singleton et al., 1988; Wimmer & Dominick, 1991). A "0" denotes that TV news decisionmakers considered a criterion, and a "1" denotes that they did not consider a criterion during valuation.

The second function of discriminant analysis as an interpretation application is to determine which independent variables are the most powerful discriminators. In the discriminant analyses, standardized canonical discriminant function coefficients describe the relative contribution of each news selection criterion in determining the selection or non-selection of actual news stories or actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. Standardized coefficients vary between −1 and 1. The higher the magnitude of standardized coefficients (ignoring signs), the greater a criterion's contribution. To be included in discriminant functions, news selection criteria had to pass a stepwise tolerance test that eliminated news selection criteria that had small (less than .001) unique contributions.

As a classification application, discriminant analysis assigns each case to the group that it most likely belongs or most closely resembles. Hence, classification is a direct measure of predictive accuracy (Klecka, 1980). Based on the discriminant functions, classification is a measure of how accurately news selection criteria predict if a potential news story (case) will most likely be selected or not selected as an actual news story or as an actual news story involving African American TV newsmakers (groups). To answer the remaining research questions, percentage distributions were computed. Percentage distributions describe news sources and topics of actual news stories and actual news stories involving African Americans TV newsmakers as well as TV newsmakers' visibility, voice, and roles.

Results

The sensing, valuation, and newsmaker measures used in this study have proven to be reliable and valid in previous studies (Abbott & Brassfield, 1989; Berkowitz, 1987, 1988. 1991; Berkowitz & Adams, 1990; Harmon, 1989; McManus, 1990; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, 1979; Ziegler & White, 1990). Moreover, the discriminant function classification results in this study affirm the validity of valuation measures. Findings suggest a fairly strong predictive relationship between discriminating news selection criteria and the selection and non-selection of actual news stories. For actual news stories selected, 87% (n=356) of potential news stories were correctly classified. For actual news stories not selected, 90% (n=98) of the potential news stories were correctly classified. See Table 4.

Analysis of Research Questions

Q1. *Which news selection criteria best determine if news story ideas will be selected as potential news stories*? The Planning Assignment Editor was solely responsible for reviewing the news file to select news story ideas as potential news stories to be valuated during morning meetings.

The news file is a folder in which news story ideas for a given day are placed. However, during morning meetings, other decisionmakers suggested additional news story ideas for valuation. A qualitative analysis of all TV news decisionmakers' sensing behavior revealed that they used a fixed set of news selection criteria to select news story ideas as potential news stories. Proximate, significant, and timely news story ideas with visual potential involving few or no resource constraints were selected as potential news story ideas. If news story ideas embodied affiliation, normality, or novelty, they were also selected as potential news stories. News story ideas fairly successfully filtered through sensing with nearly 63% (n=568) selected, 37% rejected, and less than 1% deferred as potential news stories.

Q2. *Which news selection criteria best determine if potential news stories will be selected as actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers*? Potential news stories also fairly successfully filtered through valuation with 67% (n=568) selected, 27% rejected, and 6% deferred as actual news stories. A high canonical correlation coefficient of .733 for actual news stories suggests that news selection criteria are a fairly strong indicator of whether potential news stories will be selected as actual news stories. Resource constraints (-1.035) and visual potential (.742) are the most powerful discriminators. See Table 3. Accordingly, there is a fairly strong predictive relationship between the news selection criteria and the selection and non-selection of actual news stories. Nearly 90% (n=337) actual news stories were correctly classified. See Table 4.

Conversely, a relatively low canonical correlation coefficient (.310) for actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers suggests that news selection criteria are a moderately weak indicator of whether potential news stories will be selected as actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. Nevertheless, normality (.764) and affiliation (.531) were the

dominant discriminators. See Table 5. Accordingly, there is a moderate predictive relationship between the news selection criteria and the selection and non-selection of actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. About 65% (n=125) of actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers were correctly classified. See Table 6.

Q3. *As a result of TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior, what are the primary sources and topics of actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers?* In rank order, staff suggestions/media (45%), follow-ups (11%), and police/fire scanners (11%) served as dominant sources for actual news stories (n=239). However, for actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers (n=55), follow-ups (30%), staff suggestions/media (24%), and police/fire scanners (18%) were primary sources. See Table 7. Crime ranked as the number one topic for both actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. It was the topic of choice for 26% (n=239) of actual news stories, and 47% of actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers (n=55). Secondary topics for actual news stories were business/economy, disaster/accident, education, environment/ecology, and government/politics. Secondary topics for actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers include disaster/accident, health, and public safety. See Table 8.

Q4. *As a result of TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior, how frequently are predominantly white American and African American TV newsmakers seen and heard in newscasts?* Predominantly white American TV newsmakers appeared in 52% (n=239) of stories in the newscast, and 23% of the stories involved African American TV newsmakers. Both groups of newsmakers were seen, but not heard in nearly 80% of their appearances. See Table 9.

Q5. *As a result of TV news decisionmakers' sensing and valuation behavior, what roles are predominantly white American and African American TV newsmakers portrayed in?* Both groups of

TV newsmakers appeared most frequently as private individuals and expert/professionals, and less frequently as law figures and criminals. Government and public figures constituted a mere 1% of predominantly white American TV newsmakers and 0% of African American TV newsmakers. See Table 10.

Discussion

It appears that infrequent and partial portrayals of African American TV newsmakers are engendered in the sensing process. During sensing, TV news decisionmakers selected news story ideas as potential news stories if they embodied affiliation, normality, or novelty, or if they passed the test of proximity, resource constraints, significance, timeliness, and visual potential. Although the sensing process seemed objective, it ultimately resulted in bias toward particular news sources and topics for actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. Sensing engendered a dependence on an oligopoly of news sources. TV news decisionmakers tended to rely on only 25% of their news sources. Both actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers tended to originate primarily from follow-ups, police/fire scanners, and staff suggestions/media. Hence, TV news decisionmakers failed to capitalize on the news story ideas of 75% of news sources.

Accordingly, sensing engendered a dependence on an oligopoly of news topics, particularly crime news stories, for actual news stories and actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. Crime comprised 26% (n=239) of actual news stories and 48% of actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. Moreover, a topic analysis of the primary sources for actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers reveal that 54% of the follow-ups, 46% of staff suggestions/media, and 100% of police/fire scanners involved crime stories. Consequently, nearly 45% of the sources for actual news stories involving African American TV

newsmakers were biased toward crime news stories. Understandably therefore, actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers involved crime 55% more often than actual news stories involving predominantly white American newsmakers. Secondary topics for actual news stories were limited to five topics, namely disaster/accident, business/economy, education, environment/ecology, and government/politics. Even less diverse, secondary topics for actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers were limited to three topics, namely disaster/accident, health, and public safety.

To maximize and diversify news sources and topics, TV news decisionmakers might make sensing a more active process. Instead of passively awaiting news sources to submit news story ideas, TV news decisionmakers might be more active and seek out news story ideas from the myriad of news sources listed in Table 7. To avoid the time issue, TV news decisonmakers might assign newsroom interns the task of making routine news calls to sources. After all, monitoring police/fire scanners and making daily news calls to police and fire stations is normal activity for newsroom interns.

Also, news sources can help diversify news topics and inadvertently diversify news sources for potential news stories involving African Americans by ensuring that they pitch news story ideas that embody affiliation, normality, or novelty, or that are proximate, significant, timely, and visual involving few or no resource constraints. Given the popularity of staff suggestions/media, news sources might also consider pitching their news story ideas directly to writers and reporters instead of generically mailing or faxing them to the assignment desk. Staff suggestions/media was the most popular source for actual news stories (45%, n=239), and the second most popular source for actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers (24%, n=55).

There was a fairly strong relationship between news selection criteria and the selection of actual news stories, and a moderately weak association between news selection criteria and the

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selection of actual news stories involving African American TV newsmakers. Hence, TV news decisionmakers seemed to valuate potential news stories with consistent news selection criteria regardless of race of newsmakers. Also, the predictive accuracy of the news selection was very high. Recall, that nearly 90% (n=237) of the actual news stories were correctly classified.

The fairly strong relationship between news selection criteria and the selection of actual news stories offers wisdom for news sources. To increase the chance of their news story ideas being selected as actual news stories, news sources should pitch news story ideas that maximally reflect news selection criteria listed in Table 1, particularly resource constraints and visual potential which were the most powerful discriminators. Also, future studies might probe ways to measure inconspicuous news selection criteria and molar influences that bear on the valuation process.

During sensing and valuation, the race of TV newsmakers is not known. Consequently, frequency, voice and role disparities between predominantly white and African American TV newsmakers may inadvertently be an operation of sensing or valuation. Nevertheless, an analysis of TV newsmakers makes evident areas in which it would be expedient for TV news decisionmakers to seek out TV newsmakers of diverse races, voices, and roles.

Echoing previous studies, African American TV newsmakers were rarely seen in actual news stories. In fact, predominately white American TV newsmakers appeared 50% more often in actual news stories. Despite the disparity in visibility, the voices of predominately white American and African American TV newsmakers were equally silent in nearly 80% of their appearances. This finding suggests the need to study portrayals of African American TV newsmakers with a comparison base. If Roberts (1975) had also analyzed the voice of white American TV newsmakers, he may have likewise concluded that it is typical for TV news decisionmakers to portray silent

newsmakers. Arguably, TV news inherently favors the voices of news writers and reporters over the voices of newsmakers, regardless of their race.

Predominantly white American and African American TV newsmakers were most visible as private figures and expert/professionals, less visible as law figures and criminals, and virtually invisible as government and public figures. However, African American TV newsmakers appeared 27% more often as private figures, 45% less often as expert/professionals, 31% less often as law figures, and 42% more often as criminals. As TV news decisionmakers make a concerted effort to seek out diverse news sources, topics, and TV newsmakers, it is plausible that more parity between the roles of predominantly white American and African American TV newsmakers will be manifested.

This paper illustrates that TV news decision making research has potential to explain and in turn bring parity to infrequent and partial portrayals of African American TV newsmakers. However, the usefulness of the framework hinges on media analysts beginning to simultaneously analyze content and the decision making process that produces content. Of course, this study is but one step toward broadening research on the subject matter from description to explanation. Nevertheless, it is a significant step in that a complete understanding of the decision making underpinnings of TV newsmaker portrayals can only develop step-by-step as TV news decisionmakers are studied in a greater variety of organizations.

Figure 1

Organizational Structure of TV News Decisionmakers

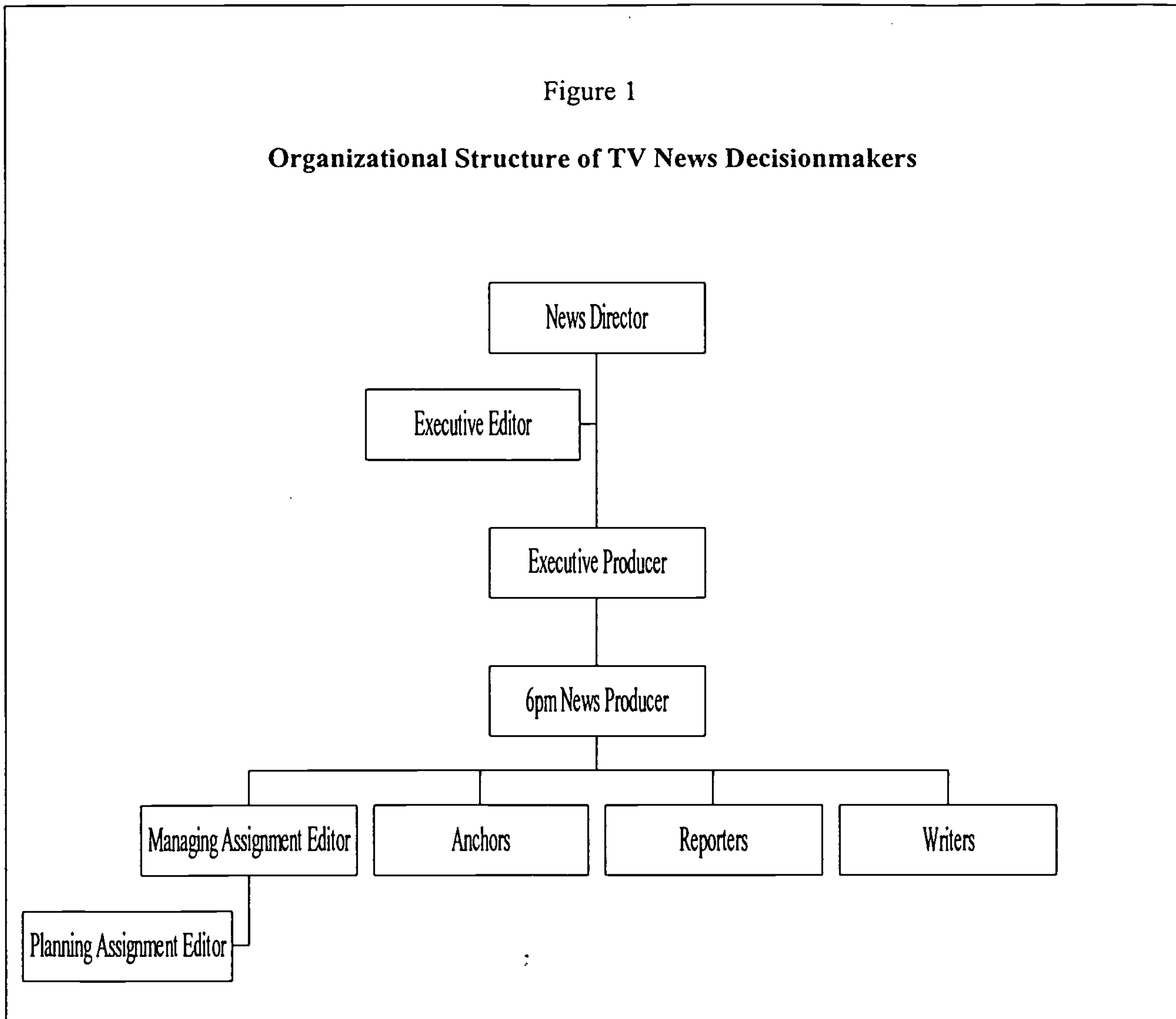

Figure 2

Sensing and Valuation Process

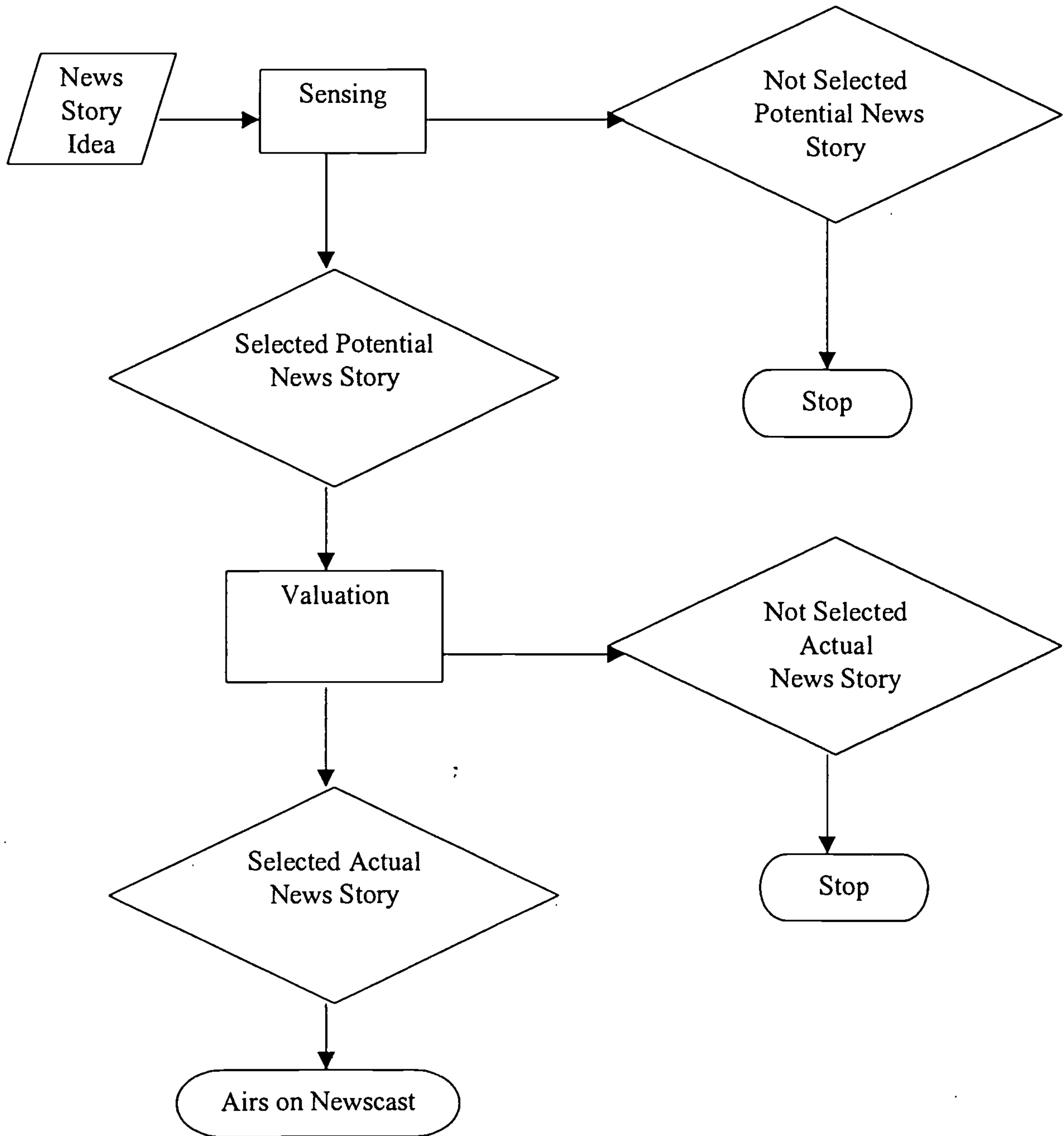

Table 1

TV news selection Criteria

Criterion	Definition
Affiliation	event sponsored by the news station or news station talent is a participant in an event
Conflict	verbal or physical disputes between parties
Information Subsidy	credibility, motive, presentation, and news suitability of information provided by news sources
News Format	news story's fit with other news stories
Normality	familiarity of persons, institutions, or issues involved in an event
Novelty	oddity; unusual or unexpected events, particularly "firsts," "lasts," and "onlys"
Proximity	location of an event in relation to the location of the news organization or the news organization's audience; key questions-- is the event in station's coverage area; is there a local angle or interest in event
Resource Constraints	accessibility, equipment, funding, staff, time, and travel considerations
Significance	likelihood that an event will be of interest or have a direct effect, immediate or long term, on a large percentage of the viewing audience
Timeliness	recency of news event (new or updated); key question-- could this event be covered on another day
Visual Potential	event's ability to provide a vivid visual account

Table 2

Molar Influences

Influence	Reference
Advertisers	Gandy 1982, 1988; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Parenti, 1993
Business/Political Elites	Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Parenti, 1993
Government	Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Parenti, 1993
News Sources	Gandy 1982; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Kaniss, 1991; Paletz & Entman, 1981; Tuchman 1988
Newsroom Policy	Berkowitz, 1993; Bogart, 1974; Breed, 1960; Dimmick, 1974; Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1972; Epstein, 1973b; Garvey, 1971; Parenti, 1993; Smith & Becker, 1989
Newsroom Economics	Altheide, 1976; Bagdikian, 1974; Bantz, McCorkle, & Baade, 1980; Bogart, 1974; Epstein, 1973b; Gandy, 1982; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Kaniss, 1991; Paletz & Entman, 1981; Schudson, 1989; Tuchman 1988

Table 3

ANS Discriminant Function

News Selection Criterion	Standardized Function Coefficient
Affiliation	.014
Conflict	.054
Information Subsidy	-.001
News Format	.007
Normality	.093
Novelty	.118
Proximity	.146
Resource Constraints	-1.035
Significance	.080
Timeliness	-.013
Visual Significance	.742

Canonical Correlation Coefficient .733

ANS Actual News Stories

Table 4

ANS Discriminant Function
Classification Results

Actual Group	**Predicted Group** 1	2
1 ANS Selected (n=239)	**86.6%**	13.4%
2 ANS Not Selected (n=98)	10.2%	**89.8%**

Percent of grouped cases correctly classified = **87.54%**

ANS Actual News Stories

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Table 5

ANSA Discriminant Function

News Selection Criterion	Standardized Function Coefficient
Affiliation	.531
Conflict	.037
Information Subsidy	-.179
News Format	.309
Normality	.764
Novelty	.113
Proximity	.021
Resource Constraints	.369
Significance	*
Timeliness	.128
Visual Significance	*

Canonical Correlation Coeffieciet .310

ANSA Actual News Stories involving African American TV Newsmakers

* Variable failed tolerance test

Table 6

ANSA Discriminant Function
Classification Results

Actual Group	**Predicted Group** 1	2
1 ANSA Selected (n=55)	**56.4%**	43.6%
2 ANSA Not Selected (n=70)	30.0%	**70.0%**

Percent of grouped cases correctly classified = **64.0%**

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ANSA Actual News Stories involving African American TV Newsmakers

Table 7

Percentages of Sources by ANS and ANSA

Affiliation of Source	ANS (n=239)	ANSA (n=55)
Business/Industry	7.1	0.0
Civic/Service	4.6	7.3
Education	6.3	0.6
Follow-up	10.9	29.1
Government/Politics	6.7	9.1
Interest Group	0.7	1.8
Medical/Health	0.7	0.0
Police/Fire	10.9	18.2
Staff Suggestions/Media	45.2	23.6
Private Individual	1.7	0.0
Religious	0.7	1.8
Union/Professional	0.8	3.6
Other	0.8	1.8

ANS Actual News Stories
ANSA Actual News Stories involving African American TV Newsmakers

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Table 8

Percentages of Topics by ANS and ANSA

Topic	ANS (n=239)	ANSA (n=55)
Arts	3.3	0.6
Business/Economy	7.9	3.6
Community Service	1.3	0.0
Crime	25.9	47.3
Cultural/Holiday	2.9	3.6
Disaster/Accident	9.6	5.5
Education	6.3	0.6
Environment/Ecology	7.9	3.6
Government/Politics	5.9	3.6
Health	4.6	7.3
Human Interest	2.1	0.0
Labor/unions	0.4	0.0
Personality Profile	2.9	3.6
Public Moral Issue	2.1	3.6
Public Safety	4.6	5.5
Religion	0.4	0.0
Science/Inventions	0.3	0.0
Transportation	0.8	0.0
Welfare	5.4	3.6
Other	0.2	1.8

ANS Actual News Stories
ANSA Actual News Stories involving African American TV Newsmakers

Table 9

Percentages of TV Newsmakers by Voice

Voice	PWAN (n=547)	AAN (n=123)
Speaking	19.0	19.5
Non-Speaking	78.8	78.9
Picture/Graphic	2.2	1.6

Table 10

Percentages of TV Newsmakers by Role

Role	PWAN (n=547)	AAN (n=123)
Criminal	7.1	12.2
Expert/Professional	31.3	17.1
Government Figure	0.7	0.0
Private Figure	40.6	55.3
Public Figure	0.2	0.0
Law Figure	17.7	12.2
Other	2.4	3.3

PWAN Predominantly White American TV Newsmakers

AAN African American TV Newsmakers

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The Influence of Television Use and Parental Communication on Educational Aspirations of Hispanic Children

by

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Running Head: TV, Parents & Aspirations

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THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION USE AND PARENTAL COMMUNICATION ON EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF HISPANIC CHILDREN

Abstract

This study provides evidence that frequent viewing of American television and positive parental communication lead to higher educational aspirations among Hispanic children. The influence of American television may be to provide a contextual foundation for learning (e.g., general familiarity with the predominant culture) in American schools which goes beyond the learning and adoption of Anglo American values.

The finding that positive parental communication leads to higher aspirations suggests that biculturalism may indeed be the mediating factor between television use and aspirations. If we can assume (as the demographic data suggest) that our population of Hispanic children were still generally "mono-cultural" (i.e., Hispanic culture), then the effect of American television would be to make them "bi-cultural". Parental communication, on the other hand, would encourage retention of certain aspects of Hispanic culture. These issues should be tested more directly in further research.

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THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION USE AND PARENTAL COMMUNICATION ON EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF HISPANIC CHILDREN

Recent concern with declining scores on standardized academic tests and with reading and writing problems among schoolchildren has focused renewed attention on the potential negative influence of television on classroom learning (e.g., Koshail Koshal & Gupta, 1996). The popular notion is that television viewing leads to shortened attention spans, decreased levels of concentration, declining ability and interest in reading, and, generally, poorer performance in school (e.g., Townley, 1994).

Several social science theories seem to support this conventional wisdom (Neuman, 1991; Armstrong & Greenberg, 1990). "Displacement theory" suggests that TV viewing displaces time that would otherwise be spent studying. Information processing theories suggest that background television viewing (when the child studies while watching television) overloads cognitive processing capacities for difficult and complex tasks. According to "short-term gratifications" theory, television increases impulsivity and desire for instant gratifications. The empirical evidence, however, is inconclusive. An exhaustive review of the research by Neuman (1991) noted a curvilinear relationship between amount of television viewing and level of achievement. There was a modest positive association for moderate viewers (2 to 3 hours per day), and a negative relationship for heavy viewers (4 or more hours per day). Television viewing accounted for so little variance in achievement, leading Neuman to conclude that "there are no deleterious effects of television on learning achievement" (Neuman, 1986, p. 49).

More recently, more complex models to explain relationships between television use and school achievement have been proposed (Comstock & Paik, 1991; Mielke, 1994). These models

have focused on the contents of what is watched on television, and on other variables in the child's home and school environment that might affect learning. Our study explores two variables suggested by previous research: parental communication and values acquisition from television. We ask the following research questions:

1. What is the relationship between children's perceptions of the quality of communication between parent and child. and the child's educational aspirations?

2. What is the relationship between frequency of television use and educational aspirations?

3. What is the relationship between learning and functionality evaluations of "American" values from television and educational aspirations?

These research questions are asked for a sample of Hispanic children in the ninth grade. Hispanic children, the fastest growing segment of the school age population in the United States is generally considered to be at a greater disadvantage than Anglo American children in terms of traditional measures of school performance (Tan, 1994). Educational researchers have suggested that the U.S. educational system, (and many aptitude and achievement tests) are based primarily on white, middle-class, Protestant value orientations, attitudes and childhood experiences (e.g., Tan, 1994; DeBlassie & DeBlassie, 1996). The influence of American television and parental communication on the educational aspirations and achievement of Hispanic children, except for a few early studies (e.g., Tan, 1979), has not been thoroughly examined.

Hispanic Children and School Achievement

A review of the literature identifies three major reasons for "lower": school achievement and high dropout rates among Hispanic students (Miller, 1989). These are academic failure

(Mounts, 1987), family related economic reasons (Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984), and individual personal problems (Rumberger, 1983). Background characteristics that have been strongly associated with dropping our are socioecnomic status (Steinberg, et al., 1984) and race/ethnicity (USGAO, 1986).

Social class has been shown in numerous studies to be highly correlated with high dropout rates and academic achievement, whether achievement is measured by scores on aptitude or achievement tests or by the number of years of schooling attained (Steinberg, et al., 1984). Ethnic minorities, especially blacks and Hispanics, are the groups who are most often at the low end of the social class scale (Mare & Winship, 1988). In one national survey of 40,000 late adolescents and young adults, when aggregated by social class (mother's educational level), whites scored from the 29th percentile in the lowest group to the 79th percentile in the highest group while blacks and Hispanics scores ranged from the 14th percentile to the 52nd percentile. Other research has found socioeconimic status (especially mother's education) to be more important for determining female's educational attainment, while ability is more important for males (Alexander & Eckland, 1975). When ability (as measured by intelligence tests), and social class are controlled, blacks and Hispanics are actually more likely to finish school and go to college than are whites (Alexander, 1988).

The Alexander and Eckland (1975) survey evaluated the effects of background variables including socioeconomic status, sex, and academic ability and found that social class primarily determines how parents, teachers, and peers influence students. That is, social class more than a student's ability influences such insidious practices as curriculum tracking with long term negative consequences (Dornbush, 1994), and may be the more important predictor of school

achievement for minority youth.

As debilitating as social class can be, it is not without mediating factors. Gecas and Seff (1990) found that the effects of social class on self evaluation can be mitigated by psychological centrality. That is, such variables as the importance of family may have more influence on self-esteem than occupation. There have also been other mediators of social class on educational attainment such as: measured I.Q., conduciveness of home climate to study, and internalized attitudinal factors such as ambition (Cross, 1987), and the characteristic of the school itself (Kronic & Hargis, 1990).

Parent involvement in education has also been found to be a mediating factor of social class and highly related to academic achievement (Dornbusch & Ritter, 1988). Walberg (1984) found that a family's involvement in the education of its children was as much as ten times as predictive of academic achievement as the family's socioeconomic status. The literature also suggests other benefits of a family's involvement in the education of its children, such as increased effectiveness of parent-child communication, improved attitudes and behavior of children, better support of the school by parents and the community, and low dropout rates (Rich, 1985). Others also suggest that involving parents in their child's school helps to broaden both the parents' and the teachers' perspectives and resources, and especially benefits the children of minority families (Henderson, 1987).

Other researchers (Kagan, & Zahn, 1975; Steinberg et al., 1984) agree that socioeconomic status is not necessarily the major factor in explaining poor school performance. Instead they explain the lower educational achievement level of Mexican-American students as "a function of an interaction between the Mexican American child's experiences and values and the school's

teaching material and teaching styles" (Kagan & Zahn, 1975, p.648).

Most scholars in the field have challenged the validity of the genetic inferiority model proposed by Jensen (1969) and the cultural and language conflict or deficit models proposed by some educational anthropologists and sociolinguists as explanations of the lower school performance of some ethnic minority students (Cohen, 1994, Miller, 1989). Instead, they suggest that lower academic performance is explained by environmental and individual factors, such as prejudice and discrimination, the overall quality of family experiences, a lack of role models, mother's education, self concept, and teachers' and parents' expectations.

For example, some educators and parents believe that abandonment of traditional ethnic culture and assimilation into the dominant "Anglo" culture will enhance academic, economic and social success (Mendoza & Martinèz, 1981). The scientific evidence, however, supports the notion that bilingualism among Hispanic students is positively associated with a wide range of cognitive accomplishments into adolescence, including better grades in English and math (Hakuta, 1987). According to Harley, Allen, Cummins, and Swain (1990), "enough data are available to conclude .. that.. being bilingual can have tremendous advantages not only in terms of language competencies, but also in terms of cognitive and social development" (p.210). In addition, the research indicates that Mexican-American students who retain an integration with traditional Mexican culture are more likely to experience success in school. Among those students who were in the process of shifting from one sociocultural group to another, as acculturation increased, achievement decreased (Matute-Bianchi, 1986). Ford (1993) found that "ethnicity was a salient feature of the core self.. of the individuals interpreting ensuing learning events" (p.36), and that ethnically diverse college students who internalize a "strong sense of

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ethnic pride and cultural history maintained a positive sense of self esteem" (p.291) within the context of the school. Cultural integrity was also found to be an important factor in maintaining a positive self-concept in a study of 38 Mexican-American migrant families and 45 settled Mexican-American families (Gecas, 1973). In this study migrant respondents had a more optimistic and generally higher conception of themselves than did settled Mexican-Americans.

In summary, social class, academic failure, and low self concept have been seen as major antecedents to dropping out of school, and other factors such as assimilation into the dominant culture have been seen to enhance academic success. However, the prevailing view among researchers is that assisting children to become proficient in both their native language and culture and in the dominant language and culture while helping them to maintain a strong sense of cultural pride, will enhance self-esteem, and academic, social, and economic success.

Socialization and School Achievement

A basic assumption of this paper is that American television and parental communication affect school aspirations of Hispanic children. The theoretical context for these influences is socialization, "the process of interaction through which an individual acquires the norms, values, beliefs, attitudes, and language characteristics of his/her group" (Gecas, 1992, p. 1863.) To do well in school (school aspirations) is a value and a goal that can be learned via socialization. The principal agents of socialization, particularly for Hispanic and other racial minority children, are family, school, peers and the mass media.

The family as socialization agent

The family is considered as "the" major arena for socialization (Maccoby, 1992) and a primary socialization agent by whom a child first learns who s/he is and what s/he does (Gecas,

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1981). The initial sense of self emerges through symbolic interactions (e.g., language) with parents (Bretherton, 1993; Gecas, 1992). The child also learns appropriate sex and age roles in a family context (Gecas, 1992).

Parents have two objectives: socializing the child for membership in the family group, and socializing the child for membership in the larger society. In general. the goal of most parents is to develop children into competent, moral and self-sufficient adults (Gecas, 1981). Family socialization implies that parents succeed in having their children to learn and accept their values (Kohn, 1983; Furstererg, 1971)

The socialization taking place in the family is considered "the most pervasive and consequential for the individual" (Gecas, 1981, 170). This is because the parent-child relationship is usually intimate and nurturant (Gecas, 1981; Maccoby, 1992) and because it is the family socialization that the child first experiences (Gecas, 1992).

Consequences of family socialization

The child learns motivations, norms, values, beliefs and social/cultural orientations in the family (e.g., Bretherton, 1993; Gecas, 1992). The child internalizes parental values through identification expressed as the child's emotional attachment to the parents and/or desire to be like parents (Gecas, 1992). Besides values, the child also learns appropriate role behavior (e.g., sex and age roles) through interaction with parents (Gecas, 1981).

Effectiveness of family socialization

The effectiveness of family socialization (e.g., internalization of values) depends on the nature of parenting and/or the quality of child-parent interaction (Bretherton, 1993; Corsaro & Eder, 1995; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Two important parental factors influencing socialization

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outcomes are parental support and parental control (e.g., Gecas, 1992). In general, parents exert the most significant influence on children when they exhibit a high level of support (affection) and provide inductive (offering explanation and reasoning instead of coercive or imperative) control (Gecas, 1992; Noller, 1995).

Parenting style also affects parent-child communication patterns. Hauser et al (1984), for example, reported that adolescents whose parents use an inductive (democratic) approach are more likely seek the help and guidance of their parents and make decisions that are satisfactory to the parents than those adolescents of coercive parents. Adolescents from inductive families tend to identify with their parents, which leads to internalization of parent's values. The inductive orientation is also related to warmth in parent-child communication (Austin, Roberts, & Nuss, 1990).

The child is also willing to comply with parents when they are responsive to his/her needs and wishes (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). "Authoritative" parents are affectionate, sensitive to children's needs and wishes (parental support), but consistently place demands (constraints) on their children (Baumirind, 1978). This parenting style creates positive outcomes for children such as high self-esteem, internalization of adult values, and high motivation (Corsaro & Eder, 1992).

The family and socialization among Hispanic children

Parental influence on the educational aspirations of Hispanic youth is based on both a collective orientation and the importance of familism in the Hispanic culture.

Collectivist Orientation

While all cultures exhibit characteristics of both individualism and collectivism, one pattern tends to predominate (Gudykunst et al. 1996). Hispanics have been shown to exhibit

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predominantly collectivistic characteristics and have therefore been classified as a collectivistic culture (Singelis & Brown, 1995). Individualistic/Collectivistic tendencies have been shown to have a direct effect on communication style (Triandids, 1988; Kina & Sharkey, 1995; Gudykunst et al., 1996). Collectivistic cultures tend to use high-context communication (Singelis & Brown, 1995) supported by interdependent self-construals (Kim & Sharkey, 1995).

High-Context Communication

High-context communication is a style of communication in which most of the information in a message is contained more in the physical context or internalized within the person than is coded and made explicit (Singelis & Brown, 1995). This means that high-context communication usually contains a great deal of implicit and indirect messages which require interpretation based on the individual and sociocultural context (Gudykunst et al., 1996). This would lead us to believe that direct (personal) communication may have a greater impact on Hispanic youth than mass media.

Interdependent Self- Construals

One key characteristic of collectivism is the development of cognitions that refer to a group or collective (Kim & Sharkey, 1995). Triandis (1998) refers to this collective as an in-group. An individual in an in-group is concerned about the welfare of the group and is willing to cooperate with the group without demanding equitable returns and would feel discomfort or pain if separated from the group. Thus, collectivism places a great emphasis on the cooperative and interactive relationship of members of the in-group. Hispanic youth with strong collectivistic tendencies may define themselves in terms of group membership rather than individual characteristics. Independent and interdependent self-construals are based upon the degree to

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which one sees himself or herself as separate from others or connected to others respectively (Kim & Sharkey, 1995). An interdependent self-construal places a great deal of emphasis on the thoughts, feelings and actions of others in the interaction. It also recognizes that belonging and fitting in is related to knowing one's proper place in the interaction and to act in an appropriate fashion (Kim & Sharkey, 1995; Gudykunst et al., 1996). Interdependent self-construals in a collectivistic culture would lead us to expect that respect for parental roles would be prevalent in Hispanic families and would be reflected in the influence parental communication has on children's attitudes and behaviors.

Familism

An additional factor in the influence of parental communication on children in Hispanic families is the value placed on family relationships. Extended families or kinship systems are one of the key in-groups in a collectivist society (Hui, 1988). Familism, or the behavioral manifestations that reflect strong emotional and value commitments to family life, is prevalent in Hispanic family literature (Vega, 1995). Hurtado (1995) states that, "Latinos, regardless of their national origins (e.g., Mexican American, Central American, Cuban American, Puerto Rican), report a strong commitment to family (p.48)."

Family norms are both ascribed to and practiced. Maintaining family ties is both a "coveted obligation" and a source of satisfaction. Hispanics have relatively large multi-generational kin networks and are reported to be significantly more involved with their relatives than are Anglo youths (Vega, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1996). The desire for family support and to live close together to facilitate contact persists across acculturation levels, generations, and social and structural changes (Hurtade, 1995; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1996).

Studies on Hispanic families show that family members turn to the close family network for social and emotional support as well as for aid in solving problems (Hurtade, 1995; Vega, 1995). Dependence upon family for support and help in solving problems is expected to increase the influence of parental communication on Hispanic youth.

The family solidarity and cooperation described above are part of the description of a collectivistic in-group. An additional characteristic is the desire for a warm feeling of oneness with fellow group members (Gudykunst et al., 1996). Child rearing in Hispanic families is often described as warm, nurturing, and affectionate with an emphasis on traditional respect for males and the elderly (Martinez, 1993). Several studies have shown fathers to be playful with their children and to help in their care while the mothers attended more to the children's physical nurturance. Alternate views of authbritarian and egalitarian approaches to child-rearing and decision making are found in Hispanic family literature but neither view is reported to lessen the authority and respect children are expected to give their parents (Martinez, 1993; Powell, 1995). Both the respect emphasized in the authoritarian approach and the sharing of ideas in the egalitarian approach are expected to positively contribute to the influence of parental communication on Hispanic youth. We also expect the warmth and nurturing found in Hispanic families to contribute to the development of pleasant and satisfying communication between Hispanic parents and their young.

Influence of Parental Communication on Hispanic Youth values and Educational Aspirations

The positive parental communication channel described above is likely to have an impact on their children's values and aspirations. Previous studies have shown that Mexican American adolescents appear to be more apt to adopt the religious and political beliefs of their parents than

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non-Hispanic Whites (Solis, 1995). This may be a significant contributing factor to the findings of studies which show that Hispanics retain a strong sense of ethnic identity, regardless of the number of generations in the United States (Hurtade, 1995).

One of the values often passed from Hispanic parents to their children is the value of education. Family beliefs and value systems have been shown to be very important to education aspirations in Hispanic youths (Solis, 1995). In another study, parental support was identified as the single most important factor affecting high academic expectations in Mexican American youth (Alva, 1995). This can be very important since a study of Mexican American high school seniors found that the most important predictor of achievement was personal aspirations (Solis, 1995). Aspirations for educational achievement do not develop independently. This section has related several studies which show that educational aspirations in Hispanic youth can be tied to parental encouragement and communication which are enhanced by familism and the prevalence of collectivism in Hispanic culture.

The Media and Socialization

While the family has been regarded as the primary agent in the socialization process (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Maccoby, 1992; Gecas, 1992), there is some evidence that television has the potential to transform the socialization process and displace the family from its traditional place in socialization (Davis & Abelman, 1983). Much research has focused on the medium's content portrayals and their influences on the learning of social roles (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1994; Greenberg, 1984; Potter, 1993; Pearl Bouthilet & Lazar, 1982). Socialization implies that a novice learns the appropriate attitudes and behaviors of his or her group. Therefore, it can be assumed that novices also can be members of ethnic minority groups being socialized

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into a host culture, as influenced by media portrayals. Research illustrating the relationship between television and socialization have incorporated the cultivation (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1994) social cognitive (Bandura, 1986) and cognitive-functional (Tan, Nelson, Dong, & Tan 1996) theories.

Cultivation. Accumulating data from over two decades of television effects research, Gerbner and his colleagues have developed the theory of cultivation. Cultivation is defined as the ongoing process of television viewing and its influence on audiences perceptions and behaviors (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1994). Because of its assumption of uniform messages, cultivation theory predicts that the more time people spend watching television, the more likely they are to perceive the world in ways that are portrayed on television. An identified weaknesses is that cultivation theory assumes audiences to be 'passive' - who passively accept all of television's images - and not 'active' viewers - who actively evaluate and decide on which of television's images they choose to accept (Tan, Nelson, Dong, & Tan 1996; Austin & Meili, 1994; Potter, 1993).

Social Cognitive Theory. Taking into account the 'active' viewer perspective, social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) identifies four steps in acquiring new behaviors through observational learning - attention, retention, production and reproduction.

First, individuals must have the opportunity to pay attention to a behavior exhibited by another. Based on personal preferences, the individual will "attend to and accurately perceive" actions which are judged as attractive (p. 51).

Second, after an action is observed and comprehended, retention follows. The observed action is organized into codes of symbolic meaning in one's memory for later retrieval. This

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retrieval, or rehearsal of the event, can be a form of visualizing the behavior in one's mind, rather than physically performing it.

Third, production, or converting "symbolic conceptions into appropriate actions" follows (p. 63). By visually monitoring and observing the behavior exhibited by others in various situations, the individual evaluates the result of the action.

Fourth, the observed action is performed when the individual remembers the behavior and reproduces it when encountering a similar situation. When rewards or other positive responses result from the expressed behavior, the behavior is reinforced, making it more likely that the individual will reproduce that behavior repeatedly when confronted by similar situations in the future.

This theory can be applied to explain how audiences acquire "new behavior from media portrayals. . .since media are readily available and attractive sources of models" (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p. 216). Therefore, social cognitive theory predicts that viewers learn from what is seen on television, but only will be likely to imitate what is perceived to be rewarding. As active viewers, then, audiences apply complex psychological processes when interpreting television's images. Research by Tan et al. (1997) have provided evidence that demonstrates how functionality can be an important variable within this process.

Cognitive Functional Theory predicts both how and why values in a new culture are accepted. Similar to social cognitive theory, this model divides the process of learning into four steps. It should be noted, however, that cognitive functional theory is most useful in assessing the total process of socialization, and not simply the acquisition of rules and norms of a host culture. The model is still relevant, however, in its analysis of how and why these behaviors are learned.

Cognitive functional theory is useful in understanding how television influences the individual immigrant. Four postulates are presented to help define this process (Tan, Nelson, Dong, Tan, 1996). Briefly stated, these postulates can be framed conceptually as steps in the process of socialization.

The first step suggests that the newcomer must learn the requirements for socialization. These requirements, such as norms and values, are learned by observation via television. After the events have been observed they will be evaluated by the individual. The event is evaluated on whether it is similar to reality. The event is also judged as to whether or not it is functional. Cognitive functional theory uses Bandura's definition of functionality as the "extent to which the observed event is rewarded, materially or non-materially" (Bandura in Tan et al, 1996). After an event is evaluated to be worthwhile it will then be internalized. Finally, after the norms, values, beliefs, attitudes, and language characteristics of a group are internalized, the observer will be assimilated. Assimilation, in this case, represents the end result of the socialization process.

Cognitive functional theory is useful in understanding the relationship between the individual and television. For our purposes we use the theory to suggest that the individual has an even greater degree of control in the socialization process. From this model we can predict that those events that are perceived to be functional, utilitarian, will be more closely observed. The acquisition of language is an example of such a utilitarian function. In this case, an immigrant will observe an event via television. That event will then be recognized as important or unimportant. An evaluation of the functionality of that behavior will then lead to whether or not that behavior is adopted.

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In terms of our study, we can speculate that recognition of a behavior's functionality will be a predictor of whether or not that behavior will be adopted. It will also be positively related to aspirations. Television presents a uniform picture of "what it takes" to be successful in the United States. Therefore an individual's aspirations should be closely related to the recognition of the functionality of a specific behavior.

Parents, television and school aspirations: A cognitive-functional model

Theories reviewed above suggest that parents and American television can affect school aspirations, a socialization outcome. They also suggest that to improve accuracy in predicting effects, the process of influence should be specified by identifying what is learned from the socialization agent and how the learner evaluates the socialization outcomes. Therefore, "successful" socialization (outcomes are adopted or performed) occurs after learning and positive evaluation of the outcome. This cognitive-functional model (Tan et al., 1996), is applied to the influence of television and parents on school aspirations in Figures 1 and 2.

In Figure 1, the first stage variable is **frequency of watching American television** (total hours in average week), a construct suggested by cultivation theory. The second stage variable is **learning American values** from television ("How often did you learn about... from American television). The values selected are those identified by previous research to be typically Anglo-American (Tan, 1997): to be aggressive, to be competitive, to enjoy wealth. The third stage variable is evaluation of the **functionality** ("how important to be successful in the United States") of these values (Tan, 1997). The fourth stage variable is **performance** of these values ("In the past two weeks, how often have you done the following?"). The last stage variable is **school aspirations** ("How likely you will... finish high school, earn good grades in school, attend

college, finish college, attend graduate/professional school"). These items adopted from a previous study correlate highly with reported grades and test scores (Tan, 1994).

The following hypotheses can be extracted from Figure 1:

H1: Frequency of watching American television leads to learning American values.

H2: Learning predicts positive evaluations of the functionality of American values.

H3: Positive functionality evaluations lead to performance.

H4: Performance leads to high school aspirations.

The first three hypotheses are suggested by cognitive-functional theory (Tan et al., 1996). The fourth hypothesis is suggested by previous research indicating that, in general, the U.S. educational system is based primarily on "white, middle class Protestant value orientations" and that children most likely to succeed are thus who have adopted these orientations (Tan, 1994).

More recently, researchers have questioned whether school success among Hispanic children can be adopted only by adoption of Anglo-American values. The argument is that bi-cultural students, those who have retained significant components of their "native", Hispanic cultures, will also do well in school (e.g., Tan, 1994). Bi-cultural students, while exposed daily to Anglo-American culture from the media and non-Hispanic peers, also are likely to be influenced strongly by immigrant parents adhering to Hispanic values (Tan, 1994). Therefore, these children will have the advantage of positive ("warm") relationship with their parents, and familiarity with those Anglo-American values learned from television. Figure 2 maps out a process by which parents might influence the school aspirations of Hispanic children.

In Figure 2, the first stage variable is the **quality of parental communication** ("You feel comfortable with talking with your parents; You listen to your parents' advice; You believe what

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your parents tell you is true.") The second stage variable is **parental encouragement of Hispanic traditional values** (How often do your parents or guardians encourage you to respect your elders, be humble, be patient, respect authority, put family interests before your own.) Previous research has identified these values to be traditionally "Hispanic." The third stage variable is **functionality evaluations of traditional Hispanic values** (To be successful in the U.S., how important is it to be ....). The fourth stage variable is **performance of traditional Hispanic values** (In the past two weeks, how often have you done the following ...). The last stage variable is **school aspirations**. Figure 2 suggests the following hypotheses:

H5: Parental communication leads to parental encouragement of Hispanic values.

H6: Parental encouragement of Hispanic values leads to positive functionality evaluations of these values.

H7: Positive functionality evaluations lead to performance of the values.

H7: Performance leads to high school aspirations.

Method

Data were collected from the population of ninth grade Hispanic students in a California school. Respondents filled out questionnaires during class time under the supervision of a teacher. All students in the class (n = 131) completed the questionnaire. The Hispanic population was selected via self-identification. All children who indicated that they were Mexican, Mexican-American or Chicano were included in the analysis (n = 47).

Results and Discussion

The sample

The sample consisted of 47 children who identified themselves as Mexican (n =27), Mexican American (n = 17) or Chicano/a (n = 3). The average age was 14.3 years; 64% were male, 36% were female.

Measures

The average time spent watching television per week was 15.5 hours (s.d. = 15.4).

The mean score for learning of American values from television was (4 = often, 1 = never): the mean functionality rating of American values was 3.1 (4 = very important, 1 = not at all important); the mean score for performance of American values was 3.1 (4 = often; 1 = never); and the mean educational aspiration score was 3.4 (4 = very likely, 1 = not at all likely).

The mean parental communication score was 3.6 (5 = strongly agree indicating positive communication; 1 = strongly disagree, indicating negative communication); the mean parental encouragement score of Hispanic values was 3.7 (4 = encourage very often; 1 = not at all); The mean functionality rating of Hispanic values was 3.6 (4 = very important to be successful in the United States; 1 = not at all important); the mean score for performance of Hispanic values was 3.3 (4 = often; 1 = never.)

These results show that Hispanic values were generally perceived to be more functional and were performed more often than American values. Also, parental communication was generally positive, and educational aspirations were generally high.

The Cronbach's alpha's for the constructed measures were: Learning American values from TV (Alpha = .77); Functionality evaluations of American values (Alpha = .68); Performance of American values (Alpha = .51); Quality of parental communication (Alpha = .70); Parental encouragement of Hispanic traditional values (Alpha = .66); Functionality

evaluations of traditional Hispanic values (Alpha = .52): Performance of traditional Hispanic values (Alpha = .74); School aspirations (Alpha = .86).

Tests of models and hypotheses

Figure 1 shows significant paths (as indicated by significant Beta weights from a Hierchical regression model) between functionality evaluations of American values and performance of those values (H3), and between performance and educational aspirations (H4). Also, frequency of watching American television predicted high aspirations, as did positive evaluations of the functionality of American values. None of the other paths were significant. (H-1 and H-2 are rejected.) These results suggest that watching American television frequently leads to higher educational aspirations, but not because Hispanic children learn about American values from television. This direct link points to other possible reasons why American TV might affect aspirations. For example, other research has suggested that children can obtain other useful information from television such as role expectations in adult society as well as topics and material for themes in schoolwork (Gans, 1974; Mielke, 1994.)

Figure 1 also confirms results from other studies testing the cognitive-functional theory of socialization (Tan et al., 1996). American values that are evaluated to be functional will be "performed," and performance of functional values lead to higher educational aspirations. These functional evaluations are not learned from television. They may be learned from other socialization agents such as schools, peers and family.

An apparent anomaly is the negative direct link between functional evaluations and aspirations. Functionality leads to higher aspirations, but only when the values are performed. If the values are evaluated to be functional, but not performed, then these evaluations lead to lower

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educational aspirations. An explanation for these results is provided by the construct of "efficacy" from social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986). Efficacy is the belief that the child can perform the learning outcome (matching performance). Without efficacy, the learned behavior will not be performed. Hispanic children who believe American values are functional but who don't perform them probably don't think they are capable of successful matching performances. Children low in "efficacy" generally may also have lower educational aspirations. This explanation at this point is theoretical conjecture and should be tested directly in future research.

Figure 2 shows that positive parental communication leads to parental encouragement of Hispanic values (H-5). Encouragement, however, does not lead to positive functional evaluations (H-6); functional evaluations don't predict performance (H-7), and performance of Hispanic values does not lead to higher educational aspirations (H-8). Instead, there is a direct positive link between parental communication and educational aspirations and between parental communication and performance of Hispanic values. Hispanic children who perceive their communicative relationships with parents to be pleasant and reinforcing have higher educational aspirations. Also, they are more likely to perform Hispanic values in everyday life.

These results suggest that positive parental communication leads to higher aspirations not because it encourages the performance of Hispanic values, but, as previous research has suggested, because positive parental communication by itself is reinforcing and motivating (Corsaro & Eder, 1992). It's interesting to note that performance of American values led to higher educational aspirations, while performance of Hispanic values did not. This provides some

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support to conclusions from other research that the adoption of certain Anglo American values is essential for success in the educational system.

A comparison of Figures 1 and 2 shows that more variance is accounted for by the parental communication model ($R2$ =.26; p =.02) than by the TV use model ($R2$ = .17; p =.18). This indicates that for Hispanic children, parents have more influence than television on educational aspirations.

Conclusions

This study provides evidence that frequent viewing of American television and positive parental communication lead to higher educational aspirations among Hispanic children. The influence of American television may be to provide a contextual foundation for learning (e.g., general familiarity with the predominant culture) in American schools which goes beyond the learning and adoption of Anglo American values.

The finding that positive parental communication leads to higher aspirations suggests that biculturalism may indeed be the mediating factor between television use and aspirations. If we can assume (as the demographic data suggest) that our population of Hispanic children were still generally "mono-cultural" (i.e., Hispanic culture), then the effect of American television would be to make them "bi-cultural". Parental communication, on the other hand, would encourage retention of certain aspects of Hispanic culture. These issues should be tested more directly in further research.

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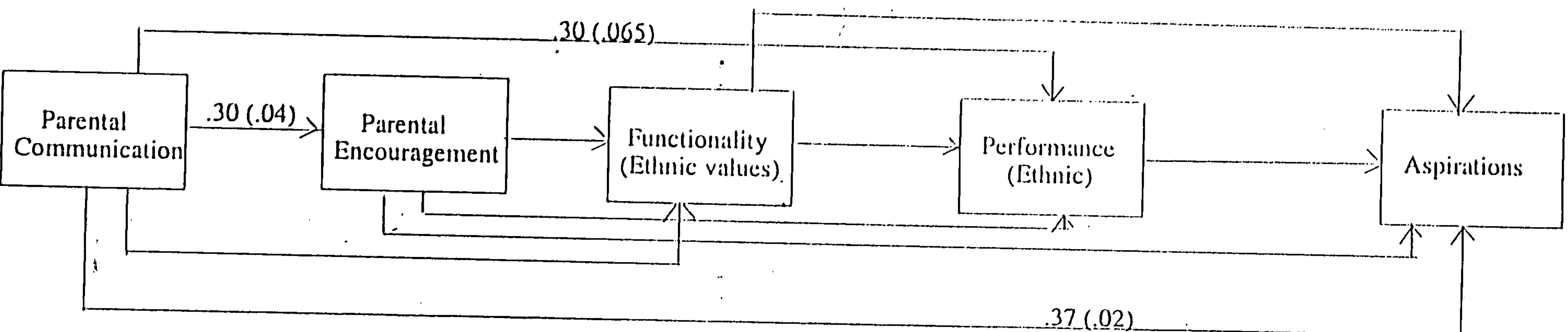

Figure 2. Parental Influence on educational aspirations.

Path coefficents are estimated from standardized regression coefficients. Only significant path coefficietns are shown. $F(4,38) = 3.32$ ($p<.02$). $R2 = .26$.

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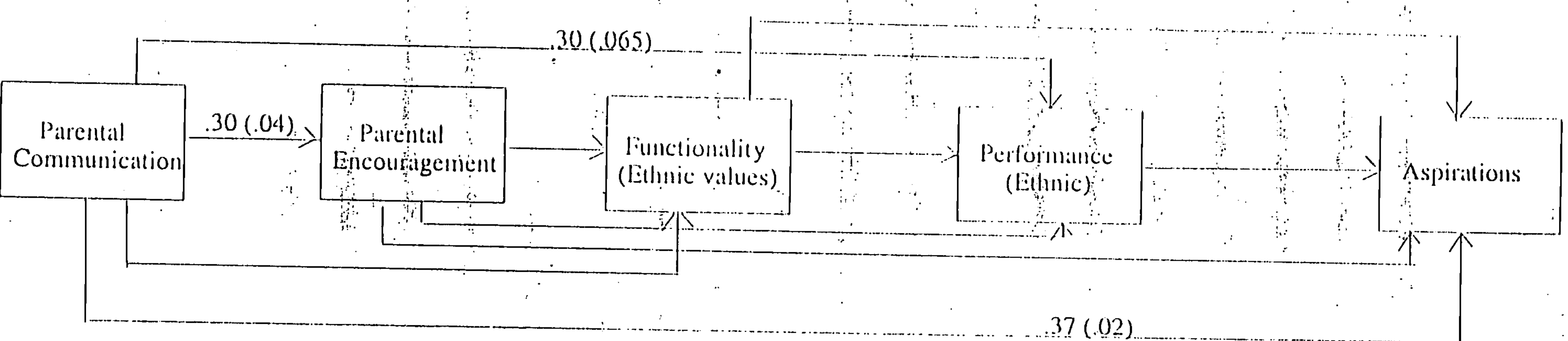

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Hire and Higher

An analysis of the relationship between numbers of Asian-American editors and coverage of local Chinese by *The Oregonian* in Portland, Oregon

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Abstract

This study found a strong relationship between the hiring of Asian-American editors at *The Oregonian* in Portland, Ore., and coverage of the city's Chinese community.

Issues of the paper from the 1970s, before it employed any Asian-American editors, the 1980s, when it employed two, and the 1990s, when it employed three, were compared. Samples showed a dramatic increase in the number of stories about local Chinese after two Asian-American editors joined the news staff.

Statistical tests confirmed a relationship between the editors and increased coverage and showed that the findings were not due to chance.

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Hire and Higher: An Analysis of the Relationship Between Asian-American Editors and Coverage of Local Chinese by *The Oregonian* in Portland, Ore.

Introduction

Events, wrote Gaye Tuchman in her well-known 1978 text *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality,* must "resonate" with a reporter's experiences before they can become news. Tuchman referred to reporters, but presumably her observations also applied to newsroom supervisors and managers. They could apply at the city desk, where editors might be more likely to assign stories about familiar events and people. They could apply at the design desk, where familiar events and names might tend to receive better "play." And they could even apply at the copy desk, where the familiar might stand a better chance of surviving the delete key.

Conversely, the need to resonate would mean that some events and groups have a smaller chance of making it onto the news pages. Fringe political parties, minor league baseball teams and older college students are all examples of such groups. All too frequently, however, the groups that are shut out are racial or ethnic minorities. One newspaper in which this was found to be the case was Portland, Ore.'s *The Oregonian,* which during the years 1950-65 contained only a handful of stories about that city's Chinese population.[1]

It was not until the 1980s, when the paper's efforts to diversify its news staff began to bear fruit, that a wider segment of the population made it into the news.

This research paper will examine previous newspaper coverage of the Chinese in Oregon. Then it will take a look at whether the addition of three Asian-American editors

at *The Oregonian* during the late 1970s and mid-1980s was related to a dramatic increase in the number of stories about Chinese and other Asians in the Portland metropolitan area. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used to conduct this study.

The Chinese in Oregon

According to Robert Edward Wynne's history of the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest, the first Chinese arrived in Oregon shortly after gold was discovered in the state's Rogue and Umpqua valleys in 1852.[2] Along with the Chinese miners, writes Wynne, came the discrimination that was to plague them well into the 20th century. But discrimination apparently did not dampen the lure of Oregon's gold fields. According to Wynne, by 1858 there were more than 1,000 Chinese in Josephine County.[3]

Laws restricting the Chinese differed from place to place, according to Wynne. For example, they could legally purchase mining claims at Wolf Creek and at Jackass Creek, which the author V. Blue in 1922 dubbed "a cosmopolitan area with many French and Chinese miners."[4] But at Humbug Creek, Chinese were prohibited from buying or even working mining claims.

Delegates at the state constitutional convention in 1857 decided that the Chinese could neither vote nor own land; these decisions became law when Oregon joined the union in 1859. Despite this, the Chinese continued to arrive, and at least officially the curtain lifted somewhat in 1864 when the Legislature repealed some of the discriminatory laws. But it turned around and imposed a $4 per quarter mining tax on the Chinese and

banned them from giving evidence against or taking legal action against Caucasians.

Chinese women were also prohibited from entering the United States by the 1882 exclusion act. The biggest restriction on the Chinese already here, however, was not cultural or legal. For wherever they lived, they faced a wall of racial bias.

This bias was reflected in Oregon's newspapers, which for the most part shunned the Chinese even though in some towns they comprised nearly half the population. When the Chinese were mentioned they were frequently ridiculed and attacked.[5] Terms such as "yellow vermin" and "filthy rats" were not uncommon in the 1860s even in respected papers such as *The Oregonian* in Portland. But mostly, the Chinese were shut out of the press. An absence of society news was especially noticeable.

In Astoria, where the Chinese comprised 47.2 percent of the population in 1880, editorials called for restricting them to ghettos. " ... We cannot possibly colonize the Chinese in any one place in the city, but it should be done if possible," wrote the editor of the *Weekly Astorian* in 1879.[6]

As a result of depletion of the gold fields and an inability to regenerate, most of the original contingent of Chinese had left the state or died by 1930. The few who did remain were hailed as friends during World War II because China was an ally. But coverage again subsided after the war.[7] As the stage is set for this study, census figures show that there were 4,774 Chinese in Oregon in 1970. A total of 2,951 of these, or 61.8 percent, lived in the four-county Portland area.[8] Many had arrived as graduate students after World War II and remained in the United States because of the communist takeover of

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of China in 1949.[9] Their socioeconomic characteristics were a world apart from those of the original settlers. No longer were they confined to toil as laundrymen and laborers. The *1970 Census of Population* showed that for Chinese between the ages of 25 and 34 in states similar to Oregon, 58 percent of the males and 44 percent of the females had completed at least four years of college. Many held professional degrees or Ph.D.s and taught at the college level, which may have led to more positive news coverage. But perhaps more importantly, their higher social position resulted in a greatly improved image.

Previous research has shown that though the overt bias of the 19th century was gone by the mid-1960s, coverage grew slowly. Many of Oregon's Chinese Americans, especially those in Portland, continued to be invisible to the press despite socioeconomic advances.

According to authors such as Tuchman, biases of individual editors affect news content because those editors "resonate" on their experiences when making decisions.[11] In view of this, it would not be difficult to conclude that the composition of an editorial staff could significantly influence a paper's contents. In other words, what's news to one editor may not be to another.

Not Professionals

One of the reasons for the abuses among frontier papers was that their editors were not professionals. As was the case during the colonial period, many were printers who didn't hesitate to mix opinion with news.[12] Thus, the editor's opinion became the paper's. This was the case in Oregon and much of the West. Though the sizes of daily papers and

news staffs grew along with the state, the amount of diversity in the news apparently trailed far behind, with some ethnic and racial groups remaining invisible well into the 20th century. This was one of the reasons many minority training programs sprouted up beginning about 1980.[13] The goal was to place minority editors in positions in which they could: 1) influence the content of the news; and 2) hire other minority editors so that news columns, as well as newsrooms, could eventually become fully diversified.

"Fully diversified" was defined as moving the nation's news staffs to the point where their composition reflected the composition of the population. It was hoped that if this could be accomplished, the content of news could also be diversified both in terms of quantity and quality.[14] Indeed, in 1978 the American Newspaper Publishers Association board had set a goal: parity of newsroom composition with the proportion of minorities in the population by the year 2000.[15] The call for increased minority newsroom employment went beyond affirmative action. According to the American Society of Newspaper Editors publication, *Minorities & Newspapers: A Report by the Committee on Minorities,* it was, instead, "a recognition of the fact that increased minority employment is the most effective means to improve minority coverage."[16]

The idea of bringing more minorities into the nation's newsrooms was not new. As far back as 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders formed by President Johnson had accused the journalism profession of being "shockingly backward" in recruiting, hiring, training and promoting African-Americans. The group, better known as the Kerner Commission, indicated that "It is unacceptable that the press, itself the

special beneficiary of fundamental constitutional protections, should lag so far behind other fields in giving effect to the fundamental human right to equality of opportunity."[17] The report mentioned only African-Americans. But presumably, its findings applied to all minority groups.

This study will attempt to show that an increase in the number of editors of Asian descent at *The Oregonian,* the largest paper in the Northwest, was related to an increase in coverage of members of the local Chinese community during the period 1970-1992.

"Coverage" is defined as stories that show local Chinese in activities that any community member would be expected to engage in. These stories could include announcements for births, weddings, deaths and other events such as government or club meetings.

In addition, and perhaps more importantly, unlike those of the 19th century, stories would be expected to focus on the role of subjects in the news rather than their race.

The Chinese were chosen for four reasons. First, they were the second largest minority group (after African-Americans) in the Portland area during all three of the study's sample periods, which were from 1970-1972, 1984-86 and 1990-1992.

Second, they were chosen to determine whether news treatment of the Chinese had continued to improve, both in quality and quantity. It should be remembered that in the 1870s and 1880s, the Chinese were largely "ignored" by the Oregon press, and when mentioned vilified, even though in some locales they comprised nearly half of the population. In addition, a previous study had shown that although overt bias was gone by the 1960s, coverage of the local Chinese community in *The Oregonian* was limited to stories

about Chinatown and Chinatown redevelopment. Stories did not focus on people.[18]

Third, Chinese surnames, which with two exceptions are monosyllabic, are easily distinguishable in stories.[19]

And fourth, and most importantly, a finding that there is a positive correlation between the number of Asian-American editors and the amount of coverage of the local Chinese community would have implications for coverage of all minorities and newsroom minority hiring practices.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis this study attempted to confirm was: An increase in the number of Asian-American editors at *The Oregonian* newspaper in Portland, Ore., during the period 1970-1992 was related to an increase in the number of stories in the paper about members of the local Chinese community.

Methodology

A content analysis was used. Issues of the paper were examined to determine if coverage, measured in number of stories, increased as a result of Asian-American editors being added. The paper hired one during the late 1970s, a second in 1984, and a third in 1988.

A total of 60 issues of the paper were examined in the study. Sample periods were the first 10 days of January and February 1970-72, before any Asian-Americans were editors at *The Oregonian,* and when the Portland area's Chinese population was 2,951, or

.8 percent; the first 10 days of January-February 1984-86, after two were editors at the paper, and when the Portland area's Chinese population was 5,285, or 1.1 percent; and the first 10 days of January-February 1990-92, after three were editors, and when the Portland area's Chinese population was 9,573, or 2.0 percent.

January and February were used because of their proximity to the Chinese New Year. The rationale for this was that if local Chinese were not in the news during the New Year's celebration, when **would** they be? A second reason was that experience has shown many couples planning June weddings announce engagements well in advance. This also would increase the likelihood of Chinese-Americans making it into the society pages from which they had been conspicuously absent for 100 years.

The three sample periods were then compared to see whether the amount and type of coverage changed over two decades and whether these changes could have resulted from other factors such as a larger Chinese population, changes in staff attitudes, changes in society, and increased paper size.

Stories in the study were not separated into categories because of their relatively low number. However, they had to deal with a member of the local community, which in this study was defined as anywhere in the paper's area of circulation.

This research is externally valid because its findings could have implications for the hiring of minorities at all U.S. media institutions.

Internal validity was increased through manual sampling because earlier work by the author revealed that indexes for *The Oregonian* frequently omitted stories such as

obituaries, engagement and wedding announcements, and club news.[20]

Results, Analysis

Even a cursory examination of data reveals a marked increase in the number of stories about local Chinese and Asians in *The Oregonian* after 1984. The relationship between this and the number of new editors of Asian descent at the paper was confirmed by a chi-square test. At the 99.999 confidence level, the chi-square value should have been 18.457; the value observed was 51.60 (table below; for worksheet, see Appendix B). Thus, the hypothesis is supported.

Story Subjects

	Asian Editors	Chinese	Japanese	Other Asians
1970-72	0	4	12	0
1984-86	2	17	4	12
1990-92	3	14	7	9

$X^2 = 51.60$, degrees of freedom = 4 $p<.001$

However, the number of editors alone may not be sufficient to explain an increase of 325 percent – from four to 17 between the first and second sample periods – in the number of stories about local Chinese, leading to the possibility that there were other contributing factors.

The first of these could have been circulation. According to *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook,* circulation of *The Oregonian* increased from 243,279 to 289,600 between 1970 and 1984, and from 289,600 to 310,446 between 1984 and 1990.[12] In addition, at least six zoned sections were added between the first and second sample periods. This resulted in more detailed community coverage, and may have increased the probability of local Chinese making it onto the news pages.

The second factor was population. Census figures show that the Chinese population in the Portland area increased from 2,951 out of 382,619 (.8 percent) in 1970 to 9,573 out of 483,778 (2.0 percent) in 1990. But far more telling is that while the metropolitan area's population increased from 382,619 in 1970 to 483,778 in 1990, about 26 percent, its Chinese-American population increased from 2,951 to 9,573, more than 200 percent. This alone would have made the Chinese far more visible – and thus, far more likely to make it into the news.

Third, society had changed, if not in the '70s, certainly by the '80s. It would have been expected that the lingering editorial biases that had made the Chinese "invisible" to the press as late as 1965 would have disappeared by 1984, the beginning of the second sample period.

International Scene

And finally, two events that raised awareness of China in the international pages may also have contributed to increased local coverage. These were President Nixon's ice-breaking visit to China in 1972 and President Carter's normalization of diplomatic rela-

tions with China in 1978. Though these moves did not directly affect coverage of local events such as engagements, bridal soirees and scholastic honor rolls, they would have made editors of any ethnic origin more aware that there were Chinese-Americans in the city.

One other factor should be mentioned. The position of editors probably plays an important role. At *The Oregonian,* Bill Hilliard, an African-American, was assistant city editor in 1970, and by 1984 had been promoted to executive editor. This was the highest newsroom position because at the time there was no position designated as "editor." Hilliard, who started his career as a copy boy in the early 1950s, was committed to a diversified newsroom.[22]

Under his tenure numerous minorities were appointed editors. Among these two became assistant city editor, two assistant copy desk chief, three senior copy editor, and one each to assistant business editor and opinion page editor.[23]

Although results in general indicate an increase in the number of Asian-American editors was strongly related to an increase in coverage of Portland's Chinese community, some aspects of the findings were anomalous. One was that during the first 10 days of January and February 1970-72, a total of 16 stories focused on the local Chinese and Japanese communities. Of these, 12 were about local Japanese, and just four about local Chinese. It should be remembered that according to the 1970 census, there were 2,951, or .8 percent Chinese in the Portland metropolitan area, to just 2,084, or .5 percent Japanese out of a combined total of 5,035. It would have been expected with those numbers

bers that the Chinese, who comprised approximately 60 percent of the total Asian population at the time, should have been mentioned in 10 or 11 of the 16 stories. But the actual number was lopsided in favor of the Japanese.

What could have accounted for this? A quick look at the stories from the first sample period is revealing. Of the 12 that contain Japanese names, four were obituaries, two engagement announcements, two were business-organization election-result announcements, two were features about local high school students, and one a meeting advance. All except the last focused on people, which would seem to indicate that the Japanese were better-entrenched in Portland society.

On the other hand, the stories about the Chinese were an announcement of election in the Portland Chinese Women's Club, a piece about local Chinese celebrating their new year in a "low-key" manner that contained neither names nor sources, an engagement announcement, and a feature about a University of Oregon student from Hong Kong advertising for a wife so he could stay in the United States.

Curiously, there was also a recipe for preparing a "Chinese hot dog" dish. Certainly, it would not have been difficult to interview a local restaurateur and obtain a more authentic recipe. This omission and the "Local Chinese low-key on New Year celebration" story seem to indicate an editorial staff out of touch with the community.

Another was that although the Chinese population jumped 81 percent between 1980 and 1990, the number of stories about the Chinese decreased from 17 to 14 between the second and third sample periods. Reasons for these anomalies warrant further study.

Two other findings from the second period stand out. One was that there was a marked increase in the number of stories about all minorities. A total of 56 such stories were counted during the second period. In addition to those about local Chinese, there were 20 about African-Americans, eight about Southeast Asians and four about Koreans. But in contrast to the 1970-72 sample period, there were only four about local Japanese. These numbers probably reflected a changing population – in 1980, census figures show 5,285 Chinese, 4,893 Japanese, 4,769 Vietnamese and 3,709 Koreans in the Portland area. Even though the number of stories about African-Americans increased from just a handful during the first sample period to 20 in the second, population decreased from 21,572 in 1970 to 15,773 in 1980. That also deserves further investigation but is beyond the scope of this study, which focuses on Asian editors and newspaper coverage.

The second was that between 1984 and 1986 stories about the Chinese included a far wider array of subjects. Rather than just focusing on restauranting or the Chinese New Year, story subjects now included crime, accidents, small and corporate business, government appointments, cooking and oceanography, among others. A Chinese couple also was photographed as Portland's first parents of the new year in 1986.[24]

The single obit during the first and second sample periods may have reflected the relatively young age of the post-World War II immigrants. Many, it should be remembered, had been graduate students who stayed in the United States after 1949 and held Ph.D.s or other advanced degrees. Thus, not only were they too young to "qualify" for the obituary page, they were now in a position to be quoted as experts by the press. In-

deed, one of the stories in the paper's Jan. 3, 1985 "A" section focused on the work of Kenneth Chew (this spelling is correct – the story was placed next to a large photograph), University of Washington Fisheries Department chairman.

The only stories about Koreans were observed during this period. They all focused on a stabbing during a January 1984 family fight in the suburb of Beaverton.

During the third sample period, a total of 74 stories were found about all minorities. Of these, 44 were about African-Americans, 14 about Chinese-Americans, nine about Southeast Asians and seven about Japanese-Americans. These numbers probably reflected a population that, according to the 1990 census, included 40,958 African-Americans, 9,573 Chinese, 7,599 Vietnamese, 7,807 Japanese and 6,909 Koreans.

Interestingly, the number of stories about local Chinese and local Asians who were not Chinese or Japanese actually decreased despite the addition of a third Asian-American editor.

Conclusion

Analysis of *The Oregonian* shows there was a substantial increase in the number of stories about members of Portland's Chinese community during this study. While the metropolitan area's Chinese population increased more than 200 percent (from 2,951 in 1970 to 9,573 in 1990), the number of stories about local Chinese increased 325 percent after two Asian-American editors were hired during the 1980s. During the early 1990s, when there were three Asian-Americans, stories appeared in the paper almost daily but reflected an increasingly diverse population. Census reports indicated that in 1990,

Asians in the Portland area included Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, Thais and Filipinos.

The relationship between the number of Asian-American editors and the number of stories about members of the local Asian population was confirmed by a chi-square test at the 99.999 confidence level. This strongly supported the hypothesis that an increase in the number of Asian-American editors at *The Oregonian* was related to an increase in the number of stories about local Chinese.

Despite this, however, a number of other, possibly limiting factors should be considered along with this study's findings. These are: circulation – according to the *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook,* that of *The Oregonian* increased from 243,279 to 310,446 during the study period; population – the number of Chinese-Americans in the Portland area increased from 2,951 (.8 percent) to 9,573 (2.0 percent) during the study period; attitudes – many editorial biases disappeared as society became more enlightened in the late 1970s and early 1980s; and finally, China's prominence in the international community – this may have made editors more aware of the local Chinese community. These were also beyond the scope of the present study but deserve further investigation.

Notes

1. Herman B. Chiu, *Oregon's Chinese and Newspaper Coverage: The Road to Acceptance* (Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon thesis, 1995), 69.

2. Robert Edward Wynne, *Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British*

Columbia 1850-1910 (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 43.

3. Wynne, 44. However, apparently the mines in Josephine County were depleted quickly, and the Chinese population there was transitory. The *Ninth Census of the United States* shows that 634 Chinese lived in Jackson County, but only 223 remained in Josephine County in 1870. This may have been because larger gold strikes had been made in Northeast Oregon.

4. Wynne, 44; from V. Blue, "The Mining Laws of Jackson County," *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* 23 (1922).

5. Wynne, 66, Chiu, 46, and *Morning Oregonian,* Feb. 17, 1865, and July 10, 1865.

6. Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian-American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1994), 56, from *Weekly Astorian,* May 23, 1879.

7. Chiu, 85.

8. The four counties are Multnomah, Washington, Clackamas and Clark County across the Columbia River in Washington state.

9. Chiu, 13, 85.

10. Chiu, 72-74.

11. Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978). 138. Tuchman wrote that news events must "resonate" with a reporter's (and presumably, an editor's) experiences.

12. Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier* (Reno, Nev.: University of Nevada Press, 1992). According to Cloud, many frontier papers were one-man operations in which the printer was also "editor."

13. The first, the Editing Program for Minority Journalists, was the brainchild of a group of California news executives committed to diversifying the nation's newsrooms by the year 2000. It

was held at the University of Arizona and continues today under the auspices of the Maynard Institute for Journalism Education.

14. According to the manual *Cornerstone for Growth: How Minorities are Vital to the Future of Newspapers* (Detroit, Mich.: 1988), 25, "As the newspaper hires more minorities in the newsroom, quality of the coverage of minority populations should improve; hence the image of the newspaper as a white institution, unresponsive to minorities, will fade. More minority readers will be likely to buy the paper to read about news concerning their community."

15. A dearth of college-level journalism-education opportunities and prejudice among editors were the main stumbling blocks to reaching parity (American Society of Newspaper Editors, *Minorities and Newspapers: A Report by the Committee on Minorities,* Washington, D.C., 1982), 1. The publication also indicated that "There has never been a time when more than two-fifths of the daily newspapers in the nation have had integrated staffs."

16. American Society of Newspaper Editors, 11.

17. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders report, 384, 387.

18. Chiu, 80.

19. The only two exceptions are Soohoo and Owyang (sometimes spelled Ouyang). Also, because the Chinese seldom "Americanize" their names, sampling error is presumed to be small.

20. The index was a "card catalog" before 1979 and was available at three locations – the Multnomah County Library in Portland, Ore., the Eugene Public Library in Eugene, Ore., and the University of Oregon Library.

21. These are the figures listed in the *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook,* 1970 and 1990. However, according to *The Oregonian,* daily circulation passed 400,000 in 1990.

22. Under Hilliard's tenure the paper became one of the top-paying papers in the West and a mecca for the nation's top minority talent.

23. Both of the assistant copy desk chiefs have since resigned. One started a printing business that failed; the other returned to reporting for *The Oregonian's* North Portland bureau. One senior copy editor earned an MBA and joined the business operations at the The *Los Angeles Times;* the other, the author of this study, became a journalism professor.

24. *The Oregonian,* Jan. 2, 1986, B1.

Appendix A

Portland, Ore. Population

	Af.-Americans	Chinese	Japanese	Vietnamese	Korean	City Total
1970	21,572	2,951	2,084	_____	_____	382,619
1980	15,773	5,285	4,893	4,769	3,709	462,878
1990	40,958	9,573	7,807	7,599	6,909	483,778

From U.S. Bureau of Census reports

Appendix B

Story Subjects

Asian Editors		Chinese	Japanese	Other Asians	
1970-72	0	**1.33** 4 **7.08**	**11.61** 12 **4.65**	**4.25** 0 **4.25**	16
1984-86	2	**1.30** 17 **12.9**	**.07** 4 **4.59**	**2.66** 12 **7.52**	33
1990-92	3	**14.22** 14 **5.31**	**7.08** 7 **2.66**	**9.10** 9 **3.42**	30
		35	23	21	79

35x16 = 560	23x16 = 368	21x16 = 336
31x33 = 1023	11x33 = 363	18x33 = 594
14x30 = 420	7x30 = 210	9x30 = 270

$X^2 = 51.60$, degrees of freedom = 4 $p<.001$

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TUSKEGEE AIRMEN, CENSORSHIP, AND THE BLACK PRESS IN WORLD WAR II

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ABSTRACT:

This paper examines the conflict between the black press and the Office of Censorship. In 1942-45, American media were urged to comply with censorship guidelines that limited news about troops that might aid the enemy. Black papers, however, wanted to publicize the Tuskegee Airmen, leading the *Chicago Defender* and other media to inadvertently violate the censorship code. The conflict ended with the press agreeing to restrict news about the Tuskegee Airmen, and censors giving black journalists no special treatment or punishment.

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"Negro Troops Poised for Big Second Front Push," the double-banner headline of the national edition of the *Chicago Defender* screamed in capital letters on January 8, 1944. Below were a secondary headline about the Tuskegee Airmen and the segregated, African-American 93rd Infantry Division heading overseas for combat, along with a photograph of the smiling Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin O. Davis Jr., commander of the 332nd Fighter Group, and his wife, Agatha. The story was just the sort of morale-booster for African-Americans that the *Defender*, one of the nation's most prominent black newspapers, enjoyed publishing prominently. It showed the readiness and willingness of black pilots and soldiers to do at least as much as white Americans in laying down their lives during World War II. "All the way from the steaming New Guinea jungles to the wet, muddy mountains of India, from the foggy camps of England to the chilly muck of Italy, colored soldiers for the first time will be assigned by the War Department in key posts in the big push," said the story, written by the *Defender's* Washington bureau. Assessing the paper's decision to run the story atop the front page, Editor Metz T. P. Lochard said that the news "provided us with an ideal stimulant to Negro morale," which had hit a low during the race riots in American cities during 1942 and 1943.[1]

Strange, then, that this morale-boosting story, aimed at connecting readers with the men fighting on their behalf, immediately led to threats of possibly preventing the *Defender's* war correspondents from covering African-Americans in combat, and resulted in a reprimand from the Office of Censorship. The *Defender*, circulated to

black readers nationwide, had run afoul of the wartime voluntary censorship code for domestic newspapers, magazines and radio stations.

One section of the censorship code limited identification of combat troops. It asked newspapers and magazines to avoid identifying military units heading into combat, in order to prevent the enemy from learning valuable details about the Allied fighting forces they faced. This censorship clause proved onerous for many publications, particularly those from small towns that wanted to keep subscribers informed about their neighbors in uniform. For the black press in America, the clause proved doubly painful. Publications such as the *Chicago Defender* and *Pittsburgh Courier* wanted not only to inform readers about their neighbors and relatives in uniform, but also to sustain racial pride and combat the notion common to white officers in the United States military that African-Americans were second-class fighting men.[2] To these publications, the Tuskegee Airmen and the nation's three all-black army divisions -- the 2nd Cavalry and 92nd and 93rd Infantry -- were among the most important news stories of the era.

This paper describes the conflict between the black press and the Office of Censorship during World War II. It relies primarily on letters and memoranda in the Office of Censorship records at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, copies of the *Chicago Defender* and *Pittsburgh Courier*, and the personal papers of Censorship Director Byron Price at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The main historical treatments of the Office of Censorship are Price's unpublished memoir and *Weapon of Silence*, the anecdotal memoir of Theodore F. Koop, who served as Price's assistant and as the final supervisor of the office's Press

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Division. Neither memoir specifically addresses the issue of suppression of news about black fighting units; nor does Patrick S. Washburn's *A Question of Sedition*, which focuses on the relationship of the black press and the federal government, particularly the Justice Department, in World War II.[3] This paper, relying on previously overlooked documents, demonstrates that while press coverage of the Tuskegee Airmen was restricted during the war, the relationship between the censors and the black press remained respectful and positive.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Office of Censorship nine days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and named Price, executive editor of the Associated Press, as its director. Roosevelt's announcement led to three kinds of censorship: mandatory combat-zone control of news that might compromise national security; mandatory censorship of information crossing America's borders, to prevent sensitive information from falling into enemy hands, and voluntary self-censorship by the print press and radio in the United States.[4] Thanks to the First Amendment and its interpretation by the Supreme Court, the print press was nearly totally free from the threat of pre-publication censorship.[5] Post-publication penalties during wartime included prison terms and fines for violators of the Espionage Act, involving stories that could be proved to have damaged national security; the withdrawal of second-class mail permits for seditious publications; and the Office of Censorship's recommendation to the army and navy that the offending publication's war correspondents be denied accreditation to the combat zone.[6] Price, concerned about the potential damage to the nation's morale by heavy-handed or extra-legal censorship, aimed to instruct editors, publishers and radio station managers in the dangers of

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releasing certain kinds of news stories and then allow them to censor themselves. Price's powers of mandatory censorship, as they applied to mail, telephone calls and other forms of communication leaving the United States, were spelled out in Executive Order 8985, which Roosevelt issued on December 19, one day after passage of the First War Powers Act.[7] Price's authority to create and oversee guidelines for voluntary press and radio censorship rested in a letter Roosevelt signed on January 27, 1942, authorizing the censorship director to "coordinate the efforts of the domestic press and radio in voluntarily withholding from publication military and other information which should not be released in the interest of the effective prosecution of the war."[8]

To supervise domestic self-censorship, Price established a Press Division and a Broadcasting Division in the Office of Censorship in the Federal Trade Commission Building in Washington, D.C., and staffed both with veteran journalists. In the first few weeks of operation, the divisions gathered suggestions from government, army and navy officials on the types of news that might compromise the American war effort if they were published or broadcast. The censors aimed to keep hard news from the enemy in eight categories: troop movements and locations; ship movements and locations; plane disposition, movement and strength; details about fortifications; sensitive war production information, such as details about raw materials or factories that would help saboteurs; weather information that would help enemy ships and planes in combat; photographs and maps of secret military areas; and a "general," catch-all category that included advance news of the president's movements, casualty lists, and the location of national treasures. On January 15 -- technically, twelve days

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before Roosevelt signed his letter of authorization -- the Office of Censorship published pamphlets for print and broadcast journalists that codified these suggestions. *The Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press* and *the Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters* required four major revisions resulting in new editions during the war and were supplemented by dozens of ad hoc press releases as unforeseen issues arose.[9] According to Office of Censorship records, during the entire war no print journalist and only one broadcaster ever deliberately violated a censorship request stemming from these codebooks and their supplements, once they had been made aware of the censorship rules and the reason for their existence.[10] In 1942, for example, the Press Division received 7,814 inquiries from print journalists concerning news stories being considered for publication, and in every case the journalist agreed to make deletions or revisions, or seek "appropriate authority" for items that the censors fund potentially dangerous.[11] Under the codebook's rules, any appropriate authority, such as a high-level government or military official, could release sensitive news on his or her responsibility.

More than 50,000 copies of the first *Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press* were distributed in early 1942, and nearly 70,000 copies of its June 15, 1942, revision were sent out as well to journalists from coast to coast.[12] Yet censorship problems occurred because some journalists did not receive the code. Still others received it but did not read it, and some read it but did not understand it. The Office of Censorship had about 7,000 complaints of possible print code violations between March 5, 1942, and June 28, 1944, that arose because of these kinds of oversights.[13]

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Price established contact with the nation's African-American press shortly after taking office as censorship director. Moss Hyles Kendrix corresponded with Price in February 1942 about the National Negro Newspaper Week, March 1 through March 7, which Kendrix supervised. The week was "especially designed to assure America of the full support of its [black] race papers in the war effort," Kendrix said. In responding, Price praised the upcoming observance and suggested that the war would allow the black press an opportunity "to render possibly its greatest service both to its own race and to the country" by exposing Axis race-hatred propaganda and by offering counsel to its readers "sanely and wisely."[14] At that same time, the *Pittsburgh Courier* was promoting would soon became a nationwide program of black publications, the "Double V" campaign to achieve two victories in World War II. The idea had been suggested in a letter to the *Courier* by reader James Gratz Thompson, an interior decorator in Wichita, Kansas.[15] One of the victories touted by Thompson and the *Courier* was to be won on the battlefield, against the Axis Powers, and the other was to be won at home, against racial discrimination.[16] Thus did black publications, while recognizing the need to contribute to the nation's defense, keep the spotlight on defining the kind of democracy that black servicemen were fighting for.

Two months later, *Chicago Defender* Publisher John H. Sengstacke visited Price's office for a discussion of how the black press could do its part in domestic censorship to help win the war. While little is known about their talks, Sengstacke's assertion to Price that the black press was patriotic proved accurate. While some individual copies of black publications were censored at the borders by Price's Postal Division, the black press was no more apt to inadvertently violate the voluntary

censorship code than any other kind of publication. Washburn asserts that no documents in the Office of Censorship archive indicate that the censors ever criticized a black publication for a code violation.[17] This is true only if public reprimands are examined. In all of its forty-four months of operation, the Office of Censorship released the name of only one code violator, Jeff Keen, a white society columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News* who was reprimanded for a security leak involving the travels of Soviet Foreign Minister V.M. Molotov.[18] If, however, the historian turns to the Office of Censorship files of its private communications with individual newspapers, magazines and radio stations, it is evident that a handful of black publications were chastised for their unplanned code violations. All of the violations, in a folder labeled "Negro Troops" in the Office of Censorship archives, deal with news about all-black army and army air force units.

Black Americans gained a toehold in the army air corps thanks to the Selective Service Act of 1940, which required that blacks be inducted into the armed forces in the same ratio as their proportion to whites in the general population. Before that, military aviation was all-white. The gains were limited, however, as the announcement on January 16, 1941, of the creation of an all-black pursuit (fighter) squadron revealed that the aviators were to be trained at a segregated air field at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and deployed as a segregated unit.[19] Black pilots officially joined the air corps on July 19, 1941, when the eleven men who had graduated from the Civilian Pilot Training Program and one army officer, Captain (later Colonel) Davis, were inducted into military aviation training. The first class of

cadets graduated from what had become known as the Tuskegee Army Air Field on March 6, 1942, three months after America had entered the war.[20]

African-Americans closely followed the progress of the first men to go through training at Tuskegee. A War Department photo of Davis appeared on the front page of the *Courier* on January 24, 1942, and the news of his succession to the command of the 99th Pursuit Squadron appeared in the same place a week later. Two full pages of photos of the squadron -- mostly snapshots of individual pilots in the cockpits of training aircraft -- appeared inside.[21] The *Courier* would have liked even more news about black servicemen. It complained in March that the army failed to do enough to publicize such troops. The paper editorialized, "The Army information service which sends news to the Negro newspapers has been doing a very poor press job. . . . We have been told nothing about our Negro soldiers; and yet the daily papers have been full of detailed accounts of the activities of white American troops."[22]

The black press had a huge, highly interested audience for such news of black troops. Black newspapers enjoyed a peak of readership and influence during the early 1940s. They often had difficulty securing sufficient advertising revenue to balance expenses, and so relied on circulation as their primary source of income. As a result, they emphasized a personal style of journalism not often found in the pages of the white press, and they won many loyal readers.[23] The army estimated circulation of black newspapers at two million copies nationwide during World War II. It also estimated that three-fourths of black adult Americans read at least one black paper; that a similar percentage of black troops read at least one black paper; and that 56 percent of black troops read the *Courier*.[24] This massive audience reveled in stories

from Tuskegee during 1941 and 1942. Historian Stanley Sandler credits not only the black press for this intense and favorable coverage, but also the white commanding officer of Tuskegee's 66th Army Air Corps Primary Flying School, Captain Noel F. Parrish. He, unlike some of the other white officers at Tuskegee in the early months of its operation, despised segregation and rejected racial theories of human performance. Parrish also established a friendship with Claude A. Barnett, director of the National Negro Press Association, which undoubtedly did no harm to Tuskegee's image in the black press.[25] Besides the *Courier*, newspapers carrying articles and photos of the black trainees included the *Afro American* of Baltimore, *Amsterdam News, Chicago Defender, Cleveland Call and Post,* and *Norfolk Journal and Guide,* resulting in a flood of fan mail, and even a few marriage proposals, from readers to the featured pilots.[26]

Such adulation was tempered by concerns about the role of the first black aviation unit, the 99th Pursuit Squadron (which was renamed the 99th Fighter Squadron in May 1942), and about the impact of black participation in the war against totalitarianism. A black psychiatrist, Dr. Kenneth Clark, noted in 1942:

> The Negro hopes that out of the present war will arise such conditions as to make mandatory the fuller participation of Negroes in the political and economic life of America. This may come about, he hopes, in either one of two ways. First, this being primarily a "white man's war," a long and destructive war may so weaken all combatants that they will be unable to subjugate the darker races. Second, a victory for the forces of democracy may actually result in the development of a more liberal treatment of minority peoples. The feeling is widespread that the inevitable disturbances of the usual social patterns -- sometimes bordering on disintegration -- may be the source from which a positive, dynamic, and honest attitude toward them will arise.[27]

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Morale was low at Tuskegee late in 1942 because of fears that the 99th and other black squadrons -- the 100th, 301st and 302nd, comprising the 332nd Fighter Group -- would never see action. The 99th had been put on alert for deployment overseas on September 15, 1942, and every day afterward expected to receive orders to move. However, such orders did not arrive until the following spring.[28] The order for the 99th to ship out finally arrived on April 1, 1943. On or about that day, United States Representative Frances P. Bolton of Ohio attended a board of trustees meeting at Tuskegee Institute and learned of the order. News of the movement was restricted by the troops clause of the censorship code. Obviously, published or broadcast details about the time and date of the 99th's departure might provide an Axis submarine commander with a tempting target. Furthermore, information about the final destination of the aviators would provide one piece of the puzzle that troops on every front tried to learn about the enemy -- their strength, deployment and order of battle. Therefore, while it was newsworthy that the 99th was shipping out, little could be said under the censorship code without revealing sensitive information. Yet, as a congresswoman, Bolton was exempt from the censorship code for any information that she cared to release to the news media for which she agreed to stand as an "appropriate authority." On April 15, 1943, Bolton gave a five-minute speech on the floor of the House of Representatives in which she praised the servicemen at Tuskegee. She closed by saying, "The first squadron of colored flyers has left for combat duty, taking the hearts of Tuskegee with them. I am sure the entire membership of this House wishes them well and hopes for them a high record of honor and of glory."[29]

When word of Bolton's remarks reached the black press, it resulted in one of the first contacts between black journalists and the Press Division of the Office of Censorship concerning application of the censorship code.[30] Lochard, editor in chief of the *Defender*, called the Office of Censorship on April 19 to ask if he could reprint Bolton's remarks about the departure of the Tuskegee Airmen. Press Division Director Nathaniel Howard replied that if Lochard published exactly what appeared in the *Congressional Record* and no more, he would be in compliance with the censorship code because of Bolton's exercise of appropriate authority. Lochard asked if the *Defender* could interpolate that the black aviators to whom Bolton referred were members of the 99th, but Howard said no.[31]

The call from Lochard apparently alerted Howard to the content of Bolton's remarks, and he tried to address expected interest among black publications by passing along the news, and censorship's concern about it, to the Associated Negro Press in Chicago, which served black papers nationwide. Howard sent a telegram to Frank Marshall Davis of the ANP about an hour after speaking with Lochard, repeating the gist of his precautionary message to the *Chicago Defender*.[32]

Office of Censorship records do not record whether the Associated Negro Press replied to the telegram. The ANP submitted to the Office of Censorship a story about the black aviators, identifying them as members of the 99th, only to have the censors label it a violation of the voluntary code and request that it not be published -- tantamount to a ban on publication under the patriotic spirit of the times.[33] However, the ANP privately alerted black editors nationwide about the 99th's departure in a

confidential memo on April 21. The memo, which began with a statement forbidding the memo's publication, told editors:

> You will be interested in knowing that the 99th Pursuit squadron has left its base at Tuskegee with full equipment and ground complement for combat zones. ANP was able to follow this trip until they disembarked at an eastern seaport directly on the ship which was to carry them abroad. The Office of Censorship, however, refused permission to publish any part of the story since such publication would be considered a violation of the censorship code which bans publication of any troop movements outside the continental United States until release comes from the appropriate authority. The 99th is not expected to reach battle station until the last of May and at that time an announcement will be forthcoming from overseas. No paper may publish any information about the departure of the 99th until that time. However, these boys were in the finest shape possible on their departure with their spirit high and most of them expressed themselves vigorously as being "raring to go."[34]

The Justice Department received a copy of the ANP's confidential note and asked Price whether the note itself would violate the code. In dismissing the Justice inquiry, Press Division censor William H. Mylander noted in a memo to Price, "the Negro press is intensely interested in every scrap of news about [the 99th]. In view of this, I don't see why we should object to this confidential, not-for-publication note."[35]

The 99th shipped out of New York City on the transport Mariposa on April 16, accompanied by war correspondent Tom Young Jr. of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. The airmen arrived in Africa eight days later.[36] The unit initially was attached to the 33rd Fighter Group and saw action in Sicily and other islands off the Italian mainland. The Tuskegee Airmen recorded their first kill in aerial combat on July 2 over the Sicilian coast, a fact recorded and applauded on July 10 and 17 in the *Defender*.[37] Dozens of more aerial kills occurred during that summer and fall as the Allied forces captured Sicily and invaded the Italian. Even elements of the white press in America were impressed. The *Birmingham (Alabama) News* reported on July 18 that the

Tuskegee pilots had "faced their acid test and came through with flying colors to prove that they had the necessary mettle to fly successfully in combat."[38] In September, Colonel Davis was returned to the States to take command of the all-black 332nd Fighter Group. At that time, it consisted of the 100th, 301st and 302nd squadrons, which had been formed at Tuskegee but moved to Selfridge and Oscoda Army Air Fields near Detroit, Michigan, for training because of overcrowding at Tuskegee. (The 332nd would grow to include the 99th in July 1944, creating the army's largest fighter group by its unique virtue of having four squadrons instead of the usual three.)

As the 332nd Fighter Group prepared at the end of 1943 to leave Michigan for combat overseas, interest among African-Americans was as keen as it had been when the 99th had departed eight months earlier. The members of the 332nd boarded troop trains on December 22, bound for Virginia, and shipped out from Fort Patrick Henry on January 2, 1944.[39] Once again, the departure of black aviators would lead to a confrontation between elements of the black press and the Office of Censorship. Colonel J. Noel Macy, chief of the War Department's News Division, phoned the Office of Censorship on the afternoon of January 3 to say that the Associated Negro Press had just reported that the 332nd had left the States for duty overseas. The new Press Division director, Jack Lockhart, said his staff would investigate the matter, and if it were true the censors would try to overtake the story and kill it before it could be printed.[40]

James Warner, a censor working in the Press Division, immediately called ANP Executive Editor Davis in Chicago. Warner said that such a story would violate the code and possibly endanger the lives of the aviators en route to their destination

overseas, and that the black press would receive officially sanctioned news about the arrival of the troops when they arrived safely. Davis told Warner that the news service had, through a "slip-up," mailed such a story to its clients three days earlier. The ANP subsequently mailed an order to spike the story; David said he expected it to arrive in newsrooms in time to prevent publication, as most of the ANP clients were weekly papers. When Warner pressed him as to whether any clients might publish the story before receiving the follow-up message, Davis named the *Atlanta Daily World*, *Pittsburgh Courier* and some other papers with early deadlines.[41] The Office of Censorship drafted and dispatched telegrams that afternoon to the Pittsburgh and Atlanta papers, and to the *Afro-American* newspapers of Baltimore.[42]

None of those papers printed the original ANP dispatch. But the *Chicago Defender* did. Its national edition, which went to press *after* the kill message arrived from Davis, displayed the story prominently on the front page. Again, the War Department brought the item to the attention to the censors -- this time, at the express request of Army Public Relations Director General Alexander Surles, who demanded to know "what action is being taken in this case."[43]

Editor-in-Chief Lochard already had learned of War Department concerns about the story through his conversations with Truman Gibson, the African-American civilian aide to the secretary of war. On his own initiative, Lochard wired a message to the Office of Censorship on January 4 explaining that the story had been printed because "we felt that the Associated Negro Press as a reputable service must have cleared with the censorship office before releasing the news." He also reiterated his intent to cooperate with the censors.[44] The telegram arrived on the morning of

January 5, shortly before the War Department phoned with its similar message announcing the code violation and further revelations that the story also said the all-black 93rd Infantry was preparing for action overseas. Lockhart phoned Lochard in Chicago to ask for an explanation about why the story had been published despite the kill order. Lochard passed the call along to his national editor, identified in censorship records only as "Mr. Burn." In a memorandum of their twenty-minute conversation, Lockhart noted:

> He maintained that the correction issued by the ANP did not ask that the 332nd be eliminated but instead asked that the unit not be described by type. He said that the Defender said that the 93rd was engaged in its final desert maneuvers in preparation for overseas duties. Mr. Burn defended the publication by the Defender of both of these units. I attempted to reason with him but did not convince him. I told him we would have to regard the publication as a serious Code violation giving information to the enemy and endangering the lives of men in the units. I asked Mr. Burn if the Defender wanted this office to notify the newspapers of the nation that they could carry the unit identifications of outfits preparing to go overseas. He did not want this office to do that. . . .
>
> I told Mr. Burn that we would give serious consideration to recommending that correspondents whom the Defender proposed to send with the units not be accredited since the Defender had shown little recognition of security obligations even before the units left this country.

Burn closed the conversation by stating that Gibson had not objected to the story when it had been read to him the previous day.[45] Lochard made the same point in a follow-up letter that said the *Defender* had strongly wanted to use the story of the 332nd going overseas as a stimulant to domestic morale, "which if the hundreds of letters we receive weekly are any reflection, is at a very low ebb." Therefore, the *Defender* modified the story from the ANP but did not keep it from publication despite receiving the kill order.[46]

The Office of Censorship pressed the ANP for more details of why and how it had violated the censorship code. The ANP said it had never mentioned the movement of the 93rd Infantry, and had not said that the 332nd was being transferred overseas. As evidence, it mailed copies of both the original story and the kill order to the Office of Censorship. In fact, the original story, less than one hundred words, said only that "the colored fliers headed by Lt. Col. B.O. Davis" had left their bases in Michigan, destination "unknown." It did not name the unit, apparently as a concession to the censorship code, but any savvy reader would have known that information because of Davis' fame as the unit commander. It did note that the fliers would not be attached to a white unit, but rather fight independently. The ANP kill order did not directly state that the story must be killed, but rather quoted Gibson as saying the story "may violate the censorship code" and suggested deletion only of the phrase "to fight as a complete unit" because of its implication that the aviators were bound for a combat zone.[47]

The Office of Censorship responded with measured reprimands for both the Associated Negro Press and the *Defender*. To Barnett, executive director of the ANP, Lockhart pointed out that the censorship code applied to the movement of troops "within or without continental limits of the United States" and "prospective embarkation." Without an appropriate authority to release news of the departure of the 332nd, he said, the ANP had violated the code. It made no difference that the press release had not given the unit identification number of the black aviators because there was only one black fighter group in the United States. He closed: "When it is safe to reveal their arrival overseas is a matter best determined, I am sure you will agree,

by the commander in the field. General [Dwight] Eisenhower's headquarters, after the [99th] safely had arrived in Africa, released information . . . you will recall."[48]

To Lochard and the *Defender*, Lockhart reiterated the code violations in the national edition story about Davis and the 332nd, and added a lesson about the nature of voluntary self-censorship: Each journalist had to play his or her role in order for it to be maximally effective. It was not enough to assume that other journalists or government officials had taken responsibility for some item of news -- no matter how important to a particular audience.

> From the beginning of voluntary censorship -- which we hope to make a success to prevent the imposition of some more objectionable form of censorship -- we have asked each editor to be his own censor and to accept responsibility for everything published in his newspaper. We have asked that this alertness for the protection of the nation's security extend to material furnished by wire services or received from any other source. The press associations do a good censorship job, but they occasionally make mistakes and slips. We do not believe that any editor, in a matter of this importance, can justify turning the censorship job over to some other fellow.
>
> The provisions of the Code of Wartime Practices and the work of this office are aimed at one thing only -- the protection of our armed forces and their success in winning the war. We are sure that the Defender has the same aim in its operations, and we know that the Defender would be gravely concerned could the loss of life of even a single American soldier be traced back to any material published by the Defender.[49]

The squadrons of the 332nd arrived safely at Taranto, Italy, on February 3, 1944, without incident. The 332nd distinguished itself, as did the 99th, in air combat over central Europe, bomber escort and attacks on ground installations. There is no record that indicates that the *Defender's* combat zone correspondents -- George Padmore, Enoch P. Waters, Edward B. Toles and columnist Walter White, who also served as secretary to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People -- were

threatened with loss of accreditation. Nor is there any record of further conflicts between the Office of Censorship and the African-American press.

The study of the conflict over publicity about the Tuskegee Airmen leads to three conclusions. First, the Office of Censorship treated African-American publications like their white counterparts in resolving issues over censorship code violations. The *Chicago Defender* and other black publications received neither special scrutiny nor extraordinary punishment for their inadvertent violations. Given the hostility toward black troops in high levels of the federal government and military, the even-handedness with which the all-white Press Division of censorship dealt with the black press is noteworthy. No hint of racial insensitivity against the black press can be found in the "Negro Troops" files in the censorship archives other than a pair of quote marks inserted around the title "national editor" in Lockhart's written reference to one of the *Defender's* mid-level managers, seeming to imply his doubt that the paper was large enough or sophisticated enough to merit an employee with such a title.[50] Second, the correspondence and memoranda pertaining to actual code violations and possible violations reveal the willingness of the African-American press to comply with voluntary censorship despite its heavy burden of delaying news of the successes of the Tuskegee Airmen and other black units in training and en route to combat. Despite black newspapers' interest in pursuing the Double-V campaign and boosting morale, they willingly complied with censorship requests that curtailed their coverage. Third, the contacts between the Office of Censorship and the black press serve as a vignette illustrating the quiet, behind-the-scenes methods by which domestic censors sought compliance with the censorship code. The Office of

Censorship pointed out errors, instructed in the ways of avoiding security leaks, and urged cooperation. Occasionally it threatened to publicize violations or otherwise punish journalists, and in one episode, involving the *Philadelphia Daily News*, exercised such punishment publicly. However, the norm was to appeal to journalists' patriotism and common sense and to leave ultimate decisions about publication to the editor and publisher -- where they constitutionally belonged.

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NOTES

[1] See "Negro Troops Poised for Big Second Front Push: 332nd Pilots Leave; 93rd Set for Action," *Chicago Defender* (national edition), January 8, 1944, 1; and Metz T.P. Lochard to Jack Lockhart, January 5, 1944, record group 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

[2] For a discussion of attitudes of white officers to black troops in World War II, see Stanley Sandler, *Segregated Skies: All Black Combat Squadrons of WWII* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948); and Elliott V. Converse III et al., *The Exclusion of Black Soldiers From the Medal of Honor in World War II* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarlane & Company, 1997).

[3] See Byron Price, "Memoir," box 4, Byron Price Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison (henceforth BPP); Theodore F. Koop, *Weapon of Silence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946); and Patrick S. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[4] *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 18: (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 369-70.

[5] For a discussion of the legal barriers to imposing prior restraint on American print media, see the 1931 Supreme Court decision in Near v. Minnesota ex rel. Olson (283 U.S. 697).

[6] See Fred S. Siebert, "Wartime Communications and Censorship," box 1, "Lecture Materials, 1941-42," Frederick Siebert Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, and Jack Lockhart, "Memorandum," January 5, 1944, RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[7] See *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 55, pt. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 840-41; and Samuel I. Rosenman, ed. ,*The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 10, 1941*: The Call to Battle Stations*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950) 574-75.

[8] Price, "Memoir," 296, box 4, folder 11, BPP.

[9] For a discussion of the creation and use of the codebooks, see Koop, *Weapon of Silence*. Copies of all editions of *the Code of Wartime Practices for the American Press* and the *Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters* are in Office of Censorship, *A History of the Office of Censorship*, vol. 2, RG 216, entry 4, box 1.

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[10] See Koop, *Weapon of Silence*, 172; E.N. Thwaites to Byron Price, August 19, 1943, RG 216, entry 1, box 359, "KFUN" folder; and Thwaites to Price, October 2, 1943, RG 216, entry 1, box 359, "KFUN" folder. Radio station KFUN in Las Vegas, New Mexico, defied the Broadcasting Division for a few months in 1943 over the radio censorship codebook's request that all foreign-language radio programs be scripted, censored and monitored. Pressured by Price and officials from the National Association of Broadcasters and the New Mexico congressional delegation, KFUN finally acquiesced late in 1943 or early in 1944.

[11] Byron Price, "Notebook," vol. 5, 438, box 4, folder 1, BPP.

[12] Nathaniel R. Howard, "Statistical Report of Work of Press Division January 15, 1942 to January 1, 1943," March 6, 1943, box 7, folder 6, Don Anderson Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

[13] Office of Censorship, RG 216, entry 1, box 389, "Code Violations" folder, National Archives. There is no indication in the folder why the listing of violations began or ended at these particular dates; records of violations before and after these dates can be found in the censorship archives.

[14] Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, 64-65.

[15] "'Make Democracy Real,' Says Double V Originator," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 18, 1942, 5.

[16] Frederick S. Voss, *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 174-75.

[17] Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, 108.

[18] Price, "Memoir," 355, box 5, folder 1, BPP.

[19] Sandler, *Segregated Skies*, 13, 19.

[20] *Ibid.*, 25, 36.

[21] See photograph without headline, *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 24, 1942, 1; and "Capt. Davis to Command 99th Squad," *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 31, 1942, 1.

[22] "A Poor Press Job," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 7, 1942, 6.

[23] White, *A Man Called White*, 209.

[24] Sandler, *Segregated Skies*, 65.

[25] *Ibid.*, 29.

[26] Charles W. Dryden, *A-Train: Memoirs of a Tuskegee Airman* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 96.

[27] Sandler, *Segregated Skies*, 64.

[28] Dryden, *A-Train*, 97.

[29] *Congressional Record*, 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943, vol. 89, pt. 3: 3408.

[30] The first private reprimand for a censorship code violation by a black publication was given on May 14, 1942, to the *Louisville Defender* for revealing on May 2 that an all-black ordnance unit would be leaving for overseas duty from Fort Sutton, North Carolina, in the next four months. The violation was handled with a routine letter alerting the *Defender* to the appropriate section of *the Code of Wartime Practices*. See "Special Recruiting For New Battalion," *Louisville Defender*, May 2, 1942, 1; and Nathaniel R. Howard to The Editor, May 14, 1942. Both are in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[31] Nathaniel R. Howard, "Memorandum," April 19, 1943, RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[32] Nathaniel R. Howard to Frank Marshall Davis, April 191, 1943, RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[33] WHM (William H. Mylander) to Byron Price, May 5, 1943, RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[34] "Confidential Note to Editors, Not for Publication," The Associated Negro Press, April 21, 1943, RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[35] See Lawrence M.C. Smith to Byron Price, May 5, 1943; and Mylander to Price, May 5, 1943. Both are in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[36] See Dryden, *A-Train*, 112; and Sandler, *Segregated Skies*, 43-45.

[37] See "Negro Flyers Down First Nazi Plane," *Chicago Defender*, July 10, 1943, 1; and "A Rare Privilege," *Chicago Defender*, July 17, 1943, 18.

[38] Sandler, *Segregated Skies*, 46.

[39] *Ibid.*, 92.

[40] Jack Lockhart, "Memorandum," January 3, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[41] Jim Warner to Jack Lockhart, January 3, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[42] "Book of Three" telegram, January 3, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[43] J. Noel Macy to Jack Lockhart, January 5, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[44] Metz T.P. Lochard to Byron Price, January 4, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[45] Jack Lockhart, "Memorandum," January 5, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

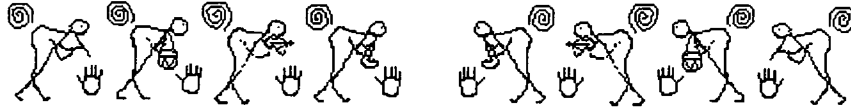
[46] Lochard to Lockhart, January 5, 1944.

[47] See "Scoop" Jones, "Fliers on Their Way, n.d.; and the Associated Negro Press, "Note to Editors," January 3, 1944. Both are in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[48] Jack Lockhart to Claude A. Barnett, January 6, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[49] Lockhart to Lochard, January 12, 1944, in RG 216, entry 1, box 504, "Negro Troops" folder, National Archives.

[50] Lockhart, "Memorandum," January 6, 1944.



Policy and Press Coverage: Changing coverage of Native Americans and Native American issues in the press, 1963-1983

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ABSTRACT

This research was undertaken in an effort to understand how Native Americans and Native American issues were covered by the periodical press from 1963 to 1983. It explores how the amount and type of coverage of Native Americans in periodicals changed over two decades and how trends in coverage followed (and/or dictated) United States' governmental policies. The discoveries offer insight as to how this minority group has been portrayed – and affected – by America's periodicals.

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"They're laughing [the occupation of Wounded Knee] off in *Time Magazine* and *Newsweek*, and the editors in New York and what have you. They're treating this as a silly matter, just as they've treated Indian people throughout history. We're tired of being treated that way."[1] – Russell Means, leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), in 1974.

Are the sentiments of this Native American activist grounded in historical fact? His remarks damn the press for its coverage of his people during the incident at Wounded Knee and for all of history. His assertions lead to an interest in understanding – through quantitative and qualitative research – the way in which the periodical press has covered Native Americans and Native American issues.

Efforts to understand the coverage of minorities and minority issues in the mainstream press have produced a variety of content analyses focusing on the mass media's presentation of African Americans and Asians as well as Latin America and the continent of Africa. When and how the primarily Caucasian, United States' press portrays these "others" has proven fertile ground for research.[2] One minority that has remained largely absent from these studies are Native Americans.

Historically, the pattern has been one of neglect and stereotype.[3] However, little research has been done to examine trends in coverage since the 1970s. What is more, much of the previous research focused on the Native American press and not on the portrayal of these peoples in the popular press. Issues affecting the larger society as well as the efforts of many tribes to change their lot in the 1970s – illustrated by the activism of Means – beg insight into coverage during recent decades.

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Specifically, this research was undertaken in an effort to answer the following questions: 1.) Did the amount of coverage of Native Americans in the periodical press change from 1963-83? If so, how? 2.) Did the type of coverage of Native Americans in the periodical press change from 1963-83? If so, how do the decades compare? and 3.) Do trends in coverage follow (or dictate) the United States' governmental policies in general as well as those specifically aimed at Native Americans? If so, how?

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of the literature points to the need for additional research in this subject area.[4] Only two studies stand out as closely related to this research topic. The first, "The Role of the Press in an Indian Massacre, 1871," by William B. Blankenburg, appeared in *Journalism Quarterly* in 1968. This study examined the portrayal of Native Americans in the popular press in the late 1800s. The author illustrated how reporters in western as well as in eastern states presented negative pictures of Native Americans to their readers. Blankenburg argued that the popular press worked to encourage and then to justify the slaughter of more than 100 Indians – only eight of whom were men – at Camp Grant in Arizona.[5] His content analysis provided insight into the portrayal of Native Americans in the popular press and led to questions concerning the portrayal of these peoples in recent decades.

Then, in 1979, a chapter from Sharon Murphy's book, *Let My People Know*, appeared in *Journalism History* entitled "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype." This essay provided a qualitative analysis of Native Americans in the mass media. Murphy presented a picture of Native American people as portrayed by the mass media and concluded "(t)he story that unfolds in such exploration is one

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of Indians' on-going struggle to communicate – a struggle that has reached life and death proportions throughout more than 150 years."[6] Again, her insight points to the need for additional research.

METHOD

To answer the questions above, this research takes into consideration all stories listed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* under the heading "Indians" – as well as the heading "American Indian Movement" or AIM – from 1963 to 1983 appearing in the following magazines: *Time, Newsweek, US News & World Report, The Nation* and *The New Republic*.

This study begins by exploring coverage in 1963 because at that time coverage of Native Americans in the periodical press was minimal. In 1963, only one article appeared in the mainstream newsmagazines studied and in 1964 there were none. The alternative periodicals carried only two articles in these two years. In addition, 1963 marked a new era in governmental policy toward Native Americans that provides a clear historical marker on which to anchor this research. The increased level of Native American activism in the 1970s indicated that this study should include that decade. The cut off point of 1983 was chosen because the amount of coverage tapered off in 1981 and then picked up in 1982 and 1983, but with an entirely new focus. This provides a framework for the data collected – beginning with a new interest in Native Americans in 1963, through the 1970s and ending with a shift in coverage in 1983.

The "big three" newsmagazines were chosen because they illustrated the information which was available to the average, news-reading American on the subject of Native Americans during the period studied. The general news focus of

these publications as well as their large circulations provides a good base for determining the amount and type of stories covering Native Americans that were available in this country's periodicals. *The Nation* and *The New Republic* were included to provide a point of comparison and to determine if the portrayal of Native Americans and Native American issues was different in the alternative press than in the mainstream press.

All stories listed in the *Reader's Guide* were located and reviewed to determine the topic and main focus. Each was then placed into one of the following categories:

- Social issues – stories covering civil rights, welfare, poverty, unemployment, housing or basic living conditions
- Culture – coverage of religion, the arts (dancing, weaving, etc.), tradition, language or the passing on of culture (including education)
- Book reviews – reviews of books about or by Native Americans
- Government issues (four sub-sets):
  - General – coverage of government involvement in Native American affairs, legislation and jurisdiction
  - Land rights – stories about lawsuits involving land ownership and reparations
  - Militancy – coverage of protests against government policies (including tribal governments)
  - Economics – stories about U.S. government involvement in resource management and control as well as government subsidies and other money issues
- Other – coverage of any topic not fitting into the above categories

The *Reader's Guide* sub-headings were used as a loose guideline in the categorization of articles; however, several of its sub-headings were boiled down to

"Culture" and "Social issues" while its sub-heading of "Government Relations" was separated into different types of government issues for this research (see tables 1-3).

THE GREAT SOCIETY: 1963-72

On November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, and Lyndon B. Johnson became the thirty-sixth president of the United Sates. On September 2, an article appeared in *US News & World Report* entitled "Why No Integration for the American Indian." (This was the only article covering Native Americans to appear in any of the newsmagazines in 1963.) The focus of the coverage was on social issues, integration and poverty. The article pointed out: "Here is one group generally forgotten in all the excitement over racial equality. In many areas, American Indians are far more segregated than the Negroes are. Those on the reservation, for the most part, are ill-housed on poor land, with little hope of bettering their lot where they are."[7]

President Kennedy had established a task force – headed by his brother Robert – to study the "Indian problem" in 1961. The 380,000 Native Americans who lived on or near reservations at the time had only two-thirds the life expectancy, half the level of education, less than a third the income and seven to eight times as much unemployment as the national average. About 90 percent of their housing was considered sub-standard.[8] Despite their poverty, the article pointed out that Native Americans had little or no interest in leaving reservations to find work or in being assimilated into the larger society. Government policy toward Native Americans was discussed in terms of expenditures for programs, which were expected to reach $1.5 billion dollars between 1963 and 1967, as well as the over-arching policy of

"termination" adopted by Congress in 1953. This policy, which intended to eventually eliminate all special programs for Native Americans including the tax exempt status of reservation lands, met with considerable opposition and was moving at a slow pace.[9]

The Kennedy administration's policy toward Native Americans seemed to be one of paternalism and eventual assimilation into white society; however, the social ills of these peoples also were being considered. The article concluded: "It looks as though it will take many years and a lot more money before the entire Indian population is ready to assume the full role of citizenship."[10] It is intriguing that the magazine offered an historical look at the "Indian and the Negro in America" in a small aside taken from *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville: "The Negro, who earnestly desires to mingle his race with that of the European, cannot do so; while the Indian who might succeed to a certain extent, disdains to make the attempt."[11]

On May 22, 1964, in a speech delivered at the University of Michigan, Johnson launched his vision for America:

> For in our time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.
>
> The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning. ... So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin?
>
> Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?[12]

This policy was soon visible in the pages of the mainstream periodical press. Until 1972, social issues would remain a major focus of the newsmagazines' coverage of

Native Americans. In fact, ten of the thirty-two stories about Native Americans appearing in the three newsmagazines from 1963-72 focused on social issues, making it the largest single category of coverage (see table 1). Even the alternative press acknowledged the Johnson administration's efforts to alleviate poverty and protect the civil rights of reservation Indians.[13] However, their coverage was more balanced during this period. Only five of the twenty-one stories that appeared focused on social issues, and stories on government topics were distributed over the general, land rights and economic categories.

Overall, this coverage paralleled policy – especially in the mainstream newsmagazines. Throughout his presidency, Johnson and his administration maintained the position of Native Americans in the War on Poverty and the Great Society. The Office of Economic Opportunity trained the Rosebud Sioux to build new homes, bringing quality housing and employment to the reservation. The project led *The New Republic* to declare on July 16, 1966, that "these demonstration projects have given the whole poverty program its imaginative touch."[14] Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall worked to improve living conditions on reservations, and in 1965, when Philleo Nash resigned as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Udall replaced him with a Native American, Robert Bennett. The Secretary's ultimate goal was to encourage economic development and promote self-government on reservations.[15] In 1967 this goal was realized in part by the Indian Resource Development Act, which provided credit for economic projects on reservations and increased tribal control of trust-protected resources. Finally, in 1968, Johnson asked Congress to increase

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funding for Native American projects by 10 percent, and Native Americans were specifically mentioned in the Civil Rights Bill.

The newsmagazines echoed this policy of support and improvement, and from 1966-68, nearly half (four of nine) of the stories appearing focused on social issues and improving life on reservations. Another three shared the culture of this minority group with the news-reading public. Of the final two, one addressed economic issues and the other a natural disaster.

In 1966, *US News & World Report* published a lengthy article detailing the living conditions on reservations and on government efforts to improve them. In contrast to the 1963 article, this coverage was more explicit in terms of the abject poverty and did more to humanize members of the Navajo tribe who were the focus of the story. The Native Americans became more than statistics and dollar signs on the government's bottom line. They were discussed as members of the Great Society being affected by the War on Poverty. While critical of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the article was optimistic as to the future of self-help projects and economic development on reservations, citing "a terrific potential."[16] In 1967, another article – "'Forgotten American' Aiding Himself" – appeared in *US News & World Report*, once again illustrating the newsmagazine's tendency to follow the government policy of social change. *Newsweek* published one short focusing on social issues and two covering culture in this two-year period.

Time began to pick up government policy toward Native Americans in its coverage by 1968. No stories appeared in 1963, 1964 or 1967. Only one story was published in 1965, on government jurisdiction, and one on culture appeared in 1966.

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Three stories appeared in 1968. One of these – "The Forgotten & Forlorn" – quoted President Johnson as saying in reference to Native Americans: "No enlightened nation, no responsible government, no progressive people can permit this shocking situation to continue."[17] It noted that the document Johnson presented to Congress "was the first presidential message ever to deal specifically with [Native American issues]."[18] The article illustrated the timeliness of the president's message and the urgency of the issue by pointing out the growth of the Native American population, which had reached 600,000 (including those not living on reservations) by 1968. The policy to increase aid to Native Americans was supported in this piece, which outlined proposed program increases on reservations, including: 10,000 children in Head Start; a new community school system; the building of 2,500 new homes; expanded healthcare; employment projects; and loan programs. Another story appearing in *Time* in 1968 focused on civil rights and expanded equality for Native Americans, which also could be categorized under the auspices of Great Society policy. The final story covered a blizzard that affected the Navajo reservation in Arizona.

The alternative press was not so obviously in line with government policy in 1966-68. Several articles focused specifically on government actions, not on social issues. Of the nine articles, three focused on social issues, one was a book review and five focused on government relations. When social issues were discussed, these publications were more critical of policy and offered some contrast to the popular press' portrayal. *The Nation* and *The New Republic* also provided their readers with more coverage of legislative and bureaucratic issues and actions. As was mentioned

above, these publications recognized the administration's attempts to alleviate the social ills faced by Native Americans. They were simply not as positive in doing so as the mainstream newsmagazines. An article by Ralph Nader that appeared *The New Republic* in 1968 offered an example of this difference. He admitted: "Clearly, a direct White House commitment to Indian betterment, for the first time, gives the mission greater visibility and importance. ... But beyond that, the president's message avoided dealing with the organizational dry rot upon which these programs are being advanced, namely, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)."[19]

A Republican & a Reservation

When Richard Nixon became president in 1969, the general trend in policy toward Native Americans did not change dramatically. Economic assistance and social welfare programs remained a priority for the new administration, although economics began to surpass social issues as the main focus. Perhaps the most pointed representation of this subtle change was an article that appeared in *US News & World Report* in 1969 entitled "A Model City for Indian Lands." This piece illustrated the grand plan to turn the Four Corners region of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and Utah – where the Navajo and Ute Mountain Indian reservations converge – into a major urban center. Known as the Four Corners Economic Development Region, its purpose was to "bring the twentieth century to the Indian, instead of forcing him away from his lands into faraway big cities."[20] Here economic growth, not existing social ills, was the crux of the issue.

In 1970, President Nixon's administration worked to make this shift in policy a reality for Native Americans. In a message to Congress, the president rejected the

"termination" policy of 1953 and encouraged changing to a policy of economic development, which the Bureau of Indian Affairs adopted in 1971. The administration created the Indian Development Fund – a $3.4 million trust – to provide capital for the development of industry on reservations. It also recommended a $50 million increase in a revolving fund for Native American economic development. In another policy move, the president endorsed a House resolution to return 48,000 acres of sacred land to the Taos Pueblo and subsequently asked Congress to set up an independent Indian Trust Council Authority to represent Native Americans in disputes with the government.[21] These actions led Bruce Wilkie, executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, to comment: "President Nixon is the first U.S. president since George Washington to pledge that the Government will honor its obligations to the Indian Tribes."[22]

These policy issues were reflected in the mainstream newsmagazine coverage from 1969-72. Land issues began to receive some play after the Taos Pueblo resolution, and social issues continued to be covered in terms of improvements on reservations. The alternative press tended to mirror policy during this period as well. However, they again tended to be more critical of results than the mainstream periodicals. Of the twenty-eight stories appearing in all of the magazines studied during these four years, more than half seemed to directly correlate to policy: five focused on social issues, eight considered the land rights of Native Americans, one focused specifically on economic development and two covered government issues in general. Of the remaining articles, three examined culture and five were book reviews. The last four were harbingers of what was to come.

Late in 1969, a small band of Native Americans claimed "ownership" of Alcatraz. *Newsweek* presented the story as a government land issue, reporting that the Native Americans "offered to buy the island from the Federal government – which abandoned its prison there in 1963 and left it barren since – for '$24 in glass beads and cloth.'"[23] *Time* was considerably more serious about the militant aspect of the takeover and followed up its January 5, 1970, news short on the event with a lengthy piece entitled "The Angry American Indian: Starting Down the Protest Trail." Perhaps the militancy of the new left and the protests surrounding Vietnam had conditioned *Time* to view the situation in terms of its potential for protestation rather than as a simple issue of Native American land rights. This article went into detail about social conditions on reservations, reporting: the average life expectancy for the Native American was forty-four years, as opposed to seventy-one for white Americans; the average annual income was $1,500; average years of schooling was 5.5; the birth rate was two-and-a-half times that of whites; and the majority of Native Americans were under twenty years old. Finally, on one Midwest reservation, 44 percent of the men and 21 percent of the women were arrested at least once for drunkenness in a span of three years.[24] This bleak picture was followed by a review of government policy and programs designed to alleviate the problems faced by these Americans. The conclusion was that the government was not moving quickly enough. Militant Native Americans wanted liberty and freedom, not paternalistic efforts that – as of 1969 – had done little to make any headway in the improvement of reservation life. Seemingly indifferent to the government's efforts since 1963, the report stated:

> To many white Americans, who are constantly told these days how much they have to feel guilty about, the demands of yet one more minority may seem almost

> more than the conscience can bear. Yet Indians can hardly be expected to keep their peace because they have only lately joined the queue of those vociferously demanding social justice.[25]

This sentiment increased from 1970-72 as the newsmagazines covered the Alcatraz incident, but the policy of economic development and social aid continued to dominate. In the alternative periodicals, government policy was still the major issue as they assessed the performance of development projects. By 1972, however, a shift in the focus of coverage in the mainstream press was nearly complete.

As policy makers in Washington worked to meet the demands of Native American activists, more coverage was dedicated to the reporting of specific, militant events – particularly of the American Indian Movement (AIM) – and of the goals behind them. Only two articles appeared in the mainstream press in 1972, both of which focused on militant activity. In November 1972, *US News & World Report* ran the story "Behind the Indians' Uprising: What They Have – and Want." The article pointed out that Nixon's policies had made a difference, stating "tribal elders in many areas contend that Indians have fared better in the last few years than previously."[26] However, statistically, Native Americans on reservations were the still the nation's poorest minority. The activists called for "meaningful change." The growing tension was clear. In 1973, it would reach a head in the mainstream newsmagazines when, on February 28, a band of AIM activists occupied the hamlet of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. They would remain there for seventy days, captivating members of the press and their audiences.

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Militancy & Wounded Knee: 1973

The so-called Second Battle of Wounded Knee was not a protest against the American government but against the tribal government of Pine Ridge reservation, headed by Richard Wilson. Activists argued that Wilson's government was controlled by half bloods who dominated all jobs and resources on the reservation. They accused the tribal leaders of extortion and called for the overthrow of Wilson's "regime."[27] The Bureau of Indian Affairs was a secondary target of the protest because of its responsibility in creating Wilson's tribal government. In its coverage of the event, *Newsweek* mentioned the ineffectiveness of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, stating that while "the government appropriates $8,000 for every Oglala [Sioux living on Pine Ridge], bureaucratic salaries, overhead and waste cut the average family income to $1,900."[28]

Within days, Wounded Knee was surrounded by Wilson's men, FBI agents and the press. *Time* and *Newsweek* sent correspondents to South Dakota to cover events as they transpired. The nation watched. *Time* offered readers some history on Wounded Knee, recounting the massacre – primarily of women, the elderly and children – that occurred there in 1890. Social issues were secondary in the articles, some of which mentioned that the rising Native American population – now at 792,000 – was just as bad off as it had been ten years before. *US News & World Report* made a considerable effort to outline the goals of the Native American activists, focusing on civil rights, self-determination and economic development.

In the end, twenty-one stories were published by the major newsmagazines in 1973 on the topic of Native Americans. In stark contrast to the previous decade, only

one of these focused primarily on social welfare issues, and thirteen were dedicated to the coverage of the militant activity by Native Americans at Wounded Knee. Four addressed Native American culture, two covered governmental topics and one was a book review. *US News & World Report* alluded to the direction of coverage for the remainder of the decade in its mention of the "Trail of Broken Treaties," a continuing effort by Native Americans to receive what was "rightfully theirs."

For their part, the alternative periodicals were largely silent on the Wounded Knee event. *The New Republic* issued this warning: "The biggest mistake which could be made as the Indians emerge from nearly a century of political and cultural oppression would be for the white, no matter how well meaning, to take it upon himself to choose sides in intertribal conflicts such as that at Wounded Knee."[29] Only four stories covering Native Americans appeared in the alternative magazines in 1973.

LAND, RESOURCES & ECONOMIES: 1973-81

In April 1973, President Nixon was considering the overhaul of Native American policies to more carefully address tribal autonomy as well as economic and civil rights issues when the Watergate scandal began to reach a head. In October of that year the preliminary investigations in the proceedings to impeach the president were underway. In August 1974, he resigned and Gerald Ford ascended to the presidency. In 1975 the Indian Self-Determination Act was signed into law. Then, in 1976, The Indian Tribal Water Rights Settlement Act was passed. Both actions encouraged tribes to take over supervision of their land and resources. They also illustrated government policy toward Native Americans as one that encouraged self-determination and civil liberties along with the continuing policy of economic

development. This policy would affect the way government officials addressed Native American issues and would also serve as the basis of mainstream press coverage of these peoples until 1981.

From 1973-81, sixty stories covering Native Americans appeared in the mainstream periodicals. (Even when coverage of the Wounded Knee occupation is removed, the total remains higher than in the previous period studied at forty-seven.) The major focus of the newsmagazines' coverage of Native American issues lay in three areas of government relations – militancy (seventeen stories), economic issues (ten stories) and land rights (sixteen stories). Four articles focused on government relations in general (see table 2). The policy of autonomy seems to have piqued the mainstream press' interest in efforts by Native Americans to control their own destinies and to lay claim to land and resources.

Coverage increased slightly during this period in the alternative magazines as well, from twenty-one to twenty-nine stories. Two changes were evident in the type of coverage. Social issues received less play, only two stories covered this subject, and coverage involving land rights more than tripled. Again, the policy encouraging autonomy seems to have influenced the way in which the subject of Native Americans was addressed in these publications.

A story addressing the increasing self-determination of the tribes appeared in *US News & World Report* on February 25, 1974. This article, "An Indian 'Nation' is Gaining Unity, Respect – and Results," described the efforts of Native Americans to establish themselves as a strong faction of the American public. Rather than discuss social conditions, the story focused on the growth of unity between tribes and the

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subsequent lobbying power of these groups in Washington. With a new-found self-determination, these groups began to stage legal battles for their land and to fight for their rights through legislation. The conclusion was that these people were in a good position to make progress along the "Trail of Broken Treaties."[30] In the newsmagazines overall, five of the seven stories in 1974 focused on land right issues; from the Kootenai to the Navajo, Native Americans were battling for their land and their resources.

What little coverage there was in 1975 also dealt with issues of land (only four stories appeared in this year and two of these related to the murders of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge reservation). In 1976, two stories examined culture and two focused on issues of autonomy in relation to sacred land and energy resources. One of these articles, "Energy-rich Indians: An 'OPEC' right in American's Back Yard," explained how the Navajo had developed a virtual monopoly over domestic oil and uranium on their reservation as the result of policy that allowed them to determine what they would do with their resources. The article illustrated how Native Americans were using the money to improve reservation life. As with earlier presidents, the Ford administration's policy seems to have affected the way in which the subject of Native Americans was addressed in the popular newsmagazines.

During the Ford years, the alternative press tended to cover Native American issues as in the past, with a focus toward government policy but with a slightly more critical edge. At times it praised government achievements, but in other cases it was the lone voice calling for improvement of reservation life (see table 2).

Carter and the Windfall: 1977-81

By the time Jimmy Carter became president in 1977, issues of land and autonomy were at the forefront of the Native American conscience. There were eleven pieces of legislation before Congress abridging Native American rights to land, resources and self-government – most of them sponsored by Republicans. In addition, more than half of the 266 federally recognized tribes were litigating claims and contentions with the United States' government. Carter maintained the policy of his predecessor in this arena and continued to support autonomy and economic growth on reservations. In 1978 he signed the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution, which allowed Native Americans access to sacred religious sites. Then, in 1980, he endorsed large reparation payments to two tribes. His policies put him on the side of Native Americans battling out in court for their land and their rights.[31]

In 1977, *US News & World Report* provided coverage of the resource management of Alaska's natives, the Aleuts. The magazine pointed out that they had money and resources, but explained that they also had social problems. The big news in 1977 was the lawsuit filed by the Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot tribes of Maine in an effort to regain ten million acres (half of the state) lost to the white man 200 years earlier. Lawsuits of this nature were the Native Americans' new weapon in the fight to regain their land and autonomy. In fact, tribes in five other states – New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and South Carolina – had suits pending in 1977.[32] More than half (four of seven) of the stories appearing in the newsmagazines in this year covered land issues. Of the remaining, two focused on social issues and one on culture.

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For its part in 1977, the alternative press also was addressing land issues; however, it was quick to recognize that government policies were not improving the standard of living for the majority of Native Americans. *The Nation* quoted from a report by the American Indian Policy Review Commission that reservations still had "the highest infant mortality rate, the lowest longevity rate, the lowest level of educational attainment, the lowest per capita income and the poorest housing and transportation in the land."[33]

Self-determination and land rights remained major issues for the remainder of Carter's presidency. From 1978-80, sixteen articles appeared in the mainstream press covering the subject of Native Americans. Of these, five focused on land rights, seven on economic development issues, one on government involvement in general, one on militancy and two on social issues. Policy seems to have affected more than 80 percent of the newsmagazines' coverage.

The one article appearing in *US News & World Report* in 1978 reported on the Native Americans' move toward self-rule. Economic development – another policy issue – played a role in this report. Industry and technology on reservations were discussed in terms of how they had resulted in expanded self-reliance. A small sidebar pointed out that 40 percent of all Native Americans were still unemployed, but the social implications were not addressed. Native Americans were now the rulers of their own destinies. *Newsweek*, where the majority (five of six) of stories appeared in this year, was less positive in its portrayal of policy. It contended that there was still a long way to go before Native Americans received justice and in one story remarked: "One of the saddest little footnotes to the activist '60s was the fitful

attempt of American Indians to work up a protest movement of their own."[34] Other coverage included an unhappy exchange between the American Indian Movement leaders and Senator Edward Kennedy. These articles explained the efforts of Native Americans to gain their rights and therefore were influenced by policy, even if they did not agree that the policy was working. *Time* ran no stories on the subject of Native Americans in 1978. Overall, four of the six stories appearing in newsmagazines in this year addressed policy in terms of government issues in general as well as land and economic issues.

In 1979, all of the five stories appearing in the newsmagazines were related to policy in terms of either economic development or land rights. An article in the April 9 issue of *Newsweek* entitled "A Fight for Rites" discussed the efforts of one tribe to gain access to and protection for a sacred mountain. The report stated that the "tribes are relying on the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution to back up their claims."[35] Articles in *Time* reported efforts to develop resources and re-establish fishing rights in attempts at self-reliance. In the article about resources, *Time* stated that the Navajo were threatening to strike a deal with OPEC in an effort to receive greater returns on their product.[36] *US News & World Report* headlined a business "breakout." All of these stories focused on economic battles and success in terms of the policy of self-determination.

The mainstream press once again remained close to policy in 1980. Four of the five stories focused on either land (three) or economic (one) issues. *Newsweek* covered what it called the "great Indian oil scam," which involved an FBI investigation into oil stolen from reservation land and the Native Americans'

continued efforts to protect their resources and determine their futures.[37] Perhaps the most important story to appear during Carter's presidency in terms of policy was a short in *US News & World Report* outlining the settlements made with two tribes in land right suits. One settlement gave the Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot in Maine $54 million with which to buy back land they were cheated out of in 1794. The other followed a Supreme Court order for payment of $122.5 million to Sioux Indians as compensation for the 1877 seizure of the Black Hills in South Dakota. The story reported that "the Sioux award, the largest ever granted for Indian land, brings to more than 1 billion dollars the amount the government has agreed to pay on some 600 Indian claims, with nearly 70 still unresolved."[38] Policy issues such as this remained the crux of the year's coverage.

The alternative press also remained closely aligned with policy in terms of what was covered in 1978-80. Two stories appeared in 1978, both in *The Nation* and both addressing the issue of sovereignty. Pending legislation, litigation and jurisdiction were discussed in terms of establishing rights for Native Americans. In 1979, two stories appeared in the alternative press covering the subject, once again both in *The Nation*. One addressed land rights and the other economic development. The use of sacred land was again addressed, presumably in response to the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Resolution in 1978. The other story looked at the downside of economic development in its discussion of government and business use of uranium from a reservation. In response to continued efforts to buy land in South Dakota's Black Hills, Leonard Peltier – a Native American activist in prison for the murders of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge reservation – had this to say:

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> In the late 19th century land was stolen for economic reasons... [and] we were left with what was believed to be worthless land. Still, we managed to live and defy the wish to exterminate us. Today, what was once called worthless suddenly becomes valuable as the technology of white society advances. ... [That society] would now like to push us off our reservations because beneath the barren land lie [sic] valuable mineral resources.[39]

The policy calling for the self-determination of Native Americans through the development of natural resources was a topic of interest to *The Nation.* The alternative press stayed true to policy in 1980 as well, publishing two stories with a focus on land settlements and "righting old wrongs."[40]

In 1981, only two articles focusing on Native Americans appeared in any of the magazines studied – one in *Newsweek* and one in *The Nation.* Both of these articles looked at land issues and legal problems in the movement toward self-determination. *The Nation* article warned that the legal misconduct of claims lawyers had cost, and would continue to cost, the tribes dearly. This drop in coverage – it had not been this low since 1963 – is difficult to explain. Perhaps the movement of Ronald Reagan into the White House, and the subsequent re-shuffling of policy, played a role in this phenomenon.

REAGANOMICS: 1982-83

After the sudden drop in coverage in 1981, 1982 and 1983 picked up to levels that had not been seen since consistently since the Wounded Knee occupation of 1973. In 1982 and 1983, fifteen stories appeared in the newsmagazines and five in the alternative periodicals. Why did this coverage burgeon after Reagan assumed the presidency? A look at his policies provides a clear answer and illustrates a departure from the coverage of the previous two periods studied.

Reagan's policy included massive budget cuts that hit hard on the nation's reservations. In all, more than $200 million was cut from the $1 billion budget for federal aid to Native Americans. While reservation occupants had been fighting for self-determination and economic growth for nearly a decade, the cuts were considered by many to be too sharp and too swift.[41] Three of the nine stories appearing in the magazines studied in 1982 and three of the eleven in 1983 addressed the effects of "Reaganomics" on reservations. Obviously this policy affected a portion of the coverage, but that does not account for the increase in overall coverage.

When the rest of the coverage is examined it is found that land issues were still accounting for a percentage of the stories as were general government topics (see table 3). The change in coverage that seems to account for the increase was the resurgence of social issues as a major topic focus. Largely absent in the previous period – accounting for only five of sixty stories in the mainstream press – this topic was addressed in four articles in 1982 and 1983. The massive budget cuts of the Reagan administration seemed to rekindle an interest in the living conditions and social ills faced by Native Americans. One report indicated that the average yearly income of a reservation occupant was down from $2,200 in 1981 to $1,700 in 1982 – as opposed to $1,500 when economic development programs were launched. *The New Republic* reported: "The new budget proposes to demolish what was left of the Great Society and the poverty programs."[42] This backlash to policy is not seen in the other periods studied. Here, we find policy affecting coverage of Native American issues indirectly for the first time.

CONCLUSIONS

Did the press treat Native Americans and Native American issues as a "silly matter?" This historical overview separates 1963-83 into three periods in an effort to answer this question, to determine if coverage changed over time and to explore the role of government policy in this coverage.

This research has shown that the amount of coverage appearing in the mainstream and alternative press was greater from 1973-81 than in 1963-72. The large amount of coverage appearing in 1982-83 stands out as distinctly high in both years (see tables 4 & 5). In addition, the type of coverage was different in each period. From 1963-72, the focus was on social issues. From 1973-81, the focus was on economic development and land rights related to the self-determination efforts of several tribes. In 1982-83, this coverage blended for the first time (see figures 1 & 2).

Finally, the effects of government policy on coverage appear to be clear. The issues addressed by the administration in Washington appear as the most salient in the magazines studied from 1963-81. Although the alternative press tended to be more negative toward these policies, they still provided a map for the mix of stories published. In 1982-83, this trend was broken. A portion of the coverage was affected directly by policy and another seemed to be the result of a backlash to policy.

This research provides an interesting exercise in policy history and agenda setting. As its policy evolved, did Washington set the agenda for the press? Or did the press present stories that affected policy in Washington? From 1963-72 the former seems to be the correct answer. Johnson and later Nixon brought Native American issues to the fore, and the periodical press picked up on the social issues being addressed. The

period from 1973-81 is less clear. Much of the reporting was driven by events, such as protests and lawsuits. This event coverage may have been moving Washington toward a policy of self-determination or the events may have been in the news because they related to government policy. The answer is unclear. Finally, in 1982-83, it seems that Washington was setting a portion of the agenda through its policy of "Reaganomics." The periodicals seemed to be answering that agenda with one of their own – the social welfare of Native Americans on reservations.

From this historical review, it does not seem that the periodical press – mainstream or alternative – treated Native American affairs as a "silly matter." The amount of coverage was small considering the total number of stories that appeared each year, but when the issue was addressed it was taken seriously. This research does indicate an effort by the press – however small – to represent the nation's most silent minority from 1963-83. Perhaps Means' animosity can be explained in that his people are not often addressed from the view of the Native American. More often, the prevailing view is that of the government and its policies. It is possible that this adherence to policy did not serve Means' people, but the government. It is apparent in this historical review that living conditions on reservations were not much improved from 1963-83. The government's policies seem to have meant little in the every day lives of these peoples. Further insight into living conditions, government policy and a view of this policy from the perspective of the Native American press would prove useful in determining if the periodical press did the Native Americans a disservice during the period studied by remaining true to policy. It seems clear from the evidence presented that there may well have been another side to the story.

Table 1 - Coverage of Native Americans: 1963-72

	Mainstream Newsmagazines	Alternative Periodicals
Social Issues	10 (31%)	5 (24%)
Culture	6 (19%)	2 (9.5%)
Book Reviews	3 (9%)	4 (19%)
Government - General	2 (6%)	5 (24%)
Government - Land Rights	5 (16%)	3 (14%)
Government - Militancy	4 (13%)	0
Government - Economics	1 (3%)	2 (9.5%)
Other	1 (3%)	0
TOTAL	32	21

Table 2 - Coverage of Native Americans: 1973-81

	Mainstream Newsmagazines	Alternative Periodicals
Social Issues	5 (8%)	2 (7%)
Culture	7 (11.5%)	2 (7%)
Book Reviews	1 (1.5%)	7 (24%)
Government - General	4 (7%)	4 (14%)
Government - Land Rights	16 (27%)	10 (34%)
Government - Militancy	17 (28%)	2 (7%)
Government - Economics	10 (17%)	2 (7%)
Other	0	0
TOTAL	60	29

Table 3 - Coverage of Native Americans: 1982-83

	Mainstream Newsmagazines	Alternative Periodicals
Social Issues	4 (27%)	1 (20%)
Culture	0	0
Book Reviews	0	0
Government - General	2 (13.33%)	2 (40%)
Government - Land Rights	2 (13.33%)	0
Government - Militancy	2 (13.33%)	0
Government - Economics	5 (33%)	2 (40%)
Other	0	0
TOTAL	15	5

Table 4 - Comparison of Coverage of Native Americans in Mainstream Newsmagazines: 1963-72, 1973-81, & 1982-83

	1963-72	1973-81	1982-83
Social Issues	10 (31%)	5 (8%)	4 (27%)
Culture	6 (19%)	7 (11.5%)	0
Book Reviews	3 (9%)	1 (1.5%)	0
Government - General	2 (6%)	4 (7%)	2 (13.33%)
Government - Land Rights	5 (16%)	16 (27%)	2 (13.33%)
Government - Militancy	4 (13%)	17 (28%)	2 (13.33%)
Government - Economics	1 (3%)	10 (17%)	5 (33%)
Other	1 (3%)	0	0
TOTAL	32	60	15

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Table 5 - Comparison of Coverage of Native Americans in Alternative Periodicals: 1963-72, 1973-81, & 1982-83

	1963-72	1973-81	1982-83
Social Issues	5 (24%)	2 (7%)	1 (20%)
Culture	2 (9.5%)	2 (7%)	0
Book Reviews	4 (19%)	7 (24%)	0
Government - General	5 (24%)	4 (14%)	2 (40%)
Government - Land Rights	3 (14%)	10 (34%)	0
Government - Militancy	0	2 (7%)	0
Government - Economics	2 (9.5%)	2 (7%)	2 (40%)
Other	0	0	0
TOTAL	21	29	5

Figure 1:
Comparing Coverage of Native Americans in Mainstream Newsmagazines: 1963-83

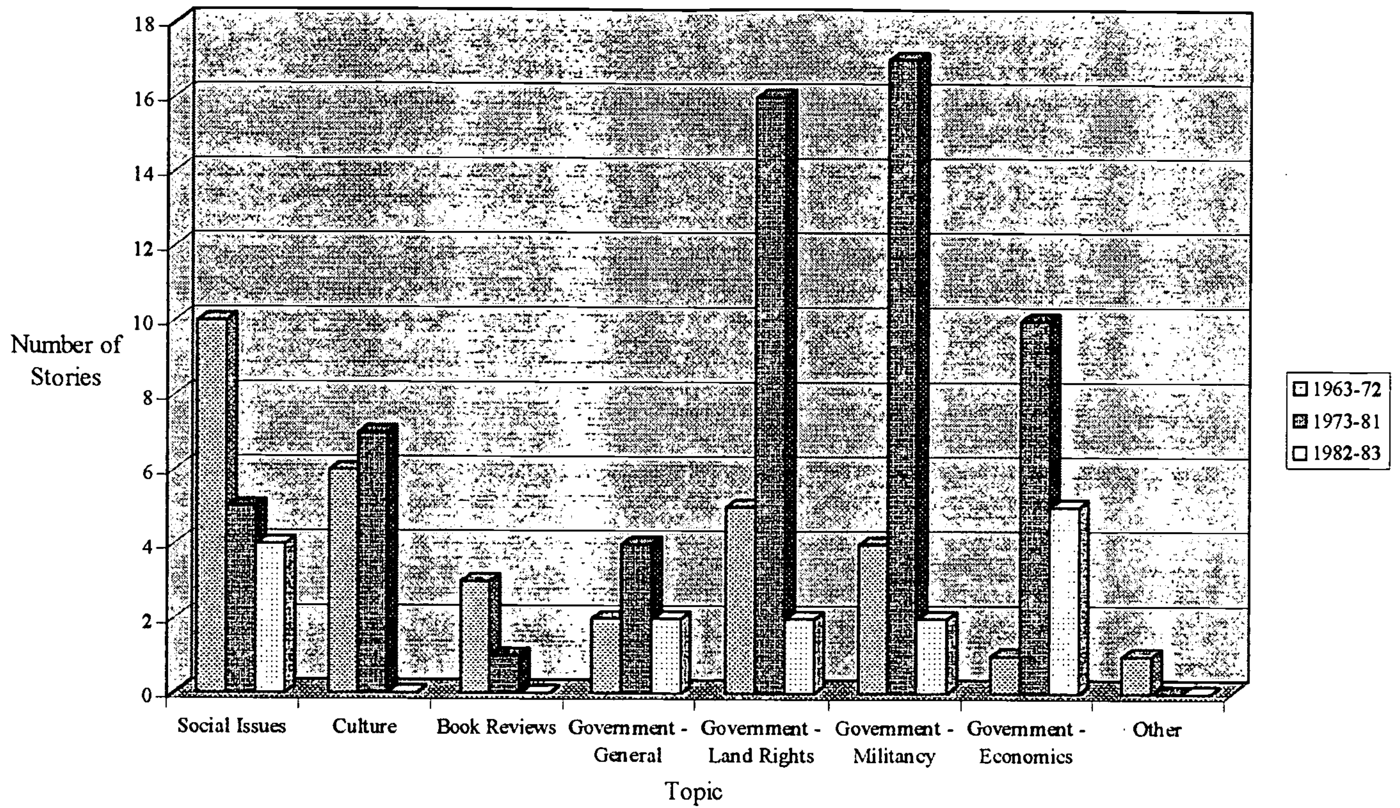

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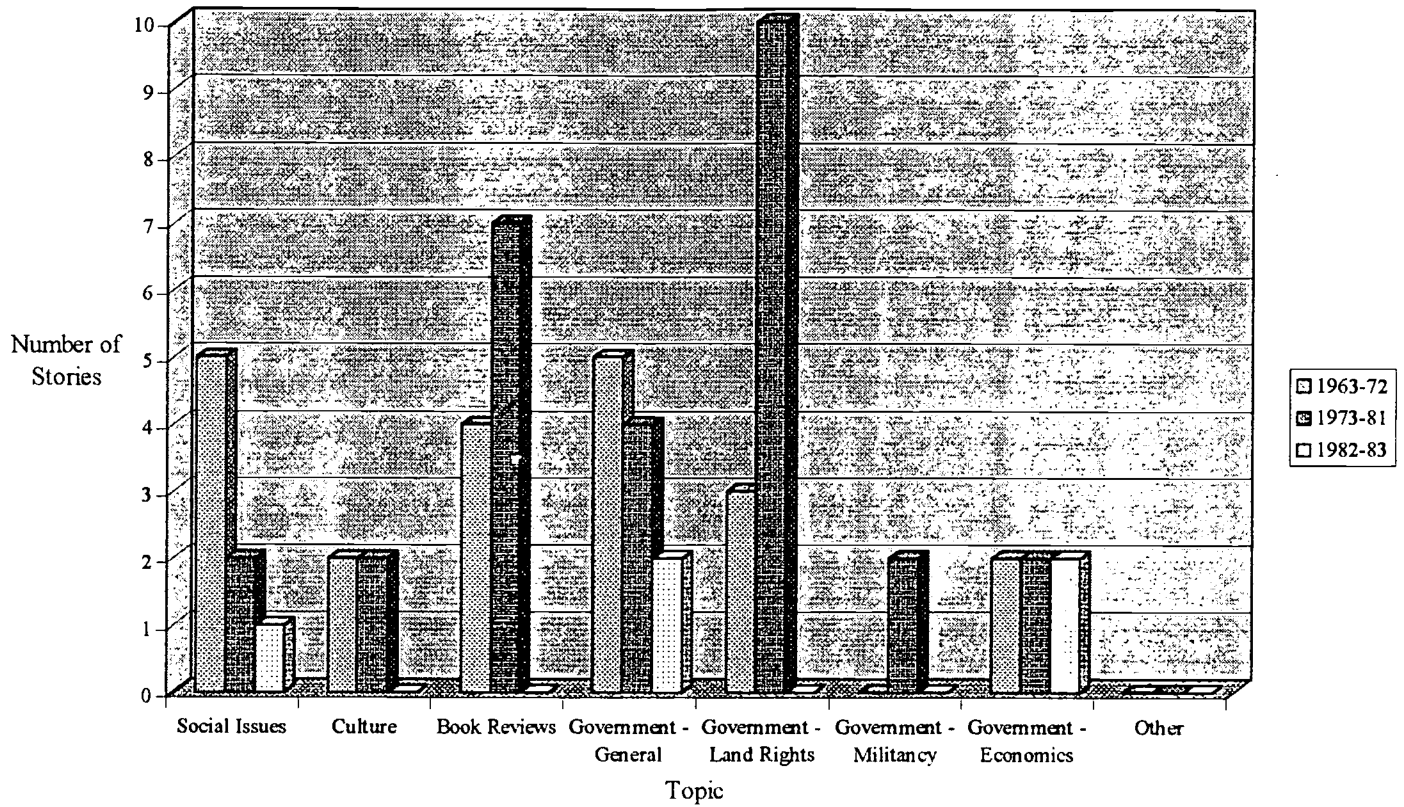
Figure 2
Comparing Coverage of Native Americans in Alternative Periodicals: 1963-83



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NOTES

[1] Robert Anderson et al., eds., *Voices from Wounded Knee, 1973: In the Words of the Participants* (Rooseveltown, New York: Akwasasne Notes, 1976): 136.

[2] A *Comindex* search reveals that more than forty studies on the media's relationship to minority groups and third world countries have been completed since 1970. In addition, more than thirty books have been published on the subject.

[3] Sharon M. and James E. Murphy, "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype," *Journalism History* 6:2 (1979): 39-43.

[4] Although few studies have focused on Native Americans specifically, A *Public Affairs Information Service* (PAIS) search revealed 135 publications on government policy and press coverage overall; an *ERIC* search yielded 502 such studies; and *Dissertation Abstracts* contained 79 studies on this topic. In light of this interest in the relationship between policy and press coverage, the specific topic of Native Americans has received very little attention.

[5] William B. Blankenburg, "The Role of the Press in an Indian Massacre, 1871," *Journalism Quarterly* 45 (1968): 61-70.

[6] Murphy, "American Indians and the Media," 43.

[7] "Why No Integration for the American Indian," *US News & World Report*, 2 September 1963, 62.

[8] Ibid., 63.

[9] Ibid., 66.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Bruce J. Schulman, *Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism: A Brief Biography with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995): 174-77.

[13] *The New Republic* and *The Nation* both ran stories in 1966 outlining the government's efforts to address the "Indian problem." While these have their negative moments and are not overly optimistic of outcomes, they are generally supportive of the president's policies.

[14] "Indians and Their Benefactors," *The New Republic*, 16 July 1966, 9.

[15] "Udall's Indians," *The New Republic*, 15 October 1966, 7-8.

[16] "Where the Real Poverty is: Plight of American Indians," *US News & World Report*, 25 April 1966, 104-08.

[17] "The Forgotten & Forlorn," *Time*, 15 March 1968, 20.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ralph Nader, "Lo, the Poor Indian," *The New Republic*, 30 March 1968, 14.

[20] "A Model City for Indian Lands," *US News & World Report*, 22 June 1969, 96.

[21] These government actions and policies are discussed in the article "A New Deal Coming for American Indians," which appeared in *US News & World Report* on 14 September 1970, pages 68-70.

[22] "A New Deal Coming for American Indians," *US News & World Report*, 14 September 1970, 70.

[23] "Indians: Tribal Rock," *Newsweek*, 8 December 1969, 52.

[24] Information was taken from the article "The Angry American Indian: Starting Down the Protest Trail," which appeared in *Time* on 9 February 1970, pages 14-20.

[25] "The Angry American Indian: Starting Down the Protest Trail," *Time, 9* February 1970, 20

[26] "Behind the Indian's Uprising: What They Have – and Want," *US News & World Report*, 20 November 1972, 109.

[27] A detailed account of the occupation of Wounded Knee is available in *Voices from Wounded Knee, 1973: In the Words of the Participants*, published in 1976. This book was complied from tapes and interviews with AIM protesters and government personnel at Wounded Knee at the time of the occupation and provides an inside look at the event.

[28] "The Siege of Wounded Knee," *Newsweek*, 19 March 1973, 23.

[29] Paul Wieck, "Indians on and off the Reservation: From Wards to Freemen," *The New Republic*, 7 April 1973, 19.

[30] "An Indian 'Nation' is Gaining Unity, Respect – and Results," *US News & World Report*, 25 February 1974, 60-61.

[31] This position is supported in the *Time* essay by Frank Trippett entitled "Should we Give the U.S. Back to the Indians?" which appeared on 11 April 1977, pages 51-52.

[32] "If Indian Tribes Win Legal War to Regain Half of Maine-," *US News & World Report*, 4 April 1977, 53-54

[33] P. Kolver, "Still Scalping the Indians: Congress is the Problem," *The Nation*, 17 September 1977, 233.

[34] Richard Boeth et al., "A Paleface Uprising," *Newsweek*, 19 April 1978, 39.

[35] Diane Weathers and Janet Huck, "A Fight for Rites," *Newsweek*, 9 April 1979, 98.

[36] "Fuel Powwow: Indians Seek Better Deal," *Time*, 20 August 1979, 17.

[37] "The Great Indian Oil Scam," *Newsweek*, 22 December 1980, 67-68.

[38] "U.S. Peace-Pipe Offering: Money," *US News & World Report*, 14 July 1980, 10.

[39] "Nuclear Martyrs: Uranium Rush in Black Hills South Dakota," *The Nation*, 14 April 1979, 394.

[40] F. G. Hutchins, "The New Indian Offensive: Righting Old Wrongs," *The New Republic*, 30 August 1980, 14-17.

[41] Ronald Taylor, "Where Indian Tribes Fit into Reagan's Plan," *US News & World Report*, 15 March 1982, 68.

[42] Hazel W. Hertzberg, "In Indian Country, the Budget is Very Bad News: Reaganomics on the Reservation," *The New Republic*, 22 November 1982, 18.

The invisible "model minority": Images of Koreans on American TV

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Minorities and Communication Division

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ABSTRACT

There is a growing literature on how television employs stereotypes especially about ethnic minorities. But these studies investigating audience impact of negative images on TV have relatively excluded Korean-Americans, one of the largest Asian-American ethnic minority groups.

To answer this need and to further examine the axioms of cultivation theory, this study assessed how American students in a Midwestern land grant university perceive images of Korean-Americans on TV.

A stratified cluster sampling of students attending 1997 summer classes at Iowa State University were surveyed. Results did not lend support to the cultivation hypothesis: subjects simply did not ascribe stereotypical television portrayals of Korean-American characters to their perceptions of real-life Korean-Americans. Respondents' perceptions were also not affected by the amount of time they spent to watching television, face-to-face contact or interpersonal relationship with a real Korean-American, or by their area of residence (whether urban or rural).

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INTRODUCTION

Cognitive theories in social psychology emphasize that ideal cognitive states are simple, coherent, and relatively enduring structures that provide organization for interpreting new experience. In psychological jargon, the concept of schema is the grounding for most social-psychological research on social cognition. Although the exact meaning of this popular concept has varied somewhat among scholars, a schema may be defined as "a cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among those attitudes" (Stein, 1994, p. 12). Schemata are the cognitive structures that help us process and organize information.

One of the basic types of schemata is the stereotype. Stereotypes are cognitively useful because they simplify our understanding of the world. Reliance on them makes information-processing more efficient. Unfortunately though these cognitive structures are most often useful heuristics, distortions contained in stereotypes can sometimes lead to bias and errors in judgment.

According to Webster (1981) a stereotype is a "standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group, representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgement" (p.1314). This seems to imply that stereotyping is a common phenomenon and that people tend to have some shared stereotypes. On the other hand, Leyens, et al. (1994) define stereotypes as "shared beliefs about personal attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviors, of a group of people" (p.25). Every country has stereotypes about other nationalities and races, including its own ethnic

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minorities. Billing (1995) distinguishes stereotypes from racist, sexist or xenophobic prejudices in those stereotypes are not held for "deep-seated motivational reasons."

Although the exact manner in which stereotypes are formed remains unclear, the sources of information available to an individual play an important role in their development. In modern mass society, people's understanding of the world outside their immediate personal experience is influenced by a number of sources related to communication channels. There is good reason to believe, however, that people also rely heavily upon mass media for cues about their social world when dealing with perceptions about distant foreign objects. For example, Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli (1994) have demonstrated that heavy exposure to television is associated with a tendency to describe the world in a manner consistent with the distorted view presented on television. Founded on this belief, many have criticized the Hollywood and the television industry for filling viewer's minds with prefabricated images and themes, a reality invented by media. Parenti (1990) expresses the type of social concern surrounding the issue claming that

> even if supposedly not political in intent, the entertainment industry has been political in its impact, discouraging critical perceptions of our social order while planting in its impact, discouraging critical perceptions of our social order while planting pictures in our heads that have been supportive of US militarism, armed intervention aboard, phobic anti-communism, authoritarian violence, consumer acquisitiveness, racial and sexual stereotypes, vigilantism, simple-minded religiosity, and anti-working-class attitudes (p.18).

Among those ideologies that the mass media have been purportedly molding, one of the most attacked relates to media portrayal of racial minorities. US mainstream media's coverage of non-Caucasian Americans is riddled with stereotypes. In day-to-day coverage, minorities often are ignored except in limited program categories related to

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issues like crime and sports. This is particularly true for the portrayal of African Americans (Stein, 1994). Since the vast majority of television programs and major films have focused on only that tiny fraction of the African American community that engages in drugs and violence, African Americans are usually depicted as oversexed maniacs, crack-smoking criminals, and dumb athletes (Marable, 1994). Even television journalists appear to be feeding racial stereotypes to their audience. Research by Entman (1994) suggests that TV news, especially local news, portray an image of Blacks as "violent and threatening toward Whites, self-interested and demanding toward the body politic – continually causing problems for the law-abiding, tax-paying majority" (p.29).

The media indeed play a vital role in generating stereotypes about other races and ethnic minorities in a society by providing their audiences with vicarious experiences.

Gerbner (1973) elaborates on this view by emphasizing the symbolic functions of media in the cultivation of assumptions about life and the world. He declares that television in particular is especially responsible for an extremely important "cultivation" and "accumulating" process which he defines as "the systematic exposure of the viewers to a particular narrow concept of all aspects of social life. This limited concept then tends to shape the viewers' beliefs and values accordingly' (p. 571). Eagly (1987), focusing on the role of the media in disseminating stereotypes, explains that if observers know very little about a given country, the only cognitions they will form are those that derive from the media. But because the media have a very limited way of portraying ethnic and other national groups, Pickering (1995) points out that the media have the potential to damage the real identities of ethnic minorities by distorting their images in specific ways.

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Of all the media, television has the most potential in disseminating ethnic stereotypes. Used daily, it bombards audiences with visual images that have cognitive and emotional impact. Durkin (1985), for example, blames TV for "injecting" sex role stereotypes among children.

TV generates and disseminates stereotypes about ethnic groups. McQuail (1994) sees this in the nationalistic and ethnocentric bias portrayed in the choice of topics and opinions in TV news. In addition, "minorities are differently marginalized, ignored or stigmatized" in TV portrayals. Ethnic minorities tended to have low status or dubious social roles, which may be modified without necessarily becoming more realistic.

Such stereotypes abound in US TV as could be surmised in a country that is a melting pot of diverse races. The Bureau of the Census (1996) ethnically categorizes the resident populations of the US as White, Black, Hispanic, American Indian, Eskimo, Aleutian, Asian and Pacific Islander. The flood of stereotypes of ethnic minorities on US TV can be demonstrated by the great number of studies about these minority groups.

Considering the power and influence of the US media in the world, this phenomenon deserves study. The US media extend far beyond this country. According to deSilva (1989), the US accounted for an estimated 79% of the TV programs exported throughout the world in 1987. Thus the portrayal of stereotypes about ethnic minorities on TV can be transported without any special buffer to rest of the globe; negative stereotypes can be spread to nations whose people may be totally unaware that they are already perceiving stereotyped presentations.

This study looks how Korean-Americans are treated on US TV. In the process, it examines the role of television in fostering ethnic stereotypes.

This study aims to:

1. Identify the main TV programs, which contribute to building specific images about Koreans and Korean-Americans.
2. Identify student's perceptions of Koreans as seen from US TV portrayals.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies have examined the stereotyping of major ethnic groups such as African-Americans and Hispanics on TV (e.g., Taylor & Barbara, 1995). Poindexter and Stroman (1981) observe that blacks are underrepresented on American TV although there has been a trend toward their increased visibility. When they do appear on TV, however, they are typically relegated to minor and low-status occupational roles. Chavez (1996) also notices that since World War II Hispanics have either been totally absent from the screen or stereotyped by television as Latin lovers, uneducated bandidos, and violent criminals.

There are few studies that deal with Asian Americans probably because most Americans do not view Asian-Americans as legitimate racial minorities due to the back and white discourse of race (Lee, 1996). Another explanation is that the media frequently connect African-Americans and Latinos with social problems that many Asian-Americans regard as the result of moral depravity: drug use, teen pregnancy, and unemployment (Sleeter, 1993). Asian-Americans are hailed as the "model minority," portrayed as achieving status in the US through hard work and family cohesiveness

(Suzuki, 1980), following the same route to success that many Whites believed their ancestors took. While this phenomenon has been the subject of considerable sociological inquiry, such "model minority" portrayals have been absent in the American media.

Asian Americans are growing at a rate faster than any other minority group. In numbers and percent of the population, Asian Americans are predicted to jump from the current 9.4 million (3.6%) to 16 million (6%) in 2010 and to 20 million in 2020 (Bureau of the Census 1996). This rapid growth is accompanied by affluence. Asian Americans have a median household income of $44,460 per year, higher than that of any racial group, including Caucasians (Taylor, 1996). In spite of the growth and high income, US media have failed to show this "model minority" status of Asian Americans.

In fact, Cheng and Marsha (1982) point out that the commercial broadcasting industry continues to convey limited and unsatisfactory images of Asian-Americans, most of them based on subtle or blatant forms of racism and ignorance. Iiyama and Harry (1982) agree, indicating that Asian portrayals were very stereotyped often as a result of a program's location. Geographically distributed primarily along the West Coast and Hawaii, Asian Americans are highly segregated because there are limited opportunities for equal-status interaction with dominant groups. Under such conditions, their images on television may be the primary source of information, so that the picture becomes the reality. People are more inclined to accept a photograph, motion picture, or television show as "more real" than words on a printed page. To see, after all, is to believe.

Barcus, (1983) categorizing Asians as Japanese, Chinese and Hawaiian peoples in his study, found that the main role of Asians, representing only 0.8% of characters on commercial children's TV, are limited to cooks, rickshaw men, busboys and dragon

ladies. Hamamoto (1993) notes in his article "The Asian-American Child on Television" that the Asian-American child's socialization experience of himself or herself on TV is limited to portrayals of the "evil genius," "benign mystic," "sidekick," "helping professional," and "newscaster." He adds that the orphaned Asian child often has been employed masterfully as a method graphically dramatizing the evils of Communism to good-hearted Americans. All these indicate that the media have yet to depict Asian-Americans as the "model minority." Iiyama and Harry (1982) mention that many of these stereotypes have been so popular in the media that Asian Americans themselves have unconsciously accepted them and do not even realize the true impact of such portrayals in the media.

Koreans are a growing segment of Asian-Americans. In the world, Korea ranks as the sixth largest nation in import and export volume and the second largest Asian country with which the US conduct trade. The 1990 Census shows a total of 799,000 Korean Americans, ranking as the fourth biggest minority group among Asian-Americans (Bureau of the Census, 1996).

Koreans, however, have been relatively excluded as subjects of media studies. Hence, there are very few studies about Korean portrayals on television. Some have explored Chinese, Japanese, Indian and Arab stereotypes, but they pale in comparison to studies about Blacks and Hispanics (Anderson, 1991; FitzGerald. 1989; Ogawa 1971, et al.).

Of the few TV programs that have shown Koreans, three are worth mentioning. The US Commission on Civil Rights mentioned in its 1977 report that the main Korean characters in *MASH,* which backgrounds the Korean War, were limited to nurses' or

doctor's receptionists. Kitano and Daniels (1988) argued that the orphaned Korean child often has been employed masterfully as a method of graphically dramatizing the evils of Communism to good-hearted Americans. *The Korean Legacy*, produced and directed by Baldwin Baker, Jr., is a television documentary of the Holt Adoption Agency which supplied Americans with children orphaned by the Korean War and alone was responsible for placing 6,293 Korean children in the United States between 1955 and 1966.

Barcus (1983) argued that situation comedies set in foreign or ethnic locales such as Korea, the Black ghettos, and barrios were the only ones with more than token appearances of nonwhite characters. In 1992, Rivenburgh found that the NBC broadcast of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games displayed a poverty of perspectives, empathy, and knowledge about the host country.

Charles (1994) notes that studies on stereotypical and ideological representation of ethnic minorities in the mass media are being characterized by ever-increasing sophistication. This, according to Atkin and Fife (1994), might have been brought about by the increased portrayal of African Americans on local TV news. This suggests that portrayals of Korean-Americans or any other ethnic group on US TV should be studied independently. This current study is an attempt to explore and cultivate this field further.

By conducting this research, it is hoped that the media's role in developing mental images about ethnic groups in general and Koreans in particular will be illuminated.

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THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Earlier, Gerbner (1967) had "identified the significance of mass communication, in terms not of the concept of masses, but of the transformation of society brought about by the extension of institutionalized public accumulation beyond the limits of face to face and any other personally mediated interaction" (p.50). He declared that television is responsible for an extremely important "cultivating" and "accumulating" process brought about by viewer's systematic exposure to particularly narrow concepts of a complex reality. These limited concepts then tend to shape the viewer's beliefs and values accordingly. As such, television becomes a potent part of a message system based on culture that not only inform but form common images.

In what was probably the longest-running and most extensive program of research on the effects of television, Gerbner argues that television has become the central cultural arm of American society. It has become "a key member of the family, the one who tells most of the stories most of the time" (Gerbner et al., 1980, p.42). Gerbner points out that the average viewer watches television four hours a day. The heavy watcher does even more. For heavy viewers, television virtually monopolizes and subsumes other information, ideas, and consciousness. The effect of all this exposure to similar messages produces what he calls "cultivation" or the teaching of a common worldview, common roles, and common values.

According to Gerbner, cultivation analysis begins with insights on institutions and the message systems they produce and goes on to investigate the contributions that these systems and their symbolic functions make to the cultivation of assumptions about life

and the world. Style of expression, quality of representation, artistic excellence, or the quality of individual experience associated with selective exposure to and participation in mass-cultural activity are not considered critical variables for this purpose. Conventional and formal judgments applied to specific communications may be irrelevant to general questions about the cultivation of assumptions about what is, what is important, what is right, and what is related to that (Gerbner, 1973).

This perspective, I think, explains well the effect of media's stereotyping of minorities in the US. Following cultural and environmental cues, the media cultivate another generation who keeps their ancestor's stereotypes intact.

Gerbner's cultivation theory and the ideas elaborated by Noelle-Neumann (1974) in her 'spiral of silence' theory indicate that the media "construct social formations and history itself by framing images of reality (in fiction as well as news) in a predictable and patterned way; and secondly, that people in audiences construct for themselves their own view of social reality and their place in it, in interaction with the symbolic constructions offered by the media" (McQuail, 1994, p. 331). In Gerbner's view, however, television, above all modern media, is pre-eminent in every day life and dominates the "symbolic environment," replacing direct, short-hand perception and understanding of life with an artificial norm (1973).

Cultivation is said to differ from a directed stimulus-response effect process mainly due to its gradual and cumulative character. As such, the stereotypical images of minorities gradually evolve and accumulate over time. As people are constantly exposed to such stereotypes, they unconsciously form beliefs that some minorities tend to have some fixed character. In this theory of media effect, television providers many people

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with a consistent and near-total symbolic environment which supplies norms for conduct and beliefs about a wide range of real-life situations (McQuail, 1994). In the US at least, TV occupies a central place in daily life and plays a crucial role in constructing certain images to audiences despite assertions from the media that stereotypes come from the social environment and from culture. Still, the media tend to magnify and prolong minority stereotype portrayals in a crucial way. The most critical public consequences of mass communication are indicating and ordering issues, and it seems that stereotyping never disappears when people try to place issues in order (Gerbner, 1973).

These continuing portrayals gradually lead to the adoption of beliefs about the nature of the social world which conform to the stereotyped, distorted and very selective view of reality as portrayed in a systematic way in television fiction and news (Gerbner, 1973).

Eagly likewise focused on the role of media in shaping cognitions and developing stereotypes and insisted that if observers know very little about a given country, and if they have very few occasions to interact with citizens of that country, the only behaviors they will observe are those that attract media attention (Leyens et al. 1994). Hence, their perceptions of "others," especially of minorities, tended to be shaped by their vicarious experiences with these groups made possible by the mass media.

Factors Affecting the Cultivation Effect

Gerbner (1976) presents research supporting cultivation theory that is based on comparisons heavy and light television viewers. He analyzed questions posed in surveys and found that heavy and light viewers typically give different answers. Furthermore, heavy viewers often give answers that are closer to the way the world is portrayed on TV.

For instance, his surveys have asked what percentage of the world's population lives in the US. The correct answer is six percent. Heavy viewers tend to overestimate this figure much more than light viewers.

Gerbner has shown that the differences between heavy and light TV viewers show up even across a number of other important variables, including age, education, news reading, and gender (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). That is, Gerbner realized that the relationship between TV viewing and different views of the world could be actually caused by other variables, and he attempted to control for those.

He later revised cultivation theory by adding two concepts: *mainstreaming* and *resonance* (Gerbner et al., 1980). These concepts take into account that heavy TV viewing has different outcomes for different social groups. *Mainstreaming* occurs when heavy viewing leads to a convergence of outlooks across group. *Resonance*, on the other hand, occurs when the cultivation effect is boosted for a certain group of the population.

The addition of these two factors to cultivation theory represents substantial modifications to it, as it no longer claims uniform, across-the-board effects of television on all heavy viewers. By modifying the theory, Gerbner recognizes that one's immediate environment, especially the social one, is an important factor that mitigates the effect of cultivation. People, for example, are likely to feel victimized by crime perpetuators – a topic or theme common in television programs – if they actually live in a crime-ridden area. By extension then, a person's area of residence can affect his or her "susceptibility" to TV's cultivation effects.

It therefore follows that if one lives in more cosmopolitan places, in the presence of more minority groups, one is sensitized to the real-world characteristics of these

groups. Such interpersonal experiences with other cultures thus bring about a heightened awareness of such cultures that would invalidate any perception attained through television portrayals that are usually negative.

Put another way, TV's crucial role of implanting stereotyped images about minorities can be maximized among individuals with rare interpersonal contacts with minorities. It is therefore hypothesized that individuals who had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than those who have not. Those who personally know Koreans can distinguish between reality and fiction. US Bureau of the Census in its 1994 report indicates that of the more than 2.8 million people living in Iowa, only 0.92% or a little more than 25,000 are classified as Asian or Pacific Islanders. Asians in Iowa could be found mostly in urban area (about 22,500); less than 3,000 have settled in rural farms. The Korean contingent of this Asian or Pacific Islander group is less than 5,000 (0.17% of total state population); a great majority of them (90%) has opted for urban living. Because Koreans are rarely seen in rural areas, it is therefore hypothesized that individuals whose home town is rural will have more negative attitudes or negative opinions of Koreans. Ruralites who have comparatively low chances of meeting a Korean will count heavily on images portrayed on TV to develop their perceptions about Koreans.

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HYPOTHESES

Based on the foregoing literature, the following research question and hypotheses are posed:

Research question 1: Are the respondent's attitudes and opinions about Koreans and Korean-Americans consistent with the negative images of this group portrayed on network TV?

H1: Heavy viewers of television will have more negative attitudes or opinions of Koreans than those who are light viewers.

H2: Individuals who have had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than those who have not.

H3: Individuals whose hometown is rural will have more negative attitudes or opinions about Koreans than those who came from more cosmopolitan urban areas.

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METHODOLOGY

This chapter will address the survey design, sample population and sampling procedures, creation of the survey instrument and preliminary data analysis.

Survey Design

Surveys have certain advantages over other research methods. They, used to investigate problems in realistic settings, allow for the collection of large amounts of data from a variety of people, and have a large pool of previously collected data which aid in the development of new surveys (Winner & Dominick, 1991).

While there are any number of survey methods that can be applied in measuring television viewing and attitudes, one of the most cost effective and easily burden on the researcher and increases his or her control over respondent rate. In particular this method allows for a certain degree of anonymity, something extremely important when dealing with a sensitive issue like attitude toward an ethnic minority, specifically toward Koreans. Finally, it eliminates potential interview bias.

One of the first decisions to be made when using stratified cluster sampling is the design. Because a cursory survey of TV programs indicates that the images of Koreans on US TV have not changed drastically over the years, this study did not call for a long-term panel design. Hence, a one-shot survey was used to gather data for this study.

The population of this study was composed of Iowa State University undergraduate students. Stratified cluster sampling was employed as the sampling method with the sampling frame being the classes offered during the summer semester of school year 1997. The sample was stratified into natural science, humanities,

mathematics, and social science. Because these four basic courses are required of all ISU undergraduate students, these are usually large classes with students majoring in a number of fields. Simple randomization was conducted within each sampling stratum. Those classes were considered as cluster units that yielded a total sample size of 136 to ensure reliability of data.

The self-administered questionnaire, divided into four parts, asked for (1) television viewing habits, (2) opinion and attitudes, (3) a interpersonal contact with Koreans, and (4) demographic information. The questionnaire was distributed in class with the instructor's permission. It took about 10 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Survey Participants

Population. The population for this is defined as Iowa State University students living on campus. The total number of classes which were held for the 1997 summer semester (July-August) were 34 and approximately 1,000 students registered for these classes. Both undergraduate and graduate students were included in the population.

Sampling Technique. The 34 classes treated as cluster units were stratified into four strata: arts and humanities included five classes, social science contained 14 classes, mathematics had four classes, and natural science involved 11 classes. The number of classes randomly selected within each stratum was determined according to ratio: one for arts and humanities, four classes from social science, one class from mathematics and three classes from natural science. All of the instructors in these selected classes gave their permission to conduct this survey. Except for one instructor who demanded that the survey be administered at the end of the class, the survey was conducted at the

beginnings of the classes. The survey's purpose was explained and those who might have answered the questionnaire in previous classes were asked not to participate.

Final Sample. Of the 198 students who attended the nine selected classes, 176 returned their questionnaires, providing a return rate of 88.9%. Of these, 40 were omitted from the data set due to large amounts of missing data. Therefore the total number of useable questionnaires was reduced to 136, a sample size sufficient to reduce sampling error to an acceptable level.

Demographically the participants surveyed were predominantly young and from Iowa. Seventy one percent of the students who returned who returned their questionnaires were 19 to 23 years old. Of the 189 respondents surveyed, 70.6 percent indicated that their home town is somewhere in Iowa. The remaining 29.7 percent of the respondents came from 14 other states.

The Instrument

Questionnaire Description. The questionnaire was composed of 27 questions. Six of the questions were open-ended allowing respondents to generate their own answers. The remaining 21 questions included rank-order, dichotomous, Likert rating scales and checklist questions. Of the total questions, 8 questions were inserted as disguise questions, two of which are in the Likert scale section.

Operationalization of the Variables. The primary theoretical concepts of interest in this survey included television usage, the attitude held toward Koreans and student's perceptions of Koreans on television. Also of interest rate are the variables gender and personal familiarity with Koreans.

Television use was operationalized by calculating the total number of hours spent per week watching TV. The values for this variable ranged from 1-40 hours per week. The large range made it necessary to reduce the number of cells into much smaller numbers to elicit respondents in each cell. A split-half technique was used to divide the respondents into two cells that were coded light and heavy viewers. The break occurred at 18 hours of viewing. Previous studies that have measured college viewing pattern found that on average students watched TV 18 to 20 hours per week (Amstrong et al., 1992).

Attitude toward Koreans as gleaned from TV was a bit more difficult to operationalize. Two different measurements of attitude were taken. The first was derived from the respondent's level of agreement with eight statements about Koreans and society. Respondents used a five-point Likert scale to indicate their answer. The scale ranged from "I strongly agree" to "I strongly disagree" for each statement. Here a higher total score indicated a more negative attitude.

The second measure of attitude was determined from respondent's answers to the open-ended questions which asked them to describe a typical Korean individual and a typical Korean character on television. Negative answers (negative character traits) indicated a negative attitude toward Koreans.

The television imagery of Koreans was determined by using both an open-ended question asking respondents to list three characteristics of Koreans appearing on television and a question that asked them to rank by perceived probability what role a Korean character is most likely to hold in American TV programs.

The operational definition of other variables used in this survey are as follows:

- **Koreans**: Includes native Koreans and Americans with Korean ancestry.
- **Heavy viewers**: Individuals who watch television and more than 18 hours a week.
- **Light viewers**: Individuals who watch television less than 18 hours a week.
- **Urban**: a city with a population of 10,000 or more (Bureau of the Census, 1996).
- **Rural**: a city with a population of less than 2,500 and predominantly derives its income from farming (Bureau of the Census, 1996).
- **The image of Koreans/Korean-Americans on TV** was measured in two ways. First, respondents were be asked to rank order the most probable role a Korean/Korean-American could have on any given television program. These potential roles are hero/heroine, villain/villainess, sidekick or accomplice, supporting actor/actress with speaking roles, background role or "extra." Second, respondents were asked to name, in an open-ended question, the program they watch most on TV. It is expected that the role of any cultural minority in such a program could be easily ascertained.

The dependent variable for all of the hypotheses in this study is **attitude toward Koreans and Korean-Americans**. This variable was measured as an index composed of eight items in Likert scale format. The respondents' level of agreement was summed across the eight attitude statements. The reliability score for this index was tested. Place of residence was indicated following the US Bureau of the Census' definition of "urban" and "rural" areas. Census data indicate that in Iowa 22,501 Asians or Pacific Islanders lived in urban areas and 2,657 resided in rural areas in 1990. In the case of Koreans, 3,637 among 4,618 (94%) lived in urban areas. It is therefore reasonable to assume that individuals whose hometown is rural will have rare opportunities to interact with Koreans, a factor that may limit their perceptions of minority group within the confines

of televised portrayals. Two open-ended questions in the survey asked respondents to describe typical Korean people and Korean television characters using their own words. Each question required the researcher to record responses by hand and then categorize these responses as appropriate positive, neural or negative.

RESULTS

In this section the hypotheses tests are presented along with an explanation of collapsed data and analysis beyond original hypothesis.

Collecting Data

In the initial frequencies run there were several variables that needed to be collapsed for each cell in the planned analyses to have a large enough **n**. The variables affected by the collapsing procedure included total TV viewing, attitudes toward Korean scales, and the two open-ended questions describing Korean characters on television and in real life.

Television viewing was condensed into either heavy or light viewing using a split half technique. The break between heavy and light viewing was made at the 18 hours per week level, an appropriate break both in cell numbers and college viewing habits. The resulting frequencies from this manipulation are presented in Table 1.

Attitude toward Koreans was determined by calculating the mean of the Likert scale responses in section 2 of the questionnaire. Sums of responses to 8 scale questions

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Table 1. Frequency totals of heavy and light television viewers

	Cell n	Present
Light viewers (≤ 18 hours per week)	105	77.2
Heavy viewers (> 18 hours per week)	30	22.8

or items were added (reversing the value when necessary due to questionnaire wording) and then divided by 8 to get a mean. The resulting mean values were collapsed into positive or negative groups using the overall mean as the split point.

Means below the 2.593 (based on a 5-point scale) were considered positive attitudes and means greater than 2.593 were coded as negative attitudes toward Koreans. The resulting frequencies are presented in Table 2.

Attitude was also measured using open-ended questions. Here, volunteered written responses were analyzed for positive or negative connotations and descriptors. The same was done to determine viewer's perceptions of Korean on television. Any descriptor with a positive connotation was given a score 2 and any descriptor with a negative connotation was scored 0. A neutral descriptor was given a score of 1. For example, if a respondent gave descriptors such as "smart" (2), "improper English" (0), and "black hair" (1), he/she was considered as having a neutral attitude toward Koreans (Table 3). His or her score of 3(2+0+1) is in the middle of the most positive responses (6) and the most negative responses (0). A score below 3 was categorized as negative while a score above 3 was considered as indicating a positive attitude toward on TV. Descriptors containing stereotypical images such as "sidekick," "short," and "restaurant owner" were categorized as negative ones. The resulting frequencies for these results are presented in

Table 2. Frequency totals for respondents' attitudes toward Koreans

	Cell n	Present
Negative attitudes	73	53.7
Positive attitudes	63	46.3

Table 4.

Both attitude and perception were analyzed as continuous and ordinal values. For the ordinal analysis a negative sum indicated negative perceptions and a positive sum was considered a positive perception.

Test of Hypotheses

Research question:

Are respondents' attitude and opinion about Koreans and Korean-Americans consistent with the negative images of this group portrayed on network TV?

This question was answered using the descriptive statistics outlined in Table 3 where respondents clearly indicated negative attitudes about Korean TV characters (mean

Table 3. Categorization of descriptors

Attitude toward Korean characters on TV/score		
Negative	Neutral	Positive
Sidekick (0) Short (0)		Smart (2)
Timid (0)	Black hair (1)	Diligent (2)
Grocery owner (0)		Attractive (2) Talent (2)

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Table 4. Frequency totals for attitudes toward Korean characters on television

	Cell	Percent	Cumulative percent
Negative attitudes	54	39.7	39.7
Neutral attitudes	57	12.5	52.2
Positive attitudes	34	23.0	77.2
No response	31	22.8	100.0

= - 0.1905). When asked to rate their attitudes toward Koreans in "real life", however, respondents indicated more positive response (mean = 2.6036). In other words, "real life" Koreans are perceived more positively than those on television are.

Table 5. Attitude toward Koreans as a function of heavy and light viewing

Count Row pct Col pct	Level of Viewing Light	 Heavy	Row Total
Negative Attitude Condition	60 82.2	13 17.8	73 53.7
Positive Attitude Condition	46 73.0	17 27.0	63 46.3
Column Total	106 77.9	30 22.1	136 100.0

$X^2 = 1.6560$; df = 1; p= .1981

Hypothesis 1

> Heavy viewers of television will have more negative attitudes or opinions of Koreans than those who are light viewers.

Crosstabulations of heavy and light viewers as determined by the total hours of television watched per week and attitudes toward Koreans as measured by the Likert scale yielded no significant results. There was no significant difference in attitudes toward Koreans between those who were categorized as heavy viewers and those who were classified as light viewers. Table 5 shows the results.

In order to get a more robust test for the potential cultivation effect in regard to Koreans in the media these variables were also compared using a t-test. This was possible because the total of viewing for each respondent was computed before it was categorized as either heavy or light. As total hours (range 1-40 hours per week) the television viewing measure could be run as a continuous variable. Again there was no significant difference between those respondents who held positive and negative attitudes toward Koreans, T (134 df) = 1.78, p = .1981.

Based on the results of this analysis hypothesis 1 was not supported. Heavy viewers of television did not show a significantly more negative attitude toward Koreans compared to the light viewers.

Hypothesis 2

> Individuals who have had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than those who have not.

Personal contact was determined by asking the respondent whether he/she had any personal acquaintance with a Korean. It was recorded as a dichotomous variable. To

Table 6. Attitude toward Koreans as a function of personal contact

Count Row pct Col pct	Attitude Condition Positive	Negative	Row Total
No personal Contact w/ Koreans	25 41.0	36 59.0	61 44.9
Personal Contact w/ Korean	39 52.0	36 48.0	75 55.1
Column Total	64 47.1	72 52.9	136 100.0

X^2 = 2.1669; df = 1; p = .1410

determine whether this variable had any influence on attitudes toward Koreans, crosstabulations were done.

In the cross tabulation between the dichotomous personal contact variable and attitude measured as a continuous variable (from the Likert scale summated rating), the Chi-square value was 2.1669. As table 4 indicates, this was not significant.

Looking at cell frequencies, the number of negative attitudes between the "no personal contact with Koreans" groups and those with personal contact were exactly the same. In addition, among those with personal contact, there is no statistical difference in terms of positive or negative attitude toward Koreans. However, respondents who had come in contact with Koreans and had positive attitudes somewhat outnumbered the respondents who had no personal contact with Koreans.

Based on the results of this analysis hypothesis 2 was not supported. Individuals who have had personal contact with Korean did not show a significantly more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans.

Hypothesis 3

> Individuals whose hometown is rural will have more negative attitudes or opinions about Koreans than who came from more cosmopolitan urban areas.

Hometown was determined by asking the respondent where his/her home community is. It was recorded as a dichotomous variable. Operationally an urban area covered large cities, small towns, rural farms and the other areas were coded as rural. To determine whether this variable had any influence on attitudes toward Koreans, crosstabulations were used.

In the crosstabulation between the dichotomous rural and urban area variable and attitude measured as a continuous variable (from the Likert scale summated rating), the

Table 7. Attitude toward Koreans as a function of hometown area

	Hometown area		
Count Row pct Col pct	Positive	Negative	Row Total
Rural area	42 47.7	46 52.6	88 64.7
Urban area	22 45.8	26 44.2	48 35.3
Column Total	64 47.1	72 52.9	136 100.0

$X^2 = .0071$; df = 1; p = .9325

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Chi-square value was .0071. Again, as table 5 indicates, this was not significant. Looking at cell frequencies, the distribution of negative and positive attitudes toward Koreans between rural and urban respondents were almost same.

Hypothesis 3, therefore, was not supported. Individuals whose hometown is rural did not show significantly more negative or opinions toward Koreans.

DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a discussion of the study results and addresses the study's limitations, as well as recommendations for future research.

Hypothesis Testing Results

Researchers have long documented under-representation and negative stereotyping of Koreans on television. The results of this study indicate that if negative attitudes develop as a result of this, TV is not the only culprit. The results did not lend any support at all to the cultivation hypothesis: there was no agreement between the images of Koreans on TV and attitudes and opinions toward Koreans held by the respondents; heavy viewers of television had opinions and attitudes toward Koreans not significantly different from light viewers; there is little homogeneity in the sample's images of Koreans. Attitudes did not vary by the kinds of shows watched. In fact the portrayal of Koreans on television (clearly negative) was not even closely related to the images of Koreans in the minds of mostly white, young, Midwestern college students.

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Clearly, college experience must have played a major part in influencing students attitudes.

Research question

Are respondents' attitude and opinions about Koreans and Korean-Americans consistent with the negative images of this group portrayed on network TV?

This hypothesis asserts that respondents' attitudes and/or opinions of real life non-Koreans would be the same as their attitudes/opinions of Koreans portrayed on television. It is clear that college students' perceptions of Koreans in real life were more positive than those they get of Koreans portrayed through television. This was not surprising because more than half of the respondents (55.1%) reported having had some sort of contact with Koreans.

In Gerbner's (1973) theory of cultivation he states that the more one watches the more likely he or she is to believe what is seen on television. Gerbner also notes that personal influence may alter or have an impact on the cultivation effect. Clearly, this is what has occurred in this study. Most respondents felt that describing a typical Korean individual was more "distasteful" and "unfair" than describing Korean characters on television, agreeing that Koreans are negatively portrayed on television. Words like *short, shy, poor English, martial arts, grocery business* appeared often on the open-ended responses. It is important to note, however, that some respondents felt it hard to tell Koreans from other Asians.

Hypothesis 1

Heavy viewers of television will have more negative attitudes or opinions of Koreans than those who are light viewers.

Hypothesis 1 asserts that heavy viewers of television would be most affected by negative images of Koreans on television and would therefore have negative opinions and attitudes about Koreans. This was not supported. There are a number of reasons why results did not follow the hypothesized direction here, but the most critical factor was probably the amount of television viewing. Majority of respondents were light viewers. In fact, the mean difference between the light and heavy viewer groups was less than 140 minutes a day. Compared to the general US adult population, ISU students are light TV viewers and are therefore not as likely to be influenced by the medium.

In this study, many students felt uncomfortable answering questions about real life Koreans and rejected the "typecasting" of Koreans in the US media. This suggests any one or a combination of two things: that students' level of liberal arts education was effective and sufficient enough for them to be able to say they "know better than what those silly TV programs are showing" and/or that they are giving the "politically correct" or socially responsible answer.

It was interesting that fewer respondents fell into the "heavy viewer, negative image of Koreans" cell than those who were heavy viewers with positive attitudes toward Koreans, a trend which is a complete reversal of the cause-effect scenario envisioned by the cultivation theory. Cultivation theorists would speculate that heavy viewers of TV, having been exposed to greater numbers of negative portrayals, would be more likely to have negative images of Koreans. Further, in the "light viewers" cells, negative responses outnumber the positive ones.

Hypothesis 2

> Individuals who have had personal contacts with Koreans will have more positive attitudes or opinions toward Koreans than who have not.

Hypothesis 2 speculates on the effects of an intervening factor personal contact with the Koreans minority group. In this case, the effect was negligible; personal acquaintance did not affect the respondents' attitudes' and opinions toward Koreans. This is so because it is rare for college students to develop friendly or close personal relationships with a Korean considering the very small number of Koreans in the state. Even though more than half of the respondents said they know a Korean, 75% reportedly knew one in the class; only 25% had established strong and close ties with Koreans or Korean-Americas (i.e., roommate, boy/girl friends, and adopted relative).

Hypothesis 3

> Individuals whose hometown is rural will have more negative attitudes or opinions about Koreans than those who came from more cosmopolitan or rural areas.

What might have led to responses concerning Hypothesis 2 also applies to Hypothesis 3. Because of the very small number of Koreans in Iowa, the probability of knowing a Korean in rural and urban areas is very small indeed.

Limitations

Conducting this survey during the last six weeks of the summer semester must have considerably limited this study's population base. Surveying during a regular semester may have involved more students. Although the return rate was satisfactory from a reliability standpoint, some of the analysis suffered from low cell counts.

Clearly, students were giving the socially responsible answers. A sample more representative of the general adult population might have produced different results. Theses respondents would tend to have higher television viewing totals and would have less personal contact with Koreans than college campuses normally provide.

Finally, the questionnaire fell short in the area of determining the type of television programs the respondents watched.

Based on these limitations there are things that could have been done differently. These include:

- Altering the timeframe for distribution of the survey to hit students at the beginning of the summer semester. This would most likely increase participation and may result in heavier television viewing since students typically do most of their studying at the end of the semester.
- Changing the population parameters. This could be done by using high school students who are heavier viewers of television and have not been acculturated to minorities by the college experience.
- Restructing the questionnaire to allow respondents to give more independent and volunteered viewing habits. An open-ended question addressing program choice would have provided a much richer picture of the influence of content on the individual.

Future Direction

Although all of the three hypotheses were not supported the study highlights some methodological facets.

First, a standardized index or scale to measure attitudes toward minority groups could be helpful especially in large-scale studies. Such scales could be used in studies across minority grouping to strengthen internal and external validity of data. The items selected to create a scale in the study were significantly correlated, but they have not been

widely tested. Anyone who has been fortunate enough to conduct a study that uses a previously tested instrument understands the benefit accruing from such a device.

Second, the effect of cultivation can perhaps be better explained by the use of experimental designs to test non-Koreans' reaction to negative and positive stereotypes. The entire cultivation hypothesis is based on heavy exposure over time. A better theoretical support that can be easily tested is priming. Priming suggests that when people see, read, or hear of an event via the mass media, ideas normally associated with the event, or having a similar meaning as the event, are activated in the mind, at least for a short time. Priming does not presume any attitude change per se, merely the "triggering" of already acquired concepts. There are certain things that can enhance the effect, including the reality of the depiction and the number of times the prime is repeated. With sufficient exposure and execution the mass media may influence thoughts and behaviors of people based on media activated images.

A test over several weeks with controlled viewing and pre/post test attitude measures could much more accurately account for any variance in attitude as a result of varied news content, exposure to pornographic materials, and even commercials with disabled people (Farnall, 1996).

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A Bumpy Carpet Ride: Disney and Cultural Controversy

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Abstract

Because of the Walt Disney Corporation's influence in Americana and the severe impact that its films have on children, the company has a responsibility to respect the cultures represented in its movies. The severe reaction by the Arab-American community to the movie *Aladdin* only exemplifies the need for movie-makers and cultural leaders to work together. This will help to prevent racial stereotyping in films, and it will ensure that the citizens of the future, our children, receive a positive first impression of other cultures.

A Bumpy Carpet Ride: Disney and Cultural Controversy

The Walt Disney Company has been a leader in popular culture and animated films for decades. Such films have often been children's first exposure to other cultures. Because many children are raised on Disney, and the movies reach mass audiences world wide, the portrayal of a particular culture can shape peoples' view of that ethnicity. This is rather disconcerting to those who believe that Disney creates racially stereotyped movies.

In November 1992, Disney released the animated film *Aladdin*. It is the retelling of an ancient tale in which a poor boy named Aladdin finds a magic lamp and is granted three wishes by the Genie who lives inside. After the movie's debut, reviewers referred to the film as a "brilliantly animated fantasy adventure" (1993, p. G1). It was topping top ten lists, and it eventually won two Oscars. It was even deemed politically correct, as the heroes were not Caucasian. However, many Arab Americans and Muslims found the film offensive. They say it depicts negative stereotypes, and it is too violent (Scheinin, 1993).

This paper will analyze how the Walt Disney Company handles cultural controversy using the movie *Aladdin* and as a case study. It examines the claims made by the Arab community, as well as Disney's response, and Disney's attempt to respect the artistic value of the movie. This study is significant given Disney's major influence on Americana. The paper provides useful information to other minority groups, so that agreements are reached and controversies settled prior to the release of culture-related films. Using the concepts of communication scholars, the situation will be analyzed, and conclusions will be drawn for future movie makers who face cultural controversy.

Literary Review

This literary review provides background on controversy and the cultures involved. Using the works of Shaheen (1984), Giroux (1995), Zaharna (1995), and Miller and Rode (1995), a different perspective is gained on Disney movies, as well as communication with the Arabic

community.

Shaheen (1984) states that everyone is stereotyped on television, particularly Arabs, yet there are several ways to prevent this.

Shaheen suggests that whether it is intentional or unintentional, the degradation of any ethnic group affects everyone. He says that black Americans appealed for over sixty years before motion picture executives took their grievances seriously and began addressing the black stereotypes. While interviewing movie producers, the author found one-third of them to have concerns over the Arabic stereotypes and another third to be neutral. A final third expressed negative feelings toward Arabs. One producer accused Shaheen of working with the Saudis, and another producer said that she considered the Arab-American community to be insignificant.

Shaheen mentions an interview with a writer named Irving Pearlberg, who states that forty percent of TV writers are Jewish. The author states that consciously or subconsciously, TV people favor Jews over Arabs, as one rarely sees Jewish villains on television. He states that the audience experiences Jewish culture and heroes, because Jewish -Americans who work in the profession rightly refuse to degrade themselves or their heritage. Complacency is what continues the cycle of stereotyping.

Shaheen mentions a four-hour TV special, called *Evening in Byzantium,* based on Irwin Shaw's novel. The special, which was viewed by twenty million people, focused on the Arabs as being crude and terrorists. Shaheen says that it also features oil-rich sheiks that want to make a movie.

The author questions why Arab-Americans do not try to work more with broadcast officials. He says that representation would ensure more equitable treatment. However, one of his interviewees summed it up by saying that she did not know anyone in the TV industry that is an Arab-American. He states that ignorance about Arab-Americans does not excuse the stereotypes.

Shaheen states that the Arab-American community could help combat the stereotyping by informing producers and writers about people of the Middle East, their history and culture. He

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suggests that TV professionals meet with Arab-Americans, and attend social events, such as picnics, conventions, weddings, etc. Conferences on the stereotype could be offered to promote discussion, and Middle East countries could invite TV professionals to visit the area. Further, Arab-Americans can seek out the support of minority organizations when they see Arabic stereotyping.

Shaheen suggests that TV creators study the obvious myths and counter them. They can allow the audience to laugh *with* Arab characters, not just *at* them. He states that they can feature the heritage of the Arab-American, and have Arab-Americans work with the "good guys" on police shows, instead of being the enemy.

The author states that one constructive step toward altering the stereotype is focusing on children's programming, as there have been many distortions of Arabs in cartoons. He states that television professionals have been working toward correcting past injuries of insulting depictions of other cultures, like the Asians. He states that they should continue this by featuring Arab cartoon heroes who pal around with the Superfreinds.

Shaheen says that in their early years, children absorb a general set of cultural values. According to a TV Guide reporter, Neil Hickey, TV accomplishment is "to catch the child's imagination by showing him the world, what its possibilities are, how people get along in it, how they interact with each other, and what his (her) place in it might be" (132).

The author states that TV helps shape our morality. He mentions video textbooks produced by Franklin-Trout, which are entertaining and informative programs providing an analysis of Arab history. She says, "you cannot ever understand a people or a country or their subsequent actions unless you understand their history" (132). Shaheen says that these documentaries humanize the men and women of six Middle Eastern nations, and because of this, the Arabic people are much less of an exotic mystery.

Shaheen concludes with a personal story, which demonstrates several ethnic groups looking past cultural stereotypes and working together in a steel mill. He says that if steelworkers can eliminate stereotypes, then so can writers and producers.

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In order to have a thorough background, it is important to evaluate Disney films from another perspective. Giroux (1995) suggests that when addressing Disney's animated films, one should neither condemn the Disney Company as promoting a conservative world view disguised as entertainment, nor as a company which merely spreads joy to children all over the world. Giroux states that the Disney Company deserves respect. He feels that one way to do this is by putting the Disney view of childhood and society into a critical dialogue regarding the meanings, roles, and narratives it uses in defining American life.

The author examines Disney's most recent films, such as *The Little Mermaid, Aladdin, Beauty and The Beast*, and *The Lion King*. He feels that they provide several opportunities to address the creation of a culture of innocence and happiness for children, advocacy, pleasure, and consumerism. It is also noted that in addition to their box office success, each of these films are successful from an overflow of products and merchandise.

Giroux states that Disney's recent films embody the themes and ideas which have become the trademark of Disney. He believes that they work because they present joy to children and adults, in addition to Hollywood style glitz, colorful animation, and show stopping music. Each of the films mentioned utilize the talents of Howard Ashman and Alan Menkin, who are known for their many Disney film scores and music. In addition, each movie contains a variety of exotic villains , heroes, and heroines, not to mention an array of animals and inanimate objects of the highest artistic standards. The themes vary from freedom, rights of passage, and choices to the injustice of male chauvinism and acting on passion and desire.

Giroux also mentions that many of these films make assumptions, which represents another side of Disney. One of the most controversial messages is the portrayal of young girls and women. The author mentions that in *The Little Mermaid*, Ariel was modeled after a "slightly anorexic Barbie Doll" (1995, p. 81), and appears to be in a struggle against parental control. In addition, she gives up her voice to the sea witch, Ursula, in order to gain a pair of legs to pursue the human Prince Eric. The author believes that although many children may take delight by Ariel's rebelliousness, the

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movie will reinforce to young girls that desire, choice, and power are directly linked to catching a man.

The author also believes that women are portrayed negatively in *Aladdin*. He states that Princess Jasmine is merely an object of Aladdin's immediate desire and a stepping stone to his social mobility. Finally, he mentions that Jasmine's life is defined by men, and in the end, her happiness is ensured by marrying Aladdin.

Additionally, Giroux mentions female subordination in *The Lion King*. He states that all of the leaders of the Kingdom are men, and they reinforce that independence and leadership are rewarded to those with patriarchal entitlement and high social standing. In addition, the women felines are heavily dependent on the male rulers. The author mentions that these gender stereotypes have a lasting effect on the children.

Giroux mentions a second controversial issue in the Disney films, racial stereotyping. He addresses the controversy over *Aladdin*, which won two Academy Awards. The opening song, which has been altered, was considered racist because it said "where they cut off your ear, if they don't like your face, it's barbaric, but hey, it's home." In addition, he states that racist stereotypes are represented in the characters, which are displayed as grotesque and violent. The author also states that racially coded accents and language appear in both *Aladdin* and *The Lion King*. All of the malicious characters have heavy accents, while the good characters maintain either American or British accents. The author then states, "There is nothing innocent in what kids learn about race in the 'magical world' of Disney" (1995, p. 82).

Lastly, the author discusses the theme of anti-democratic social relations. He says that nature and the animal kingdom provide a mechanism for presenting social class, royalty, and inequality as apart of the natural order. It appears as if there is a yearning for a more rigid society, where men rule and strict discipline is imposed through social hierarchies and leadership. The author feels that this is a dangerous demonstration for young children, as it demonstrates powerlessness and

a highly conservative view of the relations of the contemporary world.

Giroux states that there are lessons to be learned from Disney's view of the world. First, it is important that the realm of popular culture used by Disney should be taken as a sight for learning, especially for children. This also means that it should be incorporated into the curricula and be an object of critical analyzation. Second, parents, educators, and community members should be attentive to the messages in the films, not only to criticize them, but to use them for productive purposes. They should be used as teaching machines and should be analyzed not only for what the say, but for how they are understood by groups of people and children.

The author concludes by stating that the American public gives Disney the opportunity to offer entertainment and ethical responsibility in so that it is a public service, rather than a commercial overabundance.

Because *Aladdin* is accused of disrespecting the Arab community, and it has been created by an American company, it is necessary to understand the difference between American and Arab cultures. Zaharna (1995) states that Americans and Arab cultures have distinct perspectives in viewing language, constructing persuasive messages, and communicating to audiences. The author mentions that without a conscious awareness of how cultures differ, one has a tendency to perceive other cultures through the eyes of his or her own. This is how ethnocentrism occurs, which turns cultural differences into right and wrong.

Zaharna mentions that there are several theoretical frameworks which distinguish the American and Arabic cultures. The first is the difference between high and low context cultures. The American culture is a low context one, where more meaning is placed in the language code and less in the context. Thus, the communication is specific, explicit, and analytical. In contrast, the Arabic culture is a high context culture and more meaning is imbedded in the context. A high context person will talk around a point, and the receiver must understand contextual cues in order to get the message. The author also mentions indirect versus direct communication. She states that the American culture prefers clear and direct communication. Their style strives to accurately

present facts, avoiding emotional overtones and suggestive allusions. The Arabic communication style is much more ambiguous, and emotional resonance is more important than detail. Zaharna next discusses the difference between doing and being cultures. She states that the American culture is a doing culture, where emphasis is placed on achievement, visible accomplishment, and measurement of accomplishment. In contrast, the Arabic culture is a being culture, where importance is placed on an individual's birth, family, background, age, and rank. The author also states a difference in oral and literate cultures. She mentions the print or literate society, which relies more on the factual accuracy of a message, in addition to evidence and reasoning. In the oral society, an anecdote can serve as evidence for a conclusion, and "a specific person or act can embody the beliefs and ideals of the entire community" (1995, p. 244). Finally, Zaharna mentions the difference between the linear and non-linear cultures. The linear culture emphasizes beginnings and ends of events, is object oriented, and stresses the presentation of singular themes. In contrast, the non-linear cultures emphasize multiple themes, is expressed in oral terms, and is further heightened by non-verbal communication.

Zaharna next discusses how the Arab and American cultures differ on how they view the role and function of language. Americans perceive language as a way to transmit messages. They use linear and literate patterns, which emphasize accuracy and factual presentation of information. The Arabs associate language with an art form, religion, and a tool for identity. Symbolism is imbedded in their language, and it is a subjective social experience where the communicator is connected to the message and the audience.

The author then states that cultural differences exist in message design. In Arabic, repetition is a positive feature, where it may have negative implications for Americans. The Arabs use it as a strategy for messages, where as the Americans may find it insulting to hear the statement numerous times. Another difference is accuracy versus imagery. In the Arabic culture, it is common for one to use creative metaphors, analogies, and story telling to illustrate a point. In contrast, Americans use fact and figures for illustration. Next, there is a difference between exaggeration and

understatement. Arabs often use exaggeration to construct vivid powerful imagery, where as Americans have a tendency to use understatements. A difference also exists between words versus action. The Arabs link words and emotion, which they believe has more power than action. In contrast, Americans directly link words and actions. Finally, there is a difference between vague and specific language. The Arabs prefer indirect, vague, and ambiguous statements, where as Americans prefer direct, frank, and open communication.

Zaharna finally mentions implications for counseling Arab clients. She says that an Arab client may insist on providing written material for the practitioner to use, and they may encounter a few problems. First, one has to be aware of literal translations, as in Arabic, one word may stand for an entire sentence in English. Second, meaning in Arabic is usually derived from the context; thus, to translate in English may provide sentences that are a paragraph in length with little to no punctuation. The third problem is rhetoric. It is best to write the piece as a press release, and use the rhetoric as quotes. The author mentions oral communication, where it is important to alert the Arab client about doing things differently when training for the media. When speaking, an Arabic speaker will present the whole picture. It is best for the practitioner to listen to the whole picture and treat the details as self-explanatory. Also, a practitioner can explain to an Arab client how to package information as to avoid multiple themes. Americans should also be very aware of the context and indirectness of the Arabic speaking patterns, and to know that understanding is the responsibility of the listener. Zaharna states that in public relations strategy and planning, it would be more productive to present the end goal first and then the parts, as the Arabs prefer to see the whole picture. Also, because Americans are future oriented and Arabs are past oriented, it would be better for practitioners to use words such as "suggest," "plans," "envisions," etc. Lastly, the author mention the importance of professional ethics. A good practitioner will not only state the practices, but he or she will also explain why they exist. Also, a practitioner should be sensitive to past stereotyping of Arabs in the American media in order to be more effective in helping the client build media rapport and audience trust.

Zaharna concludes by stating that more Arab and American involvement will probably take place due to recent events in the Middle East; thus, knowing cultural differences will help in client relations.

Probably one of the most important points to understand is the influence of animated films on children. Miller and Rode (1995) state that Disney films educate children, and what they learn can shape their beliefs and prejudices.

Miller and Rode state that Walt Disney has held a special place in many adults' lives. Many of Disney's cartoon visions have made important contributions to discourses of the self.

The authors mention the importance of evaluating the Disney films *Song of the South* and *Jungle Book*. They state that the critiquing of these films allows them to explore how audience may formulate opinions on cultures. In addition, they say that remembered images are the seeds for cultural formation. The authors state that it is important for the audiences to question what they "see" or think they have seen, as children and adults who watch the films, and how do they learn when they see it?

The authors discuss the movie *Song of the South*, which was released in Atlanta four years after *Gone with the Wind*. They state that in the movie, tension exists between the mother and father, who evidently is in trouble for writing about cotton mills and political issues in the Atlanta paper. The parents are having personal trouble, and are surrounded by African American retainers of indeterminate status. The authors state that the African Americans periodically enter stage right and left to surround the white residents when they gather on the front porch to engage in exchanges. It appears as if this is a subtle reference to slavery, only the "slaves" are portrayed as happy at their plantation home.

Miller and Rode state that the NAACP strongly objected to these images prior to the films first release in 1946, and at all of its subsequent releases in 1956 and 1972. They say that *Song of the South* is an extremely problematic way of teaching about race.

The authors also discuss the movie *Jungle Book*, stating that the movie suggests that the "real" world should be postponed for as long as possible. It is a story about an orphaned boy, Mowgli, who is discovered and raised by a family of wolves.

The authors state that racial stereotypes exist in the portrayal of specific key characters, such as Baloo, the scat-singing bear with whom Mowgli has his deepest attachment. In addition, King Louie, an ape who desperately desires to be human, is another demonstration of racist characters. They mention an obvious connection between African Americanism to King Louie, which emphasizes the racial stereotyping of the character.

The authors mention racial references, verbal class, and gender stereotyping in song lyrics as well. They mention an exchange between two characters, where Bagheera, a dignified panther who educates Mowgli and sees that he reaches his final destination suggests to Baloo, that "birds of a feather flock together; you wouldn't marry a panther would you?" (1995, p. 93). Further, the vultures, which are scavengers and outcasts from jungle society, speak in lower-class British accents, and Black-coded characters speak in a jazz lingo that reflects a stereotyped African American dialect.

Miller and Rode state that alternative interpretations of *Song of the South* and *Jungle Book* could be considered. For example, one could note that the *Song of the South* portrays a white child bonding with young and old African American of a stronger character than their white counterparts, or that Mowgli's encounters with different characters in *Jungle Book* are models of diversity. Yet, the authors are not persuaded by these interpretations, as these are the "text itself" of each film.

The authors believe that it is important to distinguish between multiple uses *for* Disney films, and multiple uses *in* Disney films. They say that the purposes for Disney films focus on adults who will both predict and replay them in memory. The uses in Disney films include the cultural purposes, which are educational.

The authors state that the lesson of both films is that "reality" is always a mediated reality,

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which shows story-like experiences, not actual examples of complex ordinary exchanges. They say that individuals take these films seriously, but not for the messages about race, class, and gender, but instead for their lessons on how to "be." The authors conclude by stating that children learn from these films and develop a grown-up "voice" from the teaching of these films. They internalize the voice, which becomes a part of their memory, and becomes their reactions to prejudice.

The Controversy: *Aladdin*

The movie is set in the mythical Arabian kingdom of "Agrabah," and it follows the rags-to-riches adventures of a resourceful youth, Aladdin. He dreams of escaping his street-life and marrying the Sultan's beautiful daughter, Princess Jasmine. However the scheming wizard, Jafar, intervenes and requests Aladdin's help to retrieve a magic lamp from the "Cave of Wonders." During his mission, Aladdin meets a Genie, is transformed into a rich and handsome prince, tries and fails to impress Princess Jasmine, then proves himself worthy by saving the kingdom from Jafar's evil plot, and becomes "the master of his own fate" (1992, p. 15).

The controversial material of the movie begins with the opening song entitled "Arabian Nights," which is sung by a "shady-looking storyteller sitting atop a camel, crossing the desert" (1992, p. F1), and it goes like this:

> *Oh I come from a land*
> *From a far away place*
> *Where the caravan camels roam.*
> *Where they cut off your ear*
> *If they don't like your face.*
> *It's barbaric, but hey, it's home* (Shaheen, 1992).

Shaheen (1992) states that to refer to a distinct culture as "barbaric" is prejudice and promotes stereotypes. In addition, the reference to "ear chopping" in the first few minutes of a children's film is disconcerting (Scheinin, 1993).

Arab Americans find further traces of stereotyping in the characters themselves. Many characters are portrayed grotesquely with large noses, sinister looking eyes, and beards. Often, these characters are the bad guys. However, Aladdin, the hero, has a small nose, no beard or turban,

and no accent. It appears as if they have given him an American character. Such depictions are particularly bothersome to Arab Americans because *Aladdin* is being seen by mass audiences, specifically impressionable children (Scheinin, 1993).

Other criticisms exist in that many Arabic names are mispronounced in the film, and signs in store windows are not written in Arabic (Scheinin, 1993). According to Khalil Barhoum, a linguistics professor at Stanford, "They are scribblings" (1993, p. G5).

More importantly, the movie misrepresents Islamic law. In an opening scene, Princess Jasmine walks through the marketplace, and grabs an apple from a cart to feed a starving child. The owner of the cart then attempts to cut off the Princess's hand for her act. According to Islamic law, such punishments are reserved for repeat offenders who refuse to repent for their crimes, which are far more serious than Princess Jasmine's. Additionally, the Islamic law states that if a person steals out of hunger or poverty, they are not to be punished (Scheinin, 1993). Maher Hathout, an Islamic scholar, states that in modern day, hand chopping is almost never used except in rare cases. While watching *Aladdin*, the Islamic scholar was "very aware of the stereotypes that Islam is a cruel religion, a harsh religion" (1993, p. G5).

In an attempt to make changes, Albert Mokhiber, president of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, wrote to Jeffery Katzenberg, the Disney Studio Chairman, to request that Disney change the lyrics of "Arabian Nights" before putting *Aladdin* out on video tape. At first, Disney did not respond to the request (Scheinin, 1993).

After continuous complaints of stereotyping and prejudice were made, studio executives responded by claiming that the film is mere entertainment. (Scheinin, 1993). A Disney spokesman, Howard Green, responded to the criticisms by noting that the opposition groups represented are a small minority, and that most people are happy with the film. He states, "all the characters are Arabs, the good guys and the bad guys, and the accents don't really connote anything. As for the song, it's talking about a different time and a different place...It's a fictitious place. This seems kind of nit-picky" (1993, p.G5).

When it comes to responding to cultural controversies, such as the one created by *Aladdin*, Disney's corporate communicators and executives meet and decide how to respond. According to Kerry Miller of the Communications Department, it is customary for Disney executives to handle such conflict on an individual basis (Miller, 1997).

Thus, after meeting with members of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the Walt Disney Company decided to change the lyrics of the song "Arabian Nights." They were changed from:

> *Where they cut off your ear*
> *If they don't like your face*
> to:
> *Where it's flat and immense*
> *And the heat is intense* (1993, p. F1).

The lyrics were changed before the movie went to home video, and is seen on any subsequent release of the movie. However, the ADC was not completely satisfied, as they wanted the word "barbaric" removed from the song. Disney refused to change the word because they said it refers to the heat and land, not the people, and the lyricist, Howard Ashman, had used the word in several other songs (Fox, 1993).

In response to the new lyrics, Disney said they changed them because they wanted to do it. Disney's distribution president stated, "In no way would we ever do anything that was insensitive to anyone. So on reflection, we changed it"(1993, pg. F1). The lyric changes were also made in the song's version sung in a revue at *Aladdin's Oasis Restaurant* at Disneyland (Fox, 1993).

In response to the criticisms about the sinister depictions of characters, as well as the American accents of the "good" characters, Cook states that the movie should be judged as an entire work. He points out that the hero, Aladdin, and Princess Jasmine are of Arabic descent. Although the Walt Disney Company and spokespeople have responded to the criticisms of the film, the Disney Company chairman, Michael Eisner, has neither responded to letters, nor met with the members of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (Fox, 1993).

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Analysis

The controversy over the movie Aladdin and Disney's response can be analyzed using the works of communication scholars. Benoit and Hanczor (1994) state that people use specific strategies to repair their images. Their first strategy is denial, where the offender either denies the act outright or they shift blame. An example of denial is seen in Disney's original response to the accusations of the Arab Americans. Disney claimed that the film is mere entertainment, and the American accents of Aladdin and Princess Jasmine do not connote anything (Scheinin, 1993). This is an example of simple denial. They then said that the accusations of discrimination are coming from a small minority, and most people are happy with the movie. They continue by pointing out that all the characters are Arabic, the movie is about a different time and place, and the concerns of the Arab Americans is "nit-picky" (Scheinin, 1993). By attempting to portray the accusations as insignificant and sensitive to details, Disney appears to shift the blame to the Arab-Americans, making them responsible for the controversy, not the movie makers.

Benoit and Hanczor (1994) also mention a strategy in which one tries to reduce the offensiveness of the act. They say that this can be done by minimizing the negative feelings created by the offensive act, or through transcendence by "placing the action in a broader context" (1994, p. 420). The Disney Company attempted to minimize the negative feelings by referring to the movie as "a fictitious place" (1993, p. G5). In addition, they reminded the audience that all of the characters are Arabic, both the good ones and the bad ones (Scheinin, 1993). Thus, they tried to minimize feelings that the movie created negative stereotypes. Disney also used the concept of transcendence when the distribution president, Dick Cook, stated that the movie was loosely based on the stories of the *Arabian Nights* and should be judged "as an entire work" (1993, p. F4). By doing so, he was trying to reduce the offensiveness of the alleged stereotypes by suggesting that the movie should be evaluated in its entirety, as opposed to focusing on a few details which may contain stereotypes. Also, mentioning that the movie is based on an already existing story points out that Disney did not originate the story; thus, they are not necessarily responsible for racial stereotypes. It deviates away

from Disney's version which is accused of racial stereotypes.

Lastly, Benoit and Hanczor mention the corrective action strategy, in which the offender tries to correct the problem. However, the authors state that "rhetors may take corrective action without confessing or apologizing" (1994, p. 420). Disney uses the corrective action strategy when they decide to change a phrase in the opening song. After meeting with the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Disney decided to make the correction. However, the company never made a formal apology. It merely stated that it did not want to offend anyone. Disney did not correct all of the concerns of Arab Americans, such as the word "barbaric" in the opening song. In addition, it did not change the accents of the main characters, re-write the store signs in Arabic, or change the depiction's of the Islamic law (Fox, 1993). Thus, although the company did take corrective action, it did not confess wrong doing, nor did it officially apologize.

The Walt Disney Company's response to cultural controversy can also be analyzed using the theories of Rank (1976). Rank presents an intensify/downplay schema for understanding persuasive communication. He states that one can either intensify his or her good qualities and someone else's bad qualities, or one can downplay his or her bad qualities or someone else's good qualities. Rank states that one of the ways to downplay is omission, in which one purposefully censors or omits information.

In response to the accusations of stereotyping, The Walt Disney Company omits, or does not respond to some of the concerns, as mentioned earlier. The Arab Americans objected because the two leading characters, which happen to be good, have small noses and American accents. Additionally, Aladdin is clean shaven. In contrast, bad characters have Middle Eastern accents, large noses, sinister eyes, and mustaches. In addition, experts confirmed that the store signs are scribbles, names are mispronounced, and Islamic law is misrepresented. Disney only responds by saying that all of the characters are Arabic, and the American accents do not connote anything (Scheinin, 1993). It censors or omits any further response to the characters, the signs, or the religion. Thus, it attempts to downplay the accusations by not bringing more attention to the other issues.

Rank (1976) also mentions association, which is an intensifying technique. Association "links the idea, person, or product with something already loved or desired or hated or feared by the intended audience" (1976, p. 9). The Arab Americans use the idea of association when they claim that the good characters are "Americanized" and the bad characters are stereotypical Arab characitures. They feel that an association is being made that Arabic people are bad and Americans are good (Fox, 1993).

However, the Disney company uses association to intensify its good, stating that all of the characters are Arabs, both good and bad (Scheinin, 1993). By doing this, they are trying to make an association that the hero and heroin are Arabic, not Caucasian, which portrays Disney's politically correct intentions. Disney also mentions that *Aladdin* is based on the stories of *Arabian Nights.* This association is also an attempt to remind the concerned Arab Americans that Disney did not make up the characters. *Arabian Nights* is filled with sinister characters and heroes.

Finally, Rank (1976) mentions the concept of diversion. This downplay technique attempts to distract attention away from key issues or important things, or focus attention on side issues. Disney attempts to divert attention from the controversial topics by intensifying side issues. The biggest diversion they used is changing two of the lines in the opening song, as mentioned earlier. By doing this, they attempted to draw attention away from the accusations of negative stereotyping and racism by highlighting how they have already addressed the concerns of the Arab Americans. They create this diversion so that they are not seen as insensitive. The president of distribution stated, "it was something we did because we wanted to do it. In no way would we be insensitive to anyone" (1993, p. F1). They also mentioned that the lead characters are in fact Arabs themselves, which diverts attention from the accusations that the characters are "Americanized" (Fox, 1993).

Overall Analysis

Although the Walt Disney Company is American and primarily has an American audience, they have a responsibility to accurately portray other cultures. This is important not only to avoid racial stereotyping, but it is essential in order to present different cultures in a positive way to

America's future.

The lesson from this experience for Disney and other film companies is to do research before trying to portray a specific culture. Further, consult with individuals from that culture so that the portrayal is not only accurate, it is respectful. Other cultures should learn to contact these film companies and develop an open door of communication, so that organizations will make the effort to research the culture before attempting to portray it.

From a public communications perspective, the Disney company ultimately handled the controversy well. By meeting with members of the American-Arab Anti Discrimination Committee and changing the lyrics, they recognized that they had made a mistake. They then took the actions needed to resolve the problem. This decision helped to support their reputation of being "audience-friendly" because their actions demonstrated that they are a compassionate organization who cares about their consumers.

Conclusion

Using the works of Giroux (1995) and Zaharna (1995), one can understand that Aladdin should be used as an educational tool to teach children about the Arabic community, as well as racial stereotyping. Giroux demonstrates that the Disney Company deserves respect, not condemnation, as even if the movies contain controversial material, parents and educators can use this to their advantage. In addition, movie makers who plan to make films concerning the Arabic community in the future can benefit from the works of Zaharna. Understanding the differences in communication can help one to avoid producing offensive material, or at least it can aid in a more accurate representation of the Arabic culture. One can also evaluate Disney's response to cultural controversy using the scholarly works of Benoit and Hanczor (1994) and Rank (1976). By understanding the concepts of image restoration strategies and the intensifying/downplay schema, one can analyze Disney's response to accusations of racism and stereotyping by Arab Americans. Further, if one fully understands the concepts of image restoration and the intensifying/downplay schema prior to controversy, he or she can have more control over the response and its effects.

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This can help an individual or company avoid situations which can damage credibility.

Further research should be done prior to making movies about other cultures. Although *Aladdin* is a charming movie with wonderful artistry, research may have saved Disney the controversy and embarrassment of offending the Arabic community. Although, Disney did handle the controversy well, particularly by changing lyrics to the opening song, knowing the information in Zaharna's work may have prevented the entire situation. It would be interesting to learn if Disney's response would be different had they known of Zaharna's work prior to the making of the movie or the controversy itself. Finally, it would be worth while to study children's responses after using *Aladdin* as an educational tool on the Arabic culture. Hopefully, this paper can serve as an educational guide and a warning to other companies who encounter cultural controversy in the future.

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MORE SEX THAN CONSEQUENCE: THE SEXUAL HEALTH CONTENT OF LATINO MAGAZINES

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Abstract

This study investigated the sexual health content of 16 Latino women's and teen magazines distributed in the United States. Three hundred and twenty-four articles and items from 164 issues were analyzed. Sexual activity comprised 55 percent and sexual health comprised 45 percent of the sexual content in women's and teen magazines. The most covered sexual health topics were pregnancy and contraception, followed by HIV/AIDs and other sexually transmitted diseases. Least mentioned were abortion and emergency contraception. Latino-specific health issues were mostly absent. Western values were presented as health causes and solutions more often than values from major Latino cultures.

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More Sex than Consequence: The Sexual Health Content of Latino Magazines

The Latino population in the United States is exploding. The U.S. Census recorded a 53 percent increase in documented Hispanics between 1980 and 1990, and Latinos[1] currently comprise more than 10 percent of the U.S. population.

Sexual and reproductive health care is a salient issue for the growing Latino population for a number of reasons, including high birth rates and poor access to health care among segments of the group. Because there is evidence that as Latinos become more acculturated they may adopt riskier health behaviors (Molina & Aguina-Molina, 1994; Sabogal, Pérez-Stable, Otero-Sabogal, & Hiatt, 1995;), the high incidence of sexually transmitted diseases in the United States (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1997) also becomes of increasing importance to Latinos.[2]

Parallel to the growth of Latinos in the United States and the growing attention to their sexual and reproductive health issues is the growth of magazines targeted to Latinos and the 1990s emergence of new English-language, Spanish-language, and bilingual publications. The primary purpose of this study was to review in detail the sexual health content of 16 Latino magazines distributed in the United States and compare it with two other types of content: sexual activity coverage and health topics not related to sexuality. The second objective was to examine sexual health coverage for evidence of self-efficacy messages and for inclusion of Latino health issues, Latino values, and Latino norms.

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Background

Mass Media and Sexual Health

Research studies from communication, public health, and medical disciplines support the important role mass media plays in communicating health information. U.S. respondents to surveys since the 1970s have said that media were a principal source of health and medical information (Brown & Walsh-Childers, 1994; Brown, Walsh-Childers, & Waszak, 1990; Darling & Hicks, 1982; Gebhard, 1977; Pettegrew & Logan, 1987). Most of the mass media studies about sexuality and sexual health have focused on television, and studies from the late 70s through late 80s show that television's sexual activity is increasing in quantity and explicitness (Brown & Walsh-Childers, 1994; Buerkel-Rothfuss, 1993; Greenberg et al, 1983; Greenberg, Abelman, & Neuendorf, 1981, Kunkel, Cope, & Colvin, 1996). Researchers (Brown and Walsh-Childers, 1994; Neuendorf, 1990) note that early media studies of sexual portrayals were more concerned with morality issues than health-related issues, which followed in the next phase of sex and media research. But the 1980s studies that investigated sexual health topics found few mentions of the health consequences of sexual activity (Lowry & Towles, 1989a, 1989b). One recent analysis (Olson, 1994) of 1989-1990 soap operas found more discussions of safe sex than in previous research, fewer sexually explicit behaviors, and less aggressive sexual contact and prostitution than studies from the early and mid-80s. However, whether it contains health references or not, Greenberg, Brown and Buerkell-

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Rothfuss (1993) predict sexual content in the future will be more prevalent as media compete increasingly for audience and reader segments.

Magazines and their sexual content have been understudied, but they play a special role, especially among women readers. Adolescent girls use magazines to help construct their identities as young women and sexual beings (Brown, White, & Nikopoulou, 1993). Moreover, magazines are a significant conveyor of information about female bodies. For example, magazine reading has been found to predict women's drive for thinness better than television (Harrison & Cantor, 1997). Magazine information about the physical or female role aspects of womanhood extends to sexual health. More than one-fourth of respondents in a 1994 survey said that magazines are the second most important source for family planning information, after physicians (Brown & Steele, 1995; Kaiser Family Foundation, 1995). In another survey (Kaiser Family Foundation, 1996), teens ranked magazines as the most important form of media for information about sex and birth control, after interpersonal contacts. As niche media with slick, high-quality reproduction, magazines' potential to provide information and model positive or negative sexual health behaviors is high. Teens (males and females) and adult females are two important audiences.

Impact of Content on Sexual Health

How does the content of media relate to behavior? The social cognitive theory of mass communication (Bandura, 1994) suggests that human behavior is affected through cognitive processing of direct and vicarious experiences. The social realities and symbolic modeling of behavior visible in mass media are important forms of vicarious

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experience that are able to transcend previously limited individual environments (Bandura, 1994, 1997). Observational learning takes place, according to Bandura, when an individual selectively chooses and retains information and then translates it into a course of action (or non-action) depending on the motivations that are observed or self-held. Social cognitive theory includes several modeling functions including arousing emotion, shaping values and reality conceptions, stimulating new behaviors, strengthening previously learned behaviors, or weakening previously learned behavioral restraints (Bandura, 1994). For example, an inhibitory effect of reducing sexual partners might be induced by articles on sexually transmitted diseases, but a disinhibitory effect might occur after reading a number of advice column items about increasing sexual satisfaction. Of curiosity is whether readers may remember the benefits of this advice more readily than the potentially harmful effects.

Self-efficacy is a critical component in consuming media content as well as in adopting improved health habits (Bandura, 1997; Beck & Lund, 1981; Meyerowitz & Chaiken, 1987; Witte, 1992). It is defined as having a sense of individual control over one's life goals and outcomes, as opposed to believing that an external force (e.g., God, fate, another individual or institution) has control. The higher the self-efficacy in the media audience member, and the more media enhance beliefs in one's self-efficacy in regards to the health behavior, the more probable the desired health outcomes will be achieved. Bandura (1997) describes how personal self-efficacy can mediate media content, including content about safe sex behaviors that prevent STDs. He notes that managing sexuality means managing relationships, which requires self-efficacy. Studies

have demonstrated that perceived efficacy to manage sexual relationships is associated with more effective use of contraceptives (Kasen, Vaughan, & Walter, 1992; Levinson, 1982).

A second consideration in the framing of health messages is whether they are salient to an ethnic group's values and norms (Witte, 1992). This parallels health research about the necessity of understanding Latino values for achieving successful health outcomes (Anderson, 1979; Bullough & Bullough, 1982; Doval, Duran, O'Donnell, & O'Donnell, 1995; Grossman, 1979; Molina & Aguirre-Molina; 1994). Bandura says that modeling is increased when the media viewer can identify with the media portrayal. Ethnic media are more able to achieve identity for Latino readers because the readers writing to advice columns or writing letters to the editor are mostly Spanish-surnamed; the writers and editors write from a Latino perspective, and the images are of Latino men and women. In fact, a key reason that English-language speaking or bilingual Latinos consume ethnic media is for cultural identification (Rios, 1994).[3]

Some of the Latino values[4] that relate to sexual activity, sexual health, and reproductive health include *machismo*, *marianismo*, *respeto*, and *familism*. *Machismo* refers to extreme masculinity, males as heads of households and superior to women. *Marianismo* is a cultural reverence for motherhood. *Respeto* means that all humans have human dignity and should be treated with respect, no matter what class. "Saving face" or not questioning a doctor's instructions can be examples of *respeto*. *Familism* includes making decisions based on what is good for the family rather than what is good for the

individual. Obligations towards family members, including extended family members such as godparents or close family friends, are expected and honored.

Latino cultures are generally characterized as primarily family-oriented and collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980; Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989; Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987) rather than primarily individualistic like Anglo-American cultures in the United States or Western Europe. Scholars have questioned whether individuals in collectivist cultures can achieve levels of self-efficacy equal to persons in individualistic cultures. Oettingen (1995) argues that individuals in collectivist cultures may find that the culture is resistant to public expressions of high personal self-efficacy (preferring a spoken group-oriented focus) but that spoken words do not negate efficacy within an individual. "Available evidence indicates that efficacy beliefs have similar effects in human functioning across cultures "(Oettingen, 1995, p. 171). In summary, the medical, public health, and health communication literature emphasize the importance of tailoring health messages to the cultural norms of the audience, and of focusing on self-efficacy in the content.

Latinos and Mass Media Use

Depending on acculturation levels, proportion of years in the United States, pre-immigration media use, language levels, age, education, income, concentration of Hispanics in a community, and self-identified ethnicity, U.S. Latinos may be informed or entertained by Spanish-language media or traditional English-language media (Allen & Clarke, 1980; Jeffres & Hur, 1981; Johnson, 1993,1996; Kim, 1977, 1988, 1989; Korzenny, Neuendorf, Burgoon, Burgoon, & Greenberg, 1983; Rios, 1993; Shoemaker,

Reese, Danielson, 1985; Shoemaker, Reese, Danielson, & Hsu, 1987; Tan, 1983; Zmud, 1992). Evidence indicates that 70 percent of Latino consumers are exposed to some form of Spanish-language media at least once a week and that more than 50 percent are exposed to at least an equal amount of English-language media (Taylor & Bang, 1997). Latino acculturation and media studies in the 1970s and 1980s linked English-language media use with more acculturated, younger, consumers with higher socioeconomic status (Greenberg et al., 1983; Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1986; Korzenny, Neuendorf, Burgoon, Burgoon, & Greenberg, 1983; O'Guinn, Faber, & Meyer, 1985; Shoemaker et al., 1985; Subervi-Velez, 1986).

The exclusion of Hispanics and the values of major Latino subgroups (Greenberg & Baptista-Fernandez, 1980; Greenberg & Brand, 1994; Subervi-Velez, 1994; Taylor & Bang, 1997) in mainstream media -- including entertainment, news, and advertising -- has meant that English-language and Spanish-language ethnic media have gained important niches in the U.S. and global media markets that are predicted to increase (Gutierrez, 1987; Subervi-Velez, 1994). Latino magazines are one such media subset.

Latino Magazines

Trade publications have portrayed Latino magazines as one of the hottest new media genres of the 1990s (Ballon, 1997; Beam, 1996; Fest, 1997a; Garigliano, 1996; Gremillion, 1996; Kelly, 1997). Many target Latino regional readers, others national audiences, and still others niche populations like urban dwellers. Some cater to culture, politics, lifestyle interests, or Latino subgroups (e.g., Cuban-Americans). A large number provide Latino-oriented alternatives to traditional formats, such as women's or teen

magazines. Several new nationally distributed women's magazines are in English, bilingual, or in English smattered with "Spanglish." Unlike traditional ethnic media, whose role has been to help new immigrants acculturate, these magazines target second- or third-generation Latinos who want to preserve their own images and culture to prevent complete assimilation.

Editors have launched new publications in order to provide culturally relevant alternatives, but the bulldozer pushing this growth is recognition among advertisers and publishers of Latino market power (Astor, 1996; Charlesworth & Hudes, 1997; Delener & Neelankavil, 1990; Fest, 1997b; Fitzgerald, 1996; Maso-Fleishman, 1997; Mediati, 1996; Segal & Sosa, 1983; Webster, 1992; Zbar, 1996). U.S. Latino spending is estimated at $348 billion, up from $211 billion in 1990. The young, growing, college-educated middle-class Latino is a special target of magazine executives. For instance, *Latina* representatives say their average reader makes $40,000 per year, and the new *Glamour en Español* targets upscale Latinas in their 20s and 30s.

Latino magazines in this study fell into three categories: publications whose content originates from Mexico City and Miami offices via the colossal communications conglomerate, Editorial Televisa; international publications (e.g., Harper's Bazaar or Vogue) whose Spanish-language editions are distributed independently or through arrangements with Editorial Televisa; and U.S. publications specifically targeted to Hispanics. The magazines in the study were *Buenhogar*, *Cristina La Revista*, *Cosmopolitan En Español*, *Elle* (en Español), *Eres*, *Estylo*, *Harper's Bazaar* (en

Español), *Latina*, *Latina Bride*, *Latina Style*, *Marie Claire* (en Español), *Moderna*, *Ser Padres*, *Tú*, *Vogue España*, and *Vanidades*.

Given what we know about mass media and sexual health, social cognitive theory, Latinos' mass media use, and Latino cultural values, the following research questions were explored in this study:

Research Questions

RQ1: What sexual health topics are covered, and in what quantity?

RQ2: How do sexual health topics compare with discussions of sexual activity?

RQ3: How does coverage of sexual activity and sexual health topics compare with coverage of other health topics?

RQ4: How often is positive self-efficacy featured in sexual health coverage?

RQ5: How often are values traditional in many Latino cultures (*familism, respeto, machismo, marianismo*) mentioned as causes or solutions in sexual health? How often are health professionals, representatives from other social institutions, or social institutions (science and technology, religion/church, schools/education, government) mentioned as causes or solutions in sexual and reproductive health?

RQ6: How often is the impact on Latinos or Latino access to health care discussed?

Method

Sample

Sixteen women's and teen magazines from March of 1997 through February of 1998 were in the study. The sample encompassed every Latino-targeted women's or teen magazine that met the following criteria: if originating outside of the U.S. it had to have a

circulation of at least 20,000 in the United States (Whisler, Nuiry, & McHugh, 1997); the circulation of the magazines in the sample ranged from 20,000 to 400,000. Magazines had to be available on newsstands or through a subscription in the United States. (If one had to write to Mexico or Spain to obtain the magazine, it was not included. Publications distributed solely through physicians' offices were excluded as well.) Two magazines that started in 1997 (*Estylo* and *Latina Bride*) were included although they began distribution after March. Eight were monthly publications, two were published 26 times per year, three were quarterly publications, and two were published bimonthly. One women's magazine (*Latina*) started publishing as a bimonthly but switched to a monthly publication in mid-year. Two magazines were Spanish-language teen magazines, and fourteen were women's magazines. In all, 164 issues (books) were included in the study.

Every effort was made to include an entire year's worth of publications. Current issues were obtained via subscription or purchased at *tiendas* (small stores catering to Latinos). Nationwide, few of these magazines are available in research or public libraries. Some back issues were obtained directly from the publishers, although inventory tax laws discourage warehousing back issues. Some issues were obtained via Latino Internet groups; others from out-of-state graduate students who photocopied magazines in local public libraries; and others from scouring Latino booths at flea markets. Because of these efforts, only seven issues published during the sample period were unavailable, and there is no reason to suspect their omission affected the results.

Coding, Item Selection and Measures

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Each article relating to sexual activity, sexual health, and/or reproductive health[6] was coded, totaling 324 stories or items, or approximately two per magazine. Prior health communication studies have been criticized for limiting their focus to news and feature articles (Atkin & Arkin, 1990). This research included sexual or reproductive health surveys, advice columns, letters to the editor, and other types of stories. The unit of analysis was each item; meaning that each individual letter in a letter-to-the-editor or advice column that met the criteria was coded. At least one-third of the content of an article or item had to be about sexual activity or sexual health to be included in the sample. When articles were featured in both Spanish and English, the longest article was coded. (This usually was the English-language version in bilingual publications.) In addition to comprehensive coding of sexual health and sexual activity articles, coders for comparison purposes also listed the title, category, and word counts for health articles other than those about sexual health. With the exception of self-efficacy, type of article, space estimates, and text estimates, items were dichotomous.[6]

Reliability

A number of steps were taken to boost reliability of analysis (Lacy & Riffe, 1996; Stempel & Westley, 1989; Wimmer & Dominick, 1987). Most coding of variables entailed straightforward dichotomous decisions about manifest content -- a subject was mentioned or not mentioned. To increase reliability, definitions of variables that included any subjectivity were listed in a coder instruction manual. All three coders had at least three hours of coder training in addition to follow-up consultation with the principal investigator. A pretest of articles in one issue of each magazine helped hone definitions

and clarify inconsistencies. Two coders were native Latinos (Dominican and Puerto Rican) and one coder with an undergraduate degree in Spanish had lived in Chile for two years. One coder had an undergraduate degree in medical anthropology, and one had experience in rural health.

The principal investigator conducted spot checks of the coding sheets. Eight percent of the articles were selected purposively for blind double-coding by each coder. Given the number of article topics and the range of magazine styles, purposive sampling for intercoder reliability was important for this particular study (Holsti, 1969; Krippendorf, 1980). The intercoder agreement was 96 percent for the 215 variables included in this investigation, excluding text and space estimates. The average range of agreement on text estimates was 12.5 percent, and the average range of agreement about space estimates per article (text plus graphics, illustration, and photography) was nine percent.

Results

Some magazines covered sexual health and/or sexual activity regularly and extensively; others rarely or briefly. Although each periodical has its own target market and editorial focus, the analysis provides insight into the sexual health information available to U.S. readers of Latino women's and teen magazines. Forty-five percent of the coded articles focused on sexual health, and 55 percent focused on sexual activity. In addition, coders listed 448 items that focused on a health topic other than sexual health.

Coders estimated that there were approximately 5.8 million words in almost 15,000 non-advertising pages in the sample. Approximately one percent of total words

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was devoted to sexual health, and two percent was devoted to sexual activity. Another three percent of the total text was devoted to health topics other than sexual and reproductive health. The following analysis will highlight descriptive data for sexual health coverage as well as for the combined sexual health and sexual activity coverage (termed sexual content).

Sexual Health Topics

Among the sexual health coverage, the most popular main topic was pregnancy, followed by contraception and HIV/AIDS. STDs other than HIV/AIDS and abortion received less coverage. Emergency contraception[7] as a main topic comprised less than one percent of the articles. Table 1 provides details.

In addition to categorizing articles by main topic, we were also interested in knowing how many articles that centered on any sexual health or sexual activity subject included discussions of other sexual health topics (or subtopics). Table 2 shows that pregnancy again was the most popular topic, mentioned in almost one-third of coded items. Contraception was discussed in about one-quarter of the items. Emergency contraception and abortion were mentioned least.

Along with coding main topics of articles and mentions of major topics, the analysis recorded mentions of specific subtopics within coverage of pregnancy, contraception, HIV/AIDS, STDs (other than HIV/AIDS), and abortion. In general, most subtopics were seldom mentioned. Tables 3 through 9 provide details; a few are highlighted here.

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The most frequently mentioned planned pregnancy topics were prenatal care and childbirth/delivery. Unplanned pregnancy was discussed more rarely, with the likelihood of an unintended pregnancy and abortion the most frequent subtopics. Specific contraceptive methods were described in many of the articles that focused on contraception and in some of the other sexual health or sexual activity items. Most frequently discussed methods were birth control pills (nine percent of all articles) and condoms (nine percent), followed by spermicides (five percent) and female barrier methods such as the diaphragm, cervical cap, and/or sponge (five percent).

Although more articles focused on HIV/AIDS than on other sexually transmitted diseases, STDs received more mentions in the combined sample of sexual health and sexual activity articles. The most popular HIV/AIDS subtopic was sexual transmission, with six percent of articles in the full sample referring to it and half of the articles that focused on HIV/AIDS including it. There was minimal coverage (two percent of the sample each) of preventing transmission via condoms or educational programs. The most frequently noted sexually transmitted disease was syphilis (in three percent of the full sample). Chlamydia, gonorrhea, herpes, or HPV (genital warts) each were mentioned in two percent of the articles. Sexual transmission of STDs was mentioned more often than prevention, symptoms, or treatment.

Abortion received little mention, as did most of the abortion subtopics for which we coded. The most frequently mentioned subtopic (at three percent of the total sample) was decision-making about abortion.

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In summary, sexual activity received far more attention than any one sexual health topic, and more than pregnancy, contraception, emergency contraception, abortion, HIV/AIDS, and STDs stories combined. However, some sexual activity articles included mentions of sexual health topics. Although some individual articles were comprehensive, the amount of detail about sexual health topics was minor in the total coverage of sexual health or sexual activity.

Space and Prominence

The main reason for exclusion of much detail in the articles was the space devoted to sexual health topics. Half of the sexual content articles were 160 words or fewer and were positioned in a space that was 13.5 square inches or less (less than a quarter page in most magazine formats). When we broke out sexual health items separately, the coverage was even less -- half were fewer than 127 words, in 12 square inches or less.

Another explanation was the type of story in which sexual content was featured. Forty-three percent were feature articles or items; 36 percent were in advice columns or other question-and-answer formats; ten percent were news mentions; four percent were columns; four percent were letters to the editor, and three percent were categorized as "other." The high number of question-and-answer items, along with space allocations, is another explanation for the lack of detailed sexual health information. Five- or ten-line answers to readers' questions did not allow for comprehensive sexual health education.

Self-Efficacy

As noted earlier, two important issues in social learning from media are self efficacy and whether media messages are salient to group norms or values. Despite the

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cultural beliefs in fatalism among many Latinos and the lower emphasis put on the role of the individual versus the role of the Latino collective, the magazines portrayed sexual health topics with a high degree of self-efficacy. Two-thirds of the items discussed some measure of individual control. Conversely, nine percent mentioned some other form of external control (such as one's parent or spouse) and five percent described a non-human form of control, such as "God," "fate," or "destiny." About one-fifth of the articles omitted any discussion of control.

Factors in Sexual Health Causes and Solutions

Like self-efficacy, a focus on individual behavior is an important element in improving health habits or health status. As Table 10 shows, there were frequent mentions of individual behavior -- noted in three-fourths of sexual health and sexual activity articles. Communication with one's partner was described in almost half of the articles. When sexual health articles were analyzed separately from the combined sample of sexual health and sexual activity articles, communication with one's partner dropped to 28 percent, and individual behavior to 69 percent.

Less often cited as factors in sexual health causes or solutions were values associated with some traditional Latino cultures in the United States. Given the high number of articles about pregnancy, it was not surprising to find that *marianismo* was the most often mentioned cultural value, at 20 percent. *Personalismo* or *respeto* were included in about 16 percent of the items. The Latino orientation toward family, *familismo*, was evident in nine percent of the cause/solution discussions. Despite the role

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of *machismo* in the culture and its role in sexual health (Sonnenstein & Stryker, 1997), only seven percent mentioned it as a factor in sexual health causes or solutions.

Although a majority of U.S. Latinos are Roman Catholic, and the Roman Catholic church has been outspoken about sexual health topics like contraception and abortion, the church or religion was noted as a factor in just three percent of the articles. Schools or other social institutions (including the media) were rarely mentioned. Articles were more apt to point to health professionals or science (23 percent) and science/technology (12 percent) as causes or solutions of health situations. When articles on sexual health were examined separately, mentions of health professions appeared in 38 percent of the items and science/technology in almost one-quarter of the items.

In summary, articles were most likely to focus on the individual and/or the individual's sexual partner as causing or solving the sexual health situation. The collective -- whether family or societal institutions -- was far less likely to be mentioned. Although the tradition of motherhood (*marianismo*) was mentioned often, an important factor in sexual health outcomes -- *machismo* -- was rarely mentioned. Health coverage often pointed to health experts and science or technology as key.

Impact and Health Care Barriers Particular to Latinos

The impact of a sexual issue on Latinos was referred to in three percent of sexual health stories and two percent of the combined sample of sexual health and sexual activity items. Examples were the rate of HIV/AIDS among Latino males, or the age of first pregnancy for Latinas.

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One reason health status of some Latinos can lag that of average U.S. residents is access to health care. Access is more than availability of health services in the geographic area. Access to healthcare can be limited by the language the health care provider speaks, transportation to the health facility, and whether childcare is available for Latinas seeking care. Male-only health providers also can be a barrier, as many Latino partners or fathers do not allow Latinas to be touched by other males. The study's definition of access included all of these factors. Despite the broad definition, health care access was mentioned in one percent of the contraception articles, one percent of the HIV/AIDS articles, and one percent of the abortion articles. It was absent from planned or unplanned pregnancy, emergency contraception, and STD items.

Discussion

This study focused on women's and teen publications, an evolving Latino media genre. One cannot generalize about all Latino magazines from this sample.

Despite traditional Latino values, these ethnic media and Spanish-language versions of international magazines do not differ greatly from their English-language counterparts in their focus on sex at the expense of health consequences (Walsh-Childers, 1997). Like other health coverage, sexual and reproductive health coverage suffers in its ability to meet traditional news determinant criteria (Meyer, 1990). The results support Klaidman's (1990) assessment that new health fads and new medical technologies attract gatekeepers' attention, even when the technologies' potential impact is small or years away. Although magazines have longer deadlines than newspapers or television, the

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appearance of immediacy is still important. The long-range prevention strategies that underlie much of public health do not fit neatly with journalism norms.

The results also indicate that ethnic media are not necessarily better than mainstream media when it comes to coverage of certain issues, as other scholars have discussed (Gutierrez, 1987; Riggins, 1992). For instance, Diana Rios urges Chicanos to be "aware of the culturally affirming limitations that exist in the offerings of our own media." (1994, p. 112).

Potential Impact of Content on Behavior

Health coverage in mass media has been criticized for focusing on the individual at the expense of the public, since so many public health outcomes depend on improved societal measures (such as income, health access, education, etc.) rather than merely improved knowledge and behavior in an individual (Winett & Wallack, 1996; Wallack, 1990). But a focus on the individual could be a positive aspect of health coverage if it increases the media consumer's perceived self-efficacy. Framing health stories around an individual may be as salient in information coverage as it has been in entertainment-education narratives. Although Latino magazine sexual content could be criticized for a focus on the individual at the expense of the collective, it is a positive feature when it comes to encouraging sound sexual health behaviors.

Discussions of communication with one's partner is another positive inclusion for three reasons. First, communication between couples is an important predictor of family planning use (Valente, Poppe, & Merritt, 1996). If magazines are promoting partner communication, they are establishing a foundation of communicating about the

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consequences of sexual activity as well. Second, if Chaffee (1986) is correct in claiming that mass media and interpersonal communication are convergent and complementary and that media set the agenda of interpersonal communication, encouraging interpersonal communication in media can enhance this complementary communication function. And third, the articles in these magazines are not severing sexual behavior and sexual health from the broader context of human relations.

Media observers may find it heartening that these ethnic media are helping its target audiences to become more informed sexual partners. But an abundance of content focusing on sexual activity, rather than the health aspects of such activity, is alarming. If media portrayals, tips, and "answers" to questions don't include consequences of unprotected sexual activity, magazines are downplaying the likelihood that sex has consequences. Women or teens who form pictures of reality based on these subject portrayals will be at increased risk for unplanned pregnancies and contracting HIV/AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases. In fact, health research shows more acculturated Latinos are more likely to adopt risky health behaviors (drinking, smoking, sexual activity, drugs) than less acculturated Latinos. Health scholars have found that traditional Latino values have protected Latinas from sex at an early age and from rates of sexually transmitted diseases that other minority groups in the United States experience. If sexual content is ubiquitous, it has the potential of creating women who assimilate the rawness of global, postmodern individual values while leaving traditional Latino values behind. Assimilating consumer norms without mediating information means substituting WalMart sweaters for hand-woven *rebozos* (shawls), but the potential effects of

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consuming the media's sexual activity information without sexual health information carry far more risks than mere commercialism.

Part of the explanation for the lack of focus on Hispanics is that many of the publications have an international audience, or are translations of English-language magazines targeted to a broader mass market. Although specific magazines certainly vary from the group results, these data point to an internationalization of Western values and a subsuming of traditional cultural values, even in ethnic media. These magazines are not community-based like many Hispanic newspapers or radio stations. At the very least they are distributed in major U.S. markets, and most are distributed in a variety of Latin American countries and/or in Spain. What's modern in women's magazines and hip in teen magazines could be a Westernized view of sexual activity yanked from a longer-term family relations context. When Europeans "settled" the Americas, they brought modernity and disease. Now Westernized media may be continuing the tradition.

It's important to point out that if we explored other subjects in this same set of magazines (e.g., articles on architecture, food, music, parenting), we might have arrived at very different conclusions. In addition, some of the magazines gave almost no attention to sexual activity or sexual/reproductive health. We also cannot assume that all readers will interpret information in the same ways. Similarities in messages from the sender does not predict similarity in the way they are received. Brown et al.'s study of how girls use media to construct sexual identities is one such example (1993). But if one is saturated with similar media content over long periods, there may be fewer visible choices, especially if other personal contacts or social institutions are not filling the gaps.

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The data also provide a look at what is not covered -- emergency contraception and, to a lesser degree, abortion. These are the subjects that are sensitive to some consumers and advertisers associated with mainstream magazines in the U.S. Because ethnic media are competing with mainstream media for the same advertising dollars, it holds that they would be reluctant to devote considerable space to abortion or emergency contraception. Amaro (1988) discounts the view that the Catholic Church has a strong impact on Mexican-American women's attitudes about abortion, but publishers may act on perceived sensitivity by readers, advertisers, or interest groups. A number of magazines in the sample featured reader surveys, and it appears that the publications are in the process of trying to gauge reader sentiments and interest in some of these issues.

This study did not attempt to assess how ownership issues affected content. There could be differences among publications that are owned by the major magazines publishers (e.g., Conde Nast, Gruner & Jahr, Hearst, Hachette) and Editorial Televisa publications, or among those magazines and the ones owned by U.S.-based Hispanics and/or entrepreneurs. Future studies of ethnic magazines should explore ownership's affect on content.

The effectiveness of entertainment media in communicating health information and stimulating interpersonal discussion has been supported, especially when media are used proactively used in health campaigns (Brown & Einsiedel, 1990; Singhal & Rogers, 1989; Udornpim & Singhal, 1997; Rogers, 1996; Valente, Poppe, & Merritt, 1996). For instance, Mexico's Televisa's television network was innovative in introducing sexual and reproductive health messages into its 1970s soap operas (Rogers & Singhal, 1990),

with an outcome of increasing the number of Mexicans' visits to family planning clinics. As many of the Spanish-language media were originally distributed by Editorial Televisa, it is possible that such a campaign -- whether it is informational or entertainment-education -- could be coordinated for some of its readers.

This evolving genre of Latino magazines has opportunities for improving the health knowledge -- and potentially the health status -- of its readers. Continued references to self-efficacy, individual behavior, and communication with partners, along with a stepped up discussions of Latino health statistics and information relevant to cultural values, are two ways to achieve it.

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Endnotes

1. The words Latinos and Hispanics are used interchangeably in this study to refer to residents who self-identify with the indigenous or Spanish-speaking cultures of Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central America, or South America. Hispanics are also of European Spanish origin. Portuguese-speaking Brazilians may also self-identify as Latin American (although normally not as Hispanic). The feminine form of Latino, Latina, refers to Latin American women. The use of these broad terms for the purposes of this study does not mean to slight the ethnicity of Latinos who are more apt to self-identify in relation to a country or indigenous group (e.g., "I am Puerto Rican, I am Mexican, I am Quechua).

[2] The higher incidence of sexually transmitted diseases in minorities is correlated with poverty, access to quality health care, health-care seeking behavior, illicit drug use, and living in communities with a high prevalence of STDs, according to the Division of STD Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. For example, gonorrhea rates among Hispanics are 69.0 cases per 100,000, compared with 25.9 cases in non-Hispanic whites and 825.5 in African-Americans. Syphilis was reported in 1.9 Hispanics per 100,000, compared with 0.6 for non-Hispanic whites and 30.2 for African Americans.

[3] There has been criticism (Subervi-Velez, 1994) of ethnic media for featuring portrayals of lighter-skinned Latinos more often than indigenous Latin American peoples but this researcher could find no empirical magazine data about this topic.

[4] Not all of these values are prevalent in all Latino subcultures.

[5] Sexual health will be used in this article to refer to topics concerning human sexuality that affect or are affected by health status. This included topics associated with

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contraception, emergency contraception, abortion, planned and unintended pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, and sexually transmitted diseases (other than HIV/AIDS). Sexual health is the umbrella term used in this article to refer to sexual health and or sexual/reproductive health. Sexual activity included articles about sexual techniques, orgasm, sexual decision-making, masturbation, celibacy, virginity, impotence or other sexual dysfunctions, sexual orientation, and other sexual activity topics. Sexual content refers to editorial coverage about one or more sexual activity or sexual health topics.

[6]As discussed more in the results section, self-efficacy was measured with one four-category variable, and type of story with a seven-category variable.

[7]A woman undergoing an abortion aborts a fetus that is confirmed to be present. Emergency contraception tries to prevent a fetus from forming, usually by preventing a woman's egg from being released and then fertilized by a man's sperm. Emergency contraception pills have to be taken within 72 hours after unprotected sex to prevent pregnancy.

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Table 1

Main Focus of Sexual Content Article

Topic	% of articles
Sexual Health	**45**
Planned pregnancy	17
Unintended pregnancy	3
Contraception	9
HIV/AIDS	7
Sexually transmitted diseases (non-HIV)	4
Abortion	3
Emergency contraception	--
Multiple sexual health topics	2
Sexual Activity	**55**
Total articles coded (Due to rounding)	99%*

n=324

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Table 2

Mentions of Sexual Health Topics in Sexual Health or Sexual Activity Articles

Sexual Health Topics	% of articles
Pregnancy	29
Contraception	23
HIV/AIDS	11
Sexually transmitted diseases (non-HIV)	14
Abortion	6
Emergency contraception	1

n=324

Note: Totals do not equal 100% because there were no sexual health mentions in some sexual activity articles.

Table 3

Mentions of Planned Pregnancy Subtopics

Subtopic	% of total articles n=324	% of articles mentioning pregnancy n=95
Preconception and/or Prenatal Care	9	30
Birth/Delivery	9	30
Postnatal Care	3	12
Miscarriage	--	1
Abortion	1	2
Health Risks	4	13
Access (Where to Get Care, Language Barriers, etc.)	--	--

Table 4

Mentions of Unplanned Pregnancy Subtopics

Subtopic	% of total articles n=324	% of articles mentioning pregnancy n=95
Pregnancy False Alarm/ "Scare"	--	1
Pregnancy Tests	1	3
Prenatal Care	3	8
Birth/Delivery	3	12
Postnatal Care	--	--
Miscarriage	--	1
Abortion	4	13
Adoption	1	3
Health Risks	2	4
Likelihood of Unintended Pregnancy	4	12
Access Issues (Where to Get, Language Barriers, etc.)	--	--

Table 5

Mentions of Specific Contraception Methods

Method	% of total articles n=324	% of articles mentioning contraception n=74
Birth Control Pills	9	41
Condoms	9	39
Norplant	1	3
Depo-Provera	1	4
Diaphragm, Cervical Cap, and/or Sponge	5	20
IUD	3	12
Spermicides	5	22
Tubal Ligation		8
Vasectomy	1	5
Rhythm Method/Natural Family Planning	2	8
Withdrawal	1	4
Abstinence	2	8
Other (including Breast Feeding)	2	7

Table 6

Mentions of Contraceptive-Related Topics

Topic	% of total articles n=324	% of articles mentioning contraception n=74
Health Benefits & Positive Side Effects	6	24
Health Risks & Negative Side Effects	5	23
Effectiveness/ Ineffectiveness	6	24
Access (Where to Get Care, Language Barriers, etc.)	1	4

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Table 7

Mentions of HIV/AIDS-Related Topics

Topic	% of total articles n=324	% of articles mentioning HIV/AIDS n=37
Sexual Transmission	6	49
Non-sexual Transmission	1	8
Condoms and/or Spermicides as Prevention	2	14
Abstinence as Prevention	--	3
Education as Prevention	2	14
Testing	2	19
Treatment	1	8
Rates/Risks of Infection	2	16
Access Issues (Where to Get Care, Language Barriers, etc.)	1	5

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Table 8

Mentions of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and STD-Related Topics

STD or Topic	% of total articles n=324	% of articles mentioning STDs n=46
Chlamydia	2	15
Gonorrhea	2	13
Hepatitis B	0	2
Herpes	2	15
HPV or Genital Warts	2	13
PID	1	4
Syphilis	3	17
Trichomoniasis	1	4
Non-specific STD	7	44
Transmission	6	44
Symptoms	2	13
Treatment	3	17
Prevention	3	20
Enhancement of HIV Risk	3	17
Health Consequences	2	13
STD Rates/Risk of Infection	1	9
Access Issues	--	--

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Table 9

Mentions of Abortion-Related Topics

Topic	% of total articles n=324	% of articles mentioning abortion n=19
Surgical Abortion	1	11
Non-surgical Abortion (e.g., Methotrexate, RU-486)	2	32
Late-Term Abortion	--	--
Health Risks	2	37
Health Benefits	--	5
Access Issues (Where to Get Care, Language Barriers, etc.)	1	11
Decision-Making	3	42

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Table 10

Factors in Sexual Health Causes and Solutions

FactorsMentioned	% of total articles n=324	% of sexual health articles n-144
Individual Behavior	76	69
Communication with Partner	46	28
Gov't Policy/Agencies	3	6
Health Professionals	23	38
Science or Technology	12	23
Schools/Education	1	1
Church/Religion	3	4
Other Social Entities	2	2
Families or Family Orientation (*Familismo*)	9	14
Machismo	7	2
Motherhood (*Marianismo*)	20	34
Personalismo and/or *Respeto**	16	7

* *Personalismo* means harmonious relations with others; *respeto* means personal respect.
Note: Totals exceed 100% due to multiple mentions in a single article.

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