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Newsroom diversity gap remains

By Robert H. Giles, senior vice president, The Freedom Forum

The numbers in this report put in stark focus the reality of the newspaper industry's challenge to significantly expand diversity in the nation's newsrooms over the next quarter century.

For the past 22 years, the leadership of the American Society of Newspaper Editors has made a sustained commitment to the goal of achieving parity between newsroom employment and the national population of racial and ethnic minorities.

In spite of bold initiatives and heroic efforts by individual journalists, editors and their newspapers, the gap between the racial and ethnic composition of America's newsrooms and America's communities has not narrowed.

In 1978, people of color made up about 19% of the U.S. population. Newsrooms then were 96% white and 4% minority. The gap between newsroom and nation was 15 percentage points. Since then, newspapers have made progress in hiring. The current annual ASNE census shows that journalists of color make up nearly 12% of newsroom staffs. But the national population of people of color has grown to 28%. The 15 percentage-point gap remains.

How could this be? How — after years of job fairs and campus visits, committee studies and recruitment efforts, and the untiring work of thousands of journalists — could there be zero progress in closing the gap?

The Freedom Forum's analysis of the ASNE newsroom census, explained in detail in this report, provides some clues: Journalists of color have left their newspaper jobs almost as fast as new recruits have come in the door. On average, between 1994 and 1999, newsrooms hired about 550 additional journalists of color each year. Over the same period, about 400 journalists of color each year left the newspaper business. This annual net gain of 150 explains the incremental improvement of less than 1% reported each year in the ASNE census.

These numbers tell an underreported story: Retention is a major problem undercutting recruiting and hiring programs.

Retention is a complex issue. Many factors — some real, some perceived — contribute to the conclusions by individual journalists of color about whether they can find satisfaction sufficient to sustain a commitment to newspaper careers.

Management skills are at the heart of the retention challenge. Effective mentors and role models are essential in helping journalists of color satisfy their expectations in many aspects of their jobs:

- Making an impact as a journalist.
- Working in a flexible and creative environment.
- Covering stories that interest them.
- Having the opportunity to work for an editor of color.
- Experiencing career development and advancement opportunities equal to those of their white colleagues.
- Believing the newspaper's commitment to diversity is genuine.

Each and all of these points influence the choices journalists of color make about whether to stay or leave.

The Freedom Forum drew its insights into the retention challenge from its survey last summer of members of the four national associations of journalists of color. This report provides a full survey analysis.

But there is more to this stark picture. If ASNE is to meet its goal of achieving parity by 2025 while raising retention rates to the levels of white journalists, newspapers must hire an additional 625 journalists of color each year. That's 625 more than the current annual average of 550.

We hope you will spend some time with this report. We believe it provides an important context to the thinking and perceptions of journalists of color in the nation's newspaper newsrooms. It lays out the meaning of the numbers and suggests critical new dimensions that must be understood and addressed if the cause of diverse newsrooms is to fully succeed.

Retention is key to improving diversity

By Lawrence T. McGill, director/research, Media Studies Center

In 2000, people of color make up about 12% of journalists at U.S. daily newspapers, compared with about 28% of the U.S. population. Long an active concern of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the goal of eliminating this racial gap between newspaper staffs and the public has become a top priority as a new millennium begins.

Research by The Freedom Forum, in cooperation with ASNE, has identified several important dimensions of this disparity through a detailed analysis of ASNE's annual newsroom census and a comprehensive survey concerning the perceptions and experiences of newspaper journalists of color.

The analysis of ASNE census data yielded these startling findings:

- Although U.S. dailies now employ more than three-and-a-half times as many journalists of color than they did in 1978, the gap between newsrooms' racial composition and that of their communities has not narrowed in the past 20 years.
- About 21% of first-time, full-time hires are journalists of color, a rate that has not improved since 1995.
- Since 1994, journalists of color have left the newspaper business at almost twice the rate of white journalists.
- Since 1994, U.S. dailies collectively hired an average of about 550 new journalists of color each year, while about 400 have left the newspaper business.
- Had newspapers retained journalists of color at the same rate as they retained white journalists from 1994 through 1999, about 13% of U.S. newspaper journalists would have been people of color in 1999, instead of the 11.6% reported in the 1999 ASNE census.

Looking ahead to 2025, the ASNE census analysis indicates that improving retention among journalists of color to equal that of white journalists would increase newsroom diversity more than would a similar

improvement in hiring rates.

Even if newspapers improve their retention rates, however, roughly half of all journalists they hire over the next quarter century would have to be people of color if they are to meet the goal of racial parity with the general population by 2025.

To achieve parity, about 625 additional journalists of color must join the newspaper work force each year from 2000 through 2025 — above and beyond the current annual average of 550. Over 26 years, this would add more than 16,000 journalists of color to the nation's newspaper staffs beyond the estimated 18,000 that the traditional hiring "pipeline" could provide, assuming modest growth in the diversity of the traditional pipeline each year.

Because lower retention rates for journalists of color adversely affect newsroom diversity, The Freedom Forum surveyed newspaper journalists of color in the summer of 1999. The survey's key findings:

- Journalists of color were indeed far more likely than white journalists to say they might leave the newspaper business.
- The most common factors that might cause journalists of color to leave are interest in another field, lack of advancement opportunities and burnout.
- One finding starkly demonstrated the salience of the advancement issue: Three-fourths of journalists of color agreed with the statement, "As a journalist of color, I sometimes feel that I have to work harder than white journalists to get ahead."
- Better pay, better hours and more opportunities for professional development would encourage many journalists of color to stay at newspapers.

The study also explored the factors persuading people of color to go into journalism. College newspaper experience influenced two-thirds of the respondents. Twothirds also said "the desire to make an impact" was "very influential" in deciding to

become a journalist.

For many, especially African-American journalists, the desire to make an impact relates to a personal commitment to cover stories about their own racial and ethnic communities. But just as many preferred to cover other kinds of news.

In seeking solutions to the retention problem, the study identified several factors that could represent a solid foundation for improvement:

- Eight of 10 journalists of color said they still would choose newspaper journalism if they had it to do over.
- Despite concerns that "insufficient opportunities for advancement" might cause them to leave the newspaper business, most journalists of color assessed their current prospects for advancement as either "excellent" or "good."
- Journalists of color, by large majorities, also reported good relationships with their immediate supervisors.
- Three out of four journalists of color who said they might leave newspaper journalism said newspapers could induce them to stay notably, by offering better pay, better hours, more advancement and professional-development opportunities, and more flexibility to be creative on the job.

The survey findings lead to the following recommendations:

- Efforts to retain journalists of color should focus on improving the newsroom as a work place and the management skills that influence the work environment.
- Almost every respondent who said "better pay" would help keep him or her in newspaper journalism said "better hours" would help, too. In a new information-based economy that offers journalists career options with greater lifestyle flexibility, the industrial model of newsroom management may become outdated.
- Many journalists of color expressed disappointment that newspaper work hadn't measured up to their expectations of creativity. To retain creative people, newspapers must take this seriously.
- Journalists of color appear especially attuned to work place factors that they believe affect their advancement possibilities. Supervisors should actively and regularly address career-development and advancement issues for journalists of color, as they should for all journalists.
- Journalists of color are themselves diverse. To a great extent, newspapers must tailor recruitment and retention efforts to the individual.

Newspapers and the mathematics of diversity

"To cover communities fully, to carry out their role in a democracy, and to succeed in the marketplace, the nation's newsrooms must reflect the racial diversity of American society by 2025 or sooner. At a minimum, all newspapers should employ journalists of color and every newspaper should reflect the diversity of its community.

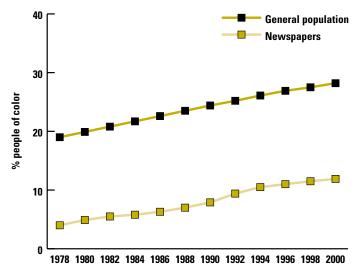
"The newsroom must be a place in which all employees contribute their full potential, regardless of race, ethnicity, color, age, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability or other defining characteristic."

So reads the ASNE diversity mission statement issued on Oct. 20, 1998. At that time, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, people of color made up 27.7% of the U.S. population. Journalists of color made up 11.5% of U.S. daily newspaper staffs, a difference of about 16 percentage points.

Newspapers have tried to close this gap for 20 years. In 1978, ASNE made an initial pledge to achieve racial parity in the nation's newsrooms by 2000 or sooner. Back then, the proportion of people of color in the United States stood at about 19%, while the proportion of journalists of color at U.S. newspapers was about 4%, a gap of 15 percentage points.

The racial gap between America's newsrooms and America's communities has not narrowed in the past 20 years. The best that

Newsrooms still have not achieved racial parity



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; American Society of Newspaper Editors

can be said is that the increasing proportion of journalists of color on newspaper staffs (up 7.5 percentage points in 20 years) has more or less kept pace with increases in the proportion of people of color in the general population (up more than 8 percentage points in 20 years).

Without intensive efforts led by ASNE over those 20 years, the gap surely would have widened. Because of those efforts, U.S. dailies now employ more than three-and-a-half times as many newspaper journalists of color as they did in 1978. Given such significant gains, it is frustrating for those in

Nearly three of every five new hires in the newspaper industry over the next 25 years (58.5%) would have to be journalists of color to achieve racial parity by 2025.

the newspaper industry to face the fact that newspapers today are no closer to racial parity with the U.S. population than they were 20 years ago.

Moreover, the U.S. population becomes more diverse with each passing year. By 2025, people of color will make up 37.6% of the population, according to U.S. Census Bureau projections. Given this outlook, what exactly will it take to close the racial parity gap?

To answer that question, The Freedom Forum analyzed the data from ASNE's annual newsroom employment surveys since 1978 and tested a number of prospective hiring and retention scenarios regarding journalists of color.

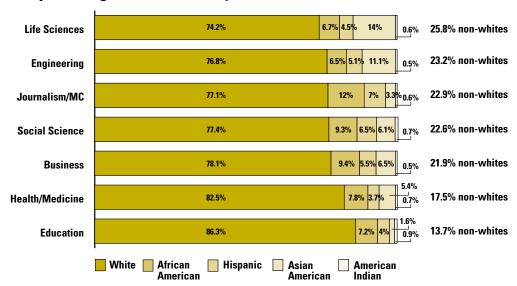
The startling conclusion of these analyses: Given current retention rates for both white and non-white journalists, nearly three of every five new hires in the newspaper industry over the next 25 years (58.5%) would have to be journalists of color to achieve racial parity by 2025.

Obviously, the existing "pipeline" that brings new journalists into the field does not produce candidates of color at anything remotely approaching this rate. Without radical changes in newspapers' recruitment and retention strategies, ASNE's goal of racial parity by 2025 stands at risk.

The 'pipeline'

Since 1994, about 21% of all first-time, fulltime newsroom hires at newspapers have been journalists of color. Given the pool of available college graduates, is this a reasonable achievement, or has the newspaper industry underperformed in terms of attracting people of color to the business?

1997 journalism graduates of color compared to other fields



Sources: 1999-2000 ACE report on "Minorities in Higher Education"; Lee Becker, University of Georgia

According to the American Council on Education's 1999-2000 report on "Minorities in Higher Education," 20.5% of all bachelor's degrees conferred in 1997 upon non-foreign students ages 18 to 24 went to people of color. This suggests that, for most occupations, about one in five qualified first-time job candidates would be people of color.

The numbers vary somewhat by field of study. For example, students of color received more than one-fourth (25.8%) of all bachelor's degrees in the biological and life sciences. At the other end of the spectrum, just 13.7% of bachelor's degrees in the education field went to students of color.

Homing in specifically on journalism, University of Georgia Professor Lee Becker's annual survey of journalism enrollments and graduates showed that in 1997, students of color received 22.9% of bachelor's degrees at schools of journalism and mass communications. However, just 14% of print journalism graduates in 1997 were students of color (figure cited by Lee Stinnett in *The American Editor*, May/June 1999).

Given the small percentage among print journalism graduates, newspapers' hiring rate for journalists of color since 1994 (21% of all first-time, full-time hires) is about as good as one could expect.

Clearly, the pipeline side of the equation requires dramatic and immediate attention by the newspaper industry, schools of journalism and mass communication, and newspaper-oriented nonprofit organizations. Simply waiting for the educational system to begin producing more graduates of color will not enable ASNE to reach its diversity goals.

Retention

As important as the pipeline is, The Freedom Forum's analysis of the ASNE employment data also recognized that retention is a serious issue to be addressed.

Since 1994, newspaper journalists of color have left the industry at nearly twice the rate of white journalists. Among journalists of color, the annual average departure rate since 1994 has been 7%, compared with 4% among whites.

These rates of departure from the newspaper business should not be confused with newsroom turnover at individual newspapers, which the Newspaper Association of America estimated at about 12% in 1997. Not all journalists who leave individual newspapers ("turnover") actually depart the newspaper business ("departure"). Only those who leave newspaper jobs to take new positions outside the newspaper indus-

try are counted in the departure rates above.

The retention problem to be addressed focuses on the departure of journalists from newspaper jobs. For individual papers, however, the interest in retention involves both journalists leaving the business and those going on to jobs at other newspapers.

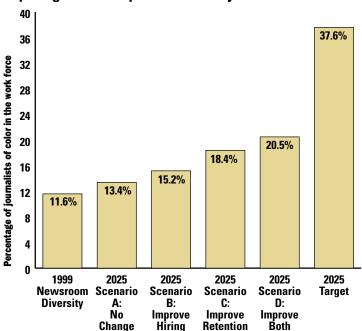
Put another way, U.S. daily newspapers have hired an annual average of 550 new journalists of color each year since 1994. Over the same six-year period, however, an average of about 400 journalists of color left the industry each year.

How important is retention to the goal of racial parity? Had newspapers simply retained journalists of color at the same rate they retained white employees between 1994 and 1999 (i.e., 96% retention instead of 93% retention), ASNE's 1999 census would have found that 13% of newspaper journalists were people of color, rather than 11.6%.

Now, let's look at the long-term effects of retention rates.

If newspapers continue to hire and retain white and non-white journalists at the rates established between 1994 and 1999, journalists of color will make up only 13.4% of the newsroom work force in 2025 (see Scenario A in chart below). This would put newspapers more than 24 percentage

Improving retention important to diversity efforts



points behind the proportion of people of color in the general population (projected to be 37.6% in 2025).

Newspapers can improve these numbers, of course, with better hiring or retention rates. Let's compare the long-term impact of improving each of these rates by 3 percentage points.

Improving the retention rate for journalists of color will have a greater long-term impact on overall newsroom diversity than will improving the rate of new hires.

Which strategy would most affect the newsroom's racial diversity?

Improving the retention rate for journalists of color will have a greater long-term impact on overall newsroom diversity than will improving the rate of new hires by a similar amount.

If the retention rate were improved from 93% to 96% starting in 2000 (with no change in the hiring rate), the proportion of journalists of color at U.S. dailies would reach 18.4% in 2025.

By contrast, if the hiring rate were improved from 21% to 24% of all first-time, full-time hires starting in 2000 (with no change in the retention rate), the proportion of journalists of color at U.S. dailies would reach only 15.2% by 2025.

Of course, the best option would be to improve both the hiring and retention rates. This strategy would enable the proportion of newspaper journalists of color to reach 20.5% by 2025.

This would represent real progress. Clearly, an industry in which one of five employees is of color is markedly different from an industry in which one in eight is of color, which is the situation today.

But even with such improvements, newspapers would move no closer to racial parity with the population than they were in 1978. The gap would remain at about 17 points. So, other scenarios must be imagined.

Augmenting the 'pipeline'

At a minimum, let's assume that newspapers find a way to rectify the retention problem and retain journalists of color at the same rates as white journalists by the year

2006. At what rate, then, would they need to hire journalists of color to achieve racial parity with the U.S. public by 2025?

Assuming that the retention issue can be solved by 2006, newspapers would have to choose journalists of color for 48% of all first-time, full-time hires every year from 2001 through 2025 to achieve the racial-parity goal. Without the retention improvement, though, newspapers would have to choose journalists of color 58.5% of the time, as noted earlier.

Let's translate this into raw numbers to clearly see the magnitude of the problem.

Between 1994 and 1999, newspapers hired an average of 2,618 first-time, full-time employees per year, according to the ASNE newsroom census. Of these, an average of 550 per year (or 21%) were journalists of color.

Let's assume that the industry hires an average of 3,000 first-time, full-time news-room employees each year between 2000 and 2025. Let's further assume that newspapers improve the rate at which they hire new journalists of color (through the traditional pipeline) by half a percentage point per year.

That is, in 2001, the rate of first-time, full-time hires of journalists of color would be 21.5% (up half a point from the six-year average of 21% between 1994 and 1999). In 2002, it would be 22%; in 2003, 22.5%; and so on, until the rate reaches 33.5% in 2025.

Given current trends in higher education, such an improvement would more or less parallel the year-by-year graduation rates of students of color. Under this scenario, the proportion of journalists of color at newspapers in 2025 would reach 23.4%. That would still fall short of the goal of 37.6%, but it does begin to narrow the gap between the newsroom's diversity and the U.S. population's projected diversity.

Given this scenario, then, how many additional journalists of color must be added to the pipeline each year to achieve racial parity by 2025? The answer is about 625 per year beyond the number that we can reasonably count on the traditional pipeline to produce (see Appendix 1, "Hiring and Reten-

tion Scenario No. 2").

What appears to be needed is the creation of a supplemental pipeline (or pipelines) of aspiring journalists of color to augment the existing pool of job candidates from schools of journalism and mass communications. (The Freedom Forum is engaged in significant efforts along just these lines.)

Of course, it will be difficult to build a supplemental pipeline that immediately begins producing an additional 625 new journalists of color each year. But if such a pipeline could contribute 50 additional journalists of color in 2001, 100 in 2002, 150 in 2003 and so on, it would indeed enable

What appears to be needed is the creation of a supplemental pipeline (or pipelines) of aspiring journalists of color to augment the existing pool of job candidates.

ASNE to reach its diversity goal of racial parity with the U.S. population by 2025.

Other scenarios might also be imagined, both more and less optimistic than the one just described. A range of possible scenarios and their implications in terms of the size of the supplemental pipeline needed to reach parity is presented in Appendix 1.

Each scenario suggests benchmarks that could be established along the way to the racial-parity goal. For example, annual hiring benchmarks might be tracked in two categories: first, the annual number of first-time, full-time hires of journalists of color generated by the traditional higher-education pipeline, and second, the annual number of first-time, full-time hires generated by any supplemental pipelines.

Newspapers also should establish retention benchmarks. As in the above scenario, newspapers might strive to improve the retention rate of journalists of color by half a percentage point each year from 2001 through 2006, until it matches the retention rate for white journalists. In the drive to improve diversity, it is important to keep in mind that the goal becomes much more difficult to reach without efforts on the retention side of the equation.

Journalists of color in the newsroom: perceptions and experiences

To better understand the problems involved in recruiting and retaining newspaper journalists of color, The Freedom Forum, in cooperation with ASNE, conducted two surveys of newspaper journalists during the summer of 1999, one of journalists of color and one of white journalists.

The surveys explored:

- Why journalists of color might leave newspaper journalism.
- What would keep journalists of color in newspaper journalism.
- Why journalists of color entered journalism.
- Pre-employment experiences of journalists of color.

The survey confirmed that journalists of color were more likely than white journalists to say they might leave the newspaper business.

Among the major findings:

- Journalists of color were far more likely than white journalists to say they might leave the newspaper business at some point.
- Most commonly, journalists of color cited interest in another field of work, lack of advancement opportunities and burnout as factors that might cause them to leave the field.
- Better pay, better hours and more professional-development opportunities would encourage many to stay at newspapers.
- For most journalists of color, "the desire to make an impact" was very influential in their decision to enter journalism.

The survey of journalists of color polled members of the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ), the Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA), the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) and the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA) who work for U.S. daily newspapers with circulations of 25,000 or more. According to ASNE's 1999 annual newsroom census, eight of nine journalists of color work at newspapers of this size.

Telephone interviews were conducted with a total of 496 journalists of color — 200 African Americans, 153 Asian Americans, 120 Hispanics and 23 Native Americans. Data from the surveys of Native American journalists are not reported here because the sample size was too small to permit meaningful analysis.

For comparison, 400 additional interviews were conducted with a cross-sectional sample of newspaper journalists who work for U.S. dailies with circulations of 25,000 or more. Of these, 349 were white. (Additional methodological details about the surveys may be found in Appendices 2 and 3.)

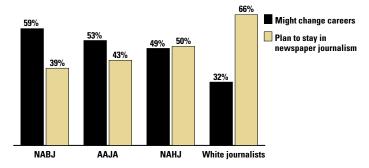
Why journalists of color might leave newspaper journalism

The Freedom Forum undertook the survey of newspaper journalists of color as a consequence of its analysis of the annual ASNE census data, which showed that lower retention rates for journalists of color adversely affected overall newsroom diversity.

As suggested by the ASNE census data, the survey confirmed that journalists of color were more likely than white journalists to say they might leave the newspaper business at some point. More than half (55%) of newspaper journalists of color said they were considering leaving the field, while just one in three white newspaper journalists (32%) said they might change careers.

Among journalists of color, African Americans were the most likely to say they might leave the business — 59% said they might change careers, while just 39% said they

Journalists of color are more likely to leave newspapers



planned to stay in newspaper journalism.

Although Hispanic journalists were the least likely to say they might leave the business, a near majority (49%) said they might change careers, while half (50%) said they planned to stay in the field.

Of those who said they might leave newspaper journalism, about four in 10 (41%) said they expected to leave within the next five years. Overall, this means that nearly one in four journalists of color (23%) may leave the newspaper business within the next five years.

Keep in mind that these numbers are prospective — they measure intentions, not actual departures. The best information about decisions to leave journalism, of course, comes from journalists who have actually left the field, a difficult sample to track down. Additional research tracking the journalists in the current study would be valuable to determine whether intentions become realities.

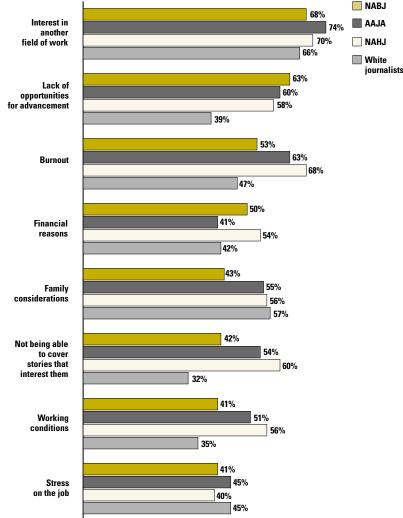
Why might journalists of color be more likely than white journalists to leave newspaper journalism?

A number of factors seem to be present, some of which are as likely to affect white newspaper journalists as they are to affect journalists of color. The factor cited most often (and in nearly equal numbers by both white and non-white journalists) was interest in another field of work.

More than two-thirds (70%) of journalists of color, and nearly the same proportion (66%) of white journalists, said that "interest in another field of work" would be "a major factor" if they decide to leave newspaper journalism. This was the No. 1 answer for all four groups of journalists — whites, Hispanics, Asian Americans and African Americans. They most often mentioned fiction writing and teaching as alternative career preferences.

This suggests that the lure of other career

Journalists of color are more likely to cite "insufficient advancement opportunities," "burnout" and "not being able to cover stories that interest them" as factors that might cause them to leave.



Percentage saying "major factor"

opportunities may be more of a factor driving journalists' decisions to leave than any newspaper-specific factor. But when it comes to factors that may be pushing people out of newspaper journalism, journalists of color are more likely than white journalists to feel those "pushes."

For example, concerns about insufficient advancement opportunities loomed much larger for journalists of color than for white journalists as a major factor driving them away from newspaper journalism.

Six in ten journalists of color (61%) said that "lack of opportunities for advancement" would be a major factor for them in

Concerns about insufficient advancement opportunities loomed much larger for journalists of color than for white journalists.

deciding to leave the field. The same was true for 39% of white journalists.

Dramatically underscoring just how salient the advancement issue is to journalists of color is the finding that threefourths of them (76%)

agreed with the statement, "As a journalist of color, I sometimes feel that I have to work harder than white journalists to get ahead."

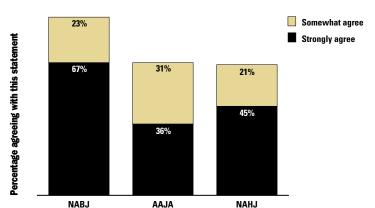
Moreover, fully nine out of 10 African-American journalists (90%) agreed with this statement; two-thirds (67%) agreed "strongly."

The implications of this response are sobering. In strongest terms, this means that most journalists of color don't fully believe that newspapers hold equal standards for advancement for them as for white journalists. It is worth considering whether newspapers might be sending this message subtly and unintentionally to journalists of color.

This perception may be influenced by how much effort the newspaper appears to expend to become more diverse in its coverage and newsroom employment. As journalists of color assess their prospects in newspaper journalism, they cannot help but notice their newspaper's degree of commitment to diversity issues. For many journalists of color, their newspaper fails to make the grade in this respect.

When asked to grade their newspapers

"As a journalist of color, I sometimes feel that I have to work harder than white journalists to get ahead."



on coverage of racial and ethnic communities in their markets, three in five white journalists (62%) gave an A or a B. In contrast, just two in five journalists of color (39%) gave their newspapers such high marks.

Regarding their newspapers' commitment to newsroom diversity, two of three white journalists (67%) gave their paper high marks (A or B), while just a slight majority of journalists of color (54%) did so.

We might summarize the difference in perceptions this way: Most journalists of color see how far newspapers still have to go in terms of diversity issues, while white journalists tend to focus on how far newspapers already have come.

Journalists of all races frequently cited burnout as a factor that might cause them to leave newspaper journalism, but journalists of color cited it more often than white journalists. Three in five journalists of color (59%) said burnout would be a major factor if they decided to leave journalism, compared with 47% of white journalists. Hispanics (68%) and Asian Americans (63%) were especially likely to cite this factor.

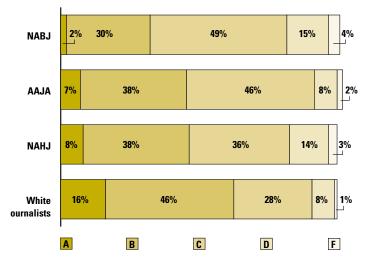
Finally, journalists of color were significantly more likely than white journalists to say that not being able to cover stories that interest them would be a major factor in deciding to leave newspaper journalism (50% vs. 35%). Again, Hispanics were the most likely to hold this position (60%), followed by Asian Americans (54%) and African Americans (42%).

Of course, other factors might play an important role concerning whether to stay in the newspaper business. But the survey found no significant differences between journalists of color and white journalists in any of the following areas:

- Leaving the field for financial reasons (48% of journalists of color said this would be a "major factor" vs. 42% of white journalists).
- Leaving the field due to stress on the job (42% vs. 45%).
- Leaving the field due to family considerations (50% vs. 57%).

Somewhat surprisingly, even though journalists of color frequently cited "insuffi-

Journalists grade their newspapers' coverage of racial and ethnic communities



AAJA 16% 53% 20% 7% 3%

NAHJ 16% 41% 26% 14% 3%

White journalists

C

D

F

39%

14% 6%

Journalists grade their newspapers' commitment to

33%

newsroom diversity

Α

NABJ

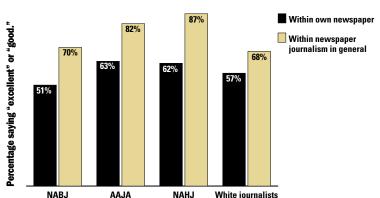
cient advancement opportunities" as a major factor that might cause them to leave newspaper journalism, most assessed their current prospects for advancement as quite good. More than half (57%) viewed their advancement potential within their own newspapers or newspaper groups as either "excellent" or "good."

Regarding advancement possibilities within newspaper journalism in general, journalists of color were even more positive (78% "excellent" or "good" vs. 68% of white journalists).

Hispanic journalists had especially positive expectations about advancement in the field — nearly nine of 10 (87%) rated their advancement opportunities as either "excellent" or "good."

The contrast is striking between these positive findings about advancement

Journalists see good prospects for advancement



prospects and the earlier one concerning "lack of opportunities for advancement" as a factor that might cause journalists to leave the field. It suggests that journalists of color may be especially attuned to work place factors that they perceive as affecting their advancement prospects. This sends supervisors the message that they should actively and regularly address career development and advancement issues for journalists of color, as they should for all journalists.

В

What would keep journalists of color in newspaper journalism?

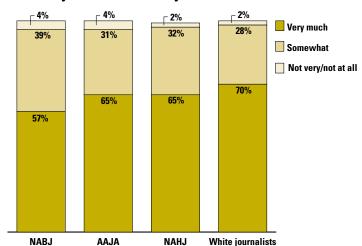
Several survey findings suggest ways that newspapers could improve the retention rate for journalists of color.

Most said they like their jobs "very much," including two-thirds (65%) of Asian Americans and Hispanics and 57% of African-American respondents. Only 4% of journalists of color said they did not like their current job "very much." Among white journalists, 70% liked their job "very much."

Moreover, eight of 10 journalists of color (81%) said they would choose newspaper journalism again if they had it to do it over, as did 83% of white journalists. Asian-American journalists were most likely to feel this way (87%), followed by Hispanics (83%) and African Americans (76%).

By large majorities, journalists of color also reported good relationships with their

How much journalists like their jobs



immediate supervisors in several respects:

- Nearly nine of 10 journalists of color (87%) agreed that "my immediate supervisor welcomes my ideas and suggestions about the newsroom."
- Eight of 10 (81%) agreed that "my immediate supervisor cares about my professional development as a journalist."
- Seven of 10 (70%) agreed that "my immediate supervisor advocates my story ideas to senior editors."

In fact, journalists of color were as likely as their white counterparts to say they had good relationships with their immediate supervisors. Within the margins of sampling error for this study, this held true in measurements for all three racial groups —

Asian Americans, Hispanics and African Americans.

Finally, three out of four journalists of color who said they might leave newspaper journalism (77%) also said newspapers could do something to keep them in the field.

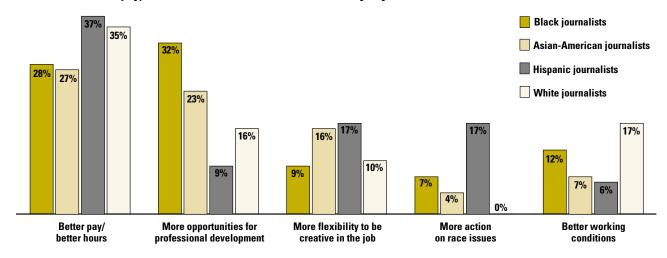
Hispanic and Asian-American journalists most often mentioned "better pay and/or better hours" as the most likely inducement to keep them in newspaper journalism. This was cited by 30% of those who said they might leave the field.

Among African-American journalists, "better pay/better hours" was the second most-frequent response, cited by 28%. Slightly more African-American journalists (32%) said that "more opportunities for professional development and advancement" would help keep them in the field.

It may seem surprising that "better pay" did not dominate the responses to the exclusion of other issues. However, about half of the journalists of color responding to this survey had been working in the newspaper business for at least 10 years and reported current salaries of \$50,000 or more. So the survey findings do not necessarily negate the issue of low starting salaries in journalism.

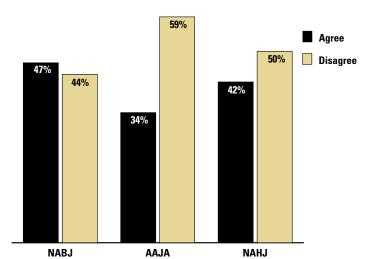
A third factor that would help many journalists of color to strengthen their commitment to newspaper journalism was "more flexibility to be creative on the job." This was especially true for Hispanics (17%) and Asian-Americans (16%).

Journalists cite better pay/better hours as main inducement to stay in journalism



Newspaper journalists of color feel pressure to work harder than white journalists and to cover racial/ethnic stories

"I prefer to spend most of my time covering stories about racial and ethnic communities and issues that affect people of color."



Why journalists of color entered journalism

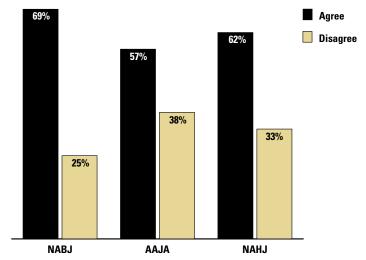
The expectation that they could make a difference was a significant reason why many journalists of color became newspaper journalists. Fully two-thirds (67%) said that "the desire to make an impact" was "very influential" in their decision. This was true for just two in five white journalists (39%).

Given this desire, it is not surprising that journalists of color would cite "not being able to cover stories that interest [them]" as a major reason to consider leaving the field (as noted on page 11).

For some journalists of color, the "desire to make an impact" appears tied to a personal commitment to improve the coverage of their own racial and ethnic communities. Nearly half (47%) of African-American journalists, 42% of Hispanics and 34% of Asian Americans expressed at least a mild preference for spending most of their time covering racial and ethnic communities as well as issues affecting people of color.

Although most Asian-American journalists (59%), half of Hispanic journalists (50%) and more than four in 10 African-American journalists (44%) said they preferred to cover other kinds of news, most journalists of color (69% of African Americans, 62% of Hispanics and 57% of Asian Americans) said they felt newspapers expected them to

"As a journalist, I feel that it's expected of me to cover stories about racial and ethnic communities and issues that affect people of color."



cover racial and ethnic stories.

The vast majority (75%) of journalists of color also said the "desire to write" was very influential in their decision to go into journalism. The comparable figure for white journalists was 69%.

For most journalists of color, working on a college newspaper was important to their decision to go into journalism. About three-fourths (74%) reported working on their college newspaper, and nearly two-thirds (66%) viewed this experience as either "very" or "somewhat influential."

All four racial groups (African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics and whites) were equally likely to characterize college newspaper experience as "very" or "somewhat influential" in their decision to enter journalism.

High school newspaper experience was "very" or "somewhat influential" to 50% of newspaper journalists of color, 56% of whom did work on a high school newspaper. About half of those who did (52%, or 29% of the total sample) said this experience was "very influential" in their decision to enter journalism.

Among white journalists, 52% worked on a high school newspaper, and about four in 10 of those (42%, or 22% of the total sample) said this was "very influential" in their decision to become a journalist.

Most journalists of color see how far newspapers still have to go in terms of diversity issues, while white journalists tend to focus on how far newspapers already have come.

Finally, specific individuals were more likely to have helped steer journalists of color toward a newspaper career than was true for white journalists, suggesting that role models are important in the recruitment of journalists of color. This was especially true for African Americans.

College professors

appear to have had the greatest impact on the decisions of journalists of color to enter the field. Ranking slightly below college professors in terms of influence were "another journalist" and high school teachers. Few journalists reported being influenced much by family or friends to go into journalism.

Six in 10 journalists of color (59%) said a college professor (or professors) had been either "very" or "somewhat influential" in their decision to become a journalist, vs. 44% of white journalists.

African Americans were more likely (36%) to say that a college professor (or professors) had been "very influential," vs. 26% of Asian Americans, 27% of Hispanics and 18% of whites.

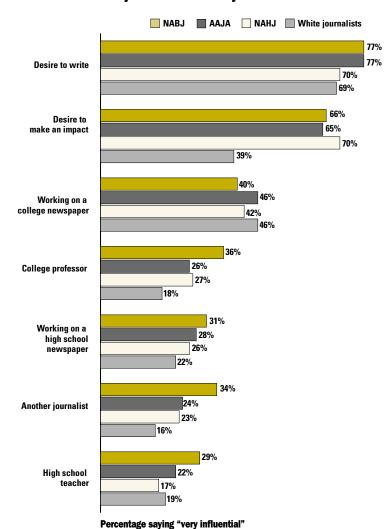
High school teachers were somewhat less likely to exert an influence. Still, they played a "very" or "somewhat influential" role in the decision-making process for half (50%) of the journalists of color.

Among African Americans, 29% said a high school teacher (or teachers) had been "very influential." The responses of Asian-American, Hispanic and white journalists did not differ appreciably from one another on this question: 22% of Asian Americans and 17% of Hispanics said a high school teacher (or teachers) had been "very influential" in their career choices, vs. 19% of whites.

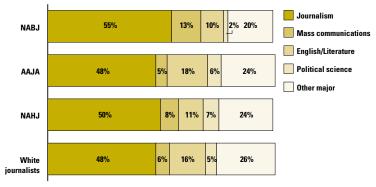
"Other journalists" were another significant influence, comparable to college professors' level of influence. Nearly three in 10 journalists of color (28%) said that another journalist was "very influential" in their decision to enter journalism, compared with 16% of white journalists.

Again, African Americans were more likely than other journalists of color to report that another journalist had played a "very influential" role. About one-third (34%) said that another journalist had been "very influential," compared with 24% of Asian Americans and 23% of Hispanics.

Factors that influenced journalists to enter journalism



Journalists take similar paths to newspapers



Pre-employment experiences of journalists of color

Journalists of color and white journalists took similar educational paths into newspaper journalism.

About half of both groups were journalism majors in college. As noted above, about half of both groups worked on their high school newspapers, and about three-fourths worked on their college newspapers.

More than 90% of the journalists in each racial group held at least an undergraduate degree, and about three in ten (31% of journalists of color and 26% of white journalists) held advanced degrees.

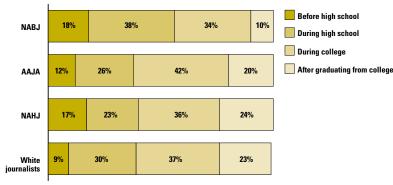
In other respects, however, their preemployment experiences diverge markedly. African-American journalists, for example, were more likely than journalists from other racial backgrounds to have majored in either journalism or mass communication.

Two-thirds of African-American journalists (68%) graduated from either journalism or mass communication programs, compared with 58% of Hispanics, 54% of whites and 53% of Asian Americans.

In addition, African-American journalists decided to become journalists at a much earlier age than did journalists of other racial groups. More than half (56%) of African Americans said they decided to become journalists during high school or earlier, compared with 38% of Asian Americans, 40% of Hispanics and 39% of whites.

Overall, nearly two-thirds (66%) of journalists of color took an internship before entering journalism as a professional. Less than half (46%) of white journalists did so.

When journalists decided to pursue journalism



Across racial groups, about seven out of eight internships were paid (86% for journalists of color, 85% for white journalists). Among all journalists who took an internship, about four in 10 received college credit for it (42% of journalists of color, 37% of white journalists).

Conclusions and recommendations

The survey results strongly suggest that efforts to keep journalists of color in the newspaper field should focus on the newsroom as a workplace and on management skills that influence the work environment.

Asked whether anything could be done to keep them in newspaper journalism, the top three answers given by journalists of color and white journalists alike were: "better pay and better hours," "better work conditions" and "more flexibility to be creative on the job." At least two-thirds of the responses fell into one of these three categories, all of which concern work place issues.

Mentions of "better pay" were almost invariably linked to the desire for "better hours" as well, suggesting that supervisors could address the underlying dissatisfaction either through greater compensation or through better management of the journalistic workload. The industrial model of newsroom management is in danger of becoming outdated in the context of a new information economy that provides journalists with alternative career opportunities with greater lifestyle flexibility.

Journalists who said that "better work conditions" would help keep them in newspaper journalism are saying that something in

the current work place structure is hindering them from deriving full satisfaction from their jobs. For some journalists, "better work conditions" may be another way of asking for "better hours" to do their work. For others, it may be a commentary on the quality of the materials they have to work with, the quality of communication between reporters and supervisors, or even the amount of respect they feel they receive.

Those who replied that "more flexibility to be creative on the job" would help keep them in the field may be expressing disappointment that newspaper work hasn't measured up to their expectations as a creative enterprise. Newspapers must take this seriously if they are to retain the services of creative people. Moreover, journalists who find their jobs enriching and challenging are far less likely to complain about working longer hours.

We also asked, "If you left the newspaper business, how important a reason would each of [a number of factors] be in your leaving?"

At first glance, the results of this question would suggest that factors outside the work place per se loom the largest in the minds of journalists who might be considering leaving the field. But work place issues may be important in determining whether such factors lie dormant or eventually inspire a move away from the newspaper field.

For example, both white and nonwhite journalists cited "interest in another field of work" more often than any other factor that might cause them to leave newspaper journalism. But to what extent is "interest in another field of work" a cause or an effect? For many journalists, it is conceivable that "better work conditions" might prevent "interest in another field of work" from becoming a conscious preoccupation and, hence, a catalyst for a career change.

For journalists of color, "lack of opportunities for advancement" was the second mostoften cited factor that might cause them to leave newspaper journalism. Advancement is in some sense synonymous with the opportunity to face increasing challenges over the course of one's career. While not everyone can advance to the top of the organizational pyramid, a work place that recognizes a worker's inherent need for on-the-job growth and professional development will find ways to challenge employees regularly, whether those challenges lead directly to promotions or not.

Many of the other most-frequently cited factors associated with the possibility of leaving the field also relate directly to work place issues — factors such as "burnout," "family considerations," "stress on the job" and "not being able to cover stories that interest [me]." All of these were among the highest-ranking factors that might cause journalists to leave the newspaper field. Another frequently mentioned factor, "financial reasons," also might relate to work place concerns in ways that have already been suggested.

Four other aspects of the survey shed additional light on how journalists of color experience the work place.

Among the factors considered influential in becoming a journalist, one of the highest for journalists of color was "the desire to make an impact." To the extent that managers take this and other factors into account in work place organization (through story assignments and so forth), a journalist of color might be more likely to stay in the field.

The newspaper's commitment to diversity in the newsroom and in news coverage sends a daily message to journalists of color concerning how integral they are to the newspaper. To the extent that journalists of color perceive the news organization as committed to diversifying the work place (toward the end of improving coverage of racial and ethnic communities), they might be more likely to stay in the field.

Many journalists of color said they felt they had to work harder than white journalists to get ahead. Editors should understand the degree to which such perceptions might drive journalists of color out of the newspaper business.

More than anything else, the journalist's relationship with his or her immediate super-

journalists of color in the newspaper field should focus on the newsroom as a work place.

Efforts to keep

visor could be key to retaining journalists of color. To the employee, the supervisor personifies the work place ethos. To the extent that the supervisor is open to ideas and suggestions, is an advocate for the journalist, and cares about the journalist's developmental needs, a journalist (white or nonwhite) might be more likely to stay in the field.

Finally, the survey findings indicate clearly that journalists of color are themselves diverse. For example, not all journalists of color want to spend their time covering stories about racial and ethnic communities and issues that affect people of color. On the other hand, many do. Only clear, frequent communication between supervisors and journalists can establish appropriate preferences.

The survey also found that in many important areas, the perceptions and experiences of African-American journalists differed significantly from those of Asian-American and Hispanic journalists. For example, the survey found that:

- African Americans decided at a younger age than other journalists of color to go into journalism.
- African Americans were more likely to cite role models as having had an important influence on their decision to enter journalism.
- African American newspaper journalists were more likely to have earned journalism or mass communication degrees.
- African Americans were the most likely to say they might leave the newspaper business.
- African Americans were more likely to agree with the statement, "As a journalist of color, I sometimes feel that I have to work harder than white journalists to get ahead."
- African Americans were less likely to mention "burnout" or "not being able to cover stories that interest them" as potential reasons for leaving newspaper journalism.
- African Americans were more likely to say that "more opportunities for professional development and advancement" would induce them to stay in newspaper journalism.

The perceptions and experiences of Hispanic journalists also differed in important ways from those of other journalists of color:

- Hispanics were less likely than other journalists of color to have taken an internship before entering journalism as a professional.
- Hispanics were more likely to view their advancement possibilities as "excellent" or "good."
- Hispanics were the most likely to say that they planned to stay in newspaper journalism.
- Hispanics were more likely to mention "burnout," "working conditions" and "not being able to cover stories that interest [them]" as potential reasons for leaving the newspaper business.
- Hispanics were more likely to say that "better pay/better hours" would induce them to stay in newspaper journalism.

Finally, the responses of Asian-American journalists were also distinctive in several respects:

- Asian Americans were more likely than other journalists of color to have worked on their college newspapers and to have taken internships before entering journalism as a professional.
- Asian Americans were more likely than other journalists of color to report strong positive relationships with their immediate supervisors.
- Asian Americans were more likely to give high grades (A or B) to their newspapers' commitment to newsroom diversity.
- Asian Americans were the least likely to "agree strongly" that they sometimes feel they have to work harder than white journalists to get ahead.
- Among those who said they might leave newspaper journalism, Asian Americans were least likely to characterize this possibility as "very likely."
- Asian Americans were least likely to say that "financial reasons" would be a "major factor" that might cause them to leave

newspaper journalism.

What this all means is that any efforts to recruit and retain newspaper journalists of

color will, to a great extent, have to be as individual as are journalists of color themselves.

This report is the result of the efforts of many dedicated individuals. At the top of the list are the nearly 900 newspaper journalists who took time to participate in the surveys that formed the basis for this study. Their willingness to contribute their time and thoughts to the issues addressed in this study is very much appreciated.

In many ways, this research would not have been possible without the help and support of Bobbi Bowman, ASNE's diversity director. Bobbi provided invaluable guidance at virtually every step of the research process. Among other things, she consulted with The Freedom Forum during the analysis of the ASNE census data, provided additional ASNE data as needed, convened meetings to discuss the development of the journalists of color survey and made herself available for consultation at a moment's notice. A very big "thank you" goes her way.

Unity '99 President Catalina Camia provided extremely helpful advice as we honed the issues and the language of the journalists of color survey. We are grateful also to the executive directors of the four associations of journalists of color who graciously shared their membership lists with us for this survey: Rene Astudillo (AAJA), Anna Lopez (NAHJ), Gordon Regguinti (NAJA) and Toni Samuels (NABJ).

The questionnaire-design process was aided enormously by the input of Joseph Torres (communications director for NAHJ), Walt Swanston (executive director of Unity) and Caesar Andrews (editor, Gannett News Service), each of whom carved out time from their busy schedules to consult with us on the survey. Professor Lee Becker of the University of Georgia also was very helpful in

guiding us to relevant background materials.

Sincere "thank yous" also must go to many people at The Freedom Forum for their very capable assistance on this project: to Patty Casey, Christy Mumford Jerding and Maurice Fliess for their heroic efforts in creating this publication; to Sheila Owens, Susan Bennett and Mary Kay Blake for valuable feedback on earlier written versions of the research findings; to Félix Gutiérrez for his dynamic leadership on diversity issues, as well as free-lance editor Mary Anderson.

Kathleen Collins, former research coordinator for the Media Studies Center, was heavily involved in all aspects of this project throughout 1999. Her assistance was invaluable.

A special debt of thanks goes to former Media Studies Center fellow Victor Merina. His guidance, sometimes on a daily basis, improved the study enormously. Every good idea in this report bears his imprint.

Enough cannot be said about the helpfulness and professionalism of the staff at the Center for Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut, which conducted the surveys of newspaper journalists. In particular, kudos to project director Jennifer Dineen, who supervised the survey research process from beginning to end. Not only are her research management skills appreciated, but she made many important substantive contributions to the study as well.

Finally, grateful acknowledgement must go to Bob Giles and Charles Overby for their leadership, vision and guidance. Their abiding commitment to improving newsroom diversity provided the essential impetus for this research.

APPENDIX 1: HIRING AND RETENTION SCENARIOS

Hiring and retention strategies that will enable newspapers to reach the goal of racial parity with the general population by 2025 depend upon a number of assumptions about the journalistic work force over the next 25 years.

Each projection requires assumptions about such things as:

- Total work force: Will it grow or will it remain at about its current level?
- Annual new hires: How many new journalists will be hired each year between now and 2025?
- Annual number of journalists of color entering through the existing "pipeline": How many aspiring journalists of color will the "traditional pipeline" produce each year?
- Retention of current work force: At what rates will the newspaper business retain both white and nonwhite journalists from year to year?

When assumptions about any of these areas change, so do projections of how many additional journalists of color newspapers will need each year to reach parity. Each of the hiring and retention strategies that follow illustrates different strategies the newspaper industry might adopt to meet the goal of racial parity with the general population by 2025.

As a first example, let's look at the Benchmarking Proposal adopted by the Board of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in September 1999. With respect to each of

the above questions, the ASNE Benchmarking Proposal assumes the following:

- Total work force: The total journalistic work force at newspapers will remain at its current level of 55,100 through 2009. The ASNE proposal does not project beyond 2009, but for illustration, let's assume that the newspaper work force remains at this level through 2025.
- Annual new hires: The ASNE Benchmarking Proposal makes no specific assumptions regarding the number of new journalists that will be hired each year. Rather, the number of annual new hires is allowed to increase or decrease as needed to meet the requirement that the total work force will remain constant through 2025.
- Annual number of journalists of color entering the existing "pipeline": The ASNE scenario assumes that the "traditional pipeline" will produce enough journalists of color each year to compensate for normal turnover.
- Retention of current work force: The ASNE scenario makes no specific assumptions about the retention rates for either journalists of color or white journalists. So, for illustration, let's assume that the annual retention rate for white journalists between now and 2025 is 96% per year and, for journalists of color, 93% per year. Those figures represent the average retention rates for each group during the sixyear period from 1994 through 1999.

Hiring and Retention Scenario No. 1

The table labeled "Scenario No. 1" shows how the assumptions in the ASNE Benchmarking Proposal would play out year-by-year through 2025.

The table is divided into five parts: Retention Benchmarks, Hiring Benchmarks, Impact on Hiring, Impact on Total Work Force and Target. The key columns to look at in each of these areas:

- Retention Benchmarks: Column 3 shows how many journalists of color newspapers would retain each year (from the base total in Column 1), given different assumptions about retention rates (Column 2).
- Hiring Benchmarks: Columns 4 through 6 project the number of journalists of color that newspapers would need to hire each year, either through the "traditional pipeline" (Column 4) or a "supplemental pipeline" (Column 5), to reach the goal of racial parity by 2025.
- Impact on Hiring: Column 8 shows what percentage of all new hires in a given year (Column 7) would be journalists of color under the given scenario.
- Impact on Total Work Force: Column 11 shows the overall percentage of journalists of color in the work force each year under the given scenario.
- Target: Column 12 projects the proportion of people of color in the general population between now and 2025, according to U.S. Census Bureau estimates.

By comparing columns 11 and 12, it is possible to see how close the newspaper industry would be to the goal of parity in a given year.

The ASNE Benchmarking Proposal assumes that if newspapers can rely on the "traditional pipeline" to produce aspiring journalists of color at a rate compensating for normal turnover, then they would need to add 550 journalists of color to the system each year to reach parity by 2025.

How did it arrive at the figure of 550? That number represents 1% of the total work force (55,100). By increasing the percentage of journalists of color in the work

force by 1 percentage point per year over the next 25 years, newspapers would reach the goal of parity by 2025.

Now, let's look at this scenario in finer detail. One thing to note is the increasing demand on the traditional pipeline to replace journalists of color who leave the industry (Column 4). By 2011, according to this scenario, the traditional pipeline would need to provide 872 journalists of color to compensate for industry turnover. By 2016, this number would increase to 1,064, and by 2021 it would reach 1,257.

Why does the demand for replacement journalists grow so fast? Because, according to the ASNE scenario, the total number of journalists of color in the work force would grow by 1 percentage point (or 550 individuals) per year.

In 1999, about 6,400 journalists of color worked at newspapers. By 2011, according to the Benchmarking Proposal, their numbers would nearly double, to 12,450, because newspapers would add another 550 journalists of color to the work force every year.

If retention rates do not change, twice as many journalists of color will be in the work force by 2011, but twice as many also will leave newspapers. So, the demands on the traditional pipeline will escalate over time.

Whether the traditional pipeline can meet this escalating demand is unclear, although there may be ways to make this happen. It is certainly a worthy problem for study.

Also unclear is whether the total work force can remain at 55,100 over the next 25 years. Indeed, the ASNE Benchmarking Proposal recommends reexamining staffing levels in 2010 and adjusting the proposal if necessary.

Nevertheless, under this proposal, newspapers would add more than 11,000 journalists of color to the work force by 2009. Whether the total work force could remain at 55,100 given such an influx is an open question.

The open questions suggest that alternative scenarios might be developed whose assumptions differ from those of the ASNE Benchmarking Proposal.

Benchmarks Toward the Goal of Racial Parity at U.S. Newspapers by 2025 — Scenario 1

Assumptions: ASNE Benchmarking Proposal — 7% Annual JOC Departures Replaced by Traditional Pipeline; Total Work Force Remains at 55,100/yr through 2025

	Reter	Retention Benchmarks	larks	Hiring	ng Benchmarks	ks	Impact	Impact on Hiring	Impa	Impact on Total Work Force	k Force	Target
	Total	Retention	J/Color	New Hires:	s: Journalists of Color	of Color	Total	J/Color	Total		J/Color	% People
Year	J/Color:	Rate:	Retained	Traditional	Supplem.		New	as % of	J/Color:	Total	as % of	of Color in
	Prev. Year	J/Color	Current Yr.	Pipeline	Pipeline	Total	Hires	New Hires	Current Yr.	Work Force	Work Force	Population*
	-	2	3	4	2	9	7	8	6	10	11	12
1994	5,500	91.4%	5,028	572	0	572	2,344	24.4%	2,600	53,700	10.4%	26.1%
1995	2,600	96.2%	5,387	513	0	513	2,443	21.0%	2,900	53,800	11.0%	26.5%
1996	2,900	94.7%	5,590	510	0	510	2,429	21.0%	6,100	55,000	11.1%	26.9%
1997	6,100	91.3%	5,570	530	0	530	2,637	20.1%	6,100	54,000	11.3%	27.3%
1998	6,100	93.7%	5,714	586	0	586	2,726	21.5%	6,300	54,700	11.5%	27.7%
1999	6,300	92.3%	5,814	586	0	586	3,134	18.7%	6,400	55,100	11.6%	28.0%
Avg ('94-'99)		93.3%		550	0	550	2,619	21.0%				
2000	6,400	%0.86	5,952	448	220	866	2,396	41.7%	6,950	55,100	12.6%	28.3%
2001	6,950	93.0%	6,464	487	220	1,037	2,413	43.0%	7,500	55,100	13.6%	28.6%
2002	7,500	83.0%	6,975	525	220	1,075	2,429	44.3%	8,050	55,100	14.6%	29.0%
2003	8,050	93.0%	7,487	564	220	1,114	2,446	45.5%	8,600	55,100	15.6%	29.4%
2004	8,600	93.0%	7,998	602	220	1,152	2,462	46.8%	9,150	55,100	16.6%	29.8%
2005	9,150	93.0%	8,510	641	220	1,191	2,479	48.0%	9,700	55,100	17.6%	30.1%
2006	9,700	93.0%	9,021	629	550	1,229	2,495	49.3%	10,250	55,100	18.6%	30.5%
2007	10,250	93.0%	9,533	718	550	1,268	2,512	20.5%	10,800	55,100	19.6%	30.9%
2008	10,800	93.0%	10,044	756	550	1,306	2,528	51.7%	11,350	55,100	20.6%	31.3%
2009	11,350	93.0%	10,556	795	220	1,345	2,545	52.8%	11,900	55,100	21.6%	31.6%
2010	11,900	93.0%	11,067	833	220	1,383	2,561	54.0%	12,450	55,100	22.6%	32.0%
2011	12,450	93.0%	11,579	872	220	1,422	2,578	55.2%	13,000	55,100	23.6%	32.4%
2012	13,000	93.0%	12,090	910	220	1,460	2,594	%6.3%	13,550	55,100	24.6%	32.8%
2013	13,550	83.0%	12,602	949	220	1,499	2,611	57.4%	14,100	55,100	25.6%	33.1%
2014	14,100	93.0%	13,113	286	550	1,537	2,627	28.5%	14,650	55,100	76.6%	33.5%
2015	14,650	93.0%	13,625	1,026	550	1,576	2,644	29.6%	15,200	55,100	27.6%	33.9%
2016	15,200	93.0%	14,136	1,064	220	1,614	2,660	%2'09	15,750	55,100	28.6%	34.2%
2017	15,750	93.0%	14,648	1,103	550	1,653	2,677	61.7%	16,300	55,100	29.6%	34.6%
2018	16,300	93.0%	15,159	1,141	220	1,691	2,693	62.8%	16,850	55,100	30.6%	32.0%
2019	16,850	93.0%	15,671	1,180	220	1,730	2,710	63.8%	17,400	55,100	31.6%	35.3%
2020	17,400	93.0%	16,182	1,218	550	1,768	2,726	64.9%	17,950	55,100	32.6%	35.7%
2021	17,950	93.0%	16,694	1,257	220	1,807	2,743	%6:59	18,500	55,100	33.6%	36.1%
2022	18,500	93.0%	17,205	1,295	220	1,845	2,759	%6.99	19,050	55,100	34.6%	36.5%
2023	19,050	93.0%	17,717	1,334	550	1,884	2,776	%6'.29	19,600	55,100	35.6%	36.9%
2024	19,600	93.0%	18,228	1,372	250	1,922	2,792	%8.89	20,150	55,100	36.6%	37.2%
2025	20,150	93.0%	18,740	1,411	550	1,961	2,809	%8.69	20,700	55,100	37.6%	37.6%
												» II »
Avg ('00-'25)		93.0%		929	550	1,479	2,602	%8'95				Bureau estimates

Hiring and Retention Scenario No. 2

This report earlier presented one such alternative to the ASNE Benchmarking Proposal. Its assumptions were the following:

- Total work force: The total work force would grow as needed, given other assumptions about hiring and retention rates over time.
- Annual new hires: Newspapers would hire an average of 3,000 per year, starting with 2,500 in 2000 and increasing by 40 new hires per year, up to 3,500 in 2025.
- Annual number of journalists of color entering through the existing pipeline: The number of journalists of color from the traditional pipeline would increase by half a percentage point each year, starting at 21% of new hires in 2000 and reaching 33.5% of new hires in 2025.
- Retention of current work force: The annual retention rate for white journalists would remain 96%, equivalent to the sixyear average retention rate for white journalists between 1994 and 1999. The retention rate for journalists of color would be 93% in 2000, also the same as the sixyear average between 1994 and 1999. Beginning in 2001, the retention rate for journalists of color would improve by half a

percentage point per year until it reaches the same level as that for white journalists (96%) in 2006. It would remain at 96% through 2025.

Given these assumptions, the total number of journalists of color that newspapers would need to add to the work force, above and beyond those the traditional pipeline provides, would be an average of 625 per year, or more than 18,000 over the next 25 years (see Scenario No. 2). By comparison, the ASNE Benchmarking Proposal estimates that newspapers would need to hire 550 additional journalists of color each year.

The total journalistic work force, according to Scenario No. 2, would grow from 55,100 in 1999 to 69,316 by 2025.

Is Scenario No. 2 more likely than Scenario No. 1? No one knows. But each clearly leads to different prescriptions for best reaching the goal of racial parity with the general population by 2025.

Because different sets of assumptions lead to different potential solutions, this appendix provides four possible hiring and retention scenarios. By showing various approaches, perhaps this report can advance the search for workable solutions.

Benchmarks Toward the Goal of Racial Parity at U.S. Newspapers by 2025 — Scenario 2

Assumptions: Traditional Pipeline Produces 0.5% More Journalists of Color Each Year (Base=2600); Total Hires Start at 2500, Grow by 40 per year

Year	1-1-1	Dotostion										
Year	lotal	Leiellion	J/Color	New Hire	New Hires: Journalists of Color	of Color	Total	J/Color	Total		J/Color	% People
	J/Color: Prev. Year	Rate:	Retained Current Yr.	Traditional Pipeline	Supplem. Pipeline	Total	New	as % of New Hires	J/Color: Current Yr.	Total Work Force	as % of Work Force	of Color in Population*
	-	2	3	4	5	9	7	8	6	10	11	12
1994	5,500	91.4%	5,028	572	0	572	2,344	24.4%	2,600	53,700	10.4%	26.1%
1995	2,600	96.2%	5,387	513	0	513	2,443	21.0%	2,900	53,800	11.0%	26.5%
1996	5,900	94.7%	5,590	510	0	510	2,429	21.0%	6,100	55,000	11.1%	26.9%
1997	6,100	91.3%	5,570	530	0	530	2,637	20.1%	6,100	54,000	11.3%	27.3%
1998	6,100	93.7%	5,714	586	0	586	2,726	21.5%	6,300	54,700	11.5%	27.7%
1999	6,300	92.3%	5,814	586	0	586	3,134	18.7%	6,400	55,100	11.6%	28.0%
Avg ('94-'99)		93.3%		550	0	550	2,619	21.0%				
2000	6,400	93.0%	5.952	546	0	546	2.500	21.8%	6,498	55.204	11.8%	28.3%
2001	6,498	93.5%	6,076	529	50	609	2,540	24.0%	6,685	55,373	12.1%	28.6%
2002	6,685	94.0%	6,284	572	100	672	2,580	26.0%	6,956	52,605	12.5%	29.0%
2003	6,956	94.5%	6,573	585	150	735	2,620	28.1%	7,308	55,896	13.1%	29.4%
2004	7,308	92.0%	6,943	298	200	798	2,660	30.0%	7,741	56,247	13.8%	29.8%
2002	7,741	95.5%	7,392	611	250	861	2,700	31.9%	8,253	56,659	14.6%	30.1%
2006	8,253	%0.96	7,923	624	300	924	2,740	33.7%	8,847	57,132	15.5%	30.5%
2007	8,847	%0.96	8,493	637	350	286	2,780	35.5%	9,480	57,627	16.5%	30.9%
2008	9,480	%0.96	9,101	650	400	1,050	2,820	37.2%	10,151	58,142	17.5%	31.3%
2009	10,151	%0.96	9,745	663	450	1,113	2,860	38.9%	10,858	58,676	18.5%	31.6%
2010	10,858	%0.96	10,424	929	200	1,176	2,900	40.6%	11,600	59,229	19.6%	32.0%
2011	11,600	%0.96	11,136	689	550	1,239	2,940	42.1%	12,375	59,800	20.7%	32.4%
2012	12,375	%0.96	11,880	702	009	1,302	2,980	43.7%	13,182	60,388	21.8%	32.8%
2013	13,182	%0.96	12,654	715	650	1,365	3,020	45.2%	14,019	60,993	23.0%	33.1%
2014	14,019	%0.96	13,459	728	200	1,428	3,060	46.7%	14,887	61,613	24.2%	33.5%
2015	14,887	%0.96	14,291	741	750	1,491	3,100	48.1%	15,782	62,248	25.4%	33.9%
2016	15,782	%0.96	15,151	754	800	1,554	3,140	49.5%	16,705	62,898	%9'92	34.2%
2017	16,705	%0.96	16,037	292	820	1,617	3,180	%8.05	17,654	63,562	27.8%	34.6%
2018	17,654	%0.96	16,948	780	006	1,680	3,220	52.2%	18,628	64,240	29.0%	35.0%
2019	18,628	%0.96	17,882	793	920	1,743	3,260	53.5%	19,625	64,930	30.2%	35.3%
2020	19,625	%0.96	18,840	908	1,000	1,806	3,300	54.7%	20,646	65,633	31.5%	35.7%
2021	20,646	%0.96	19,821	819	1,050	1,869	3,340	%0.99	21,690	66,348	32.7%	36.1%
2022	21,690	%0.96	20,822	832	1,100	1,932	3,380	57.2%	22,754	67,074	33.9%	36.5%
2023	22,754	%0.96	21,844	845	1,150	1,995	3,420	58.3%	23,839	67,811	35.2%	36.9%
2024	23,839	%0.96	22,885	828	1,200	2,058	3,460	29.5%	24,943	68,559	36.4%	37.2%
2025	24,943	%0.96	23,946	871	1,250	2,121	3,500	%9.09	26,067	69,316	37.6%	37.6%
												(
Avg ('00-'25)		92.6%		402	625	1,334	3,000	44.5%				* U.S. Census Bureau estimates

Hiring and Retention Scenario No. 3

Scenario No. 3 builds upon the ASNE Benchmarking Proposal's hiring and retention scenario (No.1) but changes two basic assumptions:

- 1) It assumes that the retention rate for journalists of color will improve by half a percentage point per year until it reaches parity with the retention rate for white journalists (96%) in 2006. It would remain at 96% from 2006 through 2025. Scenario No. 1, by contrast, assumed that the retention rate for journalists of color would remain at 93% through 2025.
- 2) It assumes that the number of journalists of color from the traditional pipeline will grow by half a percentage point per year, starting at 21% of new hires in 2000 and reaching 33.5% of new hires in 2025 a rate proportionate to the expected annual increase of people of color in the population. Scenario No. 1, by contrast, assumed that the traditional pipeline would provide new journalists of color at a rate compensating for annual turnover.

The remaining assumptions built into Scenario No. 3 are the same as in Scenario No. 1:

- Total work force: The total journalistic work force at newspapers would remain at its current level of 55,100 through 2025.
- Annual new hires: No specific assumptions need to be made regarding the number of new journalists that newspapers will hire each year. The number of annual new hires is allowed to increase or decrease as needed to meet the requirement that the total work force will remain constant through 2025.

Given these assumptions, Scenario No. 3 suggests that the number of journalists of color that newspapers would need to hire over and above those entering the industry through the traditional pipeline would be about 410 per year, rather than the 550 per year that Scenario No. 1 projects.

This illustrates the dramatic impact that improving retention rates could have upon increasing diversity. While improving retention will not eliminate the need for a supplemental pipeline to bring additional journalists of color into newspapers, it would make the task of building such a pipeline less Herculean.

Benchmarks Toward the Goal of Racial Parity at U.S. Newspapers by 2025 — Scenario 3

Assumptions: Annual JOC Retention Improves to 96% by 2006; Traditional Pipeline Produces 0.5% More JOC Each Year; Work Force Remains at 55,100 per year

Year J/6 1994 5 1995 5 1996 6 1998 6 1999 6	Total F J/Color: Prev. Year 5,500 5,600 6,400	2 Retention	3 J/Color	4	5 6 S: Journalists of Color	9	7	æ	6	10	11	12
		Retention	J/Color			֭֓֝֟֝֝֟֝֟֝ ֓֓֓֓֓֓֓֓֞֞֓֓֓֞֞		•	•	2		
				New Hires:	•	of Color	Total	J/Color	Total		J/Color	% People
	,500 ,600 ,900	Kate: J/Color	Retained Current Yr.	Traditional Pipeline	Supplem. Pipeline	Total	New Hires	as % of New Hires	J/Color: Current Yr.	Total Work Force	as % of Work Force	of Color in Population*
	, 600 , 900 , 900	79	000	7	c	220	0.044	704.40	000	001	70.407	94.00
	,900 ,900	%4.19 %0.00	5,028	27.2	- 0	27.7	2,344	24.4% %0.00	0,000	53,700	10.4%	%I.07
	, 900 , 400	%Z.08	5,387	513	o (513	2,443	21.0%	5,900	53,800	11.0%	20.5%
	0	94.7%	2,590	510	0	510	2,429	21.0%	6,100	25,000	11.1%	%6.92
<u> </u>	, 100	91.3%	5,570	530	0	530	2,637	20.1%	6,100	54,000	11.3%	27.3%
⅃┖ ┑┍	6,100	93.7%	5,714	586	0	586	2,726	21.5%	6,300	54,700	11.5%	27.7%
4vg ('94-'99)	6,300	92.3%	5,814	586	0	586	3,134	18.7%	6,400	55,100	11.6%	28.0%
4vg ('94-'99)												
		93.3%		550	0	550	2,619	21.0%				
	6,400	93.0%	5,952	546	410	926	2,396	39.9%	6,908	55,100	12.5%	28.3%
	,908	93.5%	6,459	559	410	696	2,377	40.8%	7,428	55,100	13.5%	28.6%
	,428	94.0%	6,982	572	410	982	2,353	41.7%	7,964	55,100	14.5%	29.0%
	7,964	94.5%	7,526	585	410	962	2,323	42.8%	8,521	55,100	15.5%	29.4%
	,521	92.0%	8,095	298	410	1,008	2,289	44.0%	9,103	55,100	16.5%	29.8%
	9,103	95.5%	8,694	611	410	1,021	2,250	45.4%	9,715	55,100	17.6%	30.1%
	9,715	%0.96	9,326	624	410	1,034	2,204	46.9%	10,360	55,100	18.8%	30.5%
	10,360	%0.96	9,946	637	410	1,047	2,204	47.5%	10,993	55,100	20.0%	30.9%
	10,993	%0.96	10,553	650	410	1,060	2,204	48.1%	11,613	55,100	21.1%	31.3%
	11,613	%0.96	11,148	663	410	1,073	2,204	48.7%	12,221	55,100	22.2%	31.6%
	12,221	%0.96	11,733	929	410	1,086	2,204	49.3%	12,819	55,100	23.3%	32.0%
	12,819	%0.96	12,306	689	410	1,099	2,204	49.9%	13,405	55,100	24.3%	32.4%
	13,405	%0.96	12,869	702	410	1,112	2,204	20.5%	13,981	55,100	25.4%	32.8%
	13,981	%0.96	13,421	715	410	1,125	2,204	51.0%	14,546	55,100	26.4%	33.1%
	14,546	%0.96	13,964	728	410	1,138	2,204	21.6%	15,102	55,100	27.4%	33.5%
	15,102	%0.96	14,498	741	410	1,151	2,204	52.2%	15,649	55,100	28.4%	33.9%
	15,649	%0.96	15,023	754	410	1,164	2,204	52.8%	16,187	55,100	29.4%	34.2%
	16,187	%0.96	15,540	292	410	1,177	2,204	53.4%	16,717	55,100	30.3%	34.6%
	16,717	%0.96	16,048	780	410	1,190	2,204	24.0%	17,238	55,100	31.3%	32.0%
2019	17,238	%0.96	16,549	793	410	1,203	2,204	24.6%	17,752	55,100	32.2%	35.3%
	17,752	%0.96	17,042	908	410	1,216	2,204	55.2%	18,258	55,100	33.1%	35.7%
	18,258	%0.96	17,527	819	410	1,229	2,204	25.8%	18,756	55,100	34.0%	36.1%
	18,756	%0.96	18,006	832	410	1,242	2,204	56.4%	19,248	55,100	34.9%	36.5%
	19,248	%0.96	18,478	845	410	1,255	2,204	%6.99	19,733	55,100	35.8%	36.9%
	19,733	%0.96	18,944	828	410	1,268	2,204	27.5%	20,212	55,100	36.7%	37.2%
2025 20	20,212	%0.96	19,403	871	410	1,281	2,204	58.1%	20,684	55,100	37.5%	37.6%
1201 000		/00 40		700	977	77	0000	20 40/				* U.S. Cens
Avg (00-25)		93.0%		607	410	1,119	2,233	30. I %				Bureau estimates

Hiring and Retention Scenario No. 4

Scenario No. 4 makes one additional change in the assumptions of Scenario No. 3.

Specifically, it assumes that the total work force will grow by half a percentage point per year over the next 25 years, similar to the rate at which it assumes the number of journalists of color from the traditional pipeline will grow. Scenario No. 3, by contrast, projected the work force to remain constant at 55,100 between 2000 and 2025.

This growth rate — half a percentage point per year — would cause the total work force to grow from 55,100 in 1999 to about 62,400 in 2025, roughly midway between the projections of Scenarios No. 2 and No. 3.

One reason for changing this assumption is that Scenario No. 3 projected an average of 2,200 new hires per year over the next 25 years — significantly lower than the industry average of 2,600 between 1994 and 1999. At a time when newspapers will be working hard to add hundreds of new journalists of color to their staffs each year, it seems unlikely that the average number of new hires per year would actually be lower than in the 1990s.

The remaining assumptions built into Scenario No. 4 remain the same as in Scenario No. 3:

- Retention of current work force: The retention rate for journalists of color would improve by half a percentage point per year until it reaches parity with the rate for white journalists (96%) in 2006. It would remain at 96% from 2006 through 2025.
- Annual number of journalists of color entering through the existing pipeline: The number of journalists of color from the traditional pipeline would increase by half a percentage point per year, starting at 21% of new hires in 2000 and reaching 33.5% of new hires in 2025.
- Annual new hires: No specific assumptions need to be made regarding the number of new journalists hired each year because this is tied to the assumption that the total work force will grow by half a percentage point per year through 2025. The average number of new hires per year under this scenario is about 2,600.

Given these assumptions, Scenario No. 4 suggests that the number of journalists of color that newspapers would need to hire over and above those entering the industry through the traditional pipeline would be about 540 per year.

Benchmarks Toward the Goal of Racial Parity at U.S. Newspapers by 2025 — Scenario 4

Assumptions: Traditional Pipeline Produces 0.5% More Journalists of Color Each Year (Base=2,600); Total Work Force Grows by 0.5% per year

				-						-		
	Reten	Retention Benchmarks	arks	Hiring	ng Benchmarks	(S	Impact on Hiring	n Hiring	Impac	Impact on Total Work Force	k Force	Target
	Total	Retention	J/Color	New Hires:		of Color	Total	J/Color	Total		J/Color	% People
Year	J/Color: Prev. Year	Rate: J/Color	Retained Current Yr.	Traditional Pipeline	Supplem. Pipeline	Total	New Hires	as % of New Hires	J/Color: Current Yr.	Total Work Force	as % of Work Force	of Color in Population*
	-	2	8	4	5	9	7	8	6	10	1	12
1994	5,500	91.4%	5,028	572	0	572	2,344	24.4%	5,600	53,700	10.4%	26.1%
1995	2,600	96.2%	5,387	513	0	513	2,443	21.0%	2,900	53,800	11.0%	26.5%
1996	2,900	94.7%	5,590	510	0	510	2,429	21.0%	6,100	55,000	11.1%	26.9%
1997	6,100	91.3%	5,570	530	0	530	2,637	20.1%	6,100	54,000	11.3%	27.3%
1998	6,100	93.7%	5,714	586	0 (586	2,726	21.5%	6,300	54,700	11.5%	27.7%
1999	6,300	92.3%	5,814	989	0	586	3,134	18.7%	6,400	55,100	11.6%	28.0%
Avg ('94-'99)		93.3%		550	0	550	2,619	21.0%				
2000	6,400	93.0%	5,952	546	0	550	2,396	23.0%	6,502	55,100	11.8%	28.3%
2001	6,502	93.5%	6,079	559	100	629	2,642	24.9%	6,738	55,376	12.2%	28.6%
2002	6,738	94.0%	6,334	572	200	772	2,627	29.4%	7,106	55,652	12.8%	29.0%
2003	7,106	94.5%	6,715	585	300	885	2,611	33.9%	2,600	55,931	13.6%	29.4%
2004	7,600	95.0%	7,220	598	400	998	2,593	38.5%	8,218	56,210	14.6%	29.8%
2002	8,218	82.2%	7,848	011	200	1,11	7,57	43.2%	8,828	56,491	15.9%	30.1%
2006	0,939	%0.08 06.0%	0,601	637	600 625	1,224	2,342 2,555	40.1% 40.4%	9,023	57,058	18.7%	30.3%
2008	10 694	%0.06 %0.96	10.266	650	625	1 275	2,558	49.7%	11,541	57,343	20.1%	31.3%
2009	11.541	%0:96	11,080	663	625	1,288	2,580	49.9%	12,368	57,630	21.5%	31.6%
2010	12,368	%0.96	11,873	929	625	1,301	2,593	50.2%	13,174	57,918	22.7%	32.0%
2011	13,174	%0.96	12,647	689	625	1,314	2,606	50.4%	13,961	58,207	24.0%	32.4%
2012	13,961	%0.96	13,403	702	625	1,327	2,619	20.7%	14,730	58,498	25.2%	32.8%
2013	14,730	%0.96	14,140	715	625	1,340	2,632	%6.03	15,480	58,791	26.3%	33.1%
2014	15,480	%0.96	14,861	728	625	1,353	2,646	51.1%	16,214	59,085	27.4%	33.5%
2015	16,214	96.0%	15,566	741	625	1,366	2,659	51.4%	16,932	59,380	28.5%	33.9%
2016	16,932	%0.96 96.6%	16,254	754	625	1,379	2,672	51.6%	17,633	59,677	29.5%	34.2%
2017	17,633	%0.96 %0.06	16,928	797	625	1,392	2,685	51.8%	18,320	59,976	30.5%	34.6%
2018	18,320	96.0%	17,587	08/	679	1,405	2,699	52.1% -0.00	786,81	60,275	31.5%	35.0%
2019	18,992	%0.96	18,232	793	625	1,418	2,712	52.3%	19,650	60,577	32.4%	35.3%
2020	19,650	%0.96	18,864	908	625	1,431	2,726	52.5%	20,295	60,880	33.3%	35.7%
2021	20,295	%0.96	19,484	819	625	1,444	2,740	52.7%	20,928	61,184	34.2%	36.1%
2022	20,928	%0.96	20,091	832	625	1,457	2,753	95.3%	21,548	61,490	35.0%	36.5%
2023	21,548	%0.96	20,686	845	625	1,470	2,767	53.1%	22,156	61,798	35.9%	36.9%
2024	22,156	%0.96	21,269	828	625	1,483	2,781	53.3%	22,752	62,107	36.6%	37.2%
2025	22,752	%0.96	21,842	871	625	1,496	2,795	53.5%	23,338	62,417	37.4%	37.6%
												* U.S. Census
Avg ('00-'25)		92.6%		709	238	1,246	2,645	47.1%				Bureau estimates

APPENDIX 2: THE FREEDOM FORUM JOURNALISTS OF COLOR SURVEY — JULY 1999

The survey polled 200 members of the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ), 153 members of the Asian American Journalists Association (AAJA), 120 members of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ), and 349 white journalists who work for U.S. daily newspapers with circulations of 25,000 or more. In this poll, "n =" followed by a number represents the number of respondents who were asked a particular question. The margins of sampling error for each population are as follows: NABJ = \pm 5 percentage points; AAJA = \pm 5 percentage points; NAHJ = \pm 6 percentage points; white journalists = \pm 6 percentage points. Due to rounding and/or open-ended questions, percentages may not always equal 100.

Hello. My name is [] and I am calling from the Center for Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut. We are conducting a survey of newspaper journalists about important issues facing journalism and I would like to ask your opinion on a few issues.

S1. What is the approximate circulation of the daily newspaper you currently write for?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
25,000 to less than 50,000	3%	5%	0%	20%
50,000 to less than 100,000	13	7	18	20
100,000 to less than 250,000	30	29	25	26
250,000 to 500,000	32	37	35	23
Over 500,000	23	22	22	11

First, a few questions about your decision to enter journalism. **How** influential were each of the following in your decision to become a journalist? Very influential, somewhat influential, not very influential, or not at all influential?

Q1. Desire to write

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	77%	77%	70%	69%
Somewhat influential	18	16	19	19
Not very influential	2	1	5	3
Not at all influential	4	6	5	8
Don't know/Refused	1	0	1	1

Q2. Desire to make an impact

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	66%	65%	70%	39%
Somewhat influential	29	31	21	44
Not very influential	3	1	5	6
Not at all influential	2	3	4	10
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	0

Q3. A high school teacher (or teachers)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	29%	22%	17%	19%
Somewhat influential	25	28	25	25
Not very influential	6	12	11	8
Not at all influential	40	37	47	48
Don't know/Refused	0	1	0	0

Q4. A college professor (or professors)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	36%	26%	27%	18%
Somewhat influential	25	28	32	26
Not very influential	9	12	13	10
Not at all influential	30	33	28	46
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	0

Q5. A member of your family

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	10%	7%	11%	9%
Somewhat influential	12	15	21	16
Not very influential	12	12	14	10
Not at all influential	67	66	54	65
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	0

Q6. Another journalist

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	34%	24%	23%	16%
Somewhat influential	24	35	36	29
Not very influential	13	15	8	11
Not at all influential	30	26	33	44
Don't know/Refused	0	0	0	0

Q7. A friend (or friends)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	11%	5%	7%	8%
Somewhat influential	19	27	20	14
Not very influential	14	20	20	10
Not at all influential	57	48	53	68
Don't know/Refused	0	0	0	0

Q8. Working on a high school newspaper

NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
31%	28%	26%	22%
21	22	21	20
7	5	5	8
39	45	47	50
2	1	1	0
	31% 21 7	31% 28% 21 22 7 5	31% 28% 26% 21 22 21 7 5 5

Q8a. Working on a college newspaper

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very influential	40%	46%	42%	46%
Somewhat influential	26	23	21	22
Not very influential	7	11	3	4
Not at all influential	27	20	34	28
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	0

Q9. When did you decide to become a journalist?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Before junior high				
or middle school	7%	5%	7%	5%
During junior high or				
middle school	11	7	10	4
During high school	38	26	23	30
During your first or				
second year of college	20	26	27	24
During your third or fourth				
year of college	14	16	9	13
After graduating from college	10	20	24	23
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	1

Q10. While you were in high school, did you work on your school newspaper?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Yes	60%	54%	52%	52%
No	40	46	48	48
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	0

Q11. Before coming to your current job, what was your position or title at your previous job?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Reporter	28%	25%	26%	23%
Writer	14	9	17	8
Editor	28	25	23	33
Photographer, photojournali	st,			
or artist	3	4	7	8
On-line editor	1	1	0	0
Department director	4	1	2	2
Student/first job	7	10	4	7
Intern	2	10	3	2
Assistant/researcher	7	5	1	3
Non-journalist	7	10	17	14

Q12. And what type of organization did you work for?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Daily newspaper	73%	69%	67%	62%
Weekly newspaper	5	0	6	8
Television news department	1	1	0	1
Radio news department	0	0	2	0
Online news organization	0	0	0	0
Wire service	1	3	3	2
Other media organization	8	11	12	9
Non-media organization (speci	ify) 8	8	9	15
Don't know/Refused	4	8	1	3

Q13. What was the approximate circulation of that paper?

(Base=Respondents who said they worked at a daily newspaper in answer to previous question)

	NABJ (n=146)	AAJA (n=106)	NAHJ (n=80)	White journalists (n=349)
Under 10,000	0%	0%	1%	7%
10,000 to 25,000	4	3	5	14
25,000 to 50,000	11	8	11	19
50,000 to 100,000	15	14	19	16
100,000 to 250,000	25	23	14	17
250,000 to 500,000	25	25	30	15
Over 500,000	13	16	14	7
Don't know/Refused	7	11	7	5

Now, I have a few questions about your current job.

Q14. Overall, would you say you like your current job very much, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Very much	57%	65%	65%	70%
Somewhat	39	31	32	28
Not very much	3	3	1	2
Not at all	1	1	1	0
Don't know/Refused	1	0	1	0

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Q15. My immediate supervisor welcomes my ideas and suggestions about the newsroom.

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Strongly agree	47%	60%	52%	56%
Somewhat agree	38	33	34	31
Somewhat disagree	8	5	9	4
Strongly disagree	6	1	3	4
Don't know/Refused	2	1	2	5

${\bf Q16}.$ My immediate supervisor advocates my story ideas to senior editors.

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Strongly agree	38%	43%	41%	43%
Somewhat agree	29	33	29	27
Somewhat disagree	7	9	7	7
Strongly disagree	9	3	8	2
Don't know/Refused	18	12	15	21

Q17. My immediate supervisor cares about my professional development as a journalist.

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Strongly agree	38%	50%	41%	49%
Somewhat agree	39	33	41	35
Somewhat disagree	8	12	8	8
Strongly disagree	10	4	7	5
Don't know/Refused	5	1	3	2

Q18. What's your view about your advancement possibilities with your own newspaper or newspaper group?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists	
Excellent	13%	19%	19%	18%	
Good	38	44	43	39	
Fair	29	26	25	22	
Poor	19	9	12	16	
Don't know/Refused	3	3	1	6	

Q19. What's your view about your advancement possibilities within newspaper journalism in general?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Excellent	18%	24%	30%	22%
Good	52	58	57	46
Fair	24	14	10	18
Poor	6	3	3	9
Don't know/Refused	1	2	0	5

Q20. Please tell me which of the following best describes the highest position within newspaper journalism you hope to reach?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Reporter, copy editor,				
photographer or artist	14%	32%	24%	32%
Mid-mgmt (i.e. city editor or				
section editor)	22	17	13	18
Senior editor or other top				
newsroom post	36	40	51	35
Publisher	13	5	3	3
Other	12	6	6	12
Don't know/Refused	4	1	3	1

Q21. Do you hope to work for a newspaper that is larger or smaller than the one that currently employs you — or is the size of the paper where you work now about right?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Would prefer a larger paper	37%	39%	34%	30%
Would prefer a smaller pape	er 4	3	4	0
Current paper about right	56	50	51	64
Don't know/Refused	4	9	11	6

022. On a scale of A through F, how would you grade your newspaper's coverage of racial and ethnic communities in its market area?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
A	2%	7%	8%	16%
В	30	38	38	46
C	49	46	36	28
D	15	8	14	8
F	4	2	3	1
Don't know/Refused	1	0	1	1

Q23. On a scale of A through F, what grade would you give to your newspaper's commitment to ethnic and racial diversity in the newsroom?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
A	8%	16%	16%	29%
В	33	53	41	38
C	39	20	26	21
D	14	7	14	7
F	6	3	3	3
Don't know/Refused	0	1	0	2

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Q24. I prefer to spend most of my time covering stories about racial and ethnic communities and issues that affect people of color.

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	
Strongly agree	17%	13%	21%	
Somewhat agree	30	21	21	
Somewhat disagree	34	46	31	
Strongly disagree	10	13	19	
Don't know/Refused	9	7	8	

Q25. As a journalist of color, I feel that it's expected of me to cover stories about racial and ethnic communities and issues that affect people of color.

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	
Strongly agree	35%	20%	32%	
Somewhat agree	34	37	30	
Somewhat disagree	16	25	21	
Strongly disagree	9	13	12	
Don't know/Refused	6	5	5	

026. As a journalist of color, I sometimes feel that I have to work harder than white journalists to get ahead.

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	
Strongly agree	67%	36%	45%	
Somewhat agree	23	31	21	
Somewhat disagree	7	21	18	
Strongly disagree	3	11	13	
Don't know/Refused	1	2	3	

Q27. Have you ever worked under the direct supervisor of an editor of color? (If "no" or "Don't know/Refused" skip to Q28)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Yes	56%	53%	62%	42%
No	44	47	38	58

Q27a. Are you currently working under an editor of color?

(Base=Respondents who answered "yes" to previous question. If "no" or "Don't know/refused" skip to Q28)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=112)	(n=81)	(n=74)	(n=147)
Yes	29%	36%	37%	34%
No	71	64	61	65
Don't know/Refused	0	0	2	1

Q27b. Would that be

(Base=Respondents who answered "yes" to previous question):

	NABJ (n=33)	AAJA (n=29)	NAHJ (n=27)	White journalists (n=51)
Your immediate supervisor	59%	69%	58%	48%
A higher level supervisor,	25	14	25	27
or both? Don't know/Refused	16 0	17 0	8 8	21 5

Q28. Are you likely to stay in newspaper journalism indefinitely or might you change careers? (If "plan to stay," skip to Q42)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Plan to stay	39%	43%	50%	66%
Might change	59	53	49	32
Don't know/Refused	3	4	1	2

Q29. How likely is it that you will eventually leave the field of **newspaper journalism?** (Base for Q29-Q39=Respondents who said "might change" or "Don't know/Refused" in response to previous question)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=119)
Very likely	37%	17%	38%	28%
Somewhat likely	56	68	48	63
Not very likely	7	10	12	9
Don't know/Refused	1	5	2	1

If you left the newspaper business, how important a reason would each of the following be in your leaving? Would it be a major factor, a minor factor, or not a factor at all?

Q30. Working conditions

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=119)
Major factor	41%	51%	56%	35%
Minor factor	48	40	34	49
Not a factor	11	9	10	17

Q31. Lack of opportunities for advancement

	NABJ (n=124)	AAJA (n=87)	NAHJ (n=60)	White journalists (n=119)
Major factor	63%	60%	58%	39%
Minor factor	24	28	26	33
Not a factor	14	13	16	26
Don't know/Refused	0	0	0	2

Q32. Financial reasons

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=119)
Major factor	50%	41%	54%	42%
Minor factor	36	47	32	38
Not a factor	15	12	14	20

Q33. Stress on the job

	NABJ (n=124)	AAJA (n=87)	NAHJ (n=60)	White journalists (n=119)
Major factor	41%	45%	40%	45%
Minor factor	44	41	42	39
Not a factor	15	13	18	16

Q34. Family considerations

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=119)
Major factor	43%	55%	56%	57%
Minor factor	29	35	28	21
Not a factor	28	10	16	23

Q35. Racism

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=119)
Major factor	27%	32%	34%	13%
Minor factor	49	44	32	16
Not a factor	21	23	34	70
Don't know/Refused	3	1	0	1

Q36. Feeling isolated from your colleagues

•	•	•			
	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists	
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=119)	
Major factor	11%	24%	28%	12%	
Minor factor	47	43	30	31	
Not a factor	41	32	40	57	
Don't know/Refused	1	0	2	1	

Q37. Burnout

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=119)
Major factor	53%	63%	68%	47%
Minor factor	32	30	20	39
Not a factor	15	7	12	14

Q38. Not being able to cover stories that interest you

	NABJ (n=124)	AAJA (n=87)	NAHJ (n=60)	White journalists (n=119)
Major factor	42%	54%	60%	32%
Minor factor	35	35	14	32
Not a factor	21	10	26	34
Don't know/Refused	2	1	0	2

Q39. Interest in another field of work (If "minor factor," "not a factor," or "Don't know/refused," skip to Q40)

	NABJ (n=124)	AAJA (n=87)	NAHJ (n=60)	White journalists (n=119)
Major factor	68%	74%	70%	66%
Minor factor	28	23	26	28
Not a factor	3	1	4	5
Don't know/Refused	0	2	0	1

Q39a. What field in particular?

	NABJ (n=84)	AAJA (n=64)	NAHJ (n=42)	White journalists (n=68)
Fiction writing	15%	20%	29%	11%
Teaching/education	16	20	18	19
Law	8	5	7	1
Internet/new media	4	12	11	8
Magazine or TV	9	12	4	9
Other media	4	3	4	17
Business (non-media)	22	9	4	17
Other/non-specific	12	3	14	14
Don't know	11	15	11	4

Q40. About how much longer do you expect to remain in newspaper journalism? (Base= Respondents who said they "might change" careers or "Don't know/Refused" in response to question Q28.)

	NABJ (n=124)	AAJA (n=87)	NAHJ (n=60)	White journalists (n=112)
0 to 6 months	1%	0%	6%	3%
6 months to 1 year	6	3	0	6
1-3 years	11	6	18	9
3-5 years	25	27	20	19
5 or more years	42	49	41	33
Don't know	14	14	14	31

Q41. Is there anything that could be done to keep you in newspaper journalism? (If "no" or "Don't know/refused," skip to Q42.)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists	
	(n=124)	(n=87)	(n=60)	(n=112)	
Yes	78%	78%	74%	78%	
No	17	15	20	14	
Don't know/Refused	5	7	6	9	

Q41a. And if so, what would that be? (Base=Respondents who answered "yes" to previous question)

	NABJ (n=97)	AAJA (n=68)	NAHJ (n=44)	White journalists (n=83)
Better pay / better hours	28%	27%	37%	35%
Professional development/				
advancement	32	23	9	16
More recognition/				
appreciation from employe	er 2	6	3	0
More flexibility for creativity	y 9	16	17	10
More meaning/chance to				
make a Difference	2	7	3	3
Better work conditions	12	7	6	17
Other	7	4	6	14
Don't Know	2	6	3	5
More action on race issues	7	4	17	0

Finally, just a few questions for classification purposes.

Q42. What was the last year of school you completed? (If no college or "Don't know/Refused," skip to Q45)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Less than high school	0%	0%	0%	0%
High school grad	0	0	0	1
Some college	3	2	5	7
College	65	73	64	65
Post grad	33	25	31	26

Q43. What was your major in college? (Asked open-ended)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=200)	(n=153)	(n=120)	(n=345)
Journalism	55%	48%	50%	48%
Mass communication	13	5	8	6
English/literature	10	18	11	16
Political science	2	6	7	5
Other	20	24	24	26

Q44. Did you work as a journalist on your campus newspaper?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists	
Yes	73%	79%	70%	70%	
No	27	21	30	30	
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	0	

Q45. Did you take an internship at a newspaper before entering journalism as a professional? (If "no" or "Dk/Ref," skip to Q48.)

-				•	
	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists	
Yes	66%	73%	54%	46%	
No	34	28	45	54	
Don't know/Refused	0	0	1	0	

Q46. Was the internship paid or unpaid? (Base=Respondents who said "yes" in answer to previous question)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=132)	(n=112)	(n=65)	(n=161)
Paid	89%	86%	78%	85%
Unpaid	11	14	20	14
Don't remember	0	0	2	1

Q47. Did you receive college credit for the internship?

(Base=Respondents who answered "yes" in response to question Q45. If "no" or "Don't know/Refused," skip to Q49.)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=132)	(n=112)	(n=65)	(n=161)
Yes	39%	44%	46%	37%
No	61	56	52	62
Don't know/Refused	1	0	2	1

Q48. Have you ever worked for an ethnic or tribal newspaper? (if "no" or "Don't know/Refused," skip to Q49.)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Yes	39%	12%	20%	4%
No	62	88	80	96

Q48a. Did you work at an ethnic or tribal paper immediately prior to taking the job you currently hold? (Base=Respondents who answered "yes" to previous question)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=78)	(n=18)	(n=24)	(n=13)
Yes	19%	22%	40%	15%
No	81	78	60	85

Q49. Which category best describes your job? Is it,

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Reporter	51%	53%	46%	46%
Editorial writer	2	2	7	5
Copy editor	10	5	8	9
Photographer or artist	4	8	8	7
Mid-mgmt (i.e. city editor				
or section editor)	21	23	0	20
Senior editor or other				
top newsroom post	5	3	16	7
Other	7	6	10	7
Don't know/Refused	0	0	6	0

Q50. How many years in total have you been working as a professional journalist, either at a newspaper or in some other area of journalism?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Less than five	13%	26%	5%	12%
Five to nine	25	34	32	11
Ten to fourteen	23	16	22	14
More than fifteen	40	24	41	62

Q51. How many years have you been working as a daily newspaper journalist?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Less than five	17%	31%	27%	17%
Five to nine	28	30	19	13
Ten to fourteen	23	17	24	14
More than fifteen	33	21	30	56

Q52. How many different daily newspapers have you worked for since you became a professional journalist?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
1	20%	25%	19%	32%
2	31	22	24	22
3	24	23	32	26
4	11	12	8	10
5	6	9	5	6
6 or more	9	8	8	4

Q53. Have you worked as a journalist in other areas besides daily **newspaper journalism?** (If "no" or "Don't know/Refused," skip to Q55.)

			-		
	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists	
Yes	45%	41%	57%	56%	
No	55	59	43	44	
Don't know/Refused	1	0	0	0	

Q54. What other areas of journalism have you worked in? (Accept multiple responses. Base= Respondents who answered "yes" to previous question.)

	NABJ (n=90)	AAJA (n=63)	NAHJ (n=68)	White journalists (n=195)	
Weekly newspaper	32%	25%	35%	42%	
Magazines	26	15	21	25	
Freelance work	10	15	16	20	
Wire service	11	14	9	15	
Radio news department	17	6	17	5	
Television news department	: 11	8	17	6	
Non-media organization	10	8	2	9	
Online news organization	4	0	0	3	
Other type of media organizati	on 2	4	3	6	
Other (not specified)	9	20	22	20	
Don't know/Refused	1	8	0	0	

Q55. If you had it to do over again, would you choose newspaper journalism as a career?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Yes	76%	87%	83%	83%
No	16	6	11	10
Don't know/Refused	8	7	6	7

Q56. In which of the following groups would you place yourself?

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
White	0%	1%	0%	100%
Black or African American	98	0	1	0
Hispanic or Latino	0	0	92	0
Asian American or South Asian	0	92	0	0
Native American	0	0	0	0
Or, some other category	1	2	5	0
Biracial	2	5	2	0
None of the above	0	0	0	0

Q57. How much is your personal yearly income? Is it under **\$40,000** or more? (If "\$40,000 or more," skip to Q57b.)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Under \$40,000	27%	33%	30%	30%
\$40,000 or more	72	65	69	66
Don't know/Refused	2	2	0	4

Q57a. Is it: (Base= Respondents who answered "under \$40,000" in response to previous question.)

	NABJ (n=54)	AAJA (n=51)	NAHJ (n=36)	White journalists (n=105)
Under \$10,000	2%	0%	0%	1%
\$10,001-\$20,000	0	4	0	4
\$20,001-\$30,000	34	32	28	34
More than \$30,000	64	64	69	61
Don't know/Refused	0	0	3	1

Q57b. Is it: (Base= Respondents who answered "\$40,000 or more" in response to Q57.)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
	(n=144)	(n=100)	(n=83)	(n=231)
\$40,001-50,000	26%	26%	20%	31%
\$50,001-75,000	51	53	46	44
Over \$75,000	22	19	30	18
Don't know/Refused	1	2	3	7

Q58. In what year were you born? (Converted to age.)

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Under 30 years old	20%	42%	14%	14%
30-40 years old	42	35	44	25
Over 40 years old	38	20	42	60
Don't know/Refused	0	3	0	2

Q59. Sex of respondent:

	NABJ	AAJA	NAHJ	White journalists
Male	38%	44%	54%	68%
Female	62	56	46	32

The Freedom Forum commissioned The Center for Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut to conduct this study on the perceptions and experiences of newspaper journalists of color. The survey was developed and directed by Dr. Lawrence T. McGill, director of research for the Media Studies Center, in consultation with the American Society of Newspaper Editors and The Center for Survey Research and Analysis (CSRA). At CSRA, the project was directed by Jennifer Dineen. (Please see Acknowledgements for additional information regarding survey development.)

Sample Design

The Center for Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut follows procedures in sampling and data processing that are designed to minimize error in the results. The "journalists of color" project used four separate sources to draw our samples. Interviews were conducted with 200 members of the National Association of Black Journalists; with 153 members of the Asian American Journalists Association; 120 members of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists; and 23 members of the Native American Journalists Association.

In each case, the universe was defined as members of the relevant journalism association who are practicing journalists at daily newspapers with circulations of 25,000 or more and who identify themselves as the race or ethnicity in the association's name. For example, the universe of African-American journalists is defined as practicing journalists who are NABJ members and who identify themselves as black or African-American.

Telephone interviews with journalists of color were conducted June 7-25, 1999. At the 95% level of confidence, the margin of error for the NABJ and AAJA samples is plus or minus 5 percentage points; the margin of error for the NAHJ sample is plus or minus 6 percentage points. The margin of error for

the NAJA sample is plus or minus 12 percentage points. Those data are not presented here because the sample size was so small

In addition, a cross-sectional sample of 400 journalists at newspapers with daily circulations of 25,000 or more was interviewed by telephone. The sample of 400 newspapers was drawn using the Bacon's Media directory, which includes a list of all U.S. newspapers and is updated quarterly. The June 1999 edition was used for this project. Once a newspaper was contacted, an editor was asked for the names of journalists whose last names started with a randomly assigned letter of the alphabet. If no journalists at the paper had a last name starting with the random letter, the editor was asked for journalists whose name began with the next letter in the alphabet.

Telephone interviews with journalists across the country were conducted June 25 through July 8, 1999. The margin of error for the cross-sectional sample is plus 6 percentage points at the 95% level of confidence. Sampling error for subgroups is larger.

Fieldwork

All interviews for this project were conducted at the Center for Survey Research and Analysis' telephone center at its facility in Storrs, Conn. Interviews were conducted by telephone between June 7 and July 8, 1999, using a Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system. The CATI system uses computerized questionnaires, thereby reducing the amount of human error in the survey process.

The telephone interviews took place Monday through Friday from 8 a.m. until 8 p.m. Eastern Standard Time. Callbacks were made before 8 a.m., after 8 p.m., and on Saturdays and Sundays upon request. Journalists were also provided with a toll-free telephone number that they could call to conduct the interview at a time and from a place most convenient to them.

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Arlington, VA 22209 703/528-0800 www.freedomforum.org