Diversity Ain't Affirmative Action
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Diversity Issues
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Journalism's Seven Challenges
CHUCK STONE
1999 Michael Davis Lecturer
and Walter Spearman Professor in the School of Journalism
and Mass Communication at the University of North Carolina
comments from the editor . . .

Dr. Barbara J. Holmes, an associate professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Colorado–Denver, suggests that American society has presented minorities with a double-binding message:

“Get a good education and work hard, and then you will become the master of your own destiny.”

The doors of American higher education have, however, been largely closed to Black Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans and Hispanics until the Civil Rights movement focused our attention on the collective urgency of responding to racial discrimination in a systematic fashion.

More individuals representative of the racial minorities are taking their rightful place in the classroom and in the media professions, but there are dangerous signs throughout the nation that affirmative action initiatives, which helped create these successes, are legally unacceptable.

This issue of Insights explores the question of diversity in our classrooms, in our graduate pool, and in the journalism and mass communication profession.

For future issues on experiential learning and scholastic journalism, manuscripts should be submitted to

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OVER THE YEARS my advice to reporters, editors and educators alike has come from Abraham Lincoln: “Better to remain silent and be thought a fool than to speak out and remove all doubt.”

Tonight I find myself ignoring Abe’s rule.

Thanks to the kind support of many of you in this room, the Freedom Forum has seen fit to honor my work and that of my faculty, staff and student body. I am grateful for that, and I welcome this opportunity to try to share with you a little of what I have learned about diversity in the media and elsewhere. If you participated in yesterday morning’s ASNE roundtable, you have heard a lot of this, but some bears repeating. Diversity is an issue that has been a cornerstone of my career in higher education and one that continues both to frustrate and to challenge.

I grew up, as many of you did, in a time when segregation was the law. If mainstream newspapers published any news at all about their non-white citizens, they did it deep on the inside pages of the least-read sections. It was as if African, Asian, Hispanic and Native Americans did not exist in the everyday world. And, indeed, for many people that might as well have been true.
Then in the mid-sixties the country went through a wave of urban riots. These shocking displays of societal anger resulted in the Kerner Commission, which in 1968 issued its report on civil disorders. The commission found the nation to be moving rapidly toward two separate Americas – a white society principally living in the suburbs and an African American society concentrated in central urban areas. The commission expressed fear that such a permanent division would lead to sustained violence and to the ultimate loss of the traditional American ideals of individual dignity, freedom and equality of opportunity.

One of the keys to this divisiveness, the commission felt, was the scarcity of news coverage of the lives and events affecting non-whites. I took this finding very personally and very seriously. It is surely one of the reasons I accepted the challenge of developing an accreditable journalism program at historically black Florida A&M University.

Unquestionably, there has been progress since 1968. Can you imagine media today operating as if there were no black people, no Latinos, no Asians, no Native Americans? Nevertheless, these groups are still undercovered and underrepresented.

Clearly, our print media now do a much better job of covering the infinite social variety that is the U.S.A. The same is true for television, the movies, advertising, and other media-related businesses. But we still are nowhere near the point at which the media workforce would reflect the makeup of the communities they serve.

In 1978 the American Society of Newspaper Editors issued a statement calling for newspapers to achieve “parity in hiring” by the year 2000. That year the ASNE estimated that about 4 percent of newsroom employees were minorities while the national minority population was about 15 percent. So ASNE aimed for that 15 percent.

Earlier this year ASNE reported that minorities now make up about 11.5 percent of the newsroom employees. That is good news, a strong move toward that 15 percent goal.

The bad news is that the nation’s population is now 26 percent minority.

The numbers simply won’t stand still. The percentage of minorities in our population will continue to rise as we move into the next century, probably to 40 percent by 2025 and shortly thereafter to 50 percent or more. Just as in the late 19th and early 20th centuries we became a polyglot of white Europeans of differing languages and cultures, 100 years later we are becoming a rainbow nation in which we all will be minorities.

ASNE recognized this dilemma when recently it issued a new statement on newsroom diversity. The statement says, in part,

“ASNE reaffirms its commitment to racial parity in newsrooms and to full and accurate news coverage of our nation’s diverse communities. The Society urges everyone in journalism – newsroom professionals, publishers, educators, journalism associations and others – to join the quest for newsroom diversity.”

To support its statement, ASNE adopted four strategies:

• Continue its annual census of employment of Asian, African, Hispanic and Native Americans and of women in the newsroom;

• Encourage and assist editors in recruiting, hiring and managing diverse newsrooms;

• Expand its efforts to foster newsroom diversity; and
• Establish three-year benchmarks for measuring progress. Those benchmarks might include examination of progress in increasing the number of minorities in journalism education news sequences; reducing the number of newspapers that have no minority newsroom employees; reducing turnover among minorities in newsrooms; increasing minority scholarships and internships; increasing the number of newsrooms that have diversity plans; and developing new programs to identify and support young minorities who are interested in journalism careers.

Happily, ASNE is not alone in this initiative. It is joined with varying degrees of enthusiasm by the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, the National Association of Black Journalists, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, the Asian American Journalists Association, and the Native American Journalists Association.

The NABJ applauded the ASNE action but seeks more urgency. It estimates that the new ASNE goal would require newspapers to increase their minority representation by one percent a year. This would involve 1,180 new minority hires in 1999 alone. Only 586 new minority journalists were hired last year.

Next year there will be a Unity ‘99 convention sponsored by Journalists of Color, Inc., which is a coalition of four minority journalism organizations. The convention will be exploring how the media cover affirmative action, how they practice it in the newsrooms, and how to help all attendees experience cultural enrichment and understanding.

The convention will be in Seattle, a decision that has generated considerable controversy among the organizers because the State of Washington’s Initiative 200 referendum bans consideration of race and gender in public hiring, contracting and education.

The State of Washington is not alone. Such changes in public policy are occurring throughout the country at all levels of government. Just before Thanksgiving the Miami Herald reported that Ward Connerly, the driving force behind Washington’s referendum and the California one two years ago, was looking for his next target. He seems to be giving Florida a close look, along with Oregon, Nebraska, Colorado, and the City of Houston.

Earlier this year the federal circuit court for the District of Columbia found the Federal Communications Commission’s equal employment opportunity regulations unconstitutional.

The percentage of minorities in our population will continue to rise as we move into the next century, probably to 40 percent by 2025 and shortly thereafter to 50 percent or more. . . . we are becoming a rainbow nation in which we all will be minorities.

These rules had been in place for 30 years. Under them the FCC compared TV and radio stations’ workforces with the racial compositions of their markets. The court ruled that the review applied pressure on the stations to hire minorities and, in effect, established minority hiring quotas.

In late November the Associated Press reported that the FCC has proposed new rules requiring broadcasters to recruit minorities but dropping the commission’s review of whether a station’s workforce matched the racial makeup of its market.
Did the 30 years of FCC scrutiny have any effect? The NABJ says the number of minority journalists in television and radio rose from less than 10 percent 27 years ago to 19.9 percent today.

The FCC also is requiring that TV and radio stations indicate gender and race for station owners in their compliance reports. The requirement goes into effect next year.

While the FCC continues to exert influence on broadcast hiring and ownership, it seems to have little impact on network news shows. The October 26 issue of Broadcasting & Cable reports on the results of a study conducted by ADT Research for the Women, Men and Media Project.

Examining the first six months of network evening newscasts on ABC, CBS and NBC, the study found that 87 percent of the “experts” quoted were men; 92 percent were white. Women were quoted 13 percent of the time. Only 6 percent of the “experts” were minorities.

Interestingly, the so-called “real people” interviews were more diverse: 41 percent female and 14 percent minority.

If you don’t read the publications of the News Watch Project, I recommend them to you. It is part of the Center for Integration and Improvement of Journalism at San Francisco State University’s Department of Journalism. Its fall issue covers how the President’s Initiative on Race virtually excluded Native Americans, how poorly Hispanics are represented in TV news, and how Asian Americans are routinely ignored by the news media despite the fact that they represent one of the nation’s fastest growing demographic groups.

As with many other minority organizations, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists is concerned about the nature of the coverage that occurs. Its study of 12,000 news stories produced by network news programs in 1997 found that only 112 focused on Latino issues, a 25-percent drop from 1996. Of that, 64 percent focused on crime, affirmative action and immigration. Only 12.5 percent were about Latino influence in politics, business, arts and culture.

Yes, there is plenty to ponder about our failings as media professionals and educators. But there also are bright spots. The National Association of Hispanic Journalists web site reports that the Los Angeles Times has announced it will set up an 11-member Latino team to seek ways to expand coverage of the Latino community. Frank del Olmo, one of the nation’s best-known Latino journalists and Times associate editor, will head the team. The paper is creating new positions – a national Hispanic affairs reporter, a Los Angeles area Hispanic affairs reporter, three calendar section reporters, two business writers, a photographer, a religion reporter, and a Washington-based reporter to cover U.S.-Mexico affairs. All will be bilingual as the Times works to become the Latino community’s paper of record in the Los Angeles area.

At Ketchum Public Relations Worldwide/Atlanta, Betsy Helgager, one of our graduates, is heading a new African American Markets Group. This was her idea. She sold Ketchum on it as a

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We shouldn't have to put up with uninformed reasoning by college administrators who think the Ph.D. is the be-all and end-all in higher education. That requirement, in and of itself, automatically excludes African Americans and other minorities who have strong experience but do not have the doctoral union card.
smart research and marketing tool. I think she will amaze them with her results. Betsy serves on our board of visitors and is a tireless recruiter for minorities in public relations. She was one of our top students, graduating in 1990, and she is committed to giving back to our program. In 1996 she implemented Ketchum Boot Camp to give our students insights into what public relations really is. Only 8 percent of our public relations workforce is African American; Betsy is determined to change that.

A significant part of our inability to bring minorities into the media professions rests with the failure of higher education to understand well that professional experience is critical to teaching students about journalism and mass communication.

We shouldn’t have to put up with uninformed reasoning by college administrators who think the Ph.D. is the be-all and end-all in higher education. That requirement, in and of itself, automatically excludes African Americans and other minorities who have strong experience but do not have the doctoral union card. Until something is done about that in a big way, we will not see a big increase in minority media personnel. The role models won’t be there.

In 1997 the nation’s colleges and universities granted journalism or mass communication doctorates to 16 minorities – 2 black, 3 Hispanic, 11 Asian, and no Native Americans. For that matter, there were only 57 whites. These figures lend truth to the complaints from deans, directors and department chairs who say they can’t find anybody who is qualified – if qualified means having a doctorate. I agree that any Ph.D. with professional experience is likely to be the best teacher. Unfortunately, too few of them exist.

Those of us involved in accrediting journalism programs have long been involved in Standard 12. This requires programs to demonstrate commitment to increased diversity among both students and faculty by developing written goals with measurable results. Standard 12 is directly related to First Amendment rights and the special responsibility we have for helping to ensure that the nation’s media bring the broadest possible range of opinions and information to the people they serve. We cannot expect our students to uphold this responsibility in their media jobs if we have not provided an effective example.

So, what responsibilities do we all have in this situation? One of the best strategies would be for organizations to establish special master’s and doctoral programs around the country targeted at people of color. The Freedom Forum offers an excellent example at North Carolina with its fellowships. This program offers outstanding news professionals an accelerated, tough doctoral program in mass communication. Participants complete the coursework and dissertation in 24 to 27 months. Courses are supplemented with seminars at the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center in New York. The fellowship carries an annual stipend of $50,000. Three people are chosen each year.

The Knight Fellows program at Indiana is similar but is more focused on futuristic multimedia journalism. The program provides four years of support totaling about $64,000 and hones in on teaching skills. What we need is more programs like these around the country.

The minority picture will never change until the media commit to working with middle and high schools in their communities to start growing their own minority professionals. They need to identify youngsters early enough so schools represented in this room can try to recruit them to college journalism education.
Some newspapers do have programs to attract minority youth to newspaper journalism, but more need to do it as an investment in their communities and their own futures. This can be time-consuming and costly, but it must be done. Too many media executives are unable or unwilling to make the kinds of long-term commitments needed to do the job. They are accustomed to results now, and that doesn’t work when the goal is real diversity. If a company is unable or unwilling to develop its own internal diversity effort, then it should at least contract with one or more of the many businesses specializing in diversity recruitment.

Some newspapers have had success listing openings and reviewing resumes submitted through the National Diversity Newspaper Job Bank. It is a web site sponsored by the Newspaper Association of America, the Florida Times-Union and Morris Communications, the Times-Union’s parent company. It seems to work for a number of newspapers judging by the quotes at the site.

You in this room need to do more to establish relationships among the media, the community, the schools and your journalism programs. No one can stand aside if we are going to get to the goal.

Finally, to the media, I say all these efforts will be in vain if you do not increase salaries for entry level journalists of all colors. A youngster thinking of a journalism career is looking at a first newspaper job that pays $17,000 to $23,000 a year. No matter how good a job we may have done instilling a love of journalism in that youngster, we cannot overcome the pressures from parents, relatives and friends to go for the money. Too many young people of color come from poor families, families who have struggled to send their children to school and who want to see those children put their economic deprivation behind them as quickly as possible. Success to many parents is a career in medicine, the law or business. Few will encourage their children in a journalism career. And those influences start early, much earlier than we are getting in there to stimulate interest in studying journalism.

I will close by asking each of you to take seriously the need for diversity in America’s media. Diversity is not a quota system. It is not affirmative action with all that term may connote. Diversity is the simple, honest recognition that we serve an astonishingly complex society. And if we are to serve it well, we have to work as hard at recruiting, educating and hiring as we do at the other business aspects of our profession. To do less diminishes our value in a world where communication is once again a fascinating frontier.

But that is another speech entirely. Thank you for listening to this one and for the honor you have bestowed on me. ☺

Diversity is the simple, honest recognition that we serve an astonishingly complex society.
IN ORDER TO GET BEYOND RACISM, we must first take race into account.”1

Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackman made this statement in the 1978 Bakke case, and countless studies and evidence have proven him right. Affirmative action – which allows educational institutions, businesses, and government to take race, ethnicity, and gender into account – has helped the nation emerge from its discriminatory and painful past. Colleges and universities have successfully used affirmative action programs and policies to ensure a diverse campus environment and to prepare students for an increasingly diverse workforce and global society.

There have been numerous attacks recently on affirmative action, both in the legislative and judicial arenas. Some notable examples are the passage of Proposition 209 in California and the Hopwood v. Texas legal challenge. Proponents of these actions claim that affirmative action is no longer necessary, and in fact, that it is a form of discrimination. However, research and public opinion show that the goal of a color-blind society has not yet been achieved. Until some other measure is in place to accomplish this, scaling back the nation’s commitment to equal opportunity by eliminating affirmative action programs for women and people of color does not move us in the right direction.

At the national level, there have not been any legislative proposals that support, improve, or strengthen affirmative action. All of the efforts so far have been to curtail or eliminate affirmative action altogether. The most devastating proposal in the 105th Congress was introduced by Rep. Charles Canady (R-FL) and Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY). This proposal would have eliminated the consideration of race, ethnicity, or gender in all employment, contracting, and other programs at the federal level. Although the legislation purported to encourage the recruitment of qualified women and minorities, it specifically prohibited the use of any numerical objectives such as goals and timetables. It also would have eliminated the use of affirmative action to remedy past or present discrimination, forbidden consent decrees that utilize preferences, and outlawed even those programs that adhere to the “strict scrutiny” standard set by the Supreme Court.

Experts disagreed as to the impact on colleges and universities. Since virtually every college and university receives federal student financial aid and other federal grants, this could be broadly interpreted as a contract and, therefore, subject to the limits of the legislation. Others contended that, if narrowly focused, the impact of such a proposal would be minimal on higher education.

There were several hearings held on the measure, but most focused on employment and the awarding of federal contracts, and very little attention was given to the use of affirmative action in college admissions. The House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution approved the bill along party lines. At the full Judiciary Committee level, a group of moderate Republicans moved to table the legislation, effectively killing it, at least for the duration of the 105th Congress. They stated that “this bill will not speed up the correction of the current injustices nor will it narrow the racial divide” and that “forcing this issue at this time could jeopardize the daily progress being made in ensuring equality.”

During floor debate on the Higher Education Act Amendments of 1998, Rep. Frank Riggs (R-CA) introduced an amendment to eliminate the use of race, ethnicity, or gender in assessing candidates for admission to any institution of higher education that receives federal aid. After several revisions in an attempt by Rep. Riggs to garner more support among his colleagues in the House, the version that was considered on the House floor only applied to public institutions. The higher education community was united and highly visible in opposition to this measure. Associations that represent independent colleges and universities remained a part of this coalition, even though the proposal no longer affected them. As in the “camel’s nose under the tent,” it was felt that if enacted in 1998 for public institutions, it would soon be expanded to include private colleges as well. The message of the higher education community was clearly heard and the amendment was overwhelmingly defeated.

Another victory was achieved during action on the transportation legislation. This time it was an attempt to eliminate the disadvantaged busi-
ness enterprise program, which sets goals for minority- and women-owned businesses in securing federal contracts in the transportation field. This proposal also was soundly defeated.

**State and local actions**

Despite victories at the national level, the same has not held true at the state level. In California, Proposition 209 was enacted in 1996, and it is currently being implemented. This initiative prohibited the utilization of race, ethnicity, or gender in public contracting, employment, and education. For the University of California system, the short-term effect has been devastating, especially for UC Berkeley and UCLA, the most selective public institutions in the state. Students of color admitted to UC Berkeley and UCLA for fall 1998 declined by 61 percent and 36 percent, respectively. These institutions are now focusing on outreach efforts at the elementary and secondary level to enlarge the pool of eligible students, but that strategy will only achieve results in the long term.

Similarly, in Texas as a result of the Hopwood decision, the number of minority students admitted to the University of Texas system has plummeted. A short-term solution enacted by the state legislature, called the Ten Percent Law, requires public universities in the state to admit all Texas students who graduate in the top 10 percent of their high school class, regardless of test scores or extracurricular activities.

The intent of this measure was to increase the pool of potential applicants and thereby increase diversity. However, concerns have been raised that, because of vast differences in the quality of elementary/secondary education between wealthy and poor communities, some students will not be sufficiently prepared for the highly competitive campuses. While admissions officials have been broadening the factors used in admissions decisions, this law has limited those factors. Another issue concerns the cost of implementation. It is estimated that $60 million in financial aid will be needed for the newly eligible minority students who qualify under the new law but cannot afford to attend.

Proposition A, introduced in the City of Houston and patterned after California’s Proposition 209, sought to eliminate affirmative action in public employment and contracting. In November 1997, the measure was defeated by a 55-45 percent margin. The support of the corporate sector and heavy voter turnout in African American and Latino communities were key to this defeat. A recent court challenge, however, has successfully overturned the vote. Indications are that the City of Houston will appeal the decision, but at the moment, the situation is in limbo.

The next arena for political debate on affirmative action is in the state of Washington, where Initiative 200 was on the ballot for the November 1998 election. This measure, again modeled after Proposition 209, would eliminate such programs as outreach, recruitment, and scholarships for minority students, as well as mentoring programs for girls pursuing careers in math, science, and engineering, and job training programs for women in construction trades. An organized activist group working to defeat Initiative 200 argued that the proposal offered no solutions to address discrimination.

The effect of California Proposition 209 has been devastating. . . .

Students of color admitted to UC Berkeley and UCLA for fall 1998 declined by 61 percent and 36 percent, respectively.
Governor Gary Locke (D) and former Governor Daniel Evans (R) have been vocal in their opposition to this measure. In addition, many corporate executives in Washington have given large contributions and made public statements in opposition to the initiative, stating that passage of Initiative 200 would not be in the best interest of the Washington business community.

Several other states, most notably Colorado, Florida, Ohio, and Oregon, have introduced voter-based referenda. Many of these campaigns have failed to gather the requisite number of signatures in the allotted time period or have been unsuccessful in fundraising efforts. The anti-affirmative action movement plots to create race-neutral environments, regardless of the impact on equal opportunity and access.

Legal actions

The Supreme Court’s Bakke decision, which allowed race as one of many factors in college admissions, still prevails in all states except those of the Fifth Circuit (Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi) which are now ruled by the Hopwood decision. In reality, the major impact of Hopwood has been in Texas, since Louisiana and Mississippi fall under prior desegregation cases, such as Adams and Fordice.

Currently, there are reverse discrimination cases pending against the University of Washington law school, and the University of Michigan, both at the undergraduate level and against the law school. If any of these cases should reach the Supreme Court, then either Bakke will be upheld or it will be overturned or modified. There is much interest in the higher education community concerning the outcome of these court decisions.

Recent studies have been conducted by a Washington-based conservative think-tank, examining preferences in public higher education in Colorado and North Carolina. It is highly likely that these studies are the precursor of further legal action in those states. Of course, public institutions are much more vulnerable to lawsuits than are their private counterparts.

What the research shows

Efforts to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in higher education, and to diversify college and university student bodies and faculties, have been under way for more than 25 years. An analysis of enrollment, degree-granting, and employment trends during this period reveals two things: first, much has been achieved, and second, persons of color are far from reaching parity, and many women of all races and ethnicities continue to be underserved and underemployed.

How do students benefit from a strong institutional emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism? This question was examined by noted educational authority Alexander Astin in a national four-year longitudinal study of student outcomes that surveyed 25,000 undergraduates at 217 four-year colleges and universities. The findings of this study empirically support the premise that students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds benefit from institutional diversity efforts and from multicultural curricula and/or experiences. Based on this study, Astin concludes that “emphasizing diversity either as a
matters of institutional policy or in faculty research and teaching, as well as providing students with curricular and extra-curricular opportunities to confront racial and multicultural issues, are all associated with widespread beneficial effects on a student’s cognitive and affective development.”

Public opinion

Civil rights and education associations have conducted focus groups and polls to ascertain how the public views affirmative action. Many of those surveyed have expressed negative reactions to affirmative action, equating it with quotas, which are, of course, illegal. When further probed about the notion of “leveling the playing field” or “education as the great equalizer,” those messages resonate positively. There is also tremendous support for the concept of diversity in education, but many citizens believe that this will occur naturally and that no artificial measures should be necessary to achieve diversity.

A recent poll in Washington state, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, showed overwhelming support (72 percent) for diversity in higher education. Indeed, 77 percent believe that diversity benefits ALL students, not simply the beneficiaries of affirmative action programs. They feel that diversity enhances academic excellence by enriching dialogue both in and out of the classroom, and that colleges and universities play an important role in improving race relations. Almost 90 percent of respondents believe that diversity in education is critical, given the nation’s changing demographics. More than half think that students should study different cultures in order to break down stereotypes.

Another Ford-sponsored poll in Florida found similar results concerning opinions about diversity. The public believes that diversity is a reality and not a passing fad. Colleges are preparing students for the workforce and society and, therefore, diversity is essential. Nearly 90 percent believe that people tend to get along better with colleagues when they know and understand cultural differences.

Training future journalists

One of the factors that has led to the public’s negative perception of affirmative action is the way in which the media cover the issue. In stories about affirmative action, words like “bias” and “preferences” are frequently used in attention-grabbing headlines. Such terms are inflammatory and often don’t reflect the gist of the accompanying article or program. Supporters of affirmative action are often chided as “pushing preferences” when “ensuring access and opportunity” would be a more apt description. Faculty


and deans of journalism schools and communications programs, as well as practicing journalists have a responsibility to train future journalists not to succumb to sensationalism in their reporting. Even though dramatic headlines sell newspapers, magazines, and ratings, it is critical to the integrity of the profession to be fair and to be held accountable for what gets written or aired.

**Conclusion**

Our nation is now in the midst of a significant debate over how best to fight discrimination. Despite attacks on affirmative action on many fronts, public opinion and research show that diversity is valued as essential to the fabric of American higher education, and that affirmative efforts are still necessary in order to achieve diversity. College and university leaders must maintain or even strengthen their commitment to diversity on our college campuses, and affirmative action is one of the most effective means and best hopes for realizing the goal of equal opportunity for all Americans.
NEARLY 20 YEARS AGO, the American Society of Newspaper Editors embarked on an ambitious plan that would profoundly influence opportunities for minorities across the news industry. At the heart of the plan was a numerical goal: by the year 2000, the percentage of minorities in newsrooms would be equal to the percentage of minorities in the U.S. population. The ASNE Board of Directors in 1978 believed this objective could be met earlier than 2000, and it said so in a resolution it adopted. But in 1978, the projection for the year 2000 was a minority population of 12 or 13 percent. This population has grown to twice that amount – currently 24 percent – and has become a moving target for ASNE.

Since then, ASNE’s annual newsroom census has tracked the increase in employment from 3.95 percent (1,700 jobs) in 1978 to 11.3 percent (6,100 jobs) in 1996. That is an improvement of 259 percent. It represents a hard-won achievement for ASNE, but one that will leave the Society short of its goal in the year 2000.

Other numerical snapshots give an encouraging picture of how newsrooms are changing: Among those taking their first newspaper job last year, 21 percent were minorities. And 37 percent of the interns hired last summer were minorities. Newspapers also continue to make gains in the percent of minorities who hold supervisory positions. In the 1996 ASNE census, 8.5 percent of newsroom supervisors were minorities.
Dick Smyser, then editor of the Oak Ridge (Tenn.) Oak Ridger and chair of the ASNE Minorities Committee in 1978, told a reporter recently that he is gratified “at the number of times I have heard a reference to that goal. It is something that has helped, something to focus on and refer to.”

Gene Patterson, former editor of the St. Petersburg Times and president of ASNE in 1978, says the year 2000 goal is one of the most worthy approaches “to this century’s greatest problem that any organization has ever undertaken. I am very proud of it and the progress that has been made.”

ASNE’s leadership and influence go well beyond the numerical goal. Since 1978, it has committed extensive resources to a broad range of programs serving these purposes:

✔ TO INCREASE THE AWARENESS of newspaper executives of the importance of hiring, promoting and retaining minorities in newsrooms.

✔ TO OFFER PRACTICAL HELP and innovative programs to newspapers in recruiting and training minority journalists.

✔ TO INCREASE THE FLOW of minority talent into journalism education and into the nation’s newsrooms.

✔ TO STIMULATE CLOSER RELATIONSHIPS with editors, educators, minority journalism organizations, and journalism programs at educational institutions with sizable enrollments of Native American, Asian, African American and Hispanic students.

ASNE’s commitment to diversity has had a particularly strong influence in journalism education. In the mid-1980s, when the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) was moving toward establishing a diversity standard, ASNE representatives, as well as those from other professional organizations, provided strong voices in support of the idea.

In 1987, the ASNE Board of Directors called for renewed emphasis on minority and female participation in journalism education. The board’s resolution commended the Accrediting Council “for requiring that journalism schools actively recruit minorities and women faculty and students for journalism education programs.” ASNE said that Standard 12 “should serve to enhance the quality of journalism education by insuring that faculties and student bodies reflect the rich diversity of our country and its people.”

Over the years, practitioners on the council have encouraged more rigorous enforcement of Standard 12.

A key factor contributing to the increase in minority employment has been the ASNE job fairs. The idea of creating a forum where newspaper recruiters could interview students and entry-level professionals looking for opportunities was pioneered by Newsday, the Chicano News Media Association and Howard University.

In 1985, ASNE sponsored its first round of job fairs, eight of them in regional sites where the focus was educating editors on effective interviewing techniques as well as opening new opportunities for minorities. Over the years, the scope and effectiveness of the job fair program have increased, with workshops offering additional attractions for both recruiters and students. In 1998, for example, the Spirit of
Diversity, an annual job fair sponsored by ASNE with the Detroit News and Detroit Free Press, drew recruiters from 35 news organizations and more than 100 students from 29 colleges and universities for a two-day program of recruiting and workshops.

To provide the appropriate level of support for ASNE’s growing commitment to diversity, the Society hired a full-time minority affairs director in 1985. Veronica Jennings, a former reporter for the Washington Post, is the current diversity director.

Each year, ASNE sponsors a series of daylong conferences on college campuses with large enrollments of minority students. These short courses bring together experienced editors, photographers, reporters and graphics designers with high school and college students for real-life discussions on careers in journalism. Under the guidance of editors, the students participate in simulated reporting and copy editing exercises.

During its annual convention each April, a multicultural group of college students are selected to work on the ASNE Reporter, a daily convention newspaper. The Reporter provides students an opportunity to gain first-hand experience in daily journalism, as well as the chance to network with ASNE members and convention participants. Media professionals from across the country serve as editors and mentors to the students during their work at the convention.

ASNE publishes each year an internship guide titled Get a Job, which points students to more than 200 paid internships. More than 10,000 copies of the guide are distributed each year.

ASNE’s Diversity Committee is one of the most active of the Society’s 17 standing committees. Over the years, the committee has undertaken major projects aimed at providing help and information in the interest of diversity. One of its recent projects is an editor’s guide to managing diversity called The Multicultural Newsroom: How to Get the Best from Everybody.

ASNE has started a pilot program to strengthen high school journalism in rural and urban schools where the school newspaper is struggling to survive. ASNE will select 12 partnerships between newspapers and high schools across the country. Funding from the ASNE Foundation will provide new or upgraded electronic publishing equipment, while the partnering newspapers will provide professional mentors and advisors to the school newspaper staff.

ASNE’s web site is a resource available to students, faculty and practitioners as a clearinghouse for information on diversity and careers.

Affirmative action, as a legal and legislative issue, is a topic rarely discussed at ASNE gatherings. Court decisions and perceptions of the public mood matter little to editors who share the vision so clearly articulated by John Quinn, a former ASNE president: “There is a moral reason to do the right thing.”

Editors today understand the unique role newspapers play in reflecting the rich diversity of their communities and how critical to that role are the experiences and perspectives of a diverse news staff. For them, diversity in coverage and in staffing is an indispensable part of building better newspapers.

<www.asne.org>

Over the next months leading up to the year 2000, ASNE will be developing plans to take its commitment to diversity into a new century, knowing that leadership, hard work and the deep beliefs of hundreds of its members have made a difference.
DIVERSIFYING RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWSROOMS is as much a part of RTNDA’s history as it is its future. Since 1972, RTNDA has sponsored annual research on the employment of women and minorities in newsrooms. The statistics from our research are an ongoing catalyst for building awareness and ultimately taking action to provide numerous training opportunities and resources for women and minority news professionals.

For years, while the number of women in newsrooms has been on the rise, the number of minorities in newsroom positions has remained static. A chief concern for RTNDA has been the number of minorities represented in news management positions, including executive producers, managing editors, assistant news directors and news directors. RTNDA’s 1996 survey includes a more detailed breakdown of minority representation in those specific positions.

The leadership of RTNDA believes it is critical for a station’s news management team to reflect the communities in which they serve. Only through diversification of its top ranks will the staff and content of our nation’s TV and radio stations be fully diverse.
In 1991, RTNDA created a non-profit, educational foundation. RTNDF’s first charge was to develop a project to address the lack of minority representation in radio and television news management called the *Newsroom Diversity Campaign*. Our mission is to promote cultural diversity in America’s newsrooms and specifically to increase the minority participation in newsroom management.

In 1992, RTNDF in conjunction with the University of Missouri School of Journalism kicked off its first News Management Seminar for women and minority news professionals. These three-day seminars, which have become the centerpiece of the *Campaign*, provide inexpensive and accessible hands-on training through lectures, role-playing, case studies and group exercises. In its first five years, RTNDF has trained over 300 aspiring female and minority news managers.

RTNDA and RTNDF understand the importance of developing programming and resources for working minority journalism students. The *Campaign* provides a track of training and educational opportunities for minorities at every step of their career. First, it is critical to introduce students to the concept of news management. By offering career counseling, mentoring and shadowing events, RTNDF increases the awareness of students that there are many other, potentially more valuable opportunities in the newsroom in production and news management, besides the ever-popular on-air positions.

For minority journalism students interested in pursuing a job in news management, RTNDF offers six news management internships. These interns are based in stations for three and six-month periods, and are given hands-on news management experience. RTNDF also offers other internships and scholarships specifically for minority journalism students.

For the minority journalist just starting out in the newsroom, RTNDF offers the $1,000 Michelle Clark Fellowship to provide financial support for professional development. RTNDF’s fellowship, internship and scholarship winners also receive an all-expense-paid trip to RTNDA’s Annual International Conference.

In 1995, RTNDA signed a landmark covenant with Unity ’99 to forge a strategic partnership to strengthen our efforts in the area of diversity. This unprecedented action gives promise that we, together with other members of Unity, can become an even more powerful force in helping to diversify television and radio newsrooms. The convenant outlines over a dozen performance goals for RTNDA and Unity, against which to evaluate our progress.

In addition to the commitments with Unity, RTNDA and RTNDF are pushing ahead with a very aggressive agenda. In 1997, RTNDF held minority student mentoring events in four major cities across the country. RTNDF’s News Management Seminars have convened in such cities as New Orleans and Washington, D.C. A representative from RTNDA attends the conferences of all four of the minority journalists organizations. RTNDA organizes a booth at each of the conference job fairs and staffs them with local news directors who are seeking new employees.

Unity and RTNDA and RTNDF have made retention our primary focus. RTNDF has led this effort by conducting research in the area of
retention that will provide more insight into what newsroom resources are currently in place to retain minority news professionals and what more can be done to prevent them from leaving the business. In addition, RTNDA organized a workshop on the issue of minority retention in electronic newsrooms for the recent RTNDA Annual Conference in New Orleans. The program used RTNDF’s research as the basis for discussing solutions to minority retention.

RTNDF is now looking to fulfill more professional development opportunities for minority news professionals by offering advanced News Management Seminars for past participants of our management seminars who have climbed the ladder and are looking for a more challenging training experience. To help increase minority participation in middle management positions and to meet the growing demands for qualified producers, RTNDF is also looking to include producer training programs and production internships for minority professionals and students. These programs, modeled on the management training opportunities RTNDF already offers, will be another resource to help recruit candidates of color into the management pipeline.

Lastly, RTNDF recognizes the need to help inform and train current news and station managers how to better recruit minority candidates into their newsrooms. In 1995, RTNDF published a *Minority Recruitment Directory*, a news management reference for news directors and others in the newsroom with hiring responsibilities. The resource was updated in 1996 and distributed to over 1,000 newsrooms. Over 80 regional and national contacts are listed in the directory, which is also updated monthly on RTNDF’s web site.

With the Unity ’99 conference in Seattle this year, RTNDA and RTNDF are committed to keeping the fire lit under diversity issues for television and radio news. Since the covenant was signed, the momentum has built to tackle these issues head on. With a united front and a list of shared goals, RTNDA and our Unity partners are well-positioned to make newsroom diversity a reality by the end of this century. 

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**RADIO-TELEVISION DIVERSITY INITIATIVES**

- ✔ 1972: Began sponsoring annual research on the employment of women and minorities in newsrooms.
- ✔ 1991: Began the *Newsroom Diversity Campaign*.
- ✔ 1995: Signed a landmark covenant with Unity ’99 to strengthen diversity efforts.
- ✔ 1997: Sponsored four minority student mentoring events.
- ✔ 1997: Organized a workshop on minority retention for the Annual Conference.
- ✔ Provides internships, scholarships and fellowships for minority journalism students.
ONE OF THE ISSUES ADMINISTRATORS FACE is how to achieve cultural and ethnic diversity among faculty that is representative of the U.S. population, that seeks to remedy past discriminatory practices, that is indigenous to the university's locale and reflective of its academic mission. That's no small task, particularly in light of recent opposition to affirmative action policies designed to address any of the above.

As lawsuits are being filed to challenge the diversity efforts of industry and academe during the past 25 years, I am reminded of how I was recruited to become a member of the journalism faculty at Louisiana State University. That strategy, I think, can serve as a useful model to others.
**Strategy One:**
Identify your target and strike!

Early identification and contact with prospective faculty pays off! This strategy especially works if current or retired faculty have ties with a graduate program and can identify minority or female doctoral candidates for you.

Bill Click, then director of the Manship School of Journalism at Louisiana State University, contacted me while I was still a Ph.D. student at Missouri. It was a cordial and business-like introduction to LSU and its journalism program. Essentially, he wanted me to consider LSU as I neared completion of my studies.

Missouri has strong ties to a number of institutions, and in this case, LSU had just hired Robert Picard a couple of years before, and John Merrill, who had taught at Missouri, was also on the faculty.

**Strategy Two:**
Establish empathy with the candidate.

Another effective letter from Click inquired about my pre-dissertation status, but the letter also said something else. It appealed to the universal need for Ph.D. candidates to establish an effective bridge between dissertation research and post-doctoral employment. I tacked the letter on my bulletin board above my typewriter. I had received other job tips and followed up on some, but by March 1985 I had scheduled my first academic interview at LSU. In the end, I made the commitment to LSU, despite another job offer that afforded an opportunity to remain in the state near my Ph.D. committee.

**Strategy Three:**
Sell your program, but don't patronize the candidate.

My initial interview gave me the distinct impression that the journalism program, university and community had something to offer. Through Click's collaborative efforts with others, my husband's own interview experience was positive and he felt valued as more than just part of the package.

I don't know whether it was the contemps rouler regional atmosphere, the football frenzy, the cajun/creole cuisine, the Southern flavor, or the serious, traditional and no nonsense approach to journalism education, I was smitten. I was one of seven new faculty hired that year that enhanced the school's diversity and expertise.

Many recruiting experts encourage social gatherings that include other persons of color. Another effective approach is to match career interests and lifestyle interests when planning social occasions for the candidate. Although the university made no special effort to showcase their other minority faculty, I appreciated the sincere effort to welcome my family into the community.
**Strategy Four:**
Value diversity.
Never let your candidate or faculty search committee view the process as a token hire.

Ultimately, what may have sold me was the quality of interview I received with the college dean. The dean valued my teaching experience at an historically black college and university, my professional experience at smaller media outlets, and my educational preparation. I felt I had leverage during the interview, not because I was merely a minority candidate, but a qualified one. It was obvious to me that Click had thoroughly discussed my credentials with the dean beforehand. The faculty had confidence in me because of the linkages provided by other members of the faculty with direct ties to my graduate institution.

**Strategy Five:**
Nurture your recruit.

I spent three wonderful, developmental years at the university as an assistant professor. During my first year, Click and the assistant director who handled scheduling, ensured that the ABD’s (there was at least one other) had flexible scheduling that would accommodate full teaching loads and dissertation research. There were no trick clauses in my contract, but occasionally, Click would gently inquire about my dissertation progress. “How’s the dissertation research coming along?” he would ask, which I interpreted to mean that I should plan to finish sooner rather than later.

Faculty mentoring can be a most valuable and practical tool for faculty retention. I had senior faculty who gave me good pointers on the level of productivity expected at each rank, shared teaching tips, read my dissertation chapters and offered helpful suggestions. I thought we were a collegial group who engaged in intellectual discourse and enjoyed occasional social gatherings on and off campus.

My committee appointments were strategically low key during the one and a half years before I received my Ph.D. I felt that my service on the student judiciary committee, student media panel, and chairmanship of the university public relations committee complemented my teaching and research.

One of the highlights of my tenure at LSU was working with the director to write successful grants to the then Gannett Foundation and New York Times Company Foundation to establish a multicultural journalism program as a high school recruitment tool. That was one instance in which embracing diversity reaped dividends for all of us.
UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENTS in journalism and mass communication programs in the autumn of 1997 increased 2.3 percent compared with a year earlier, representing the fourth year of growth in undergraduate journalism enrollments, signaling a period of continued growth in the field. In contrast, graduate enrollments in journalism and mass communication programs declined for the second year in a row. If the national economy continues to be strong, enrollments in graduate programs can be expected to follow the national pattern of slight declines for the next several years.

The number of bachelor’s degrees granted to journalism and mass communication students still has not recovered from the decline in enrollments earlier in the decade. The number of graduate degrees granted by journalism and mass communication programs remained flat in 1996-97 versus a year earlier. The number of doctoral degrees actually declined.
Results of the Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments\(^1\) show that:

- Women dominate enrollments at all levels of journalism and mass communication and are more dominant than in other fields, on average, at the university.

- Minority enrollments in journalism and mass communication programs increased in 1997 over a year earlier; retention of minority students through graduation continues to be a problem.

**Enrollments and gender**

The percentage of journalism and mass communication students who are women increased by nearly two points in the autumn of 1997 over a year earlier, showing the first change in these percentages in recent years. Whether this is an unusual fluctuation or even due to measurement and estimation error isn’t possible to know at this point.

Women have been the clear majority in undergraduate journalism and mass communication programs since 1977, and the National Center for Educational Statistics data show that women have dominated undergraduate programs, regardless of major, since 1979.\(^2\) In the autumn of 1997, 56.9 percent of all undergraduate students at two-year and four-year institutions of higher education were female, compared with 61.3 percent in undergraduate journalism and mass communication programs. Journalism and mass communication as a field has been above average in this regard for the last 10 years at least, but the gap seems to be narrowing a bit. Regardless, the observation – frequently made in many circles – that journalism and mass communication is female-dominated is not, and should not be treated as very surprising. The clear majority of undergraduate students, regardless of major, are women.

Much the same can be said for graduate education. Most students (62.7\%) in journalism and mass communication master’s programs in the autumn of 1997 were women, as has been true throughout the decade. This is true across fields nationally as well, though here there has been a gain for women in the decade. In 1988, 52.6 percent of the students enrolled in graduate programs summed across all majors in the U.S. were female, and that figure was 56.0 in the autumn of 1997. The National Center for Educational Statistics does not separate graduate students by degree sought. In fact, in many fields there is no terminal master’s degree, or one is given as a “consolation” degree for those who unsuccessfully sought a doctorate. Women dominated enrollment (54.0\%) in doctoral programs in journalism and mass communication in the autumn of 1997. Women’s hold on this program is less secure, varying quite a bit year to year. Over the decade, however, the pattern is clearly for an increase in the percentage of doctoral students who are female.

Degrees granted reflect enrollments for the most part. Women dominate in terms of bachelor’s degrees granted, both in journalism

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1. Sponsors of the 1997 Annual Survey were the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication (ASJMC), Council of Affiliates of AEJMC, the Freedom Forum, National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), Newsletter Publishers Foundation, Newspaper Association of America Foundation, Hearst Corporation, Jane Pauley & NBC, Radio Television News Directors Association (RTNDA), Scripps Howard Foundation, and the Henry W. Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia.

and mass communication (59.9%) and across all majors (55.0%). The same is true for master’s degrees (63.6% in journalism and mass communication and 55.0% in all majors). In the academic year 1996-97, however, only two of five doctoral degrees in journalism and mass communication were granted to women. This is nearly identical to the national figure for that year (39.3% nationally versus 39.8% for journalism and mass communication). Over the decade, despite growth in the percentage of women enrolled in journalism and mass communication doctoral programs, there has not been a sustained growth in the percentage of degrees granted to women. Why this is the case isn’t clear from the data, but it is clearly of importance to the field.

**Enrollments and ethnicity**

The percentage of journalism and mass communication students who were black or African American grew in the autumn of 1997 versus a year earlier and continued its increase over the decade. Only 7.9 percent of the students enrolled in journalism and mass communication in the autumn of 1988 were black or African American, while that figure was 13.5 percent 10 years later. The percentage of enrolled journalism and mass communication students who were of Hispanic origin also has grown across the decade and stood at 8.5 percent in the autumn of 1997.

At the master’s level, the percentage of enrolled students in journalism and mass communication who were minorities also grew in 1997 in comparison with a year earlier. There also is evidence of growth over the last decade. At the doctoral level, the situation is less clear. The percentage of enrolled students who are African American was nearly the same in 1997 as it had been 10 years earlier. The situation is the same for Hispanic students. The percentage of students from outside the U.S. seems to have stabilized in recent years, though the large number of students classified as “other” raises questions about that issue.

Journalism and mass communication programs in 1996-97 granted a higher percentage of their degrees to African American students than

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<th>GENDER</th>
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<th>Actual Count</th>
<th>Projected Percentage Degrees</th>
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* Counts for enrollments are based on data from 245 schools at the bachelor’s degree level, 375 schools at the master’s level, and 434 schools at the doctoral level. Counts for degrees granted are based on 236, 367 and 434 schools, respectively.
at any time in the last 10 years – and probably ever. One in 10 of the bachelor’s degree recipients was so classified by administrators. The same can be said for Hispanics. Only one in four of the degrees granted in that academic year was to students not classified as minorities or foreign. At the master’s level, however, there is no evidence of increased representation of minorities. In fact, the percentage of degrees granted to non-minorities increased in 1996-97 over a year earlier, although the figure is still down from its recent peak in 1991. At the doctoral level, there was stability in terms of degrees granted to non-minorities from 1995-96 to 1996-97. The percentage of degrees granted to students classified as African American was a couple of points below the year earlier and considerably below the peak year of 1991. The number of doctoral students receiving degrees in 1996-97 was small – 125 – and the percentage for African American doctoral degree recipients translates to three students.

As has been true in the past, journalism and mass communication programs do a better job of attracting minority students than of graduating them. While 13.5 percent of the students enrolled in the autumn of 1997 in bachelor’s degree programs were African American, only 10.7 per-
cent of the bachelor’s degrees granted the previous academic year were granted to African Americans. The pattern has been consistent across recent years, suggesting that differential retention is a continuing and important issue.

A recalculation of the data to focus only on domestic students shows that 22.9 percent of the 1996-97 domestic bachelor’s degree recipients at the nation’s 450 journalism and mass communication programs were members of a racial or ethnic minority, while 19.4 percent of the domestic master’s degree recipients were so classified and 26.7 percent of the domestic doctoral students were minorities. The Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Graduates showed that 18.0 percent of the 1997 sample of graduates were members of racial and ethnic minorities – 17.6 percent of the bachelor’s degree recipients and 24.1 percent of the master’s degree recipients. The lower rate in the graduate survey could be due to differential return rates in the graduate sample. It is also possible that the enrollment survey overestimates minority representation. Returns are incomplete, and the programs with poorer diversification may be less likely to report results. In the population at large, 27.6 percent of U.S. residents were classified as minorities in 1998, meaning that, regardless of estimate, journalism and mass communication programs are not yet producing graduates as diverse as the population at large.

In 1994-95, the most recent year for which national data regardless of major are available, 18.6 percent of the bachelor’s degrees granted to U.S. citizens were to persons classified as racial or ethnic minorities. Among those receiving master’s degrees, the percentage labeled as minority was 16.0. At the doctoral level, 16.6 percent of the degrees granted to U.S. citizens were to persons classified as minorities. Journalism and mass communication programs, it would seem, are doing as well as or better than average in terms of graduating minorities, though not yet good enough to produce parity in the workforce.

As noted, the data on the racial and ethnic classification of journalism and mass communication graduates are incomplete. Only 194 of the 446 schools with undergraduate programs in the autumn of 1997 reported such data for those who graduated in the 1996-97 academic year. Of the 175 schools with a master’s program, 88 reported full data on enrollment by ethnicity and 67 reported such data for those who received degrees the previous year. At the doctoral level, 17 of the 31 schools offering the degree reported enrollment data by ethnicity and 17 reported ethnicity of those who received degrees in 1996-97. The percentages are projections based on very incomplete data from programs that may well not represent the overall population. In each case – in terms of enrollments and degrees granted at all three levels – the number of schools reporting ethnicity data in 1997 was lower than in 1996. For example, 194 schools reported undergraduate enrollments by ethnicity in 1997, while 203 had done so a year earlier. The decreased support for

3. See the web site of the Annual Surveys of Journalism & Mass Communication: <www.grady.uga.edu/annual surveys>. Doctoral students are not included in the graduate survey.


5. Minority students enroll at the university upon graduation from high school at rates lower than whites. Consistently since 1981, the percentage of black and Hispanic high school graduates aged 16-24 who were enrolled in college the October following graduation has been several points lower than for white students. In 1995, the gap was greater than 10 percentage points. Black and Hispanic students also have higher high school dropout rates, meaning that a lower percentage are minimally prepared for a college education. See Thomas M. Smith, Beth Aronstamm Young, Yupin Bae, Susan P. Choy and Naabeel Alsalam, The Condition of Education 1997, NCES 97-338, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (pp. 61-63).
affirmative action nationally seems to be translating into decreased interest in compiling and reporting these data in journalism and mass communication programs in the country.

**Concluding comments**

Journalism and mass communication programs around the country seem headed for another period of growth in enrollments, reflecting national trends in that regard. Growth isn’t likely to be long-term, and administrators will be faced with tough decisions about what to do with increased demands for limited resources. Enrollment growth is a boon to journalism education only if resources follow. Journalism and mass communication instruction has become very equipment intensive, and it cannot be inexpensively provided.

There is some evidence of increased growth in journalism and mass communication faculty size in recent years. Ironically, it is not matched by increased production of doctoral students. At the present rate of growth and replacement of faculty, the number of doctoral students receiving degrees from journalism and mass communication programs would seem inadequate to meet demands.

Journalism and mass communication programs have made some progress in terms of diversification of the backgrounds of those in their classrooms. Minority enrollments increased in 1997 over a year earlier. Two problems, however, remain prominent. First, retention of minority students is lower than that of students not classified as members of racial and ethnic minorities. Second, the data available to judge progress in the field are deteriorating, as fewer programs are reporting enrollments and degrees granted by ethnic classification.

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6. Leo Reisberg, “Size of High-School Graduating Classes Will Hit 3.2 Million,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* (March 27, 1998). The Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education and the College Board have estimated that enrollments will peak in 2008 and fall each year following until at least 2012. If the projections are correct, however, enrollments in 2012 will still be considerably higher than they were in 1997.
MICHAEL DAVIS died February 15, 1994, of injuries he sustained in a fraternity hazing incident. He was a journalism student in the Department of Mass Communication at Southeast Missouri State University at the time of his tragic death. Three years ago, the department held the first Michael Davis Lecture to honor his memory as part of the university’s Black History month activities.

MARILYN KERN-FOXWORTH, then of Texas A&M University and now at Florida A&M University, is the 1997 Michael Davis Lecturer. She is the first African American to earn a Ph.D. in advertising.

INEZ Y. KAISER, Kansas City, is the 1998 Michael Davis Lecturer. She is the first African American woman to own a public relations agency.

CHUCK STONE, a two-time Pulitzer Prize nominee, is the 1999 Michael Davis lecturer. He served as a White House correspondent during the Kennedy administration. He has edited three major African American newspapers – the New York Age, the Washington Afro-American and the Chicago Daily Defender. In 1975, he was the founding president of the National Association of Black Journalists, which awarded him its lifetime achievement award in 1992. He was also one of the founding members of the National Center for Fair and Open Testing, on whose board of directors he currently serves. His more than 150 awards include the Free Spirit Award, the Freedom Forum’s highest honor. He has served as a commentator on the Today Show, was a senior editor at the Philadelphia Daily News, and hosted a PBS program called Another Voice. The Walter Spearman Professor in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of North Carolina is the author of numerous books and articles, and he is a media and political analyst for WTVD-TV in Durham, North Carolina.
IF YOU LOOK at the 100 or so journalism schools that are accredited, I don’t think there are any that have a lectureship or even a professorship named for an African American, so what you’ve done here at Southeast Missouri State University is extraordinary. . . . In fact, there are are only 123 African Americans in the country who hold a chair. . . . That you’re honoring Michael Davis is a lovely tribute and an exercise not only in multiculturalism, but in affection for a student who did a good job here. . . .

I THINK IT WOULD BE UNFORGIVABLY INSENSITIVE and recklessly oblivious for any journalist or journalism educator to stand before an assembly and not take judicious notice of the day when one of America’s most staggering, polarizing, moral tragedies came to an end. Yesterday [February 13, 1999], for the second time in four years, a scandal-loving country stood still to watch the outcome of a tabloid-salivating criminal trial. . . .
The first time was October 4, 1995, when the heartbeat of the United States momentarily stopped to watch the jury verdict of the O.J. Simpson trial. . . . Airline flights were delayed, college classes began late, medical procedures of hospitals were held up, phone companies reported a usage drop of nearly 60 percent . . . stock trading plummeted . . . 76 percent of African Americans thought he was not guilty; 80 percent of white Americans thought he was guilty.

The second time the national heartbeat paused for a few minutes was ironically on February 12, Lincoln’s birthday, 1999, when Americans watched a clerk drone the votes for and against the conviction of the impeached 42nd president, William Jefferson Clinton.

Like the O.J. Simpson trial’s outcome, the Clinton verdict divided the country and the politicians. Forty-five Democratic senators were unanimously united in their belief that the president’s uncontrollable libidinal adventures do not rise to the level of convicted impeachment as spelled out in the Federalist Papers and the Constitution. The 39-member Congressional Black Caucus was also unanimously supportive of Mr. Clinton.

A January 31, 1999, full-page advertisement appeared in the New York Times with a picture of the famed musician, comedian and former late night television host, Steve Allen, with the headline: “TV is leading our children down a moral sewer: How you and I can stop it.” Add to these two events the adult hysteria over all of the naughty literature and purient pictures on the Internet, and one can only be amazed that most of you guys have not lost your ethical bearings. And of course you haven’t because there are still wonderful heroes out there. Thank God for Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa and Michael Jordan and the Vanderbilt University women’s basketball team, and I was watching Tiger Woods today. We still have a few heroes left.

YOU ARE MY FAVORITE GENERATION because you are more ecumenical – and I continue, stronger, more sophisticated, more sports-loving, more caring, more skeptical, more curious. Four percent of all marriages today are interracial compared to only one percent 30 years ago. So there is a movement toward togetherness. I call you the crossover generation.

When we were kids and I was in college – that’s when Thomas Jefferson was president – to paraphrase John Bernard Shaw, we saw things as they were and asked why, but your generation dares to dream things that never were and asks why not.

BEHIND THE POLITICALLY AND RACIALLY polarizing trial of President Clinton, I felt an imperative to retitle my remarks. . . . Journalists today do suffer from a diminished credibility, a perceived lack of ethics, a tabloid voyeurism (that’s a respectable euphemism for bedroom peeping Toms), a debilitated self-discipline, increasing attempts to censor stories, back-peddaling on multiculturalism in the hiring of minorities, a constant struggle to master technology instead of technology controlling us, and, finally, the urgency for a new journalism education that has not kept pragmatic pace with

This crossover generation hasn’t lost its ethical bearings because there are still some wonderful heroes out there. Thank God for Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa, Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods.
the journalism profession, changes and the commitment to equal opportunity.

As America mobilizes its expectations for the 21st century in one year, the media, the bedrock of democracy for over two centuries, does not seem to be enjoying much self-respect, according to the perceptions of its readers, viewers and listeners. This unfortunate state of affairs resonates with paradox because, despite the wrong-doers we in the media have reported, the plunderers of the public treasury we have exposed, the embezzlers of corporations we have helped send to jail . . . the massive number of good deeds we have done, the endless civic projects we have publicized to bring to fruition, the almost superhuman jobs we have performed in reporting thousands of stories every day as America’s primary dispenser of news and information, and always available to be the public’s court of last resort, somehow our readers still rank the media’s integrity and credibility somewhere down the trustworthy scale between politicians and used car salesmen. And that’s unfair to those two professions.

I have used the word “media” to describe my former occupation . . . that was not always the designation. Forty years ago we were the “press,” a word that defined newspapers and magazines. Today a more powerful and dominant influence has become the primary dispenser of news and entertainment. Television: the electronic narcotic that has turned consumers into couch potatoes.

We are now the “media.” And the two main components of media, television and newspapers, have different ethical and professional standards, share the same audiences but have different critics. Today 60 percent of Americans get their news from television. Fifteen years ago, in 1984, 60 percent of Americans got their news from newspapers. So, instead of Americans making judgments based on in-depth, written and well-documented stories, Americans make judgments based on sound bites, on self-ordained pundits who have worked feverishly to become electronic celebrities, who compete with the celebrities that they interview, and do so as nice-looking people who read the news fluently and stylishly.

In this competition between television celebrities and political wanna-bes who become familiar and in some cases famous, and after

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*Instead of Americans making judgments based on in-depth and well-documented stories, they make judgments based on sound bites, on self-ordained pundits who have worked feverishly to become electronic celebrities, who read the news fluently and stylishly.*

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months of Ken Starr’s investigations of President Clinton . . . the ultimate irony of the media’s diminished credibility is a reciprocity of dependency . . .

The media depends on public officials who are newsmakers in a controversy, and then the newsmakers in turn depend on the media to get their views before the public in the hope of influencing public opinion. The media then begins to raise the newsmaking ante by escalating the controversy. Then some public officials of the controversy with diminished credibility yell, “Foul!” and accuse the media of bias – or as many Republicans contend, being too liberal. The media’s ethics come in for sharp criticism when it publishes a story that disobeys the four components of my acronym of FEAT . . .
fairness, even-handedness, accuracy and thoroughness....

A few months ago, Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas was speaking to a trade association and relieved himself of a constipative vituperation that apparently had long festered inside of him, denouncing the disease of cynicism poisoning the nation. Justice Thomas, who makes affirmative action look bad, blamed the media and condemned its “smart-aleck commentators and self-professed know-it-alls, snotty-nosed comments and snotty-nosed smirks.”

Presumably Thomas' denunciation included commentators in both television and newspapers. The famed late night Steve Allen was also on his side. He also listed the tragic consequences of sex and violence.

Did critics like Thomas and Steve Allen erupt overnight? Not at all. For the past 10 years, public officials and prominent Americans have exhibited a declining confidence in the media. The escalation of big-name libel suits is exemplified by the libel suit filed by the security guard, Richard Jewel, during the 1996 Olympics, after the Atlanta Constitution reported he was a suspect in the bombing. . . . When the person is found not to be a suspect, how do you make him whole again? And that's something we have to consider. We in the media have been too anxious to break that story, to get that exclusive.

“Impeach the Media!” declared a cover headline in the magazine, New York, this past November. In a poll, the magazine reported that 55 percent thought the Lewinsky coverage influenced Congress to hold impeachment hearings. Fifty percent thought that the coverage of the Lewinsky story had been irresponsible, including 19 percent who said the media had been very irresponsible.

During the last presidential campaign, Robert Dole accused the media of being too liberal. You couldn't believe them, and they were faking the news and making up polls and stories. . . . Even Mr. Clinton has joined in the fray. He called it tabloid sensationalist media. . . .

This is my 40th year as a journalist. It's also my 40th year of marriage. A few years ago, Louise, my wife, and I got a linguistic divorce. Suddenly I ceased being her husband. Instead I metamorphosed into . . . “you people.” Some of the brothers and sisters know that, if anything upsets black people, it's “you people.” Every time a reporter asked an irrepresibly stupid question – “Madam, how did you feel when you found out your son had been killed?” – or invaded a suffering person's privacy, or stooped to a low-down tactic to get a story, Louise would turn and wag an admonishing finger at me and denounce “you people.” She as so many others has been appalled at the media's lack of self-discipline, and that's what we've lost. We've lost the capacity for self-discipline. . . .

Ironically, Louise was right. . . . An information explosion in this videocracy dominated by television and the Internet has transformed the communication reality out of our lives. But this new media peopled by new journalists that must rely on pictures to survive has also strengthened the freedom to report, expanded the freedom to know and ensured the freedom to inform.
Accompanying First Amendment protected rights, however, is an informational overload that has deprecated journalistic ethics.

Some journalists have been caught with their ethical hands in our profession’s cookie jar. In the last several months, we have witnessed a sad spate of unethical journalistic practices. Phony stories by a reporter for the New Republic. Phony columns written by two columnists – a black female and a white male – for the Boston Globe. An amazingly inaccurate and unfair CNN-Time magazine double-byline story about America’s use of poison gas... A $16 million admission by the Cincinnati Inquirer that a story about Chiquita bananas company’s practices was reported with stolen telephone tapes... Washington Post columnist Janet Cook won a Pulitzer Prize by writing a fictional story about an 8-year-old dope addict... She had to give the Pulitzer Prize back. A New York Daily News columnist wrote a series of fabricated accounts about British soldiers in Belfast, and a Wall Street Journal columnist sold advance information to a stock trader. They were both fired and indicted.

These transgressions are more characteristic today than they were 50 years ago. Today a more well-informed public, a more educated public, a more independent thinking public, demands that we are either to clean house or they are going to do it for us... More and more people want to censor the media because they feel that we are not taking care of business and you can’t trust us.

I call this the Virginia O’Hanlan Standard. In 1896, an 8-year-old girl named Virginia O’Hanlan asked her father, “Daddy, is there a Santa Claus?” He said, “Why don’t you write to the New York Sun?” If it’s in the Sun, it’s true.... Francis Marcellus Church wrote that wonderful editorial. It’s been published many times.... “Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus.” So eloquent. So lovely. She trusted the Sun. Her father trusted the Sun. Today, if a little 8-year-old girl says, “Is there a Santa Claus,” where would the father say write to? Jerry Springer? Geraldo Rivera? Sally Jesse Raphael? To whom would you write today?

Today some 40 newspapers have media critics and ombudsmen... We are doing our own self-examination.... At the same time, these things are continuing to exfoliate.... The American Society of Newspaper Editors began 10 years ago keeping a record of minorities in the newsroom. At the time there were only 3.7 percent. Today they’re up to 11 percent.... But there are 27 percent African Americans, Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans, and we have leveled off. And there’s a problem there. When journalism school faculties, student bodies and journalism studies betray the struggling commitment to multiculturalism, their efforts have been woefully inadequate and have not born fruit. And I think Southeast Missouri State University is unique in its devotion to multiculturalism and its establishment of the Michael Davis Lectureship.

I understand that Marilyn Kern-Foxworth was here a couple of years ago. I was on the phone with her two nights ago. She’s now at Florida A&M. I said that, unfortunately, there is a status quo orientation in the journalism schools today.
They’re not doing what they should in terms of faculty, students and curriculum.

DeTOQUEVILLE TALKED ABOUT the changes of America. I think, if we want to compare where we are now and where we were then, go back to DeToqueville . . . a Frenchman who came to America and wrote a book called Democracy in America, which everybody should be required to read. It’s an absolutely brilliant book. . . .

DeToqueville described the three races (Euro-whites, slaves and Indians) that inhabited the territories of the United States. One hundred fifty years later, these three races have exfoliated into a demographic cornucopia of races and ethnic groups that defy even his ability to predict the future.

DeToqueville wrote about the culture of America. He was brilliantly prophetic. Chapter 18, 98 pages, describes the three races (Euro-whites, slaves and Indians) that inhabited the territories of the United States. One hundred fifty years later, these three races have exfoliated into a demographic cornucopia of races and ethnic groups that defy even his ability to predict the future. . . .

Winston Churchill once tried to describe the Soviet Union. He said the Soviet Union was a puzzle inside of a riddle, wrapped up in a dilemma. We are the same thing. We are ironies in a paradox in journalism. Another irony: America has become more demographically democratic with more and more ethnic groups, religious and ideological groups, influencing and participating in the political mainstream. They have sought to impose their agenda on the body politic and persuade if not force the majority of Americans to embrace their ideals and values.

The national organization, People for the American Way, publishes annually a state by state list of the number of attacks on the freedom to learn in elementary and secondary schools. Since 1987, the number of attacks has doubled from 200 to over 400 all across the country. Almost every state is included. . . . You’d be amazed at the books that have been banned. . . .

A U.S. district court judge in Kentucky used the 1988 Hazelwood decision to ban a university yearbook because it had certain mistakes. . . . It was clear when Justice Byron wrote the Hazelwood decision that it applied only to high schools, but now judges are saying this also can apply to colleges and universities. This is the old slippery slope. You ban one thing, and then another and another and another. We have to be concerned about that and be on our guard.

Journalism, especially print media, is still a first-class profession, the court of last resort for help to many who exercise their First Amendment right to petition the government for a redress of their grievances. And it’s still the most reliable and comprehensive disseminator of news, steadfastly the most compassionate investigator of fraud, corporate wrong-doing and civic ripoffs. And yet we’re suffering circulation decreases. People are changing. Times change.

WE’VE GOT TO GO BACK to the times of the early journalists to restore credibility in the media, and in the press, and in journalism education. I think we in journalism education have a mandate to keep pace with the journalism profession. For example, the journalism profession is doing much more than journalism education is doing to get more minorities. Most of the faculty in journalism schools do not have
minorities. They don't have multicultural courses... So I think that we've got to do a little bit more to keep pace with what the profession is doing, and that's the new journalism education that I talk about.

We've also got to go back to the first principle of things as a profession and to avoid the gap that is widening between us and the people. We've lost the confidence of our public, our consumers, and we've got to bring them back.

The brilliant editors and muckrakers of the early 20th century... left us a legacy that still defines our mission... In 1897, my journalistic hero, Lincoln Stephens, spelled out the roots of this legacy in the New York-based Commercial Advertiser: "A newspaper to advertise itself and build up circulation of power has now and then to do something besides print the news – help elect or defeat a party, force a public improvement through or stop an outrage, bring to justice some public enemy or rescue a popular hero from the machinery of the law."

I think that pretty much defines what journalism is about – what it should be. Instead we have metamorphosed into an electronic seductive power that mesmerizes people. People just sit and listen to it and watch it, but do no kind of thinking or analysis.

We should pause and reassess the full obligatory splendor of the First Amendment. We have become so obsessed with First Amendment rights that we have forgotten that rights are only fulfilled conjunctively with responsibilities, especially responsibilities to the people....

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IS IMPORTANT. It is the bedrock of democracy. As Thomas Jefferson said, "If I had to choose between newspapers without a government or a government without newspapers, I would not hesitate to choose the former.” Newspapers are so important. How else do you get the news? How else do you know who we are? The transmission of our cultural values?

The First Amendment is not a gift in perpetuum. It is a conditional loan from the people, but the loan cannot be guaranteed forever. If the press fails to meet its constitutional payments, it can be revoked. As Eugene Patterson, one of America's most distinguished publishers, declared in his Ewing Lecture at Duke University six years ago: "Why in the world, then, would I suggest that the press is in fact encumbered with some companion obligations in return for its grant of freedom? I count two obligations. First, the press is obligated to defend the First Amendment against any attempt to harm it. Second, I think the public's grant of freedom obligates the press to do its job. If the press forfeits, the public can always take back the freedom it gave."

We must operate with the inspirational reminder to do whatever it takes to do a job that best serves the people. We are a lucky people, living in a time when it may seem to some sunshine patriots and summertime soldiers an unlucky time. For those of us who still nurture an audacious faith in democracy and its permanent guarantee of a free press, it will always be the
best of times, a nation of magnificent intentions, a democratic culture of richest diversity, and an enduring press of the highest ethical character and dedicated service to the public.

With the freest press and the freest people in the world, America is within its capacity to forge a 21st-century togetherness that will awe the world and inspire them to do the same. It is a togetherness in which journalism education can play a vital role by educating its students to the unlimited possibilities of freedom. We can teach togetherness, we can learn together, we can play together. We could even achieve and succeed together. In the words of that lovely old Negro spiritual:

“Walk together, children. Don't you get weary.”
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