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# REPRESENTING THE TOTAL COMMUNITY: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ASIAN AMERICAN STAFF AND ASIAN AMERICAN COVERAGE IN NINE U.S. NEWSPAPERS

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By H. Denis Wu and Ralph Izard

*This study sought to verify conventional wisdom that the presence of ethnic journalists—Asian Americans in this case—results in more and better coverage of ethnic groups in a community. Nine newspapers were analyzed from communities with varying Asian American populations and geographic regions. Newspapers with more Asian American staff provide more stories about Asian Americans. Likewise, newspapers in cities with larger Asian American populations have more Asian American staff and cover Asian Americans more. The impact of Asian American staff on coverage was greater than that of Asian American population. The influence of Asian American staff was found in sourcing, substance, and context of stories.*

Conventional wisdom holds that the number of reporters and editors from an ethnic group in the newsroom is relevant to the quantity as well as quality of a newspaper's coverage about that ethnic group. Advocates<sup>1</sup> argue that ethnic background is crucial to journalists' understanding of the issues of a given ethnic group and, therefore, to whether these journalists positively influence coverage. This is the rationale of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), an organization that has pushed for years to increase the number of minority staff members in newsrooms.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, associations of minority journalists and other professional, civic, and ethnic organizations lobby media firms to hire and retain staffs of more ethnically diverse news professionals. They argue that such staffing strengthens the breadth of newsroom perspective and improves coverage of a community and of the nation's ethnic groups. It is also good business practice because Americans are more diverse than ever, and they would like to have their views reflected in their community newspapers.

Nevertheless, no solid evidence exists to support these widely held ideas.

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This research project focuses on Asian Americans as a case study to investigate whether the presence of Asian American journalists in newsrooms contributes to elevated quantity and improved quality of news stories about Asian Americans, their interests, and their needs. It also seeks understanding of whether their presence as staffers might influence news topics that pertain to Asian Americans. Further, it seeks to measure whether stories done by Asian American journalists score higher on such attribute assessments as explanation, substance, perspective diversity, and contextual information.

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## *Review of Literature*

Mass communication researchers and working journalists for years have contributed to national discussions of the value of diversity to the news media. Agreement is clear within both groups that news organizations have failed in their efforts to achieve what generally is called parity, that is, developing staffs that represent the communities they seek to serve.

That many in the industry have good intentions is beyond dispute, and considerable attention and effort have been devoted to increasing minority staff representation. These efforts have resulted in some examples of excellence, but, in general, the record has not been encouraging. ASNE has set a goal of newspapers' reaching minority parity—which it believes will be a 38.2% representation—by 2025.<sup>3</sup> Establishment of this goal follows an initial effort that was aborted in 1998 because of industry failure to achieve parity staffing by 2000. ASNE's annual newsroom census<sup>4</sup> determined that newspaper minority staffing in 2004 stood at 13.4% compared to a 31.7% national minority population level.

These concerns are based on beliefs that the value of staff diversity is apparent in many forms—moral, cultural, and economic. Most recently, the need has been highlighted by projections that indicate minorities collectively will exceed half of the population by 2050.<sup>5</sup> Taking note of this, diversity proponents have intensified their arguments that the need is great for the media to make additional staffing efforts to assure their coverage of the total communities they serve.

Adams and Cleary,<sup>6</sup> for example, point explicitly to the need for a broadening-of-coverage attitude, especially within organizational leadership. "It follows," they say, "that if the staff setting the mores in a newsroom are not attuned to minority concerns, those standards will reflect that lack of sensitivity and the staff will receive the message that those concerns are not a priority with the editors."<sup>7</sup> It also stands to reason that such a message will be perceived by media audiences.

It is clear, some researchers say, that the absence of minorities in leadership positions has distinct impact on coverage of minority communities and issues.<sup>8</sup> An extensive study of minority journalists' perceptions about minority executives by Rivas-Rodriguez, Subervi-Velez, Bramlett-Solomon, and Heider<sup>9</sup> found that journalists of color agree that a minority in charge of a media operation can make positive differences in at least four ways: the news operation's sensitivity to racism, its coverage of minority groups, providing greater job opportunities for all minorities,

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and influencing how the news media think about minority groups (p. 52).

The broadest fear among professionals and scholars alike is of the impact of the media on their communities as new forms of racial differentiation reshape community culture.<sup>10</sup> Even when majority journalists have good intentions and do not discriminate consciously, their messages and lack of messages are likely to reflect personal cultural viewpoints that may focus on certain racial mindsets.

Numerous scholars have investigated the multifaceted problems associated with the lack of diversity in newsrooms—as well as the lack of minority coverage that is likely to result.<sup>11</sup> For example, it is asserted that the availability of staff members of different racial, ethnic, religious, and gender perspectives will give a news organization a wealth of story ideas that would not otherwise be available.<sup>12</sup> Shipler<sup>13</sup> quotes a white reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*: “Any white journalist in a town that’s predominantly black begins to feel like it’s more and more of a problem. It’s a practical problem in the sense that you literally don’t find out about stories....” Shipler also notes the “public relations problems” created in the community as a result of inadequate diversity in staffing and coverage.

Moreover, non-majority journalists are more likely than their white newsroom counterparts to question the motives for some coverage of minority issues.<sup>14</sup>

The pattern of research about ethnic reporters and editors is very similar to, and may gain some insight from, research on the impact of women in newsrooms. For example, Craft and Wanta<sup>15</sup> examined the impact of female editors in the newsroom and found that while the gender of editors made little difference in the issues covered, it did appear that newspapers with female editors tended to focus on positive stories and treat their female reporters on a par with male reporters. In addition, Peiser’s<sup>16</sup> survey of German reporters indicated that women ranked social or humanitarian issues higher than did men, leading to the conclusion that a higher proportion of women in newsrooms would lead to an enhancement of overall news judgment and media content.

Such appears to be the case with ethnic journalists, and both efforts—to improve representation among a news organization’s staff and, perhaps subsequently, to broaden the scope of coverage—are believed to be positive developments in the eyes of media publics. Gross et al.’s study<sup>17</sup> of how *Los Angeles Times*’ editorial employees and residents of Los Angeles County perceive journalists’ motives for covering diverse communities shows sharp differences between journalists and residents. At the same time, however, the staff members and citizens agreed that efforts to improve minority coverage reflect positively on the news organization. Furthermore, Gross et al.’s study determined that enacting a diversity program in the *Times* newsroom, over time, is one means by which the media may be seen by the community to be reporting fairly (p. 275).

The problem of representative staffing is, of course, complex, involving years of tradition and professional newsroom practice. But the

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first step seems to be achieving newsroom representation that will influence community coverage. Gandy and colleagues,<sup>18</sup> in a study of the nature of framing by the press when the risks faced by blacks and whites are compared, said racial composition of the newsroom may be said to influence directly the framing of race within the news product. They added:

White journalists are likely to differ from their African American colleagues in the extent to which they believe individual or institutional racism is the primary influence over the outcome of some conflict. Depending on the number and influence of minority journalists within the organization, the mere presence of black journalists on staff may influence the coverage and framing of stories with a racial component (pp. 164-165).

Gandy and his coauthors support Gissler's belief that when minority journalists achieve a "critical mass," the character of coverage should be impacted because they will argue for or against particular slants or frames being used with stories (p. 165).<sup>19</sup> Likewise, Pease, Smith, and Subervi<sup>20</sup> concluded in their study that improvements in newsroom climate are likely to translate into news quality. When newsrooms have more diversity, they tend to provide more news about people of color than the national average.

Most of the research on this subject presents only anecdotal evidence and has focused on minorities as a whole or on African Americans exclusively. The literature seems to have a dearth of studies that seek to determine the relationship between, for example, Asian Americans in the newsroom and the content of their news organization. To help fill that gap is the purpose of this study. Based on the review of the relevant literature, the researchers present the following research questions:

**RQ1:** Is the size of the Asian American population in a given city related to the volume of coverage about Asian Americans in a local newspaper?

**RQ2:** Is the number of Asian American staff members at a paper related to the paper's volume of coverage about Asian Americans?

**RQ3:** Is the number of Asian American staff members at a paper related to the Asian American population in the city in which the paper is based?

**RQ4:** What are the topics of the stories about Asian Americans in general? Are the topics different between the papers with more or fewer Asian American staff?

**RQ5:** What are the sourcing trends of the stories about Asian Americans in general? Are sourcing trends different

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between the papers with more or fewer Asian American staff?

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## Method

To answer these questions, several datasets were used. The researchers conducted a thorough content analysis of nine varied newspapers across the nation from June through November 2004. Because the goal was to examine coverage within the context of the presence or absence of Asian Americans in the market, the sample of papers was stratified somewhat based on geographic region and Asian American populations. It includes cities with high Asian American staff/populations and, to provide a basis of comparison, some with low Asian American staff/populations.

All stories published by these nine papers during the time frame were systematically sifted and selected from Lexis/Nexis. The selection of these papers was based primarily on the consideration of geographic balance, although a certain level of compromise was made—for example, some papers were not available in Lexis/Nexis, so they were replaced with those that were available to represent the region. The researchers used U.S. Census Bureau statistics to determine demographics—specifically, the percentage of the Asian American population in 2005—of each of the nine cities.

In addition, the Asian American Journalists Association's membership directory (those members currently working in the news media) was consulted to obtain an indication of the number of Asian American staff members at each paper. All nine papers were asked to provide demographics about the number of Asian American staff members. Unfortunately, the information provided by the nine papers varies, with the *Seattle Times* being the most cooperative and its data most detailed, and other papers releasing only aggregate demographic statistics. The *Boston Globe*, *New York Times*, and *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* declined to participate in the study, primarily because of their concern about the private information involved. Because of the incomplete staff information from the papers, the AAJA membership data from each paper were used to represent the number of Asian American staff. The information about each of the papers and the city's demographics is summarized in Table 1.

The search for relevant coverage was conducted through Nexis/Lexis, using the keywords "Asian American," "Asian," and any of the names of the eleven Asian ethnic groups that exceeded 1% of the total Asian population in the United States in 2000 (Asian Indian, Cambodian, Chinese, Filipino, Hmong, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, Pakistani, Thai, Vietnamese).<sup>21</sup> Editorials and letters to the editors were not included.

For this study, the U.S. Census Bureau's definition of Asian Americans was adopted for sampling and data analysis. It is worth noting that the governmental definition of Asian American differs slightly from that of the AAJA. One major distinction is that Americans of Middle East descent, although part of the AAJA listing, are not included in the Census Bureau definition. The researchers screened the self-

**TABLE 1**  
*Selected Papers and Key Statistics*

Paper	% of Asian American Population in the City	Number of AAJA Members	Self-reported AA Staff/ Total News Staff (% of AA Staff)
<i>Seattle Times</i>	13.1	30	33 / 297 (11.1%)
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	11.1	41	80 / 932 (8.6%)
<i>San Diego Union-Tribune</i>	13.6	12	19 / 394 (4.8%)
<i>Boston Globe*</i>	7.5	9	NA
<i>New York Times*</i>	10.9	29	NA
<i>Raleigh News &amp; Observer</i>	3.4	2	9 / 250 (3.6%)
<i>Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*</i>	3.4	2	NA
<i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i>	2.0	3	NA / 330
<i>Baton Rouge Advocate</i>	2.6	0	0 / 119 (0%)

\*These papers declined to participate in this study; therefore, the information about the paper is incomplete.

NA denotes "not available."

reported data of the AAJA directory and found that none from this ethnic category lives in the cities included in the sample. Therefore, the use of AAJA members to represent Asian American staff seems valid and justifiable.

As a second layer of the screening process, the coder read each story or article entirely and decided whether it indeed related to Asian Americans rather than exclusively to Asians internationally. Stories that were exclusively Asian (read: geographical) were not included. As a result of the search and screening from the electronic archive of the nine papers, the research team found a total of 721 stories that were relevant to Asian Americans, and these provide the basis of the following analysis. For each of these stories, the coders sought to document several characteristics, including:

*By-line:* Is the story written by an AAJA member, one of the Asian American staff members provided by the paper, or someone with an Asian-looking last name? Even though the method is not above question, the researchers believe it is effective in providing the information needed for this study.

*Length:* What is the word count of each story?

*Topics:* What kinds of stories are linked to Asian Americans? Are the topics of the stories widely different, or do they focus only on a limited number of subjects?

*Sources:* What sources are used in the news stories? How many sources may be identified clearly as Asian Americans, using the description and/or last-name criteria?

*Depth:* Are the stories related to Asian Americans substantive or superficial? Are the stories event-driven? Are they contextually rich and explanatory?

Depth of coverage often is cited as one of the most common criteria to assess journalistic quality.<sup>22</sup> Although a story's depth is qualitative in nature, its coding may be executed in an objective, systematic fashion with well-defined criteria. Substantive coverage was defined as that which provides essential substance in the text to facilitate better comprehension of the topic. For example, a story that appeared on September 9, 2004, in the *San Diego Union Tribune*, "A Land of Constant Sorrows: With 'Remains,' Seema Sueko looks for the 'truths' in painful territories," was coded "substantive" since the story provided considerable detail about the play by Sueko. On July 9, 2004, the San Diego paper published a short story titled, "Daughter of Man Missing 6 Months Turns to the Public," which was coded "not substantive" because the story simply reported the basics of the incident that involved an Asian American.

Event-driven stories center on specific events or incidents as opposed to issue-oriented stories that seek to provide broader and more detailed analysis. The distinction of event-driven vs. non-event-driven stories is similar to Iyengar's episodic vs. thematic demarcation<sup>23</sup> of news stories. Non-event-driven stories tend to provide a more comprehensive picture for readers. Likewise, stories that provide contextual information about a given topic should be superior to those that do not. An explanatory story includes explanation of the phenomenon covered by the story. For example, an August 8, 2004, story from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was coded "explanatory" because the staff writer analyzed the directors of St. Louis area top public companies and explained the reason why women and minorities are underrepresented in that group. In contrast, the same paper on November 1, 2004, published a brief story titled, "Obesity Rate in Asian Youths is Catching Up in California." This story was rated "not explanatory" because it offered no explanation about why the trend took place.

The two coders were Asian American graduate students in a public university. They were given extensive coding training and demonstrated a satisfactory level of coding. Intercoder reliability tests show perfect agreement on items such as publication date, newspaper, story length, and author affiliation. Their agreement rate (based on Holsti's formula) on identifying story topics is 86%. And their identifications of numbers of Asian American vs. other sources and paragraphs in which sources appeared in the stories (using Pearson product moment) correlate between .90 and .99. Yet, their Likert-scaled assessments (ranging from 1 to 3, with 1 as extremely low and 3 as extremely high) of five story attributes (substantive, contextual, event-driven, diverse in perspective, and explanatory) correlate only between .65 and .79 (although all with  $p < .01$ ), indicating the likely involvement of more personal judgment in coding these items than, for example, in coding such items as date and length of stories.

During the time frame of this study (between June and November 2004), the *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, and *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* published the largest number of stories about Asian Americans,

## Findings

as is demonstrated by Figure 1. Next came the *Boston Globe*, *Seattle Times*, and *San Diego Union-Tribune*. The *Raleigh News & Observer* and the *Baton Rouge Advocate* provided the fewest number of stories. It is not surprising that more coverage was provided by the newspapers from cities with larger Asian American populations such as New York and Los Angeles. What was unexpected, however, was the number of stories published in Milwaukee, where Asians comprise only 3.4% of the population.

Whether such numbers relate in any way to Asian American population in the cities, the focus of **RQ1**, was somewhat inconclusive. The correlation between the percentage of Asian American population in a city and the number of stories is positive ( $r = .448$ ,  $N = 9$ ), although the relationship is not statistically significant ( $p = .227$ ). This finding suggests that newspapers are only slightly more likely to produce stories about an ethnic group if the community includes a larger number of that group.

As to the second research question, the numbers of AAJA members (that is, Asian American staff) and the numbers of stories are positively related ( $r = .818$ ,  $N = 9$ ,  $p = .007$ ). In other words, it appears that the more Asian American staff members a paper has, the more stories about Asian Americans it is likely to produce. This vividly supports the content implications of having broader perspectives in the newsroom.

Furthermore, the staff member-story volume correlation ( $r = .841$ ,  $N = 6$ ,  $p = .009$ ) seems more significant (and positive) than the community-story volume counterpart, which even turned negative after the number of Asian American staff was controlled ( $r = -.513$ ,  $N = 6$ ,  $p = .165$ ). This indicates that the number of staff members appears to be a stronger—and more significant—catalyst to the quantity of coverage than the factor of Asian American population.<sup>24</sup>

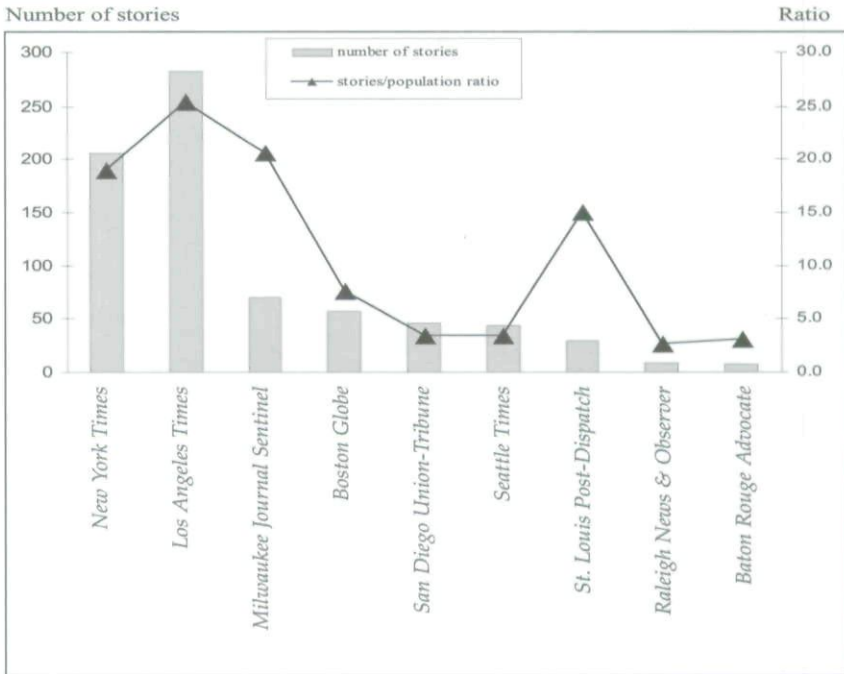
From an additional perspective, a statistically significant relationship was found between the number of Asian American staff members and the community's percentage of Asian American population ( $r = .784$ ,  $N = 9$ ,  $p = .012$ ). That newspapers with large Asian American populations were likely to have larger numbers of Asian American staff members is somewhat predictable but nevertheless important because it does confirm conventional wisdom.

While the number of stories on Asian Americans is important to coverage of a total community, this study, in **RQ4**, also asked what kinds of stories are linked to Asian Americans. Are the topics widely different, or do they focus only on a limited number of subjects? Table 2 summarizes the results of this phase of study. Of the topics covered, culture and entertainment and immigration issues received the greatest attention. Substantial coverage (19% of the stories) was devoted to cultural events and reviews of movies, theaters, and concerts. Immigration issues, the second most prominent news topic, seemed to center on the nation's more stringent immigration procedures and on the issuing of student visas after September 11.

The third major topic was comprised of feature stories that placed spotlights on successful or prominent Asian Americans. Next, four equally prominent news categories are domestic politics, crime and law enforcement, business, and food. A sizeable amount of the sample is



**FIGURE 1**  
*Number of Stories across the Nine Papers*



review essays about Asian food and restaurants, especially in the *New York Times*. In addition, some attention was paid to education, social issues, and government policies.

Based on the results yielded by Spearman correlation tests of news topics across the papers, three papers from cities with substantial Asian American populations—Seattle, Boston, and San Diego—are correlated with one another significantly (Seattle-Boston:  $\rho = .784$ ,  $N = 15$ ,  $p = .001$ ; Boston-San Diego:  $\rho = .796$ ,  $N = 15$ ,  $p < .001$ ; San Diego-Seattle:  $\rho = .758$ ,  $N = 15$ ,  $p = .001$ ). The *New York* and *Los Angeles Times* papers seem to resemble each other ( $\rho = .717$ ,  $N = 16$ ,  $p = .002$ ); but the *New York Times* also resembles the *Seattle* paper and the *Los Angeles Times* compares with the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*.

That other papers provided coverage that did not produce significant findings could be attributed to various factors. Almost all the news stories about Asian Americans were written by staff reporters. Only about 3% came from news agencies (AP, Reuters, and Bloomberg), and 7% were contributed by freelancers. These statistics suggest that stories about Asian Americans are predominantly local and likely initiated by each individual paper.

Another journalistic criterion of breadth of coverage is the degree to which Asian Americans, or members of any ethnic group, serve as

**TABLE 2**  
*Topics of News Stories about Asian Americans in Nine Papers*

Topics	<i>n</i>	% of appearances	% of stories*
Culture & Entertainment	137	15.0	19.1
Immigration/Naturalization	97	10.7	13.5
Features on People	88	9.7	12.2
Domestic Politics	79	8.7	11.0
Crime and Law Enforcement	79	8.7	11.0
Food	78	8.6	10.8
Business	76	8.4	10.6
Education	59	6.5	8.2
Other	52	5.7	7.2
Social Issues	42	4.6	5.8
Governmental Policy	37	4.1	5.1
Sports	20	2.2	2.8
International Relations	16	1.8	2.2
Economics	15	1.7	2.1
Religion	15	1.7	2.1
Travel	11	1.2	1.5
Health	4	.4	.6

\* The total of this column is more than 100% since multiple topics may exist in a story.

A total of 906 topic appearances are included in a total of 721 stories.

sources of stories. In this study, it is worth noting that the Asian American sources were identified by the coders through the use of their last names and the description—if any—that accompanies the sources. This procedure admittedly has its risks, but it nevertheless provides a reasonable indication of the use of Asian Americans in the news. The results of this analysis indicate that 34% of all sources in the stories provided by the nine newspapers were identified as Asian Americans—1.14 Asian American sources per story. A related analysis of sourcing indicates that 35% of the paragraphs with sources included identifiable Asian American sources.

Sourcing patterns among the nine examined papers are significantly different ( $F_{8, 648} = 5.915, p < .001$ ). The Milwaukee and Los Angeles papers are significantly lower in using Asian American sources than the Boston, Seattle, and San Diego papers. These latter three produced the highest ratios of Asian American sources against all sources (ranging between 48% and 51%). Further, their percentages of paragraphs that included Asian American sources are the highest (ranging between 52% and 57%). Boston, Seattle, and San Diego all have high percentages of Asian American population, which could be linked to these papers' higher use of Asian American sources. But some exceptions do exist, notably

the papers in New York and Los Angeles, and because of this, it must be said that the findings indicate that neither geographic region nor Asian American population played decisive roles in sourcing diversity.

This study also sought to amplify its finding that the numbers of Asian American staff members are positively linked to the numbers of stories about Asian Americans by seeking to determine whether the ethnicity of the writers might contribute to the attributes of the stories. Conventional wisdom, once again, seems to be supported. For example, identifiable Asian American writers are slightly more likely to use Asian American sources ( $p = .121$ ,  $N = 623$ ,  $p = .003$ ) and to provide slightly larger numbers of paragraphs that included Asian American sources ( $p = .088$ ,  $N = 623$ ,  $p = .027$ ).

Additional assessments were made of the depth of coverage and attributes of each story's substance, contextual information, explanation, and diversity in perspectives. An important part of such analysis is determination of whether the stories are event-driven, and the results show that half of the stories focused on broader issues and were not event-driven. Of the four attributes, the stories overall scored the highest in explanation ( $M = 2.06$ ), followed by perspective diversity ( $M = 1.58$ ), substance ( $M = 1.55$ ), and, finally, contextual information ( $M = 1.32$ ).

The correlation suggests that the stories written by Asian American authors are somewhat more substantive ( $p = .090$ ,  $N = 720$ ,  $p = .016$ ) and only marginally richer in story context ( $p = .069$ ,  $N = 720$ ,  $p = .065$ ). On the other hand, no evidence indicates that Asian American writers differ from other writers in length of stories and in providing more diverse, explanatory, and analytical (as opposed to event-driven) perspectives into the stories. These findings are somewhat counterintuitive, but they may simply reflect that Asian American journalists are professionals who reflect common newsroom custom and journalism tradition.

This study supports the long-suspected association between the presence of ethnic journalists and both the quantity and attributes of reporting about an ethnic group. Even though a city's Asian American population does relate to coverage provided by that city's newspaper, it appears that the number of Asian American staff in the newsroom is an even stronger catalyst for coverage. Certainly, this finding supports those in both the industry and the academy who advocate more minority hiring. Not surprisingly, this study also found a strong correlation between Asian American population and the number of Asian American staff working in the paper, which also seems a positive sign.

The study also shows that the topics of stories about Asian Americans tended to be evenhanded between issues and events. While the nine papers examined indicated different concentrations of topics—with papers of big cities resembling one another—major focus was placed on culture and entertainment, immigration issues, people profiles, and even food. The stories appeared to make reasonable use of

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## Conclusion

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Asian Americans as sources. On average, Asian Americans comprised one in three sources in stories pertaining to Asian Americans. Regarding sourcing patterns, Asian American sources were used slightly differently among the nine papers, but the Boston, San Diego, and Seattle papers showed a higher tendency than others to use Asian American sources.

Even though Asian American reporters themselves are slightly more likely to use Asian American sources and provide more substance in the stories examined, they do not necessarily produce stories that are more analytical or explanatory. This is an intriguing phenomenon worthy of further investigation. It would be interesting for future studies to confirm that industry norms and journalism tradition are stronger forces than individual ethnicity in news judgment.

This study has several limitations. For one, the fact that some of the newspapers refused to provide their staff's demographic information to the authors makes this examination less satisfactory. This is disturbing because the newspaper industry should welcome and cooperate with academic, independent research. The use of the AAJA directory to represent the presence of Asian American staff in the newsroom is a compromise. Also, the method—based on the AAJA directory data and last names—used in this study to determine the ethnic background of authors and sources is far from perfect. But it seems to be the best method the authors could use that provides at least reasonable indications of the data needed for this study.

Nevertheless, the findings generated by this study shed light on the relationships between ethnic staffing and news coverage about ethnic groups and provide solid evidence to support the value of more minority hiring in the newsroom. The link appears to be positive and significant for Asian Americans. Additional studies of other ethnic groups and other media could broaden these results and paint a more complete picture of the relationship between media content and professionals.

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24. Partial correlation indicates the net magnitude of relationship between the two examined variables controlling for the third variable. In other words, the first partial correlation coefficient shows the relationship between Asian American staff and story quantity controlling for Asian American population.

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