Digital Public Media: New Diversity or Same Old Boys Network?

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Executive Summary

Public broadcasters, in the midst of a transition to digital public media, have a great opportunity to lead the way towards a truly inclusive digital media landscape. This is essential because the American media system currently fails to reflect the diversity of the American people. Inequalities based on race, class, gender, age, and other factors limit Americans' opportunities in all fields of life, and this is reflected in our media system in terms of ownership, employment, content, and other metrics. The Internet and new digital media, while in many ways far more open to minority voices than print and broadcast media, also continue to reflect broader access inequalities and are marked by severe participation gaps. Current trends indicate that digital media will likely end up marked by the same patterns of exclusion that skew print and broadcast unless underlying patterns of structural inequality are addressed. One course of action is for the public media system to lead the way in giving greater support and prominence to innovative new media by people of color.

This report provides an overview of employment and ownership diversity in the US media system. We reviewed the best available data on diversity in print, commercial broadcasting, public broadcasting, and online media, from 1978 to 2007, and compared it to US Census data on the changing demographics of the nation's population. We found severe and persistent inequality in all sectors of the media, including public broadcasting. The present rate of long term, incremental improvement in employment and ownership by people of color in most areas of the media system cannot keep pace with the nation's changing demography. The US Census reports that "minorities, now roughly one-third of the U.S. population, are expected to become the majority in 2042, with the nation projected to be 54 percent minority in 2050" (US Census, 2008). Yet in 2007, public radio had just 74 minority controlled stations out of about 700 public radio stations, or roughly 10%. Public TV had just 6 minority-controlled stations in 2007 out of a total of 356, or about 1.7%. As for employment rates, CPB data since 1978 show a slow and steady increase in minority employment from 1978 (12.6% in radio, 13.9% in TV) until about 1998 (19.6% in radio, 18.8% in TV), followed by stagnation for most of the last decade, with the 2007 CPB report finding public radio minority employment at 19.9% and public TV minority employment at 19.2%. On the positive side, employment rates inside the national public broadcasting organizations are now approaching parity with the general population: 31.9% of

managers at the national public broadcasting organizations are people of color (CPB, 2007).

Changing demographics indicate that we cannot stay the current course, if we are to fulfill the mandate of public broadcasting to serve unserved and underserved audiences, especially African Americans, Latinos, and children. People of color occupy only 2/3rds of the positions in local public broadcasting stations that they would were employment at these stations to reflect the general population. If public broadcasters do not begin to increase minority control and employment rates, we will fall further and further behind the nation's changing demographics. More problematic for public media is content, which overall fails to reflect ethnically diverse experiences, despite important and notable efforts in this direction. To put it bluntly: at this rate, public radio and TV stations will never look like the American people.

In this context, new digital media may provide public broadcasters the means we have always sought to give voice to diverse communities. New media (for example, social networking sites and mobile media) can also provide opportunities for us to overcome the past failures in reaching the full range of age demographics. We can also use new media to develop links to global audiences, including the countries of origin of many of today's new immigrants. However, it would be a grave mistake to assume that new media will somehow magically transcend the structural inequalities that deeply limit access to and control over all other forms of media in the US. On the contrary, the data that are available on ownership and employment in the new media sector indicate that the old patterns of exclusion hold. That is not to say that such exclusion is inevitable, but simply to point out that we must take action if we want to make the new media space more diverse. Indeed, we have a civic imperative to help the US become a more integrated and united country in order to overcome the centrifugal social forces associated both with longstanding racial inequality and new waves of immigration. We also have a crucial role to play to counter the fragmentation of commercial audiences by creating common spaces where citizens from all walks of life can come together, as we have done in the past with key programs such as Sesame Street.

The question before us is clear: can the public media system learn how to use new technology to help trump social inequalities, or on the contrary, will existing patterns of social inequality trump technological possibilities? We have a responsibility to take action to promote the former outcome and avoid the latter.

Introduction

In a recent provocative article in the *Nation,* Amy Alexander points to the continuing weight of race in the practices of American media, at a moment when new digital platforms are burgeoning yet the economy is hitting rock bottom. She writes "traditional news-delivery systems, while far from perfect, did provide access and influence to thousands of journalists of color. Yet the massive staff cuts at these traditional media outlets are disproportionately diminishing the ranks of journalists of color" (Alexander, 2008). She describes, with cautious optimism, the growth of participation by people of color in the world of online media and activism.

We agree that this is a moment of considerable opportunity for once-despised racial and ethnic communities to tell their own authentic stories, and to be included in the wider discourses of American life through legacy and new media; yet the lingering legacies of racist exclusion, crashing against the current realities of deepening economic recession, create serious tensions inside today's media institutions. There are inclusionary and exclusionary pressures in play, and it is not at all clear which trend will win out. It is clear, however, that the outcome will have deep consequences for the democratic character of American society in the years ahead.

Having a Black man in the White House, however important a sign of progress, cannot alone erase the fact that race, class, and gender all continue to unjustly limit Americans' opportunities in every sphere of life. Consider the 2002 US Economic Census on business ownership: at the time it was conducted, the overall US population was about 13% Black, 13% Latino, 4% Asian and Pacific Islander, 1% American Indian, and 69% non-Hispanic white. However, non-Hispanic whites owned 90% of businesses in nearly every category, including the 'information industries:' Radio Stations, TV Stations, and Newspaper Publishing (see Appendix, Table 1). While the lack of diversity in media ownership reflects a wider pattern across business sectors, the information industries are qualitatively different, and arguably more important, because of the central role they play in our democracy. The media are the soil in which civic discourse takes root, but the media can also perpetuate inequality via a lack of representation - or a skewed representation - of the public. To realize the promises and reap the benefits of a deepened democracy hinted at in Obama's election, we badly need to transform our media system to better reflect the diversity of our society and polity. We need an 'information revolution' that is not merely technical and commercial, but a wider media revolution that brings more and more people greater opportunities to create their own stories and gain access to the information they need to lead fuller, more meaningful and productive lives as citizens of multiple communities.

We now have a plethora of media platforms and endlessly proliferating applications, but the hard fact remains: an increasingly multicultural society requires not only multiple channels, but truly multicultural content. One can easily embrace the slogan "change we can believe in," but how can we believe in a media system that so consistently fails to reflect the changes in who we really are as a people? And the failures of inclusion and representation are wide and deep across the media landscape, across multiple dimensions, from ownership, to content production, to distribution channels and the decision making of who decides what content gets produced, for what platforms, and for what audiences.

Let us be clear in our assumptions here: It is certainly true that talented people of any background can make good content about diverse communities (think of the protean writer, director and producer, Norman Lear). Yet it is also true that authentic stories told by those who have lived them carry an unmatched power to enlighten and inform. While there is no iron-clad rule that black writers only write well about black experiences, nor that minority ownership automatically translates into particular kinds of content, it remains the case that scholarly research reveals strong correlations between media ownership, hiring practices, and content: media outlets owned or controlled by people of color are more likely to hire a greater number of people of color, and newsrooms with more people of color tend to run more stories about communities of color (Gandy, 1998).

But it is our hunch that the extent of minority media power will vary across the different media industries and platforms -- print, commercial broadcast, public broadcast, and online. We start with the idea that ownership and employment of people of color differs greatly between the leading American media institutions. For example, we expect people of color to be better represented, in terms of station control and employment, in public broadcasting than in print or in commercial broadcasting, since public broadcasting by nature has greater political oversight. We also expect online media to be the most diverse of all.

So just how skewed is the under-representation of people of color across the American media? What do the data say? And what does this mean for American democracy?

Print

The 2008 annual report from the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) tells us that, while in a more nearly equitable United States, minorities would be over 30% of the newspaper work force, they currently comprise just 14% (ASNE, 2008). A look inside 'total minority employment' at the separate figures for Asian American, African American, Latino, and Native American newsroom employees further supports Alexander's analysis. There is a slightly rising percentage of Asian American journalists (from 2.36% in 2002 to 3.22% in 2008), but the

absolute number of Asian American newsroom employees peaked in 2007 at 1,764 and has now begun to fall (to 1,692 in 2008). Black and Native American journalists are declining both in absolute numbers and in terms of their share of newsroom positions: the number of Black newsroom staff fell from a peak of 2,985 in 2005 to 2,790 in 2008, a drop from 5.51% to 5.3% of all newsroom employees. Native American news staff fell from a peak of 313 in 2004 to 284 in 2008, or from 0.58% to 0.54% of the total. Latino newsroom employees peaked in 2006 at 2,409, then fell to 2,346 (about 4.5% of the total) in 2008 (see Appendix, Table 2).

One could point out that the situation may look bad in this moment of crisis, but it is improving over time. Over the long run, the percent minority employment is indeed trending upward, from about 4% in 1978 to about 13.5% today. However, these long term, incremental gains in minority newspaper employment took 30 years to move just 10% [See Appendix, Table 3], or about 3.3% per decade. The US Census reports that "minorities, now roughly one-third of the U.S. population, are expected to become the majority in 2042, with the nation projected to be 54 percent minority in 2050" (US Census, 2008). If the current rate of progress holds, by 2040 the newspaper work force will barely reach 25% minority employment against a 50% minority general population.

ASNE President Gilbert Bailon puts it best: "The numbers represent a dual reality: It's mildly encouraging that the minority percentage held steady despite difficult economic times that are causing many cutbacks. On the other hand, the total number of minority journalists employed at daily newspapers declined by nearly 300 people, which follows the pattern for the overall newsroom workforce. Such a trend will not help newspapers in their quest to reach parity with the minority population by 2025" (ASNE, 2008).

In terms of ownership, the most complete source of national statistics on newspaper publishers, the US Economic Census, tells us that 93.5% of newspaper owners are white, 3.2% Asian, 2.4% Black, 1.6% Hispanic, and 1% American Indian. In gender terms, only 20% of newspaper publishers are female (Beresteanu and Ellickson, 2007). Sadly, against a general background of declining newspaper circulation, revenue, and employment, racial and gender diversity remain a distant ideal in the newspaper world.

It might be expected that the Old Boys' networks dominate print, the oldest form of media. How do commercial broadcast television and radio compare?

Commercial Broadcasters

A recent study of Federal Communications Commission (FCC) data by Free Press reveals that while ethnic minorities make up more than a third of the US population, they own less than

8% of radio stations and only about 3% of TV stations. The same study found that women own only about 6% of full power broadcast stations. The authors describe how minority ownership of full-power commercial broadcast stations, both radio and television, was all but eliminated following the 1996 relaxation of consolidation limits (Turner, 2007). Free Press also found that between "October 2006 to October 2007 the number of African American-owned full power commercial TV stations decreased by nearly 60 percent, from 19 to 8, or from 1.4 percent to 0.6 percent of all stations," and that "Hispanics or Latinos comprise 15 percent of the entire U.S. population, but only own a total of 17 stations, or 1.25 percent of all stations" (Turner and Cooper, 2007).

Another study, commissioned by the FCC itself, examined ownership data from 2002-2005 using a less lenient definition of 'minority' or 'female owned.' This study found that, in 2005, minorities owned just 379 out of 14,015 radio stations; women owned 384. Minorities owned 17 out of 1,778 television stations, while women owned 27. In other words, the FCC found that women owned less than 3% of radio stations and less than 2% of TV stations, while people of color owned less than 3% of radio and less than 1% of TV broadcast licenses (Beresteanu and Ellickson, 2007) [see Appendix, Table 4]. Longer-term ownership data, for example National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) reports between 1990 and 1999, demonstrate that ownership stagnated: minorities held 2.9% of broadcast licenses in 1990, 3.0% in 1994, and 2.9% in 1998 (NTIA, 2000).

In terms of employment diversity in commercial broadcasting, data from the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) show just over 21% minority employees in the TV work force, but a low and declining rate of less than 8% minority employment in radio (Lehman, 2005). If we zoom out to a longer view, once again we find that the current rate of increase in the percent minority TV work force over time is hardly enough to keep pace with changing demographics. In radio, fully half the minority workforce has been lost since 1996 [see Appendix, Table 5]. In sum, commercial broadcasters are more diverse than newspapers, but still far from representing the full diversity of the US population.

What of public broadcasters? Surely we can expect to find minority station control and employment diversity in public radio and television. After all, these are the media institutions explicitly charged with the noncommercial mission to inform, educate, and reflect the full diversity of ideas of the American people.

Public Broadcasters

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) designates a station 'minority-controlled'

if "at least 50% of its full-time employees and 50 percent of its governing board are members of minority racial or ethnic groups" (CPB, 2007). Here, we will consider minority control of public broadcasters analogous to ownership by people of color in the commercial sector. In 2007, public radio had 74 minority-controlled stations: 31 African American, 29 Native, 10 Hispanic, and 4 Multicultural, out of about 700 public radio stations. This means that roughly 10% of public radio stations were minority controlled, far more than in the commercial radio sector. Public TV, meanwhile, had just 6 minority-controlled stations (2 African American, 2 Hispanic, 1 Asian Pacific Islander, and 1 Multicultural) out of a total of 356, or about 1.7%. As we expected, people of color have a greater ownership stake in our public broadcasting system than in commercial broadcasting, but there is still a long way to go.

The CPB has collected data on minority employment in public radio and television since 1978. These records mostly show a slow and steady increase in minority employment from 1978 (12.6% in radio, 13.9% in TV) to about 1998 (19.6% in radio, 18.8% in TV). This was followed by stagnation for most of the last decade, with the 2007 CPB report finding public radio minority employment at 19.9% and public TV minority employment at 19.2% [See Appendix, Table 6]. At the managerial level, employment rates inside the national public broadcasting organizations are now approaching parity with the general population: 31.9% of managers at the national public broadcasting organizations are people of color (CPB, 2007).

Overall, then, public radio and TV stations do a better job of employee diversity than newspapers or commercial radio broadcasters, and are more or less on par with commercial television broadcasters. Nationwide, the management of the public broadcasting system better reflects the diversity of the American people than any other part of the media sector. However, people of color occupy only 2/3rds of the positions in local public broadcasting stations that they would were employment at these stations to reflect the general population. If public broadcasters do not begin to increase minority employment rates, they will fall further and further behind the nation's changing demographics. More problematic for public media is their content, which fails to reflect ethnically diverse experiences. Content diversity is more difficult to evaluate, but anecdotal evidence points to small, but insufficient, attempts to advance beyond monochromatic presentations.

Now we turn to the innovative field of online media. Our hunch is that the explosion of online content should take us beyond the outdated limitations of minority ownership and employment in legacy media. Now that anyone can start their own blog, the old problems of scarcity - limited spectrum, limited channels - should be over, and everyone's voice should have an equal chance to be heard.

Digital Diversity?

The first challenge to understand digital diversity is simply to describe what is happening with a fast-moving target like 'new media.' Of course the Internet is more accessible than any other medium, in the sense that the barriers to entry (setting up a blog or web page) are very low and anyone can "broadcast" whatever they like. But when we try to look deeper, for example, at who makes a living creating online content, the evidence is inconclusive. On the one hand, the 2008 ASNE report counted online journalists employed by newspapers and found "nearly 1,700 full-time journalists working only on their newspapers' Web sites. Of those, 17.79 percent are minorities" (ASNE, 2008). By that measure, there is greater employment diversity in full-time online journalism than in print, but less than in broadcast TV. Another indicator of potential diversity among budding online journalists can be found in recent research revealing that people of color who are online are more likely to blog, have their own website, and have a digital video camera than non-Hispanic whites, across all age groups (Korzenny & Korzenny, 2008).

On the other hand, few would argue with the statement that online news is presently dominated by white, male, middle-class voices. We don't have a gold standard data source for internet diversity, but anecdotal evidence abounds: try to name three 'A-list' political bloggers who are people of color (you only get to count Markos Moulitsas of DailyKos once). Women of color? Or check http://technorati.com/pop/blogs: how many of the top 100 are not written by white males? Some empirical studies seem to confirm the anecdotal evidence; for example, a 2004 Pew survey noted that 77% of online content creators were white (Lenhart, Horrigan, and Fallows 2004), while in 2006 the US Census Bureau found about 37,328 full-time female employees in "Internet publishing," compared to 71,267 male employees in the same category (unfortunately, these numbers are not available broken down by race/ethnicity) (ACS, 2006).

Part of the disparity can be accounted for by structural access inequality. In the early years of the information revolution, Internet access inequality was framed in terms of a growing digital divide, both domestically and internationally. Over the ensuing two decades, many groups that were once least likely to have Internet access - people of color, women, and those in rural areas – have come online in increasing numbers. For example, in the United States, 2008 survey data from Pew shows white, Black, and (English-speaking) Latino households reporting broadband at home at rates of 57%, 43%, and 56%, respectively [see Appendix, Table 7]. However, other forms of access inequality persist, most notably the urban/rural divide (57% to 38% broadband at home, respectively) and that between the wealthy and the poor. In fact, the divide between income levels is growing worse: broadband access among low-income households (those with an annual income of $20,000 or less) peaked at 28% in March 2007 and actually declined to 25% by April 2008 (Horrigan, 2008). In addition, while basic access to computers and the Internet is becoming much more widespread, people's degree and kind of usage continues to be structured along existing lines of social inequality. Upper middle class kids tend to feel more empowered to engage in discourse and debate, and Eszter Hargittai's work shows important and measurable differences in the ways that young people of varying race, class, and gender backgrounds use

social networking sites (Hargittai, 2007). Many have come to refer to these differences as the *participation gap* (Jenkins, 2006).

Global figures of Internet inequality are much more stark. In 2008, the number of Internet users increased to about 1.5 billion, but this is still only about a quarter of the world's population. International Telecommunications Union (ITU) data show just 5.3% of the world's population with broadband subscriptions, and in 2007 "just over 10 percent of the world's population in developing countries were using the Internet, compared to close to 60 percent in the developed world" (ITU, 2008). Unsurprisingly, broadband Internet is concentrated almost exclusively in the world's wealthiest countries, or in the hands of local elites in major urban areas in middle income and poor countries. For example, the African continent has just 0.2 broadband subscribers per 100 people, compared to 3.4 in Asia, 4.2 in Brazil, 14 in the EU, and 21 in the USA (Ibid.)

In sum, then, the new digital media, while in many ways far more open than print and broadcast media, also continue to reflect access inequalities and are marked by participation gaps along race, class, and gender lines, both domestically and internationally. Scholars, policymakers, and activists must focus greater attention on how these participation gaps affect the production and availability of diverse online content.

Conclusion: Public Media can Lead the Way

We began this essay with some hunches about different rates of participation by people of color and women, across different media forms. Our hypothesis was that public media would be more diverse than other media sectors, with the possible exception of online. Our key findings can be summarized as follows: in terms of media ownership diversity, we found that both commercial and public television have the lowest rates of control by people of color (1% and 2%, respectively), while print (8%) and public radio (9%) have the highest rates, with inconclusive data about online media. Employment figures showed more clustering, with the national public broadcasting organizations substantially ahead (28%), followed by commercial TV (21%), public radio (20%), and public TV (19%). Online media employment metrics are spotty, but one indicator suggests that about 18% of online news employees are people of color, while print (13%) and commercial radio (8%) are last in line [see Appendix, Table 8].

Thus, despite slow, long-term progress, our media system remains largely unreflective of the diversity of our body politic. American democracy will never reach its full potential unless all people have their voices heard, their full creativity acknowledged. The new media tools give us, at last, the means to do so. This will be neither easy nor automatic, since the temptation remains for insiders to rely on their existing social networks to recruit talent, and for outsiders to

become cynical or discouraged.

Of all players, public broadcasters have generally done the best job of including diverse voices, and for them the current challenge is also a great opportunity. As public broadcasters transition to take advantage of new media, they can lead the way towards a truly inclusive media landscape.

The public broadcasting community is already making some efforts to effect a digital transition. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), for example, has created a New Media Committee, begun a review of best practices, commissioned a whitepaper on the future of public media, and convened a high-level group of experts to make policy recommendations. They have hired Joaquín Alvarado as their new VP for Diversity and Innovation. National Public Radio (NPR) member stations are experimenting with new models of digital distribution, and the Public Radio Exchange (PRX) now helps producers share digital content across the network, pays content producers from a collective licensing pool, and has helped open public radio up to more diverse voices. On the TV side, the Independent Television Service (ITVS) has done an exceptional job of supporting and distributing diverse content, and of nurturing new producers of color through the Diversity Development Fund and other initiatives. Public media policy advocates are mobilizing nationwide to secure greater funding for public media. Private foundations, especially Carnegie, Ford, Macarthur, Knight, and Annenberg, are all very interested in helping the public broadcasting system transition into the digital age, and they are funding pilot projects around the edges of the system as well as meetings of insiders in an effort to develop a common agenda. Increasingly, it seems that the question is not whether, but when and how the public broadcasters will make the transition to digital public media.

However, most of these efforts to date have been marked by a troubling lack of diversity. At the national gatherings, conferences, and retreats where public broadcasting insiders and new media experts gather to discuss the future of public media, people of color, women, low-income people, and youth are all chronically underrepresented. Other scholars of new media have noted as much: Henry Jenkins, in his address to the annual *Beyond Broadcast* conference in June 2008, asked his audience to reflect on such questions: who has the skills, the time, the access to economic and social capital, and the sense of empowerment to play a leading role in designing the 'new media?

The challenge will be for public broadcasters to accelerate and expand their own substantive and personnel diversity within stations and distribution systems, especially at the large national producing stations. It will mean NPR should revisit its "solution" to balance the budget by cutting the very shows with the greatest appeal to youth and ethnically diverse audiences. Finally, public media has the opportunity - and the obligation - to speak out to other forms of media and encourage them to use their powerful platforms to demonstrate the real underlying diversity that already constitutes the United States of America in the age of Obama.

Appendix

Table 1: Business Ownership by Race and Ethnicity

NAICS	Name	Percent				
		Hispanic	White	Black	AmInd	Asian
22	Utilities	0.85	96.79	1.13	0.89	1.44
23	Construction	3.57	97.15	1.24	0.68	1.04
31-33	Manufacturing	3.57	94.57	0.72	0.48	1.09
42	Wholesale Trade	3.84	91.40	0.60	0.25	7.57
44-45	Retail Trade	3.60	89.55	1.22	0.42	8.58
48-49	Transportation & Warehousing	5.60	94.07	2.90	0.54	2.10
51	Information	2.82	93.04	2.07	0.10	4.33
515112	Radio Stations	3.73	93.29	4.35	0.17	2.27
515120	TV Stations	6.04	89.31	4.89	0.00	6.04
511130	Newspaper Publishers	1.58	93.50	2.44	1.00	3.24
52	Finance and Insurance	3.03	95.39	1.70	0.38	2.54
53	Real Estate, Rental, Leasing	2.10	94.90	1.04	0.26	3.56
54	Prof., Scientific, Tech. Svcs.	2.77	93.57	1.57	0.17	4.29
55	Mgmt. of Companies					
56	Admin. Support & Waste	1.36	95.74	1.03	0.38	2.76
	Mgmt. & Remediation Svcs.	5.50	93.27	3.38	0.63	2.61
61	Educational Services	3.55	90.60	3.10	0.65	5.25
62	Health Care & Social Assist.	4.14	85.88	4.14	0.44	9.20
71	Arts, Entertainment, Recreation	2.13	95.13	2.33	0.31	2.069
81	Other Services (except public)	5.12	89.07	2.28	0.45	8.16
All Non-Farm Businesses		3.85	91.32	1.82	0.17	6.21

Source: 2002 US Economic Census, cited in Beresteanu and Ellickson, 2007

Table 2: Percent and number of newsroom employees by group: 2002-2008

	Asian Americans		Blacks		Hispanics		Native Americans	
	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
2002	2.36	1,283	5.29	2,879	3.85	2,098	0.56	307
2003	2.52	1,435	5.33	2,919	4.04	2,212	0.53	289
2004	2.78	1,507	5.42	2,938	4.17	2,258	0.58	313
2005	3.07	1,664	5.51	2,985	4.29	2,323	0.55	295
2006	3.15	1,689	5.51	2,950	4.50	2,409	.57	304
2007	3.20	1,764	5.27	2,900	4.37	2,404	0.59	324
2008	3.22	1,692	5.30	2,790	4.46	2,346	0.54	284
Net increase								
	31.9%	409	-3.1%	-89	11.8%	248	-7.5%	-23

Source: ASNE, 2008

Table 3: Minority employment in daily newspapers:
projections based on responses to annual employment census

	Total Work Force	Minorities in Work Force	% Minorities in Work Force
1978	43,000	1,700	3.95
1979	45,000	1,900	4.22
1980	47,000	2,300	4.89
1981	45,500	2,400	5.27
1982	49,000	2,700	5.51
1983	50,000	2,800	5.60
1984	50,400	2,900	5.75
1985	53,800	3,100	5.76
1986	54,000	3,400	6.30
1987	54,700	3,600	6.56
1988	55,300	3,900	7.02
1989	56,200	4,200	7.54
1990	56,900	4,500	7.86
1991	55,700	4,900	8.72
1992	54,500	5,100	9.39
1993	53,600	5,500	10.25
1994	53,700	5,600	10.49
1995	53,800	5,900	10.91
1996	55,000	6,100	11.02
1997	54,000	6,100	11.35
1998	54,700	6,300	11.46
1999	55,100	6,400	11.55
2000	56,200	6,700	11.85
2001	56,400	6,600	11.64
2002	54,400	6,600	12.07
2003	54,700	6,900	12.53
2004	54,200	7,000	12.95
2005	54,100	7,300	13.42
2006	53,600	7,400	13.73
2007	55,000	7,400	13.43
2008	52,600	7,100	13.52

Source: ASNE, 2008

Table 4: Ownership by Race and Gender (FCC Data)

Year	Platform	Number of stations	Female owned	Minority owned	% Female owned	% Minority owned
2002	Radio	13,662	407	377	2.98	2.76
	TV	1,739	27	20	1.55	1.15
2003	Radio	13,696	382	391	2.79	2.85
	TV	1,749	28	16	1.60	0.91
2004	Radio	13,696	393	372	2.87	2.72
	TV	1,758	27	17	1.54	0.97
2005	Radio	14,015	384	379	2.74	2.70
	TV	1,778	27	17	1.52	0.96

Source: FCC data, cited in Beresteanu and Ellickson, 2007

Table 5: Broadcast News Work Force

Broadcast News Work Force				
Television	2005	2004	2000	1995
Caucasian	78.8%	78.2%	79.0%	82.0%
African American	10.3	10.3	11.0	10.1
Hispanic	8.7	8.9	7.0	4.2
Asian American	1.9	2.2	3.0	2.2
Native American	0.3	0.5	<1.0	0.6
Radio	2005	2004	2000	1995
Caucasian	92.1%	88.2%	90.0%	85.3%
African American	0.7	7.3	5.0	5.7
Hispanic	5.0	3.0	3.0	7.5
Asian American	0.7	0.2	1.0	0.6
Native American	0.5	0.4	1.0	1.0

Source: RTNDA data, cited in Lehman, 2005

Table 6: Public Broadcaster Station Employment 1978-2007

Percent public radio minority employment	Percent public TV minority employment
1978: 12.6	1978: 13.9
1998: 19.6	1998: 18.8
2006: 20.4	2006: 18.7
2007: 19.9	2007: 19.2

Sources: CPB reports to Congress

Table 7: Trends Home Broadband Adoption by Group

Trends home broadband adoption by group (% in each group with broadband at home)	% with broadband at home (2005)	% with broadband at home (2006)	% with broadband at home (2007)	% with broadband at home (2008)
Yearly adoption				
All adults	33%	42%	47%	55%
Gender				
Male	31	45	50	58
Female	27	38	44	53
Age				
18-29	38	55	63	70
30-49	36	50	59	69
50-64	27	38	40	50
65+	8	13	15	19
Race /ethnicity				
White (not Hispanic)	31	42	48	57
Black (not Hispanic)	14	31	40	43
Hispanic (English speaking)	28	41	47	56
Educational attainment				
Less than high school	10	17	21	28
High school grad	20	31	34	40
Some college	35	47	58	66
College +	47	62	70	79
Household income				
Under $20K	13	18	28	25
$20K-$30K	19	27	34	42
$30K-$40K	26	40	40	49
$40K-$50K	28	47	52	60
$50K-$75K	35	48	58	67
$75K-$100K	51	67	70	82
Over $100K	62	68	82	85
Community type				
Urban	31	44	52	57
Suburban	33	46	49	60
Rural	18	25	31	38

Sources: 2005 data come from the Pew Internet Project's combined January-March tracking survey of 4,402 adults; 1,265 were home broadband users.

2006 data come from the Pew Internet Project's February 15 through April 6 survey of 4,001 adults; 1,562 were home broadband users

2007 data are drawn from our March survey of 2,200 adults; 966 were home broadband users

2008 data are from our April-May of 2008 survey of 2,251 adults; 1,153 were home broadband users.

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Table 8: Media Ownership and Employment Diversity Across Channels

Channel	Ownership (% people of color)
public radio	8.5% [1]
print	8.26% [2]
commercial radio	2.7% [3]
public tv	1.7% [4]
commercial tv	0.96% [5]
online	?

Channel	Employment (% people of color)
public broadcasting	27.8% [6]
commercial tv	21.2% [7]
public radio	20.4% [8]
public tv	18.7% [9]
online	? (17.9%-of online newspaper staff [10])
print	13.4% [11]
commercial radio	7.9% [12]

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1 [2005, CPB (67 of 790 stations minority controlled)]
2 [2002, US Economic Census]
3 [2005, FCC]
4 [2005, CPB (6 of 355 stations minority controlled)]
5 [2005, FCC]
6 [2006, CPB (national organization employment)]
7 [2005, RTNDA]
8 [2006, CPB (local station employment)]
9 [2006, CPB (local station employment)]
10 [2008, ASNE]
11 [2005, ASNE]
12 [2005, RTNDA]

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