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EMPLOYMENT AND RETENTION OF BLACK JOURNALISTS BY MICHIGAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

By

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ABSTRACT

EMPLOYMENT AND RETENTION OF BLACK JOURNALISTS
BY MICHIGAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

By

Willis Arthur Selden

This thesis was designed to investigate the progress made by Michigan daily newspapers in the employment, promotion and retention of black journalists. It had two purposes. One was to obtain data from all 52 general circulation daily newspapers in the state on the total employment of journalists as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers, and the number of minority journalists employed in these positions. The other purpose was to obtain data from black journalists employed by these newspapers on their attitudes toward their jobs.

This study used two research tools. One was a questionnaire mailed to all 52 managing editors of Michigan daily newspapers. A shortened version of this questionnaire was used to obtain data by telephone from editors who did not respond to two mailings. The questionnaire was designed to investigate (1) employment and promotion practices of the editors, and (2) the

number of journalists employed by them at four job levels.

The other research tool used in this study was a questionnaire mailed to the 61 black journalists employed by Michigan daily newspapers. This questionnaire was designed to investigate (1) the personal backgrounds of the black journalists and (2) their attitudes toward their jobs.

Findings of the survey of Michigan daily newspaper editors showed that black journalists in 1980 numbered 61 of a total of 1,355 journalists employed as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers. Five were news executives, four were desk persons, 45 were reporters and seven were photographers. This indicated that blacks were being hired as reporters and photographers, but were not being promoted into management levels at a rate consistent with their numbers in the Michigan population, 12.7 percent. Findings also showed that no blacks were employed on the 34 Michigan daily newspapers with less than 25,000 circulation. No black journalists were employed on daily newspapers in the northern part of the state, where black population is small. However, some of the larger newspapers in cities with significant black populations underemployed black journalists. Some editors who did not

employ black journalists indicated a willingness to do so.

Findings of the survey of the 61 black journalists indicated that all but two held bachelor's or master's degrees. Twenty-two of the 37 respondents were holding their first jobs in journalism. Their salaries ranged from $10,000 to $32,000 a year. Twenty of the 37 sought out their present jobs, rather than being recruited by the newspaper. Job satisfaction was high, with 23 respondents generally satisfied with their jobs, and only six stating that they were looking for another job. However, only 60 percent of the 61 black journalists responded to the questionnaire.

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I'd like to thank the faculty of the School of Journalism at Michigan State University, and especially Professor Robert V. Hudson, who were willing to assist and encourage in many ways a man who decided at an advanced age to try to earn a master's degree in journalism.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Many minority group members in 1980 reflected a growing pessimism about their opportunities for equality in America. Several civil rights leaders maintained that while some progress had been made during the past two or three decades in eliminating the disparities between whites and minorities, this progress had not been significant nor widespread.

In employment, some members of minority groups were holding jobs in 1980 that they couldn't have held 10 or 20 years earlier. However, Paul Delaney has pointed out:

> Unlike whites, the majority of blacks have never really recovered from the recession of 1973 through '75. When inflation is discounted, the median income of whites has increased 2 percent since 1974; the median income of blacks, on the other hand, has not budged, even though during the previous 25 years it grew at a faster rate than median white income.
>
> In other words, although many whites feel that (in the words of James Farmer, former national director of the Congress of Racial Equality) "blacks got too much too fast, and

> they have gone far enough," the economic gap between black and white America has actually widened in the last five years [up to 1979].[1]

Furthermore, the number of minorities in the 1970s who moved up the organizational ladder because of affirmative action programs or the goodwill of whites who held the power was relatively small, not nearly in proportion to their percentage in the total population. This was particularly true in the newspaper business. Many minorities, especially blacks, had been hired by daily newspapers in cities with large minority populations, but not many held news executive positions.[2]

Why has that progress up the career ladder been disappointingly slow in journalism? Some observers believed that this lack of advancement into management was rooted in a basic fear of minorities, especially blacks, by whites. "White management is unwilling to place coverage decisions in the hands of people whose values and perspectives may differ from their own . . . There is a 'nervousness and a basic white fear, which no one is going to admit,' says Detroit Free Press Managing Editor Neil Shine. In the face of such fear, only strong

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[1]Paul Delaney, "The Struggle to Rally Black America," New York Times Magazine, 15 July 1979, 20.

[2]Nick Kotz, "The Minority Struggle for a Place in the Newsroom," Columbia Journalism Review, March-April 1979, 27.

management commitment to affirmative action has gotten minority journalists into the newsroom."[3]

To what extent has "strong management commitment to affirmative action" moved black journalists into jobs and up the management ladder with Michigan daily newspapers? This thesis will examine that question, and attempt to identify some of the reasons for progress, or the lack of it.

Purpose of This Study

This thesis was designed to investigate the progress made by Michigan daily newspapers in the employment, promotion and retention of black journalists. It had two purposes. One was to obtain and analyze data from all 52 daily newspapers in the state on the total employment of journalists as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers, and the number of minority journalists employed by the newspapers in these positions. The other purpose was to obtain and analyze data from black journalists employed by these newspapers on their attitudes toward their jobs, and their personal and professional backgrounds. These data then were compared to data from other studies made in Michigan and nationally to measure progress up to 1980 in the state against progress in other states.

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[3]Kotz, Minority, 31.

Study after study has shown that progress has been painfully slow. A benchmark study commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, reported by Professor Jay Harris in 1978, showed that the number of minority journalists on United States daily newspapers had increased from 1 percent in 1968 to only 4 percent in 1978. Yet minorities comprise 17 percent of the total population in this country. The Harris study also found that two-thirds of the daily newspapers in the United States did not employ a single minority journalist.[4]

Although several major American cities, including Detroit, have populations of more than 50 percent minority, no daily newspaper in a major city had a black editor until 1979, when Robert Maynard was named editor of the Oakland, California, Tribune. Also in 1979, the first black was appointed to the board of directors of a major media corporation. She was Dolores Wharton, who became a director of the Gannett Co., Inc., which recently had purchased the Oakland Tribune.[5]

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[4]Frank E. Gannett Urban Journalism Center, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Minority Employment on Daily Newspapers (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1978), I-1. (Pamphlet.)

[5]Gannett Co., Inc., 1979 Annual Report (Rochester, N.Y.: Gannett Co., Inc., 1980), 6, 19.

This study will attempt to determine some of the reasons for this progress, or lack of it, in Michigan, from the perspective of Michigan daily newspaper editors and the black journalists working for them.

Justification for This Study

Several national and regional studies have measured progress made by newspapers in employing and promoting minority journalists, but there is justification for further study of the situation in Michigan newspapers. Only one study has been made of minority employment on Michigan daily newspapers, and that was conducted in 1971, by Milton Adams. Several years have elapsed since that study, and there is need for enlarging its scope and updating its information. This study has done that.

This study also has obtained information on hiring and promotion practices of Michigan editors, for comparison to similar studies. This information will be useful to editors who are interested in hiring and promoting minority journalists, as well as to minorities looking for career guidance.

This study includes a comparison of how Michigan daily newspapers have been doing in relation to daily newspapers nationwide in employing and promoting minority journalists. This should be helpful both to editors and minority journalists.

One of the most important facets of this study has determined the factors leading to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among black journalists on Michigan daily newspapers. A comparison has been made with a national study of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among journalism graduates, most of whom were white. This thesis has determined whether black journalists who responded to this study were satisfied or dissatisfied by the same job factors as white journalists. Moreover, as far as can be determined, this is the first time that an in-depth inquiry has been made into the feelings black journalists have about their jobs.

CHAPTER II

EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF MINORITY JOURNALISTS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to assess some of the efforts that have been made in Michigan and other states to increase the number of black and other minority journalists employed by the news media. First will be a discussion of efforts made by governmental and voluntary civil rights groups at the federal, state and local level. Second will be a discussion of efforts by media groups. Third will be a discussion of efforts made by educational institutions and organizations. A brief summary concludes the chapter.

Background

Why have daily newspapers been so slow in hiring and promoting black journalists? One common answer is that black journalists tend to seek jobs in cities where there is a significant black population. This means that black journalists would seek work on the larger newspapers published in metropolitan areas. In Michigan, all of these cities are in the southern half of the lower

peninsula; few blacks live in the northern half of the state, or in the entire upper peninsula. Even some counties in the southern half of the state where daily newspapers are published have few blacks. (See Tables 1-A, 1-B).

However, there is more to it than that. Studies show that many of the larger newspapers published in metropolitan areas where there is a substantial black population have been slow to hire and promote blacks.[1] It will be seen in this chapter that progress has come where there has been an interest and commitment by newspaper executives and staff members, by educational institutions and organizations, and by governmental and voluntary civil rights groups.

Historically, the white newspapers of America did not start hiring black reporters until the 1920s, according to Dorothy B. Gilliam, columnist and former assistant editor of the Style section of the Washington Post. The New York World began hiring full-time black reporters in the late 1920s. In the 1940s, the Times, Herald Tribune and the Post also began hiring blacks. "By the 1950s, newspapers [in cities] with large black populations were hiring one, two or three black reporters per city," Gilliam said. "The pattern didn't change much

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[1]See Chapter 3, Reviews of the Literature.

TABLE 1-A.--NUMBER OF WHITE AND BLACK PUPILS IN MICHIGAN COUNTIES[a] NORTH OF MUSKEGON-BAY CITY LINE WITH DAILY NEWSPAPERS, AND NUMBER OF BLACK JOURNALISTS ON THOSE NEWSPAPERS

County	White pupils	Black pupils	Black journalists
Alpena	16,334	11	0
Bay	21,170	283	0
Cheboygan	4,115	4	0
Chippewa	5,479	10	0
Delta	8,603	5	0
Dickinson	5,046	2	0
Emmet	4,675	13	0
Gogebic	3,338	3	0
Grand Traverse	10,543	10	0
Houghton	6,508	7	0
Ionia	12,169	12	0
Isabella	6,710	38	0
Manistee	4,132	11	0
Marquette	14,152	136	0
Mason	5,108	29	0
Mecosta	6,071	90	0
Menominee	5,218	3	0
Midland	16,124	108	0
Wexford	5,293	3	0

TABLE 1-B.--NUMBER OF WHITE AND BLACK PUPILS IN MICHIGAN COUNTIES[a] SOUTH OF MUSKEGON-BAY CITY LINE WITH DAILY NEWSPAPERS, AND NUMBER OF BLACK JOURNALISTS ON THOSE NEWSPAPERS

County	White pupils	Black pupils	Black journalists
Berrien[b]	29,202	8,836	0
Branch	7,017	14	0
Calhoun[c]	25,410	3,859	2
Cass	7,017	1,073	0
Genesee	81,901	24,123	3
Hillsdale	8,409	14	0
Huron	6,326	6	0
Ingham	46,614	6,348	1
Jackson	26,639	2,022	1
Kalamazoo	32,618	4,984	2
Kent	71,101	9,667	4
Lenawee	19,172	145	0
Macomb	152,919	2,506	0
Monroe	27,845	657	0
Montcalm	13,090	46	0
Muskegon	27,724	6,119	5
Oakland[b]	191,269	13,033	5
Ottawa[b]	27,721	128	0
Saginaw	36,126	11,120	4
St. Clair	28,930	872	0
St. Joseph	12,019	362	0
Shiawassee	18,491	11	0
Van Buren	14,766	1,718	0
Washtenaw[b]	36,608	6,519	4
Wayne[b]	238,270	204,275	30

[a]Source: "Racial-Ethnic Distribution of pupils in Michigan public schools, by county: 29 September 1978; Michigan Department of Education, special release," Michigan Statistical Abstract, 14th ed. (East Lansing: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University, 1979), 168-71.

[b]Counties with two daily newspapers.

[c]County with three daily newspapers.

with the 1954 Supreme Court decision [Brown v. Board of Education, which outlawed the separate-but-equal concept in race relations]. Ebony magazine reported in 1955 that there were only 31 blacks on white newspapers, and so few blacks in broadcasting that they didn't bother to take a count."[1-A]

Efforts of Civil Rights Groups

Leaders of the civil rights movement in the late 1950s and 1960s "found it essential to gain access to the media" to capitalize on the gains promised by the 1954 Supreme Court decision, Francisco J. Lewels, Jr., has written. "The movement was in reality a gigantic effort to break into mainstream America, but without being able to communicate with the majority, there could be no movement."[2]

The importance of having black journalists on news media staffs in cities where there is a substantial black population was stressed in 1968 in the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

[1-A] Quoted in Marion Marzolf and Melba Tolliver, Kerner Plus 10: Minorities and the Media, Conference Report (Ann Arbor: Howard R. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance, University of Michigan, 1977), 18.

[2] Francisco J. Lewels, Jr., The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), 37.

After blacks rioted in most major cities, including Detroit in the mid-1960s, President Johnson had appointed this commission to find out what had happened, why it had happened, and what could be done to prevent future disorders.

The commission, headed by former Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, examined 24 disorders in 23 cities. A major finding was that the news media had failed to communicate to Americans the complex and fundamental problem of race relations in the United States. The commission's recommendations to the news media included: portray the Negro as a matter of routine, and in the context of the total story; recognize the significance of the urban story and develop the resources to cover it; assign reporters on a permanent basis to the urban and ghetto beats; establish contacts and better lines of communication with their counterparts in the black press; and reverse the "shockingly backward efforts" to seek, hire and promote capable blacks to policy-and decision-making positions.[3]

The Kerner commission findings were taken as a mandate for program action by U.S. Community Relations Service (CRS), a small civil rights agency in the Justice Department. Formed by the 1964 Civil Rights Act,

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[3]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), 1, 363, 383, 386.

CRS was directed to use persuasion and other voluntary means "to help communities cope with disputes, disagreements or difficulties arising from discriminatory practices based upon race, color or national origin."[4] Even before the Kerner Commission report, CRS had recognized the importance of the news media in coping with racial crisis.

Speaking at the University of Missouri's pioneering conference on race relations and the media in the fall of 1965, CRS Assistant Director Ben Holman predicted:

> The major battlegrounds, I submit, will be in the North. It is the opportunity of members of the news media to unravel and chronicle this great struggle. It can be as fascinating and dramatic as the story of any phase of our country's great history. More important, it is a responsibility as great as any in the annals of American journalism.[5]

That fall, CRS Deputy Director Calvin Kytle spoke on "Crisis, the Press and Community Awareness" at the Sixth Annual Conference, United Press International Editors and Publishers, in Washington, D.C. Kytle said:

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[4]U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service, Annual Report, 1971 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 2.

[5]Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein, Eds., Race and the News Media (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and Freedom of Information Center, University of Missouri, 1967), 24.

> The need is now for every institution in this society to open its doors, no less than it is for every white man to open his heart, and give the Negro a free and fair chance to exercise his rights . . .
>
> Do hire more Negroes on your staff. If you can't find a Negro who qualifies as a good reporter, find a Negro with aptitude and train him. He will add to your staff a brand new constellation of insights, the value of which will more than compensate for the extra effort . . .
>
> The first order of business for the mass communication industry, most particularly for you gentlemen of the press, is to communicate the meaning behind the Negro protest; to abstract from the passion and the hostility and, yes, the reconciliation that are its dramatic and news-making elements--to abstract from these the question that all Americans, white and black must answer if the idea of America is to survive.[6]

CRS staff members had advised media executives even before the Kerner report that having minority journalists in the news rooms would provide an atmosphere conducive to sensitive coverage of race relations. The agency at that time was most concerned about the way the news media covered violence or crises. Meetings were arranged by CRS in several northern cities, bringing together the police and the media in an effort to get the news media to avoid inflammatory coverage of racial clashes. Blacks in the communities usually took part in

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[6]Calvin Kytle, "Crisis, the Press and Community Awareness," text of remarks before Sixth Annual Conference, UPI Editors and Publishers, Washington, D.C., 6 October 1965. (Photocopied.)

these sessions, and efforts were made to encourage on-going dialogue between blacks and media executives.

One of the earliest meetings was held in Boston in June 1966. Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics and several other blacks called together Boston media executives and presented a list of recommendations, including:

> 1. Assignment of a reporter to Roxbury [the major black community] by each newspaper, TV and radio station.
>
> 2. Employment of more Negroes by the media, and job training for them.
>
> 3. Formulation of a permanent media committee to deal with community problems, both in times of peace and in moments of strain.

Other meetings followed, but without much progress. Discussions continued for about two years without formation of the permanent committee. Finally, a weekend conference in Dublin, New Hampshire, produced commitments by both the media executives and black community representatives that insured the organization of the desired permanent committee. A month later, in August 1968, media executives reported this progress on hiring:

> Channel 4 now has 15 black people (10 in full-time, five temporary) as opposed to four in 1967. Channel 5 employs three blacks. Channel 7 has ten full-time, one coming next week, and two summer trainees . . .
>
> Radio reported that eight stations now have 21 black employees compared to a total of five a year ago . . .

> The press reported that there are now 110 black employees in four papers, working as columnists, reporters, typesetters, photographers, artists, copy editors and trainees.

The conclusion to this report noted:

> Media conferences have been held in other cities, but they were sponsored by outside groups such as the Justice Department and schools of journalism. In Boston, the media are sponsoring their own effort and picking up the tabs as well. This is no small item as the cost so far for securing staff, housing and feeding delegates and mailing announcements, etc., is over $10,000.[7]

The Boston Community-Media Committee continued its work through the school desegregation crisis in the 1970s, and although it occasionally became dormant, it still remained in existence in 1980, according to Russ Raycroft, a Boston marketing consultant and former broadcast executive who helped set up some of the minority training programs. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Raycroft was sent to other cities as a CRS consultant to help set up similar programs. While some other cities were stimulated into setting up programs to train and hire minorities for media jobs, none lasted as long as Boston's.[8]

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[7] History of the Boston Community-Media Committee, June, 1966--October, 1968 (Boston: Boston Community-Media Committee, 1968), 1, 5, 6, 11. (Mimeographed.)

[8] Russ Raycroft, Newburyport, Massachusetts, telephone interview, 16 March 1980.

Professor Lawrence Schneider has reported that:

> At least 21 symposia bringing together black citizens, media representatives and human relations specialists have been conducted . . . by the Community Relations Service . . . between October 1967 and August 1970 . . . The symposia offer a prime body of information containing answers to the question, "What are blacks saying to the media regarding the reporting of their lives?" Black individuals throughout the nation called upon the media to actively work to achieve racial justice and equality in America. They asked for more black newsmen and communication channels between the media and black communities.[9]

One of the first CRS-sponsored conferences on the mass media and race relations was held in October 1967 at the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University. American Jewish Committee conducted the conference for CRS, and American Civil Liberties Union was a co-sponsor. "The conference was intended to serve as a meeting ground for people from the communications industry on the one hand, and people from the civil rights and community relations field on the other," the conference report said. Attending the conference were major executives from the three broadcasting networks, public television, the two news services, all of the New York newspapers except the New York Times, black and Hispanic publications, several mass circulation magazines and the Washington Post and Star.

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[9]Lawrence Schneider, "Black Man Tells the Newsman: The Community Relations Service Symposia," paper presented at Association for Education in Journalism convention, Washington, D.C., 18 August 1970. (Mimeographed.)

Media representatives were assigned to small workshops with a carefully selected group of minority representatives and inter-group relations specialists in each workshop. At the end of the two-day conference, a set of recommendations was presented, including:

> 1. Newspapers can run a regular column on ghetto problems--to serve as a forum for discussions, and to give Negroes a sense of belonging to the larger community to which the paper addresses itself. (The Washington Post has a column run by Negro Reporter William Raspberry.)
>
> 2. Simply as a matter of equal employment policy, real efforts should be made to employ minority group members as newsmen. (Anything that might look like mere token hiring should be avoided.)

On recruiting minority group employees, the conference report said:

> Media people among the participants reported with virtual unanimity that Negro and Puerto Rican personnel--both qualified persons and trainees--were extremely hard to get. Media, one participant pointed out, were now looking for "instant Negroes," but it would inevitably take a few years for the supply to build up. The failure rate among Negro reporters to date was said to be high.

Another suggestion said that "not nearly enough young people of minority origin go to journalism schools," and advised undergraduate schools to seek Negro and Puerto Rican students. Newspapers and anti-poverty agencies were encouraged to run short-term training programs. Students should be reached in junior and

senior high school and made aware of opportunities for minorities in journalism.[10]

During the next few years, many other conferences were patterned after the one in New York. Media executives were put into confrontation situations with minority and civil rights leaders to encourage better coverage of minorities and to try to open up jobs for minorities with the media. The conferences originally centered on blacks, but were broadened in 1969 to include Chicanos and other minority groups. Lewels noted that "It was at these conferences that media groups organized and gained the skills necessary to challenge the communications industry on the issue of media access. But this result was more a by-product of the conferences. They were primarily set up to promote face-to-face dialogue."[11]

The conferences generally produced the same type of observations and recommendations that came out of the New York conference in 1967. However, a new viewpoint occasionally emerged. For example, at a New York state conference at Syracuse University, black writer Claude Lewis of Newsweek was quoted on the possibility of a

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[10]The American Jewish Committee, Conference on Mass Media and Race Relations (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1967), i, 4, 19, 20, 21, 25. (Mimeographed.)

[11]Lewels, Chicano, 67.

black reporter for a white news medium being viewed as an Uncle Tom:

> On the whole, the black community distrusts the power structure. They distrust the press. A black reporter on a paper is seen as representing the power structure, not the black community. The black reporter is seen as becoming middle class, with middle class values that tend to be conservative. As Godfrey Cambridge said, "He should know how things are because he used to be a Negro."

On the other hand, a Syracuse conference participant said, "A black reporter can catch subtleties of opinion that white reporters might miss . . . Especially in a time of crisis, the people feel more trust in a black man. I'm not someone coming down there; I'm them already."

Conference recommendations included:

> 1. Preferential hiring for inexperienced blacks must be established by news media; otherwise blacks will get discouraged and get into other lines of work where preferential hiring has produced good, tangible results.
>
> 2. The press must gain respect of the black community before expecting gainful recruitment.[12]

While the conferences began in the Northeast, they soon spread to other parts of the country. At a conference in Kansas City in 1968, Fred Powledge, former New York Times reporter and at that time a free-lance writer observed:

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[12] Conference on Mass Media and Race Relations for Upstate New York (Syracuse: Newhouse Communications Center, Syracuse University, 1968) 11, 14, 20. (Mimeographed.)

> The white press has failed, by and large, to recognize that race relations is a special story deserving special treatment. Special treatment down the line from the publisher through the deskman and copyreader to the reporter . . . Special treatment does not mean that the newspaper should cover up or suppress facts, but rather that the newspaper should realize . . . that there is no room for mistakes . . . One way is to employ Negroes. Not "a" Negro, but Negroes . . . Negroes must be hired as desk men and editors as well as reporters if the press is to improve the coverage of the black community.

A black at the conference offered this for media executives:

> Management persons complain that they have advertised for employees but no Negroes apply. When the Negro sees an ad he does not really pay attention because he has known for years that "You haven't been talking to us."[13]

The conferences were not confined to just the big city media. A 1969 conference was sponsored by the Suburban Press Foundation. One topic was "What has been the experience of suburban newspapers in hiring minority group people?" Marvin Tome, a Kansas City suburban publisher, replied:

> I have never hired a black reporter. I have never had an application from one. We do employ four Negroes in our back shop . . . All we ask is that they be competent, and we will hire them.[14]

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[13] Kansas-Missouri Conference on Mass Media and Race Relations (Manhattan, Kansas: Department of Technical Journalism, Kansas State University, 1968), 9, 22.

[14] Improving Communications Between Suburban Audiences and Minority Groups (Chicago: Suburban Press Foundation, 1969), 10. (Mimeographed.)

Several conferences were held in Michigan, and all had as one of their objectives the employment and promotion of minority journalists. In 1969 CRS joined with the Michigan Department of Civil Rights and the Michigan Press Association for a conference at Michigan State University. Publishers and editors were asked to bring civil rights leaders to the conference, according to Gordon Hanna, director of research and planning for the state civil rights agency.

At Oakland University in 1970, suburban editors and publishers and suburban civic leaders discussed the relationship between the suburban press and the ghetto. Philip H. Power, publisher of the Observer group of suburban newspapers, said he had hired a black to cover city governments in the suburbs. The presence of a black at these suburban meetings had a beneficial effect on the quality of language used by some suburban office-holders, Power observed. Racist comments all but disappeared.[15]

One Michigan conference dealt entirely with the problems of Hispanics and the media. In June 1979 CRS, Michigan State University, news media and civil rights groups co-sponsored the Michigan Conference on Hispanics

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[15]Quote from Gordon Hanna, conference co-ordinator, telephone interview, 20 April 1980.

and the Media. This conference was developed, according to the funding proposal sent to prospective sponsors, because:

> Ongoing complaints to federal and state agencies about biased and unfair reporting of Michigan Hispanics have prompted a growing government concern about the continued lack of Hispanic access to, and representation in, news gathering organizations.[16]

The keynote address was given by Reginald Murphy, editor and publisher of the San Francisco Examiner and chairman of the minorities committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE). He told conference delegates that the ASNE board "spent day after day trying to figure out ways of increasing the number of minorities in the media." Murphy said minority journalists "have to be better than their white counterparts, it's true." Several groups had contributed money for training programs of various types, and after five years, "We increased the number of minorities in journalism by 200 persons. That's heartbreaking."

In one of the workshops, Dan Martin, executive editor of the Battle Creek Enquirer & News, said he had held two jobs open for four months until he could locate exceptional black candidates, the first black journalists hired by his newspaper.

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[16]Funding Proposal, Michigan Conference on Hispanics and the Media, 1978. (Mimeographed.)

In another workshop, Jay T. Harris, assistant director of the Gannett Urban Journalism Center at Northwestern University, said increased hiring of minorities could come two ways. One was through the effect of change in management. Harris cited gains made by Detroit newspapers after William Giles became editor of the News and David Lawrence, Jr., became executive editor of the Free Press. The other was through the effect of change in ownership, which brought gains at the Oakland Press in Pontiac and the Battle Creek Enquirer & News.[17]

It is difficult to measure how many jobs for minority journalists were opened up as a result of CRS conferences. Gilbert Pompa, veteran employee who was director of Community Relations Service in 1980, acknowledged that the conferences did not attract those editors and broadcasters who were most backward in hiring and promoting minorities. But in many instances, minorities who took part in the CRS conferences did organize into action groups and used Federal Communication Commission regulations on equal employment opportunity in negotiating with station owners for jobs and minority-oriented programs. The FCC would recognize contracts that

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[17]Michigan Conference on Hispanics and the Media, East Lansing, Michigan, 23 June 1979.

minority groups and station owners signed at the time of license renewals, or when a new owner took over and applied to the FCC for license transfer. No federal agency regulates newspapers in the way that the FCC regulates broadcasters; however, when Congress strengthened equal employment opportunity laws in 1972, minority and women's groups did use these provisions to negotiate with newspapers for jobs and promotions. Occasionally these groups had to pursue their objectives by going to federal court, which the new provisions authorized.[18]

Efforts by Newspaper Groups

Several newspaper industry organizations have attempted through various means to increase the number of minorities in journalism. One of the earliest efforts following publication of the kerner report was by the Black News Committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors (APME). This group published a booklet in 1970, Help Wanted: More Black Newsmen. Ed Cony, editor of the Wall Street Journal, and Al Marlens, editor of Newsday, stated in the introduction that "Perhaps it is our fault [that blacks don't feel wanted by newspapers]." They quoted a comment by Ralph Holsinger of the Indiana University School of Journalism and vice chairman of the Black News Committee of APME:

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[18]Gilbert Pompa, interview, East Lansing, Michigan, 23 June 1979.

> There are no black M.E.'s [sic] on white newspapers because, until fairly recently, there have been almost no black reporters. Now there are some, but not enough. How do you get more? Everywhere I go, editors stop and ask me, "Do you have any black reporters coming along?" I have to tell them we have one senior, a couple of juniors and maybe four sophomores . . .
>
> I'm told by professors in other disciplines who have made a special point of recruiting blacks that journalism is looked upon as one of the "no future" professions.

The booklet listed 17 special programs for minority group members wanting to get into journalism and 20 minority scholarship programs. Among the special programs was the Detroit Urban Journalism Workshop, actually held in Ann Arbor at the University of Michigan in 1969. Nineteen black students from Detroit high schools attended the 1969 three-week session. Five black teachers also took part, in connection with a class of 32 teachers taking a summer course on teaching journalism and advising publications. Sponsors were the University of Michigan, the Detroit Free Press and News and The Newspaper Fund. During the workshop, students produced their own newspaper. A similar workshop was held with the same sponsors at Ann Arbor in 1970.

The APME booklet also described the $8,000 scholarship fund established in 1968 at Michigan State University by the student newspaper, the State News, and the MSU Sigma Delta Chi, Society for Professional

Journalists chapter, to provide aid to black journalism students. Two students were receiving aid in 1970 under the program. Scholarship recipients received aid based upon need, and had to agree to work for the State News.[19]

Even before passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, with its equal employment opportunity provisions, The Newspaper Guild (TNG) in 1962 had passed a "No Discrimination" amendment to its constitution. This provision as amended in 1977 required mandatory collective bargaining to prohibit discrimination because of "age, sex, race, creed, color, national origin, marital or parental status, family relationships, sexual or affectual preference, political activities or political belief."[20]

Each local of the union was directed to use the Collective Bargaining Manual, which included the U.S. Model Contract, in negotiating with media owners. The anti-discrimination clause was contained in the section on hiring:

> 2. (a) The Employer shall hire employees without regard to age, sex, race, creed, color, national origin, marital or parent status,

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[19]APME's Black News Committee, Help Wanted: More Black Newsmen, [undated: 1970]. No publisher listed. 1, 11, 12, 35. (Pamphlet.)

[20]The Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO, Constitution as amended, Honolulu, Hawaii, June 27-July 1, 1977 (Washington, D.C.: The Newspaper Guild, 1977), 124-5.

> political activities or political belief, or irrelevant mental or physical handicaps. The Employer shall actively recruit women and minorities for all positions covered by this contract. The Employer's hiring standards shall not exceed those required to perform the job.

Later in this section, this statement set goals for hiring.

> 2. (b) In order to effectuate Section 2(a), the Employer shall make every effort to achieve through its hiring practices at the earliest feasible date, but no later than _____, a work force composed of a minimum of ___percent of persons from minority groups.
>
> (Note: by action of the 1972 convention, a local which proposed a minimum hiring goal must propose either the percentage of minority persons in a given local area or the percentage of the minority persons in the country, which ever is greater. Three years would seem a feasible time within which to achieve this goal.)[21]

Michigan newspapers in Battle Creek, Bay City, Detroit, Lansing and Mt. Clemens in the 1970s had signed contracts with TNG. None of these newspapers in 1980 approached the 20 percent level in employment of minorities,[22] even though they probably had been covered by the quota provision in contracts negotiated since 1972, and the contract since that time stated that

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[21] Collective Bargaining Manual 2, 2 Dec. 1976, U.S. Model Contract Text (Washington, D.C.: The Newspaper Guild, 1976), 6. (Mimeographed.)

[22] This statement is based on reports given by editors of Michigan daily newspapers to this author in connection with this study.

"three years would seem a feasible time within which to achieve this goal."

When the U.S. Supreme Court issued its ruling in the Bakke case in 1978, many executives thought it meant the end of affirmative action programs under equal employment opportunity laws. However, the Bakke case did not deal with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Bakke dealt with a special admission program to the University of California at Davis Medical School, which set aside 16 of the 100 places in the entering class for members of minority groups. The Supreme Court held that the quota was invalid because of its disregard of individual rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment.[22a] Political Science Professor Neil D. McFeeley maintains that the Weber case in 1979 was more important because it made a:

> challenge to the affirmative action plan collectively bargained by a union and an employer, brought by a white worker. Weber involved the question of whether Title VII . . . prohibited private employers from granting racial preferences in employment practices. The court, in a 5-to-2 opinion . . . held that it did not, and that the voluntary "quota" was permissible.[23]

[22a] Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, 438 U.S. Sup. Ct. Pt. 2, 265 (1978).

[23] Neil D. McFeeley, "Weber Versus Affirmative Action?," Personnel, January-February 1980, 46.

It appears from the Bakke and Weber decisions that the court would uphold the voluntary quotas negotiated by The Newspaper Guild to correct imbalances on media staffs.

Employment of minority journalists by the general circulation daily newspapers was a purely voluntary action on the part of owners and managers until 1964. A new ingredient was added with passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII of that act prohibited "discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin, in any term, condition or privilege of employment." This provision was broadened to cover most employers, including newspapers, of 15 or more persons, by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. This act also "greatly strengthened the powers and expanded the jurisdiction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in enforcement of this law." A covered employer now had to employ minorities according to their percentage in the "available work force." If the employer just recruited from his immediate area, the percentage of minorities in the immediate area would apply. If the employer recruited statewide or nationally, those percentages would apply.[24] (See Tables 2-B, 2-C.)

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[24]Evelyn M. Idelson, Affirmative Action and Equal Employment, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1974), 12, 13.

All Michigan daily newspapers are owned by corporations that have 15 or more employees, and consequently are covered by the 1972 law.[25] In addition, Michigan employers are covered by state civil rights laws dealing with employment discrimination.[26]

Since the Kerner report was issued in 1968, The Newspaper Fund has been the most consistent industry supporter of programs to move blacks into journalism. The Fund was formed in 1958 as a foundation "to encourage talented young people to enter news careers." It is supported by Dow Jones & Co., Inc., owner of the Wall Street Journal, Barron's, the Dow Jones News Service and Dow Jones Books. Dow Jones also owns the Ottaway Newspaper Group, which publishes 13 general circulation daily newspapers, including the Traverse City, Michigan, Record Eagle and five Sunday newspapers.[27]

The Newspaper Fund began sponsoring urban journalism workshops for minority high school students in 1968, "to encourage minority students to enter the newspaper business . . . [By 1979] more than 1,500

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[25]Warren M. Hoyt, Executive Director, Michigan Press Association, Lansing, Michigan, telephone interview, 7 April 1980.

[26]Status of Civil Rights in Michigan, 1973-78 (Lansing: Michigan Department of Civil Rights, 1979), inside front cover.

[27]The Newspaper Fund Annual Report, 1976 (Princeton, N.J.: The Newspaper Fund, 1977), 1.

students have participated in the workshops co-sponsored by the Fund and local newspapers. Workshops are designed to offer training and encouragement to talented young journalists who have early interest in news careers." Planned for 1980 were 19 workshops, including one at Olivet College, the only minority workshop scheduled in Michigan for 1980.[28] The Newspaper Fund also had co-sponsored with Michigan newspapers a minority high school journalism workshop at Olivet College in 1978 (in addition to the two earlier ones at the University of Michigan in 1969 and 1970.)

The 1978 Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop received cash and/or in-kind contributions from The Newspaper Fund and 11 daily newspapers: Albion Recorder, Ann Arbor News, Battle Creek Enquirer & News, Detroit Free Press and News, Flint Journal, Kalamazoo Gazette, Lansing State Journal, Marshall Chronicle, Muskegon Chronicle and the Oakland Press at Pontiac.[29]

Eight Michigan newspapers pledged financial assistance for the 1980 Olivet College Workshop: Capital Cities Foundation on behalf of the Oakland Press: the

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[28]News release, The Newspaper Fund, Princeton, N.J., 5 March 1980.

[29]Final report on 1978 Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop (Olivet, Michigan: Olivet College, September 1978), 9. (Photocopy.)

Gannett Foundation on behalf of the Lansing State Journal, Battle Creek Enquirer & News and the Port Huron Times Herald; the Detroit Free Press and the News; the Saginaw News, and the Jackson Citizen Patriot. Contributions of minority journalists' services as guest lecturers were made by six newspapers, including the Detroit Free Press and the News, Lansing State Journal, Kalamazoo Gazette, Ann Arbor News and the Muskegon Chronicle. The Albion Evening Recorder and Marshall Evening Chronicle contributed printing of the workshop newspaper. Eighteen minority high school students were sent to the two-week workshop on scholarships from these newspapers. The Newspaper Fund made matching contributions to both workshops, and Michigan State University cooperated in the workshop in 1980. This support from a total of 14 newspapers, up from 11 in 1978, indicated a modest increase in interest in persuading minority high school youths to consider journalism careers.[30]

(In 1976 The Newspaper Fund added a new activity to complement the Urban Journalism Workshops. It financed 10 high school visitation programs to send minority reporters into predominantly minority high

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[30]Interim Report on 1980 Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop, Olivet, Michigan, 20 June 1980, 1.

schools, as an additional way to encourage minority youths to consider newspaper journalism careers.[31])

In a survey of participants in Urban Journalism Workshops from 1974 to 1978, the Fund found that 63 percent entered media work after completing college. Two-thirds of the high school participants said the workshops convinced them to major in journalism in college.[32]

The Newspaper Fund in 1977 reported that in 10 years of conducting Urban Journalism Workshops, "even this work has not been on a scale large enough to increase the percentage of minorities employed by newspapers." This was largely because "the total number of newsroom employees has grown as fast as the number of minority employees." The fund stated:

> The impact of the fund's work has not improved the picture of minorities entering news work. This is primarily because so few colleges, universities and newspapers have been interested in co-sponsoring urban workshops. The action since 1968 has been only at a handful of colleges and organizations.[33]

In 1976 a group of eight Michigan daily newspapers began a graduate journalism program for minorities

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[31]The Newspaper Fund 1976 Annual Report (Princeton, N.J.: The Newspaper Fund, 1977), 6, 7.

[32]Newspaper Fund Programs for Minority Students (Princeton, N.J.: The Newspaper Fund, 1978), 2.

[33]Newspaper Fund Programs, 3.

at the University of Michigan. Booth Newspapers, Inc., the sponsoring group, is part of the Newhouse Newspapers group, and consists of newspapers at Ann Arbor, Bay City, Flint, Grand Rapids, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Muskegon and Saginaw. At least five minority students with bachelor's degrees (not necessarily in journalism) are selected each fall by the university to be designated Booth scholarship recipients. Students take a three-semester program leading to a master's degree in journalism that costs Booth about $20,000 per student. After completing two semesters, students are employed for four-month internships which paid $200 a week in 1980, on one of the Booth newspapers. Then the students go back to the university for a final semester. Graduates of the program are guaranteed a one-year position at a Booth newspaper at $255 a week in 1980. During the first four years of the program, one student failed and several dropped out. Some who completed the program went to work for other newspapers or went into public relations, but several were working for Booth newspapers in 1980.

Another group-owned daily newspaper in Michigan takes part in a minority training program begun by the parent organization in 1978. The Oakland Press at Pontiac is owned by Capital Cities Communications, Inc., which publishes six daily newspapers and several trade

magazines and newspapers in the retailing field, and operates several radio and television stations. The Pontiac newspaper has received interns and full-time employees under this program. Minorities graduating from college are selected for one-year training positions, and are rotated every three months among the six general circulation newspapers owned by the group, which range from 11,000 to more than 300,000 circulation. None is guaranteed a job at the end of the training, but they are considered for full-time positions. Eight students were recruited nationally for the 1980-81 program, beginning in July 1980.[34] The parent organization has a long-standing reputation for hiring minorities. In 1971, Capital Cities signed a pioneering three-year agreement with minority citizens' groups in three cities where it proposed to buy television stations, to hire minority staff members and to produce minority-originated local programming.[35]

This discussion of newspaper efforts to increase the number of minority journalists tends to confirm The Newspaper Fund's contention that too few newspapers have been involved. While 16 of the 52 Michigan daily

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[34]"Capital Cities Communications Minority Training Program" (Kansas City, Missouri: Capital Cities Communications, Inc., 1980), 1-3. (Mimeographed.)

[35]Leonard Zeidenberg, "The Struggle Over Broadcast Access," Broadcasting, 20 September 1971, 34.

newspapers have supported workshops, college scholarships and internships, five other newspapers in areas with significant minority populations have done very little.

Efforts by Educational Organizations

Colleges, universities and several other educational organizations also have attempted in various ways to increase the number of minority journalists. The Association for Education in Journalism held a session on minority journalism at its annual convention in 1970, which led to the formation of the Minorities and Communications Division the following year. This action meant that journalism researchers were able to present papers on minority journalism at several sessions of the convention each year, and occasionally full convention sessions were devoted to various aspects of minority journalism. Journalism Quarterly and Journalism Educator, official publications of the AEJ, ran several articles on minority education and employment during the 1960s and 1970s. Journalism schools and departments have been urged by AEJ resolutions to recruit more minorities, add more minority faculty members, provide scholarships for minority students and set up counseling and placement services for minorities.

In 1974, for example, an AEJ resolution strongly encouraged journalism educators to recruit and support

minority and women students from the high school through the university level. Two members of the 1974 resolutions committee, Chairman Herbert Strentz and committee member Samuel Adams, in 1975 mailed a questionnaire to 134 colleges offering journalism programs and made a telephone survey of seven traditionally black journalism schools. They made five general conclusions based upon their survey.

> 1. While the number of minority students in journalism is increasing, their proportion is decreasing because of general enrollment increases in recent years.
>
> 2. Most journalism schools said they did not make pointed and specific efforts to recruit minority students.
>
> 3. The number of black and other minority faculty (not counting women as a minority) is increasing in journalism programs.
>
> 4. The size of the journalism program, in terms of majors, was the best predictor as to the presence of minority faculty, numbers of minority students and efforts to recruit minority students. An exception was the reported absence of any black faculty in the 28 journalism programs reporting from the South and Border regions of the nation.
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> 5. While journalism programs in the black colleges experienced no significant change in undergraduate enrollments last year, it is clear that the more than 1,000 undergraduate blacks in a half-dozen of these programs constitute an important share of the growing number of minority student journalists.[36]

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[36]Herbert Strentz and Samuel Adams, "Most J-Schools do not actively recruit minority students," Journalism Quarterly 52 (October, 1975): 3-5.

In August 1978 AEJ endorsed a goal set by the American Society of Newspaper Editors which called for the newspaper industry to employ minorities by the year 2000 in a percentage equivalent to the percentage of minority persons in the national population: 20 percent. A number of other proposals were approved, aiming at an increase in minority students and journalists.[37]

One of the best summaries of progress since the Kerner report in hiring and promotion of minorities was conducted by the University of Michigan in 1977. Its Howard R. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance sponsored "Kerner Plus 10: Minorities and the Media." The conference report stated:

> The conference addressed two specific questions: How far have the news organizations come in bridging the communication gap between the media and minorities? And in what directions do the media, and minorities working with them, appear to be headed in the next decade?

The Kerner report had called upon the news media to improve their coverage of minorities, and to hire more minority journalists. A panel of working news persons from Detroit, black and white, including some who had covered the riot in 1967, agreed at the Kerner Plus 10 conference that Detroit news media were using better techniques, showing more sensitivity to

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[37]Association for Education in Journalism Resolution No. 1, August, 1978, Seattle, Washington. (Mimeographed.)

minorities, exhibiting more enterprise in the reporting of racial stories, and giving editorial support to liberal and progressive issues. While there were many more minority journalists in Detroit in 1977 than there were in 1967, "There are still too few minority people in policy and decision-making positions."[38]

"At the time of the Kerner investigations, blacks held few of the news editorial positions in the white press," the Kerner Plus 10 report noted. "Between 1967 and 1977, the number of black journalists on daily newspapers went from 25 or 30 to about 300, or less than 1 percent of the total figure [of journalists employed by U.S. daily newspapers]."[39]

The longest-running training program for minorities connected with a university was started in 1968 and still operating in 1980. Fred Friendly, former president of Columbia Broadcasting System News, started the Summer Program at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University, and directed the intensive 10-week training for minority journalists. In its first year, 1968, it trained only for broadcast journalism.

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[38]Marion Marzolf and Melba Tolliver, Kerner Plus 10: Minorities and the Media, Conference Report (Ann Arbor: The Howard R. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance, University of Michigan, 1977), iii, iv, 10, 12.

[39]Kerner Plus 10, 12.

In 1969 it expanded into print as well, with 36 students. Twelve students were sponsored by major newspapers; other money came from the National Broadcasting Company, CBS and the Ford Foundation. After five years of what appeared to be successful efforts to train more minority journalists, Al DeLeon wrote in Black Enterprise in 1974 that the program had produced "nearly 20 percent of the total number of minority journalists in the media today [1974]."[40]

The program did close at Columbia in 1974, but it was revived at University of California at Berkeley in 1976 by a committee of journalists who had taught in the Columbia program. The Berkeley Summer Program was under the direction of the Institute for Journalism Education, headed until 1979 by Robert Maynard, a Nieman Fellow at Harvard and former editorial writer and ombudsman for the Washington Post. About 15 minority students take part each year, producing a weekly newspaper under deadline pressure. Newspapers agree in advance to hire students who graduate from the program, and the Muskegon Chronicle hired two women graduates, one in 1978 and the other in 1979. Financial support has come from Boston Globe Newspaper Co., Capital Cities Communications, Inc.,

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[40]Al DeLeon, "Showdown on Morningside Heights," Black Enterprise, September 1974, 32-37.

Dow Jones & Co., Inc., Forbes magazine, Ford Foundation, the Gannett Newspaper Foundation, Philip Graham Fund of the Washington Post Co., William Randolph Hearst Foundation, John R. and Mary Markle Foundation, National Urban League, New York Times Foundation, Scripps Howard Foundation, Times Mirror Foundation and TRW, Inc. Four of these organizations--Capital Cities, Dow Jones, Gannett and Graham--are supported by news media groups operating in Michigan.[41]

Maynard, a black journalist, is the driving force behind the Berkeley Summer Program. He is one of the most articulate spokesmen for opening up the news media to minority journalists at all levels. Few black journalists have followed the path traditionally followed by whites, starting with a small weekly or daily newspaper and moving up to larger dailies according to their ability or desire. However, Maynard told a journalism class at Michigan State University on February 16, 1978, that he had applied for a job with hundreds of dailies before finally being hired by the small York, Pennsylvania, Gazette and Daily. This newspaper was owned by a maverick white publisher who hired black reporters in the late 1950s and early 1960s, long before it became

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[41]The Summer Program for Minority Journalists, School of Journalism, University of California at Berkeley, 1978. (Brochure.)

fashionable. Maynard said it was his goal to increase the number of minority journalists until by the year 2000 A.D., they held positions at all levels on newspaper staffs, from janitor to top editor, in proportion to their numbers in the total U.S. population, or 20 percent. This was the goal adopted by TNG in 1972, and by the ASNE and AEJ in 1978. To reach this goal, Maynard said minorities will have to be able to follow the traditional career path starting with the small newspapers that Maynard himself followed.

At the Kerner Plus 10 conference in 1977, Maynard had also stated his belief that small newspaper experience is essential for any beginning journalist. But he charged that small newspaper editors resist his requests for minority internships. They point out that since they have no blacks in their communities, they don't need any on their staffs. They fail to see that moving minorities into journalism is a national, rather than a local problem. "Until we open up that avenue, it is going to be very hard to bring the numbers of minority journalists along to the degree that they must be brought along," Maynard declared.[42]

He wrote in May 1978:

> Of the 1,762 daily newspapers of general circulation in the United States, one has a

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[42] Kerner Plus 10, 6.

> black executive editor, one has a black managing editor and perhaps a half-dozen non-white assistant managing editors. There may be as many as a dozen non-white city editors.[43]

In 1979 Maynard was named editor of the Oakland, California, Tribune, the first black to hold a top editor's position on a major newspaper.

"Integration of the press is no longer a protest issue; it's a matter of process," Maynard is quoted in a Columbia Journalism Review article by Nick Kotz. Kotz adds:

> The process is also working where newspaper publishers and editors have placed the weight of their authority behind well-defined affirmative action programs for minority hiring, training and promotion. And the process has been advanced by protest, when minority journalists already in the business have pressed for change from within.
>
> Out of these efforts and the general pressure of minority movements on American society, the number of minority newspaper journalists has risen from 400 in 1968 to 1,700 today [1979], representing 4 percent of all the professionals in the business. The number of minority journalism students has also increased significantly, and there is now a growing pool of experienced professionals and ambitious novices available to newspapers ready to use their talents. Where they have been given the opportunity, these minority journalists are helping newspapers provide more accurate coverage of America's complex, multi-racial society.[44]

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[43] Robert C. Maynard, "Crossfire: Heat in the Lines of Duty," Washington Journalism Review, April/May 1978, 40.

[44] Kotz, Minority, 23.

Thus it can be seen again, in the case of educational organizations, progress in increasing the number of minority journalists has come from those institutions that have made a consistent, dedicated effort. Some educational institutions made an effort in the early years after the Kerner report, then cut back. Some educational institutions never started.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that black journalists particularly tend to seek newspaper jobs in cities where there is a significant black population. However, some newspapers in cities where there are black populations still have been slow to hire black journalists. Historically, there were few black journalists working on daily newspapers even at the time of the Kerner report. That report did stimulate an increase in training and hiring black journalists, with civil rights groups, the news media and educational institutions often joining in the most productive efforts. While some of these organizations eventually lost interest in increasing the number of black and other minority journalists, others have kept up their efforts 12 years after the Kerner report was issued. Little progress has been made in cities where there has been an absence of commitment on the part of any one of the three groups:

civil rights organizations, the news media or educational institutions. Most important in this process are committed news media executives, because the ultimate pay-off is the offer of a job to a minority journalist.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This review of the literature relates to three areas covered by this thesis on employment and promotion of black journalists by Michigan daily newspapers. The first section discusses research conducted to determine the number of minority journalists, especially blacks, working on daily newspapers. The second section discusses efforts to determine the number of minority journalism students since the late 1960s, because this is a means of measuring whether the supply of minority journalists has been increasing. The third section reports on the attitudes of minority journalists toward their jobs. A summary concludes the chapter.

Counting Minority Journalists

Civil rights leaders in the late 1950s and early 1960s became aware of the importance of the news media in making progress in the civil rights field. A national conference on race and the news media was held in 1956 at the University of Missouri, bringing together civil rights leaders and the news media executives. The

leaders promoting the conference believed that the civil rights story would be told with greater sensitivity and perception if blacks and other minorities were working in the newsrooms of America. Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein, journalism professors at the Freedom of Information Center at the University of Missouri, conducted research on the number of black journalists working on daily newspapers as background for the persons attending the conference. They reported:

> In 1964 the American Newspaper Guild could name only 45 Negroes working as reporters, copy-readers, photographers, or deskmen on metropolitan newspapers in the United States. Even the most generous estimates put Negro employment in these jobs at 100, out of a total employment of 50,000 (as estimated by the U.S. Bureau of the Census). From these startling low figures it would appear that the news media are guilty of what a large part of the Negro revolution is all about: token integration and token employment.[1]

This source probably includes only newspapers covered by the Guild contracts, and thus does not include all newspapers.

One of the most prolific and respected researchers into the problems of increasing the number of minority journalists has been Professor Edward J. Trayes of Temple University. Writing in 1969, Trayes observed:

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[1] Race and the News Media, ed. by Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1967), 7.

> While negroes constitute an ever-increasing percentage of almost every major city's population, it is also evident that their participation on the news staffs of daily and Sunday newspapers in these areas is drastically limited.[2]

On 32 metropolitan newspapers in 16 large cities, Trayes found 108 black newsmen, or 2.6 percent of a total of 4,095 news executives, deskmen, reporters, and photographers. Trayes did not receive responses from all newspapers in those cities, possibly the ones without blacks. So the actual percentage may have been lower.

Two studies have presented research on employment of minorities by Michigan mass media. Milton Adams, a graduate student at Michigan State University, in 1971 conducted a mail survey of editors of Michigan daily newspapers. In returns from 26 out of the 52 daily newspapers, Adams found 16 blacks, no Mexican-Americans and one American Indian, or 2.4 percent, among the 718 journalists reported working on these newspapers. No minorities were news executives; two blacks and an American Indian were deskmen; eight blacks were reporters and six blacks were photographers. Adams reported:

> Minority newsmen were found most on the higher circulation newspapers. The 21 newspapers with circulation under 50,000 reported one black reporter and two black photographers. [On the two newspapers] within the 50,000 to 100,000 circulation group, two black reporters were reported. No minority newsmen were reported [on the one respondent] within the

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[2]Edward J. Trayes, "The Negro in Journalism: Surveys Show Low Ratios," Journalism Quarterly 46 (Spring 1969): 5-9.

> 100,000 to 500,000 circulation group. Among the two newspapers in the 500,000 and up circulation group, there were two black and one American Indian deskmen, five black reporters,[3] and four black photographers.

Adams' study received responses only from 50 percent of the subjects, but it is possible that all editors employing minorities responded.

The Michigan Department of Civil Rights has not conducted research into the employment of minorities by the state's daily newspapers, and has received no discrimination complaints from minority journalists against newspapers. It did make a study, however, of minority and women employment at 15 Michigan television stations in cities with substantial minority population, 1971 through 1978. The department concluded that equal employment opportunity laws "have had only limited effects on equal employment opportunity at television stations surveyed."[4] This indicates a lack of action on the part of the minority journalists and civil rights groups in filing complaints.

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[3]Milton N. Adams, Survey of Minority Participation on Michigan Daily Newspapers and in Michigan Schools of Journalism (East Lansing: Michigan State University School of Journalism, May 1971), 2. (Mimeographed.)

[4]Michigan Department of Civil Rights, Minorities and Women Employed on 15 Michigan Television Stations, 1971 Through 1978 (Lansing: Michigan Department of Civil Rights, March 1979), 11. (Mimeographed.)

In 1977 Denley and Boone reported a study they had made of black employment on Mississippi daily newspapers, weekly newspapers of more than 2,500 circulation, all 10 television stations in the state, and about a third of the state's 121 radio stations. They received responses from 12 out of 23 daily newspapers, 14 out of 42 weekly newspapers, six out of 10 television stations and 12 out of 40 radio stations. The news media reported eight minority journalists on the 12 daily newspapers, 22 on the 12 radio stations, and 13 on the six television stations. Of the 242 journalism jobs reported, blacks held 17 percent. Blacks made up one-half of the electronic media news staffs, but only 4 percent of the print news staffs. "The study also found that electronic media will continue to afford the best opportunity for blacks," Denley and Boone concluded.[5] The low percent of response from all media impairs the validity of this study.

In 1978 Trayes made a follow-up study of blacks on metropolitan daily newspapers. On 25 newspapers in the 20 largest cities (including one reporting from Detroit), there were 206 black journalists, or 5.6 percent, of a total of 3,619 news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers. Eighteen of the 676 news executives were black. The total number of

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[5]Gale Denley and Allyn C. Boone, "Mississippi Study Finds Media Hiring More Blacks," Journalism Quarterly 54 (Summer 1977): 375-8.

black journalists was almost double the number reported in 1968, but 14 of 25 dailies reported no black news executives. "It would seem that special efforts should be made to attract, develop and retain blacks in higher level news room jobs," Trayes advised.[6] The significance of his study for this thesis is limited because it includes only one Michigan newspaper.

The most comprehensive study of employment of minority journalists by daily newspapers since the Kerner report in 1968 was commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The Frank E. Gannett Urban Journalism Center at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, was engaged by the ASNE to do the study of the nation's general circulation daily newspapers. Professor Jay T. Harris directed the study and responses were received from 1,058 of the 1,762 United States daily newspapers. Findings were reported in 1978. They include:

> In the last decade the proportion of daily newspapers employing minority journalists has increased only from 20 percent to 32 percent.
>
> While minority persons are 17 percent of the nation's population, they constitute only 4 percent of the journalists working for daily newspapers.

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[6]Trayes, "Black Journalists on U.S. Metropolitan Daily Newspapers: A follow-up Study," Journalism Quarterly 56 (Winter 1979): 711-14.

> Minority journalists are concentrated in a small number of newspapers; two-thirds of the nation's dailies employ no minority journalists.
>
> Minorities are under-utilized and under-represented in newspaper management. Ninety-nine percent of the editors of daily newspapers are white.
>
> While the major attention in minority employment during the last 10 years has focused on blacks, all other minority groups have fared better in securing non-reportorial professional positions in news rooms . . .
>
> Blacks and Hispanic persons are particularly under-represented in the news rooms as compared to their percentage of nation's population. Blacks are 11 percent of the U.S. population, but only 2 percent of the journalists employed by daily newspapers. Hispanic persons are 5 percent of the nation's population, but less than 1 percent of the journalists employed by the daily newspapers.[7]

The ASNE committee on minorities reported more progress in 1979 in employment of minorities by daily newspapers. The number of minorities employed by dailies in professional positions had increased by 12 percent from 1978 to 1979, with minority journalists rising from 4 percent to 4.5 percent of the total number of journalists employed. The total number of minority journalists on dailies in 1978 was 1,700, compared to 1,900 in 1979. ASNE said the biggest increases came at newspapers with

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[7]Frank E. Gannett Urban Journalism Center, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Minority Employment on Daily Newspapers (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, Medill School of Journalism, April 1978), I-1.

100,000 or more circulation. Still in 1979, two-thirds of the daily newspapers in the country employed no minority journalists. The committee noted a renewed interest in 1979 in minority employment and coverage of minorities. There were also more minority news executives, rising from 4 percent in 1978 to 6 percent in 1979. Fourteen percent of white journalists held news executive positions in 1979. However, the number of minorities holding desk person positions dropped from 16 percent to 14 percent.[8]

Counting Minority Journalism Students

Researchers have tried to obtain data on the number of minority journalism students enrolled in the nation's colleges and universities since the Kerner report was issued in 1968. The report had recommended that these educational institutions recruit more blacks as students to increase the flow of competent black journalists. It had suggested that young blacks be offered scholarships and other assistance to help overcome the low number of blacks being graduated from journalism schools.

In 1969 Trayes matched his study of black journalists on metropolitan newspapers with the study of

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[8]American Society of Newspaper Editors Committee on Minorities, April 28, 1979, quoted in Newspaper Journalism . . . for Minorities (Tallahassee: Florida A & M University, 1980), 5, 7.

black students registered in 83 journalism schools for the fall term, 1968, to find if the supply was increasing. He found 128 black juniors and seniors in these schools, or just under 2 percent of a total 6,418 news-editorial or photojournalism majors. Three Michigan schools reported a total of four juniors and two seniors.[9] Because only three of five Michigan schools responded, the report is incomplete for this study.

Trayes later began compiling data on minority faculty members serving in journalism schools and departments. This was useful because the small number of minority faculty members limited the amount of research being conducted by minorities, in addition to limiting their effect in the classroom. He reported in 1972 that:

> Less than one of every 100 full-time faculty positions in schools and departments offering majors in news-editorial and/or photojournalism is held by blacks, and the proportion of black juniors and seniors is less than it was a year ago . . . Of the 1,039 full-time faculty positions reported, nine, or just under 1 percent of 135 schools reporting are black . . . Of the 11,329 juniors and seniors majoring in news-editorial and/or photojournalism sequences at the 135 schools, 472 or just under 4.2 percent are black.[10]

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[9]Trayes, "The Negro in Journalism: Surveys Show Low Ratios," Journalism Quarterly 46 (Spring 1969): 5-8.

[10]Trayes, "Blacks Increase Enrollments, But Hold Few J-Faculty Jobs," Journalism Educator 27 (October 1972): 18-20.

In 1974 Trayes reported on his latest study of journalism school enrollment:

> The proportion of black upper division news-editorial majors has almost tripled since 1968. The number and percentage of black full-time journalism faculty has increased slightly in a year.

Trayes said 135 journalism schools reported 681 blacks enrolled, or 5.4 percent of the 12,516 junior and senior news-editorial and/or photojournalism majors. There were 15 blacks out of 1,152 total faculty.[11]

Adams, in making his study in 1971 of Michigan daily newspapers employment of minority journalists, also surveyed enrollment of black and Mexican-American journalism majors in five Michigan universities with four-year accredited journalism programs: Michigan State University, University of Michigan, University of Detroit, Wayne State University and Eastern Michigan University. He found 33 blacks, or 5.8 percent and five Mexican-Americans, or .89 percent, among 561 juniors and seniors at the five schools. Counting freshmen and sophomores at the five schools, there were 61 blacks, or 6.1 percent, and seven Mexican-Americans, or .7 percent, out of 996 students majoring in journalism.[12] This comprehensive

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[11]Trayes, "Blacks J-Enrollments Increase, But Important Questions Remain," Journalism Educator 24 (July 1974): 43-44.

[12]Adams, Michigan, 4.

study indicates that young blacks were beginning to consider journalism as a career.

Difficulties in obtaining the number of minority journalism students were noted by Paul V. Peterson, Ohio State University professor who has compiled figures on journalism school enrollments for several years. In 1977 Peterson wrote that statistics on black journalism school enrollment are "at best only an indication, for there are a large number of schools which did not report by race."[13] The author of this thesis, intending to update Adams' data on minority enrollment in Michigan schools, checked in 1978 with the heads of the journalism programs at the University of Michigan and Michigan State University, and found that it was virtually impossible to obtain accurate data on minority journalism majors.

Peterson found in 1973 that there were 1,629 black journalism students, representing 2.8 percent of the total enrollment that year in journalism schools. In 1974, with 164 schools reporting, he found 1,628 black students, 2.95 percent of the total enrollment in journalism schools, which reached a record total of 55,078 students that year.[14] He found in 1975 that 2,442

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[13]Paul V. Peterson, "55,000 Mark Surpassed," Journalism Educator 25 (January 1975): 7.

[14]Peterson, "55,000 Mark Surpassed," Journalism Educator 25 (January 1975): 7.

blacks, or 3.8 percent of the total enrollment of 64,151, were declared journalism majors, including 210 blacks at the master's level and 16 at the doctorate level. He had reports from 195 schools in 1975.[15] In reports from 190 schools in 1976 he found 2,540 black undergraduates, 3.8 percent out of 64,502 students majoring in journalism. At the graduate level, 127 blacks were working on master's degrees and five on doctorates.[16]

Professor Clint C. Wilson of California State University Los Angeles reported in 1978 that enrollment of all minorities in accredited journalism schools that year was about 8 percent of the total enrollment. It has been pointed out earlier in this chapter that some schools did not report their statistics, so the value of this study may be limited. Wilson said 60 percent of journalism educators reporting in a study he made felt that minority graduates were as well prepared as the white graduates, but "College training of minorities lacked intensity and personal commitment."[17]

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[15]Peterson, "J-Enrollments Continue to Soar - Autumn 1975 Total: 64,151," Journalism Educator 26 (January 1976): 7.

[16]Peterson, "Journalism Enrollment Levels Off: Growth Rate Declines Sharply," Journalism Educator 27 (January 1977): 8.

[17]"More Blacks and Latinos Needed in Newsrooms," AEJ Newsletter, 1 April 1979, 3.

Measuring Attitudes of Minority Students and Journalists

In the first few years after the release of the Kerner report in 1968, two studies were made of the attitudes of black students and journalists. Melvin Mencher, who directed a summer workshop for minority journalists begun in 1968 at Columbia University, that year visited 16 college campuses to talk with black journalism students, and also interviewed editors, publishers and reporters in 12 cities. He reported:

> Some black and Spanish-speaking Americans have moved from pushing brooms and jockeying elevators to sitting in swivel chairs at formica-topped desks. Their posture may have changed, but has their position really changed? Young blacks ask this question rhetorically. They talk about window dressing and tokenism.
>
> Blacks talk about moving up in journalism. Again, they are scornful. The facts on decision makers in journalism are clear. There are few members of minority groups at key spots on newspapers and broadcast stations. Whites are in charge.[18]

This limited study can only be accepted as an indication, rather than an accurate measure of blacks' attitudes.

In 1971 Arthur Ciervo, director of public relations at Georgetown University, interviewed 10 black reporters employed by the white press and 10 black news

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[18]Melvin Mencher, "Journalism: the Way It Is, as Seen by Black Reporters and Students," Journalism Quarterly 46 (Fall 1969): 499-504.

sources in Washington, D.C. "All of the black reporters cited instances where color was important in obtaining access to black news sources, militants included," Ciervo reported. In response to the question, "Are you most likely to give the black reporter more information, or treat him any differently because of his color?," six black news sources said "No," three "Yes," and one was non-committal.[19] Again, this is a limited, inconclusive study.

In 1974 advice on how to attract minority journalism students was given by Michael E. Bishop and James J. Mullen, professors at University of North Carolina. They contacted 30 blacks, freshmen through graduates, to get their ideas on how journalism schools could better serve minorities. Their recommendations included: (1) Establish contact at the high school level, preferably through a minority group member, and let students know you are interested in them by inviting them to campus, holding career days, having successful minority journalists contact prospective minority students, and providing financial assistance; (2) evaluate your journalism program to make sure that minority journalism is covered in courses and is offered to all

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[19]Arthur Ciervo, "Black Reporters and the White Press," The Quill, October 1971, 13, 14.

students; (3) consider offering a seminar in minority journalism; (4) aggressively search for qualified, enthusiastic minority faculty members; (5) help guarantee the success of minority students by arranging scholarships and internships, giving advice to minorities on opportunities, and outlining possible steps in their career development.[20] This appears to be excellent advice.

In 1979 DeWayne Wickham interviewed many black journalists and wrote that journalism can be "rough" for minority journalists on newspapers. "What you find out very quickly is that newspapers play a tremendous role in shaping and influencing opinion in this country," a black writer told Wickham. "Understand that, and then you know why the going is rough for those of us who manage to get in the door. Nobody wants black folks this close to the throttle of this country."[21]

Eleven successful minority journalists wrote in 1980 about their careers in Newspaper Journalism . . . for Minorities, prepared by Robert M. Ruggles, Chairman of the Department of Journalism, Florida A&M University. The booklet, aimed at minority young people to give them

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[20]Michael E. Bishop and James Mullen, "Vigorous recruitment Needed to Attract Minority Students," Journalism Educator 24 (July 1974): 45-8.

[21]DeWayne Wickham, "For Blacks on Daily Newspapers, the Same Old Story," Black Enterprise, February 1979, 44.

a realistic view of careers for minorities in journalism, presented both optimistic and pessimistic views of journalism as a profession for minorities. Although limited in size because of the small number of journalists involved, the statements in the pamphlet were profound.[22]

No research reports involving an in-depth analysis of how minority journalists feel about their jobs could be found in the literature. In 1976 Harold Carman Shaver reported in a doctoral dissertation a study he did entitled "Job Satisfaction, Career Patterns and Job Hunting Among Journalism Graduates." Shaver surveyed journalism and advertising majors who were graduated in 1960 and 1970, years when the number of black graduates in those fields was small. He reported graduates' "overall level of satisfaction was generally positive." Job satisfaction for these journalists came from "the possibility of growth on the job," and "the opportunity for acquiring new professional skills." Factors leading to job dissatisfaction were "poorly handled company policy and administration" and "low salary."[23]

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[22] Journalism for Minorities, 1-24.

[23] Harold Carman Shaver, "Job Satisfaction, Career Patterns, and Job Hunting Among Journalism Graduates," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University, 1976, 164.

Conclusion

This review of the literature indicates that a number of efforts have been made over the years to determine the number of minorities working for the news media and attending journalism schools. Two studies were made in Michigan, but one related to minorities working in television. The other study inquired into the number of minority students in five Michigan journalism schools, and the number of journalists working on Michigan daily newspapers. However, this study was made in 1971, and the number of newspapers responding was only 50% of the 52 general circulation daily newspapers in the state. The study showed that 6 percent of the journalism students and 2.4 of the journalists were minority. Many researchers have abandoned attempts to count the number of minority students because a number of schools do not report them. Thus it would be futile to make an attempt in 1980 to count minority students. Concerning the attitudes of black journalists toward their jobs, several limited studies have been made; however, no research could be located in the literature that studied in depth the attitudes of black journalists toward their jobs.

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter, which explains the methodology and problems encountered in conducting the surveys, is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the methodology used to obtain information from editors of Michigan daily newspapers regarding their hiring and promotion practices, and the number of minority journalists and total journalists employed by the newspapers. The second section discusses the methodology used to obtain information from black journalists employed by Michigan daily newspapers about their backgrounds and their attitudes toward their jobs. See Appendices A and B for examples of letters and questionnaires used in the surveys.

Methodology Used with Editors

An objective of this study was to obtain data from editors of Michigan daily newspapers that would enable a comparison to be made with data collected by Edward J. Trayes, Jay Harris, Milton Adams and other researchers who have investigated the employment of

minority journalists by daily newspapers. Therefore, a questionnaire was constructed that was based on instruments used by these researchers. Assistance in preparing the questionnaire was given this author by Professor James Scotten of Michigan State University. The first page of the two-page questionnaire contained questions on hiring and promotion practices of editors. These questions were adopted from research conducted by Trayes in 1974 with the Associated Press Managing Editors, and published in Journalism Quarterly.[1] The second page of the questionnaire sought information on the total number of journalists employed by the newspapers as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers. The editors also were asked to give the number of black, Mexican American, American Indian and other racial minority (Asian and Pacific Islander) journalists in each category. These categories were used by Professor Jay T. Harris in his research reported in 1978 on employment of minority journalists by United States daily newspapers. The American Society of Newspaper Editors commissioned his research.[2] Milton N. Adams in his 1971

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[1]Edward J. Trayes, "Hiring and Promotion Practices: A Survey of 52 APME Dailies," Journalism Quarterly 53 (Autumn 1976): 540-544.

[2]Quoted in Newspaper Journalism . . . for Minorities (Tallahassee: Florida A&M University, 1980), 5, 7.

study of minority journalists employed on Michigan daily newspapers did not obtain data on employment of journalists of other racial minorities; however, this author felt that it would be useful to obtain data on this group to compare with Harris' findings.[3]

A cover letter was prepared to accompany the questionnaire, explaining that the author was an associate professor of communication at Olivet College, working on a master's degree at Michigan State University. The letter also stated that the author was director of the Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop, and thus interested in encouraging young minority students to consider embarking on careers in newspaper journalism. The letter said that anonymity would be guaranteed, but that results would be shared with editors who took part in the survey. Professor Scotten advised sending the letter on Olivet College letterhead, because many of the editors had received letters from the author on the college letterhead, soliciting support for scholarships to send young minority students to the Urban Journalism Workshop. The body of the letter was printed on an offset press, leaving room for individually typed salutations at the top. The envelopes were Olivet College No. 10

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[3]Milton N. Adams, Survey of Minority Participation on Michigan Daily Newspapers and in Michigan Schools of Journalism (East Lansing: Michigan State University School of Journalism, May 1971), 1. (Mimeographed.)

white envelopes, individually typed with the editor's name and address. Names and addresses of the editors of the 52 general circulation daily newspapers were obtained from the 1978 Michigan Newspaper Directory, published by the Michigan Press Association. The letter and questionnaire were mailed for evaluation to a personal friend out-of-state, William Brown, managing editor of the Columbus, Georgia, Ledger-Enquirer. Brown filled out the questionnaire and said he felt the letter and questionnaire were straight-forward and offered no problems. Copies of the letter to editors and the two-page questionnaire will be found in Appendix A. The letters, questionnaires and return No. 10 Olivet College envelopes, individually typed with the author's address and 15-cent postage stamp affixed, were placed in the individually typed Olivet College No. 10 envelopes with 28-cent postage stamps affixed.

The 52 envelopes were mailed August 11, 1978. By September 11, 1978, replies had been received from 21 of the 52 editors. Two of the 21 editors returned the questionnaire without filling it out. One editor said he had just come on the job and did not feel competent to fill it out. The questionnaire was mailed to him again in December 1979 and this time he filled it out and returned it. The second editor who had returned the

blank questionnaire provided information by telephone in March 1980. He had misunderstood the purpose of the questionnaire, and had returned it with the statement that there weren't any minorities in his area, "just a few Indians who don't want to work." He revealed on the telephone that he was an American Indian, the highest ranking of all American Indian journalists and the highest ranking minority editor recorded by the survey.

A second mailing was sent to editors who had not responded to the first mailing, using the same letter and questionnaire, on December 17, 1978, so they would receive it during the Christmas holiday when newspaper activity slackens. Nine additional editors responded by January 8, 1979.

Information on the last part of the second sheet of the mail questionnaire relating to the number of journalists employed as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers, and the number of minorities employed in these categories, was gathered by interviews on the telephone or by personal visits to the remaining 22 of the 52 editors of Michigan daily newspapers. These interviews were made between March 1979 and April 1980.

Data were tabulated by calculator, in groupings used by Adams in his 1971 study, so that comparisons could be made between the 1971 study and this 1980 study.

Telephone calls and personal visits were made to newspapers in cities with minority populations, to check with editors and publishers as well as black journalists on their staffs to make certain that data on employment of minority journalists was current as of March 1, 1980, the cut-off date.

Methodology Used with Black Journalists

A four-page questionnaire was used to gather data on the backgrounds of black journalists working on Michigan daily newspapers and the attitudes of these journalists toward their jobs. Except for one question, this instrument was identical to one used by Harold Carman Shaver in his study of 1960 and 1970 journalism and advertising graduates to investigate the problem of dropouts from news media jobs. The question asked Michigan black journalists if they had ever applied for a job on a newspaper north of the Bay City-Muskegon line. This question was added to determine whether black journalists were willing to apply for positions on newspapers in areas with few or no black residents. Although data had been gathered from editors on employment of all journalists who were members of racial minority groups, it was decided to concentrate on black journalists in obtaining information on backgrounds and attitudes toward jobs. This decision was made because blacks comprise

12.7 percent of the total population in Michigan, compared to 1.7 percent for persons of Spanish origin, .4 percent for American Indian, .5 percent for Asian American, and .2 for all others (see Table 2). Furthermore, studies by Adams, Harris and others have shown that blacks tend to be concentrated in larger cities, on newspapers with greater circulation, while members of other minorities may be employed as journalists on newspapers with relatively small circulations as well as on those with larger circulations.

Shaver's questionnaire was based on a job satisfaction theory developed by Frederick Herzberg and widely accepted by management specialists. The theory maintains that job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are not the opposite of one another. The opposite of job satisfaction is no job satisfaction, while the opposite of job dissatisfaction is no job dissatisfaction. Job satisfaction factors were called by Herzberg "motivators," while job dissatisfaction factors were called "hygienes."

Herzberg maintained:

> Job satisfaction is determined by the feelings that the individual has concerning the content [emphasis added] of his job. These include task achievement, intrinsic interest in the task, increased task responsibility, advancement, and occupational growth. These satisfiers serve to provide for human needs, to exercise one's capabilities or the surplus potentiality of the brain

TABLE 2-A.--POPULATION ESTIMATES IN MICHIGAN, BY RACE, 1978

Estimated total population:	9,246,000	Percent
White	7,977,000	86.3
Spanish origin*	157,000	1.7
Black	1,175,000	12.7
American Indian	34,000	.4
Asian American	42,000	.5
All other**	18,000	.2
Percent minority		13.8

*People of Spanish origin were counted twice because of the method used by the 1970 United States Census. First, they were counted as Spanish origin, by country. Second, they were counted according to the race they identified with; approximately 95 percent are included with white, and about 5 percent are included with black.

**Includes race unknown.

Note: due to rounding, total percentages may not equal 100 percent.

Source: data from Michigan Department of Management and Budget, July 1978 published by Michigan Department of Civil Rights, Status of Civil Rights in Michigan, 1973-78 (Lansing: Michigan Department of Civil Rights, 1979), 14.

TABLE 2-B.--ESTIMATED MICHIGAN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, 1979 (000)[a]

White	
Men 20 yrs. and over	2,027
Women 20 yrs. and over	1,320
Negro & other races	
Men 20 yrs. and over	271
Women 20 yrs. and over	222
Total est. Mich. civilian labor force	3,840
% Negro & other races	12.8

TABLE 2-C.--ESTIMATED UNITED STATES LABOR FORCE, 1979 (000)[a]

White	
Men 20 yrs. and over	48,583
Women 20 yrs. and over	33,545
Negro	
Men 20 yrs. & over	5,904
Women 20 yrs. and over	5,366
Total est. United States labor force	93,398
% Negro & other races	12.1

[a]Data based on sample of Michigan and United States households by race and sex, annual averages of monthly estimates from the current population survey: 1975-79.

SOURCE FOR DATA, TABLES 2-B and 2-C: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, vol. 27, no. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 1980), Tables 3 and 4. Published in Michigan Statistical Abstracts, 15th ed. (East Lansing: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University), 140.

> as an instrumentality for psychological growth, and are called motivators.
>
> Job dissatisfaction is determined by the feelings of the individual has concerning the context of his job. These include company policies and administration; technical supervision; working conditions; salary; interpersonal relations with superiors, subordinates and peers; personal status; job security, and personal life.[4]

Herzberg and associates used open-ended interviews to identify these factors, ultimately boiling them down to 15 factors. Shaver adapted these factors to 24 which he felt would be more useful in his questionnaire mailed to journalism graduates, including nine motivators and 15 hygienes.[5]

Shaver's model was followed exactly. The first page of the four-page questionnaire was a yellow sheet of 8½ x 11 paper, with instructions on one side and questions on the other. The questions were to be filled out on two separate sheets of white paper. If a person had had only one or two jobs, only one sheet of paper needed to be filled out. The fourth sheet of 8½ x 11 white paper contained questions regarding personal

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[4]Hanafi M. Soliman, "Motivation-hygiene theory of job attitudes: An empirical investigation and an attempt to reconcile both the one- and two-factor theories of job attitudes," Journal of Applied Psychology 54:5 (1970): 452. Quoted in Harold Carman Shaver, "Job Satisfaction, Career Patterns, and Job Hunting Among Journalism Graduates," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University, 1976, 10.

[5]Shaver, Job Satisfaction, 87.

history, education, and high school and college media experience.

A cover letter was prepared on Olivet College 8½ x 11 letterhead. It explained the purpose of the study, and mentioned that this was the first attempt to obtain data on attitudes of black journalists toward their jobs. The letter stated that the author was an associate professor of communication at Olivet College, director of the Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop, and working on a master's degree in journalism at Michigan State University. No inducement was offered, except to state that results of the survey would be shared with those taking part in the study. Persons were told that their replied would be kept confidential. Copies of the letter and questionnaire are in Appendix B.

No. 10 return envelopes were typed with the address and name of the author, and a 15-cent stamp affixed. The same size envelope with an Olivet College return address was used to type the names and addresses of black journalists working on Michigan daily newspapers, with 15-cent stamps affixed.

The letter and questionnaire for black journalists were mailed August 15, 1978, to an out-of-state acquaintance, Robert McGruder, a black reporter for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, who later was named city editor of that

newspaper. McGruder filled out and returned the questionnaire, remarking that it posed no major problems to him. Based on McGruder's response, no changes were made in the letter or questionnaire.

Telephone calls were made starting in March 1979 to the editors of Michigan daily newspapers employing black journalists, to obtain their names so that the questionnaires could be mailed. Considerable difficulty was encountered in getting the names of all black journalists working on the two Detroit newspapers.

In March 1979 the author met personally with the executive charged with minority recruitment at the Detroit Free Press, and requested the names of the newspaper's black journalists. The executive sent this author a list of eight persons out of a total of 16 employed by the Free Press who agreed to take part in the study. Over the next several months, numerous face-to-face contacts were made with black journalists at the Free Press, including a black Newspaper Guild officer in January 1980, to check and expand the list. Additional names were being given as late as February 1980. Top editorial executives at the Free Press were extremely co-operative in giving and checking names and job levels.

The Detroit News was even more difficult to obtain names from. In October 1979 this author telephoned the editor's office, and a secretary told him that

the personnel director was the only person who could release the names. Meanwhile, this author called the managing editor's office, and an assistant provided the author with the names of eight black journalists working there. Repeated efforts were made to reach the personnel director by telephone, personal visits and three letters, to no avail. Black as well as white journalists at the News were contacted in an attempt to expand the list. Finally in March 1980 another call was made to the editor's office, and the author was advised to call an assistant managing editor who was in charge of minority recruitment. The executive looked over the author's list, verified it and added some names. A black journalist at the News told the author that some of the persons identified by the executive were not bonafide or full-time journalists, even though they did write material that appeared in the newspaper. However, this author must accept the names and figures provided by all 52 editors of Michigan daily newspapers at face value.

Starting November 11, 1979, the letter and questionnaire were mailed to 36 black journalists whose names had been given by the editors. This mailing brought 16 responses by January 3, 1980. In the process of making telephone follow-ups in January 1980 to encourage subjects to return their questionnaires, this

author learned that five of the original list of 36 had quit their jobs and were no longer working for Michigan daily newspapers. As additional names were identified, questionnaires were either mailed or hand-delivered to these journalists. This author personally visited all but two of the 12 daily newspapers employing black journalists in January, February and March 1980, giving out additional copies of the letter and questionnaire as many as three times in the case of a few subjects. At least one questionnaire was delivered and one follow-up telephone call was made to all black journalists working for Michigan daily newspapers as of March 1, 1980, the cut-off date.

Four persons flatly refused to fill out the questionnaire. Three were engaged in disputes with newspaper management, and were afraid to put anything on paper that might upset their negotiations. One person refused because he felt that the questionnaire was not constructed to obtain the real feelings of black journalists toward their jobs. Shaver's four-page questionnaire probably appeared to be too formidable to many persons who received it, and this author regrets that he did not pre-test it with a group of black journalists outside Michigan. Other blacks who did not respond probably did not trust a middle-aged white researcher investigating job attitudes of blacks.

By May 1980, after considerable follow-up and personal contact, returns had been received from 37 of the 61 blacks identified by their editors and fellow journalists as working in journalist positions, as news executives, desk persons, reporters or photographers. This amounted to a 60.7 percent return. Kerlinger has stated that with a population this small, returns should be obtained from "at least 80 to 90 percent or more" of the subjects for validity.[6] Shaver sent a letter in advance and made two mailings a year apart to 111 1960 journalism graduates and 173 1970 graduates. With no further follow-up, he received a 55.86 percent return on the 1960 graduates and a 59.04 percent return on the 1970 graduates. Considerable follow-up by this author brought a slightly better return.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodology and problems connected with the two surveys used to obtain data for this thesis. A two-page questionnaire was sent by mail to all 52 editors of general circulation daily newspapers in Michigan. A page and a half dealt with hiring and promotion practices, and was patterned after a questionnaire used by Trayes in a study of hiring and

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[6]Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, 2d ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), 414.

promotion practices of Associated Press Managing Editors. The last part of the second page contained a form to be filled in by the editor to indicate the total number of journalists employed as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers, and the number of blacks, American Indians, Latin-Americans and persons of other races employed in those categories.

Thirty editors responded, and many included comments and observations on employment and retention of minority journalists. In order to obtain complete data on employment of journalists by all 52 daily newspapers, a shorter form seeking information on employment of journalists was devised. This was used to conduct interviews by telephone or in person with the remaining 22 editors. In this way, a complete census was obtained of journalists of all races and at all levels who were employed by Michigan daily newspapers.

All but one of the editors whose newspapers employed minority journalists responded to the mail questionnaire. This probably indicates that the editors who did not respond considered that the questionnaire did not pertain to them because they employed no minority journalists. To the contrary, this study was concerned as much with attempting to find out why an editor did not employ minority journalists as why he did employ them.

The second questionnaire used in this thesis was designed to obtain background data and attitudes toward their jobs from the 61 black journalists identified as working for Michigan daily newspapers on March 1, 1980. The questionnaire was either mailed or hand-delivered to these journalists, and 37, or 60.7 percent, responded. Considerable difficulty was encountered in obtaining the names of these journalists, and in obtaining responses. It is possible that a higher response would have been obtained if this author had attempted to obtain the data by personal interviews with the 61 black journalists. However, several indicated a reluctance to take part in the survey because of delicate relationships with their employers. A few said they did not approve of the rather complex four-page questionnaire, which was virtually identical to one used in a study of journalism graduates, principally of the white race.

It would be illuminating to have a black researcher use the same questionnaire in making a subsequent study of black journalists' attitudes toward their jobs, to determine whether response would be higher than it was when a white researcher used this instrument.

CHAPTER V

HIRING AND PROMOTION OF MINORITY JOURNALISTS BY EDITORS OF MICHIGAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Introduction

This chapter presents data on the general hiring and promotion practices of the editors of Michigan daily newspapers, especially as they affect black journalists. It also presents their comments and observations on the employment and promotion of black journalists. The first section presents findings of this survey on the total number of journalists employed by Michigan daily newspapers as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers, and the number of blacks, Latin Americans, American Indians and members of other races (Asians and Pacific Islanders) employed in these capacities. It also compares the findings of this study to the findings of other studies. The second section gives comments and observations from editors of daily newspapers that employed minority journalists. The third section gives comments and observations from editors whose newspapers did not employ minority journalists. The fourth section, the conclusion, includes observations on these findings.

General Findings of This Study

To determine how well Michigan daily newspapers have brought about equal opportunity in the newsroom, managing editors of all 52 general circulation daily newspapers in the state were asked to fill out a mail questionnaire. They were requested to supply data on their hiring and promotion practices; the total number of journalists employed by them as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers, and the number of blacks, Latin Americans, American Indians and members of other minority races employed by them in these categories.[1] Thirty editors responded to the questionnaire. Information was obtained from the remaining 22 editors by telephone or personal interviews. By these methods, information was gathered on the total number of journalists and the number of minority journalists employed as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers.

Michigan daily newspaper editors reported that they employed a total of 1,355 journalists, of whom 85 were identified as minority group members, or 6.3 percent

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[1]Editors were allowed to make their own judgments on racial categories. "Other races" was a designation used by Professor Jay Harris in his 1978 study of minority employment conducted for the American Society of Newspaper Editors. It includes Asiatics and Pacific Islanders, the definition of "other races" used by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

of the total. The 85 minority journalists included 61 blacks, or 4.5 percent of the total; six Latin Americans, or .44 percent; five American Indians, or .36 percent, and 13 members of other minority racial groups, or .96 percent.

It is illuminating to compare this information to data gathered in 1971 by Milton Adams, who sent a mail questionnaire to managing editors of all Michigan daily newspapers seeking the same information.[2] Adams received replies from 26 newspapers, with managing editors reporting a total of 718 journalists employed by them as news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers. Seventeen were identified as minority group members, or 2.4 percent of the total. The group included 16 blacks, or 2.2 percent, and one American Indian, or .14 percent. No Latin American journalists were reported in 1971, and Adams did not seek data on journalists of other racial groups.

Thus the number of minority journalists on Michigan daily newspapers had increased by 2.6 times from 1971 to 1980. However, the proportion of minority journalists in 1980 at 6.3 percent still represented less than half of their proportion in the total Michigan labor

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[2]Milton N. Adams, Survey of Minority Participation on Michigan Newspapers and in Michigan Schools of Journalism (East Lansing: School of Journalism, Michigan State University, 1971), 1-3.

force, 12.8 percent (see Table 2-B, p. 72). Latin American journalists in 1980 were the most severely under-represented racial group at .44 percent, compared to 1.7 in the total Michigan population. Black journalists at 4.5 percent, compared to 12.7 percent in the Michigan population, also were severely under-represented. American Indian journalists at .36 percent were about equal to their .4 percent in the total population. Other racial group journalists at .96 percent were actually more than their proportion of .7 in the total Michigan population.

Minority journalists in 1980 were clustered in the lower job categories in Michigan daily newspaper newsrooms, even though they had made some gains since 1971 (see Table 3).

In 1980, of a total of 236 news executives on Michigan daily newspapers, four were black, two Latin American, three American Indian and two members of other minority groups. In 1971, of a total of 93 news executives, none was a minority group member.

In 1980, of a total of 260 desk persons, five were black, one Latin American, one American Indian and three members of other minority groups. In 1971, of a total of 186 desk persons, two were black and one American Indian.

TABLE 3.--MINORITY PARTICIPATION ON MICHIGAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS, 1971, 1980

	News execs.	Desk persons	Reports.	Photogs.
Total emps. '80 (1,355)	236	260	733	126
Total emps. '71 (719)	93	186.5*	356.5*	83
Blacks '80 (61)	5	4	45	7
Blacks '71 (16)	0	2	8	6
Latins '80 (6)	2	1	2	1
Latins '71 (0)	0	0	0	0
Am. Ind. '80 (4)	3	0	0	1
Am. Ind. '71 (1)	0	1	0	0
Other Minorities '80 (11)	2	3	4	2
Not recorded '71				

*One employee spent half of his time as a desk person and the other half as a reporter.

In 1980, of a total of 733 reporters, 45 were black, two Latin American, none American Indian and six members of other minority groups. In 1971, of a total of 356 reporters, eight were black but none was Latin American or American Indian.

In 1980, of a total of 126 photographers, seven were black, one Latin American, one American Indian and two members of other minority groups. In 1971, of a total of 83 photographers, six were black, but there were no American Indians or Latin Americans.

The two largest newspapers in the state, with more than 500,000 circulation each, employed nearly half of the total number of minority journalists in 1980: 39 of the 85 in the state, or 46 percent.

In 1971 Adams found the percentage of minority journalists on the two largest newspapers to be even higher: 12 of the 17 employed in the state, or 71 percent. The 39 minority journalists on the two largest newspapers in 1980 included 30 blacks: two news executives, five desk persons, 18 reporters and five photographers. One Latin American was a photographer, one American Indian was a news executive, and seven members of other minority races were employed: one news executive, two desk persons, two reporters and two photographers. In 1971 Adams found two black and one

American Indian desk persons, five black reporters and four black photographers on the two largest newspapers. No minority group member in 1971 was a news executive on any Michigan newspaper that returned Adams' questionnaire (see Table 4).

In 1980 the two Michigan daily newspapers in the 100,001 to 500,000 circulation category employed seven blacks and no other minority journalists of a total of 135 journalists, or 5 percent. All seven blacks were employed as reporters. In 1971 one newspaper in this circulation group returned Adams' questionnaire, and reported no minority journalists.

In 1980 the five Michigan newspapers in the 50,001 to 100,000 circulation group had a higher percentage of minority journalists than the 100,001 to 500,000 circulation group. Of a total of 209 journalists, 19 were minority group members, or 9 percent. Of the 12 black journalists in this group, 11 were reporters and one a photographer. Of the five Latin Americans, two were news executives, one a desk person and two reporters. One American Indian was a news executive and another a photographer. Only one newspaper in this circulation group reported no minority journalists. In 1971 two newspapers in this group reported a total of two black reporters.

TABLE 4.--BLACK PARTICIPATION ON MICHIGAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS BY CIRCULATION, 1971 AND 1980

Circ.	Newspapers Responding		News execs.		Deskpersons		Report.		Photog.	
	'71	'80	'71	'80	'71	'80	'71	'80	'71	'80
3,000-10,000	11	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10,001-25,000	5	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25,001-50,000	5	9	0	2	0	0	1	9	2	1
50,001-100,000	2	5	0	0	0	0	2	11	0	1
100,001-500,000	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0
500,000 and up	2	2	0	2	2	5	5	18	4	5
TOTALS	26	52	0	4	2	5	8	45	6	7

Minority journalists were to be found in 1980 on the staffs of nine Michigan newspapers in the 25,001 to 50,000 circulation group, although four others in the group reported no minority journalists on their staffs. Of a total of 294 journalists, 16 were minorities, or 5 percent. The 12 blacks included two news executives, no desk persons, nine reporters and one photographer. These newspapers employed no Latin Americans, but one American Indian desk person and three reporters who were members of other racial groups. In 1971, with five newspapers reporting in this group, of a total of 133 journalists, there were one black reporter and two black photographers.

In 1971 the 16 smallest newspapers reporting with 3,000 to 25,000 circulation, had no minority journalists. In 1980 however, 14 newspapers with 10,001 to 25,000 circulation reported a total of 172 journalists, of whom none was black or Latin American, but one American Indian was the senior editor of his newspaper in this circulation group; another newspaper reported one news executive, one desk person and one reporter were members of other minority groups. Minority journalists were 2.3 percent. Twelve of the 14 newspapers in this circulation group reported no minority journalists. In 1971 five newspapers in this group had 55 journalists, none of whom was minority.

In 1980 the 20 Michigan newspapers in the 3,000 to 10,000 circulation group had a total of 143 journalists, of whom none was a member of a minority group. In 1971 11 responding newspapers had 82 journalists, of whom none was a member of a racial minority group.

In 1980 minority journalists were concentrated on 15 of Michigan's daily newspapers, with 37 newspapers reporting no minority journalists. In 1971 six of the 26 newspapers reporting employed all of the minority journalists.

With minority journalists in Michigan comprising 6.3 percent of the total number of journalists employed on daily newspapers in 1980, Michigan's minority journalists were faring slightly better than minority journalists on daily newspapers nationally in 1979. The American Society of Newspaper Editors committee on minorities found minorities in the newsroom had increased by about .5 percent to 4.5 percent of the total number of journalists.[2] In 1978 Professor Jay T. Harris had found minority journalists to be 4 percent of the total. Harris noted that blacks comprised 11 percent of the United States population and are 12.7 percent of the Michigan population. In 1978 blacks held 2 percent of the daily

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[2]Quoted in Newspaper Journalism . . . for Minorities (Tallahassee: Florida A&M University, 1980), 3.

newspaper jobs nationally, compared to 4.5 percent of the Michigan journalist jobs in 1980. Harris also noted that Hispanics comprised 5 percent of the national population, compared to 1.7 percent in Michigan. Harris found that Hispanics nationally held less than 1 percent of the newspaper jobs.[3] In Michigan in 1980, Hispanics held .4 percent of the daily newspaper jobs, according to this study.

Although Harris' figures are for 1978 and the ASNE figures for 1979, the findings of this 1980 study indicated that Michigan newspapers were doing well, compared with daily newspapers nationally. However, both Michigan daily newspapers and the nation's daily newspapers fall far short of the goal adopted by the ASNE, TNG and the AEJ, to have minorities represented in the newsrooms of the nation's daily newspapers in proportion to their percentage in the national population: 20 percent. A similar goal has been the law since 1972 when Congress passed the strengthened equal employment opportunity law. Even the smallest daily newspaper, if it advertises nationally for journalists, should have minorities at all levels in its employment in proportion

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[3]Frank E. Gannett Urban Journalism Center, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, Minority Employment in Daily Newspapers (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1978), I-1.

to the minority percentage of 12.1 percent in the national labor force. The law was not enforced for most newspapers and some other businesses because minorities in 1980 were not available in the labor force to hire.[4] Many editors stated in the survey for this study that they had difficulty locating minority journalists.

Comments and Observations from Editors Employing Minority Journalists

Managing editors of Michigan daily newspapers indicated varying degrees of enthusiasm for, and success in, attracting and retaining minority journalists. Some of the editors responding to this survey offered comments and opinions on the matter. While one might assume that editors of the larger newspapers, published in cities with significant minority populations, would be more eager to employ minority journalists, this was not universally reflected in their comments. On the other hand, one might assume that editors of smaller newspapers in cities with few minority residents would be unmoved about employment of minority journalists, but this was not universally true, either.

All but five of the 18 Michigan daily newspapers with 25,000 or more circulation employed minority

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[4]Evelyn M. Idelson, Affirmative Action and Equal Employment, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1974): 13.

journalists in 1980. Here are significant comments and observations on employment and retention of minority journalists from some of the editors of these newspapers.

Almost half of the black journalists (30 of 61) working for Michigan daily newspapers were employed by the two Detroit daily newspapers. The Detroit News, with 627,000 circulation, calls itself "The largest evening circulation newspaper in America." It has been competing for years for circulation with the Free Press. The two newspapers in 1980 also were actively competing for black journalists.

The News had black reporters as early as 1965. Martin Hayden, who retired in 1977 as editor, told a 1965 conference on race and the news media:

> In the past several years, we have hired four Negroes in our general newsroom. One quit to go into the government civil service. Another--the most experienced of the four--was hired away by a national broadcasting network at a pay boost that was, I am sure, a recognition not only of his ability but also of the fact that he is an able Negro . . .
>
> As on most newspapers, our staff is predominantly white middle class. While I am sure that some of our white reporters are handicapped by excessive prejudice, the great majority of them are not. But how can white editors or reporters really know what the Negro feels and thinks? An obvious answer is to recruit more able Negro reporters. But where do you find them?
>
> . . . The acquisition of Negro staffers presents other problems. Some Negroes resent not being assigned to the big racial stories,

> on which they understandably consider themselves born experts; others may resent being stereotyped as reporters of "Negro news."[5]

The News in 1976 assigned a white assistant managing editor, Ben Burns, to recruit minority journalists for the newspaper. Burns appeared on a panel at the Kerner Plus conference in May, 1977, at Ann Arbor, and observed:

> Speaking from my viewpoint as an editor who has hired for several different newspapers, I see that the various training programs . . . have leveled off . . . And the vast majority of applicants that come to my desk and say that they want a job with newspapers . . . have not actually been qualified to work on that newspaper at that point in time . . .
>
> I think that the journalism schools are doing a disservice to the students, to the profession, and to their own reputations when they get caught in the syndrome of graduating many students--and I know that they're under great pressure to graduate minorities and have minority programs and graduate more students each year.[6]

Three years later, Burns told this author that he still believed his statements were true. He said his newspaper was about to embark on a minority in-house training program, as soon as the newspaper completed

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[5]Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein, Eds., Race and the News Media (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1967), 35.

[6]Marion Marzolf and Melba Tolliver, Kerner Plus 10: Minorities and the Media, Conference Report (Ann Arbor: Howard R. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance, University of Michigan, 1977), 18.

negotiations with The Newspaper Guild on its new contract with the union. Minorities without experience but good potential would be hired as copy messengers or editorial assistants, and allowed to do some writing from the start. Then they would be moved gradually into try-outs for news jobs for two-month periods.

Burns said that recruiting minorities was not a problem for metropolitan newspapers. "I have 30 to 50 minority applications on file." Also, he kept track of minorities on smaller newspapers: "If he [the smaller newspaper editor] has anyone who is good, I'm going to go steal him." He hired one reporter from the Booth graduate program in journalism at the University of Michigan, then lost her to the Detroit Chamber of Commerce, where she accepted a public relations position. Burns said he keeps in touch with several journalism professors around the country who alert him to good minority applicants.

"It is true that there is an 'old-boy' network [that helps white males get jobs on newspapers]," Burns said. "Now there is an 'old-girl' network, and an 'old-black' network as well."[7]

The Free Press had a black reporter and music critic, Collins George, on its staff from the early 1950s

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[7]Ben Burns, interview, Detroit, Michigan, 11 April 1980.

until the mid-1970s. When George died in 1979, the Free Press noted that he had first earned the respect of Detroit's intelligentsia by talking in French with a visiting musical great from France. A former reporter for the defunct Detroit Times, who worked as a newsman in Detroit in the 1950s, observed that George was so light-skinned that many of his associates did not know he was black.[8]

Frank Angelo, long-time executive of the Free Press, was involved in one of the first efforts by national newspaper management to respond to the challenges of the Kerner report. He served on the Black News Committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors (APME), formed in 1969. The committee published a booklet in 1970, Help Wanted: More Black Newsmen, to stimulate hiring of more blacks by daily newspapers, to encourage more minorities to go to journalism schools, and to promote special minority training programs by newspapers and educational institutions. Angelo was quoted in the APME booklet as saying he "believes strongly that the place to start recruiting more blacks is in the high schools." In 1970 Angelo, then managing editor and by 1980 associate executive editor of the Free Press, advised:

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[8]Don Morris, interview, Olivet, Michigan, 12 November 1979.

> Each editor should be in touch with the colleges nearest him to find out what is being done in the matter of admissions, providing scholarships or other help. Having done that, an editor might proceed to the high schools in his area to find potential candidates. The important thing: Nothing will happen unless the editor personally makes the effort to do this. Educators have a tendency to say, "We'll be glad to take anyone you can send." School officials tend to say, "Yes, we'd love to find some talent," and then they fade out of the picture. Pin them down.[9]

A reporter for the Free Press who preferred not to be identified told this author that hiring of blacks picked up briskly in December 1978 when David Lawrence, Jr., became executive editor. But the anonymous reporter added, "There has been lots of hiring of blacks here, but not much promoting."[10] In 1979 Scott McGehee, a white woman, was named associate editor of the newspaper to recruit minorities and women. Eleven black journalists were hired by the Free Press from December 1978 until March 1980.

Lawrence said he was not hiring blacks in response to equal employment laws. "My job is to do what is right," he told this author. "I'm not satisfied with the progress we've made in hiring minority journalists

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[9]APME's Black News Committee, Help Wanted: More Black Newsmen, undated and no city of publication listed, 1. Publisher not listed. Undated [1970]. (Pamphlet.)

[10]Anonymous reporter, Free Press, interview, Detroit, Michigan, 17 January 1980.

to date." He said the highest ranking minority at the newspaper is a black woman who is assistant city editor in charge of special projects.

Lawrence pointed out that Detroit is a city made up of people from many cultures. "Hiring people with diverse backgrounds can't help but have an impact on the texture of the paper and gain approval of the people in this community. And you can't do it with one, two or three people on your staff."[11]

The Free Press is part of the Knight-Ridder Newspapers group. Nick Kotz noted in 1979 that "Like Gannett, Knight-Ridder has a management-by-objective program in which publishers and editors are judged in part by their minority-hiring record. Knight-Ridder also spends $300,000 annually to hire and train minority journalists, and runs a minority internship program. . . . There are now 287 minority managers and professionals working for Knight-Ridder, slightly more than 6 percent of the total [of the managers and journalists on the newspapers]."[12]

Several editors of larger newspapers 50 miles and more from Detroit, with substantial black populations in their cities, said in their responses to the questionnaire used in this study that they had trouble recruiting

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[11]David Lawrence, Jr., interview, Detroit, Michigan, 21 March 1980.

[12]Nick Kotz, "The Minority Struggle for a Place in the Newsroom," Columbia Journalism Review, March-April, 1979, 30.

blacks in the first place, and retaining them in the face of competition from the Detroit newspapers. For example, the editor of a newspaper with more than 100,000 circulation in an area with a large black population reported in 1979 that only one black had applied for a journalist's job in the previous 12 months, and "she was recruited by me" and hired. He had recently lost a black journalist to the Detroit News.[12-A]

The editor of a daily newspaper farther from Detroit reflected the same viewpoint. "We lost two blacks who went on to bigger newspapers," he said. "Fewer blacks are applying now than five years ago." His paper had more than 50,000 circulation and is in an industrial town with some black population. He had two black journalists on his staff, one from the area and the other from an eastern state. "There are just not enough minority journalists to go around," he said. "We can't get enough as interns or full-time newspeople. It's hard to get blacks from Detroit to settle here."

Better results in hiring and retaining minority journalists had been experienced by another editor of

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[12-A] Respondents were told that their replies would be kept confidential, but several editors were interviewed in person or by telephone and agreed to make their comments on the record. To preserve editors' anonymity in some instances, blanks have been inserted in direct quotes, or in place of cities or counties.

about the same size newspaper in a similar size city. He had hired two black journalists in 1978, and in 1979 added, "We are about to hire a Latino reporter, and we are actively looking for another black reporter." He said he had advertised for minority journalists in minority publications, although he did not identify them.

The editor of a newspaper with a larger circulation (more than 100,000), which included three black reporters, observed, "Minorities of any potential are hard to find and good ones are hard to keep." He reported that to his knowledge, no blacks had applied for news jobs in the previous 12 months.

By comparison, a newspaper half the size, less than 50,000 circulation, but in an area with a substantial black and Latino population, had one black news executive, four black reporters and one American Indian desk person, according to the metropolitan editor. He said his newspaper had actively recruited minorities through the Berkeley Summer Program for Minority Journalists.

One of the largest employers of minority journalists in Michigan is the Oakland Press, Pontiac, a daily with about 75,000 circulation owned by Capital Cities Communications, Inc. This corporation owns five other daily newspapers; Fairchild Publications (consisting of 20 trade and professional publications including

Women's Wear Daily and Supermarket News); six television stations; 13 radio stations (including WJR, AM and FM, Detroit), and cable television systems.[13]

Mike Wagner, Oakland Press editor, stated in a letter to this author 22 December 1978 that 10 of the newspaper's 27 reporters were black: seven journeymen, one editorial aide and two interns. By March 1, 1980, the total had dropped to five journeymen, one intern and one aide. However, the newspaper also had two Latin American news executives. The Newspaper Guild had declared a strike against the Oakland Press in December 1977, but on October 1, 1979, withdrew from efforts to represent the newspaper's employees.[14] The newspaper aggressively recruited minorities to replace the striking journalists. Two of the black reporters were interns brought in through the Capital Cities' minority training program.

In 1980 a Booth Newspapers executive with considerable enthusiasm for hiring minority journalists offered his observations. George Arwady, editor of the 55,000-circulation Saginaw News, said in an interview that his newspaper had one Latin-American and four black

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[13]Capital Cities Communications Minorities Training Program (Kansas City: Capital Cities Communications, Inc., 1980), 1, 2. (Mimeographed.)

[14]"Rights Given Up at Pontiac Paper," The Guild Reporter, 12 October 1979, 6.

journalists, although "You can count the black professionals in Saginaw on one hand." Another Michigan editor had said that black journalists would not work in a city where there were few black professionals. Saginaw is about 40 percent black, and the county is about 12 percent black. Two of the News' four blacks were graduates of the University of Michigan minority graduate journalism program. Giving minorities equal treatment enables a newspaper to attract and hold them, Arwady said. Two of the blacks have been given some responsibility above reporting, although neither was at the supervisory level in 1980. Arwady said that he believed at least two blacks working for Booth Newspapers were potential top editors for the organization.[15]

Among the smallest newspapers in the state to acquire black journalists was a 40,000-circulation group-owned newspaper with a new editor. He said he had held two jobs open in 1979 for four months until he found two highly competent black journalists outside Michigan. Until then, his publication had no minority journalists.

From the comments of these editors who employed minority journalists, it can be seen that the greatest success in attracting blacks and other minority journalists had come where the editors pursued affirmative

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[15]George Arwady, interview, Saginaw, Michigan, 4 April 1980.

action policies most vigorously. However, some editors who expressed enthusiasm for hiring blacks still were unable to hire them for their newspapers.

Comments and Observations from Editors Not Employing Minority Journalists

Comments of some editors of daily newspapers not employing minority journalists reflected a sincere desire to attract minorities to their news rooms, while other comments reflected no interest at all in the problem. One who had tried without success was the editor of a daily newspaper with about 50,000 circulation in an area with few blacks but some Latin Americans. He replied to the questionnaire:

> Blacks show little if any interest in _____ are because of our county's almost totally white demographics. Our efforts to attract black interns from university journalism schools have been rejected for the past several years. Other minorities are conspicuous by their absence in our application files.

In a similar vein, the managing editor of a daily newspaper with less than 25,000 circulation in a city with a black population of several thousand said in 1979 that he had no blacks on his news staff. A few months after this editor had returned his questionnaire, he told this author in an interview that he had been able to hire a black woman reporter, but she had already left to take a public relations job in Chicago. He previously

had employed black reporters for short periods, but had lost them to Detroit newspapers. In his questionnaire, he stated:

> I strive to hire minorities when they are qualified. This year I had three applicants in this category and two of whom I hired. One turned me down because $200 a week to start (no full-time experience) was not enough; the other two waited until two days before they were to start and called me up to say they used it as a wedge to get more money where they were. You've got to keep in mind that minorities are in demand and little papers have a hard time getting the ones who can write. And I don't believe in show-casing . . . I've even made contacts at minority universities with no results.

Another suburban Detroit editor of a 50,000 circulation daily newspaper said, "Finding them is difficult." He added:

> We would hire if one applied, even though there are few minorities in our circulation area. All campus recruiting, and trade journal use, are handled by our corporate office. The majority of our newsroom staffers are natives of _____ county . . . heavy with eastern European backgrounds. The sole black on the staff applied in person a year ago, and was eventually hired when an opening on the staff was created. [This black left later in 1979.]

By contrast, a respondent who edited a 25,000 circulation newspaper in a community with a few thousand black residents answered a question related to the number of minority employees in each group in this way: "From appearance, assume we have none [blacks]." He wrote "Don't really know" opposite the blanks for

listing American Indians, Latin Americans and other minority group members.

The publisher of a small daily newspaper in a county with few racial minorities was offended by a question asking, "What 'yard-sticks' do you use in hiring?" He replied:

> This is ridiculous! To think that people are going to place a value on marital status or race or even family size. I find your assumption that these factors even come into play appalling. [The question was adopted from research conducted by Professor Edward J. Trayes for the Associated Press Managing Editors.] We have no regard for educational background, race, color, creed or experience. Either a person can perform or he cannot. If he is able to perform work expected, I could care less if he were green. You may note that some of the items listed are illegal questions in consideration of hiring by any one of several state or federal laws. I dislike being forced to pick from several "alternatives." I dislike even more being pigeon-holed in some statistical report as choosing that alternative. The questions are wholly irrelevant. In summation, I resent your implications in this "survey." Send me some qualified people--majority, minority, Anglo-American, American Indian, black, white, red, yellow, green or purple--if they want work and can perform for me in that function, they will be hired if work is available.

The editor of a daily newspaper with less than 25,000 circulation and with a small minority population in his area said:

> I am interested in hiring qualified or promising minority applicants. The ability to perform well in a news job is often demonstrated by desire and eagerness shown while applying for the job. Rather than

> seeking out minorities, I would be favorably impressed if they would actively seek us out.

A black photographer did apply for a job with a 5,000 circulation daily newspaper in southern Michigan, the editor said, but "We didn't pay enough. We did have an Asiatic Indian society editor, but she left in January. People come here for a few years' experience, then leave."

A similar view was expressed by a publisher of a small daily newspaper in a rural area with a few minority residents. He said:

> Most of the reporters hired are young people with experience in weekly or small daily newspapers. We try to pay in hopes of keeping a good reporter for at least two years. I have found that around here two years is the longest we can expect to keep an aggressive young person who wants to get ahead in the world of journalism.

Two editors of small newspapers with no minority journalists but some minority residents said they hired students to work part-time or as stringers. One of these editors said: "The _____ _____ does employ without regard to race. We were strong believers in that concept long before it became the law. We have employed black high school students as sports stringers." The other was editor of a daily newspaper with less than 10,000 circulation in a city almost half black. He reported that blacks had applied for journalist positions

in 1978, and that two had been hired as part-time reporter-photographers. Only two other newspapers out of the 20 in Michigan with less than 10,000 circulation reported that blacks had applied for news positions in the 12-month period prior to their reports in 1978 and 1979.

Among the 10,001 to 25,000 circulation newspapers, only one of the 14 publications employed minority journalists. The editor reported three members of another racial group (unspecified) on his news room staff, but offered no comments. However, several editors in this group did make observations.

Two editors said black applicants were scarce. "We never had a black apply for any job in any capacity," said a central Michigan publisher. "We have a low black population--one school teacher and a bus driver. We do have an Indian in the press room." The woman editor of a paper in the same area observed: "Most small-town dailies have never had a minority person apply for a job. I have worked eight years for this paper, and have yet to see one."

Another editor had had applicants, but none that "could fill the bill. There are only a few blacks, but some Chicanos in our community. We would take a Chicano if we could get one. We serve the Chicano community and carry stories of Chicano activities."

In the northern part of the lower peninsula and in the upper peninsula of Michigan, there are few blacks and no black journalists (see Tables 1-A, 1-B, pp. 9 & 10). No blacks were employed in 1980 as news persons on any newspaper north of the Muskegon-Saginaw line. The comments of editors in that area of the state reflected this situation.

The business manager of a northern Michigan newspaper stated: "We have only a very few black people in _____, no Latin American that I know of, and only three or four Indian families." An upper peninsula editor reported that a black woman student from the college in his community had applied for an internship as a photographer, but the paper had no provision for photo internships. "Any qualified person would be hired. There are very few blacks in the upper peninsula--less than 1,000." Another editor and publisher of an upper peninsula paper remarked: "The only minorities we have much contact with are mixed Indian and white. We did have one Indian woman reporter who left about a year ago."

Conclusion

Some observations can be made from the comments of editors whose newspapers did not employ black or other minority journalists. A few editors did not seem

to understand what is meant by "affirmative action" in equal opportunity laws. If they operated newspapers in communities with substantial minority populations, as at least three did, they would be required to do more than simply accept applications. In the event that a minority journalist applied for a job and was not hired, he or she then could file a complaint with the state or national agencies charged with enforcement of these laws. On the other hand, at least 12 of the 37 editors whose newspapers had no minority journalists seemed to be sincerely interested in hiring minority newspersons. A few were aggressively looking for minority journalists but having little success in attracting them, apparently because of the low minority populations of their communities.

In 1980 many Michigan newspapers were making progress in the employment of black journalists, compared to 1971. Minorities comprised 6.3 percent of the total journalists, compared to 2.4 percent nine years earlier. Minority journalists in Michigan however were still under-represented compared to their percentage of 12.8 percent in the civilian labor force. It appeared that only the daily newspapers published in Pontiac, Saginaw and Muskegon employed minority journalists in proportion to their numbers in the local, state or national work force. Although the two newspapers in Detroit employed about half of the total number of minorities working for

Michigan daily newspapers, the number working on Detroit newspapers was substantially short of the proportion of minorities in the Detroit metropolitan area.

It was encouraging to note, on the one hand, that most of the editors of daily newspapers in 1980 that were employing blacks and other minorities were vigorously looking for more. But it was discouraging to note, on the other hand, that a dozen years after the Kerner report, some editors apparently still had not grasped its significance and accepted their role in helping to reduce racism in America.

CHAPTER VI

BLACK JOURNALISTS ON MICHIGAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections, and presents findings of research conducted with black journalists who were working for Michigan daily newspapers in 1980. The first section presents details on the backgrounds, education and experience of the black journalists. The second section presents data on job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among Michigan black journalists. The third section contains comments made by these journalists about their jobs. The fourth section is the conclusion and consists of observations on these findings.

Background of Michigan Black Journalists

The 61 black journalists working for Michigan daily newspapers on March 1, 1980, were asked to fill out a mail questionnaire seeking data about their backgrounds, experience and attitudes about their jobs. Responses were received from 37 of the 61 subjects between November 1979 and May 1980. The respondents

consisted of 19 men and 18 women. Eight persons were 20 to 25; 21 were 26 to 30; four were 31 to 35, and one was 36 to 40. Three persons did not answer this question.

A high level of education was reported by the group. All had continued education beyond high school. Their educational backgrounds ranged from a two-year associate of arts in journalism degree to two master's degrees, one in journalism and the other in education. Seven master's degrees were held by the group, including four in journalism (see Table 5).

Twenty-two of the 37 respondents were holding their first journalistic positions. Nine persons had been working less than a year on their first job. Eight persons had been working two to five years, three persons six to 10 years, and one more than 10 years. Twelve persons were working on their second jobs in journalism, two on their third jobs, and one on his fourth job. This indicates considerable stability in holding jobs, and tends to contradict feelings expressed by some editors that blacks change jobs frequently and were difficult to retain for long periods. The nine persons who were less than a year on their first jobs were all recent college graduates in the 20 to 25 age group.

Two of the respondents were news executives. A woman was assistant city editor and a man was people section editor. Five held jobs on a desk. Twenty-eight

TABLE 5.--HIGHER EDUCATION OF BLACK JOURNALISTS EMPLOYED BY MICHIGAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS

No.	Highest degree and major	University or college
1	M.Ed., M.A. Journalism	Wayne State, U. of Michigan
2	M.A., Journalism	University of Michigan
1	M.A., Journalism	University of Missouri
1	M.A., Science Tech. Policy	George Washington Univ.
5	B.A., Journalism	Michigan State University
2	B.A., Journalism	Marquette University
1	B.A., Journalism	Creighton University
1	B.J., Journalism	Bowling Green University
1	B.J., Journalism	University of Missouri
1	B.A., Journalism	University of Detroit
1[a]	B.S., Journalism	University of Florida
1[a]	B.S., Journalism	University of Maryland
1	B.A., Journalism	Norfolk State University
1[a]	B.A., Communications	University of Detroit
1[a]	B.A., Communication Arts	Rosary College
1	B.A., International Comm.	Michigan State University
1	B.A., Communication	Western Michigan University
1	L.A.S., Speech Comm.	University of Illinois
1	B.A., Communications, Theatre	Hope College
1	B.A., Mass Media Arts	Hampton Institute
1	B.A., English	Michigan State University
1	B.A., Psychology, English	University of Michigan
1	B.A., English, Writing	Western Michigan University
1	B.A., History, Pol. Sci.	Stillman College
1	B.A., History	University of Pennsylvania
1	B.A., History	Olivet College
1	B.A., Political Sci.	Wilberforce University
1	Certificate (4 yrs.), Pictorial Illus.	Newark School of Fine & Industrial Arts, N.J.
1	3 yrs., Journalism	Wayne State University
1	Associate in Arts	Ferris State College
1	Did not answer	

[a]Also completed Summer Program for Minority Journalists at University of California at Berkeley.

were reporters and two were photographers. Several reporters were still at the editorial aide or trainee level, but these persons were producing stories that got into the newspaper, so they were included in the count as journalists. On the other end of the experience scale, one person listed by his editor as a reporter was a full-time editorial writer, and another general assignment reporter was a part-time editorial writer.

The salary of the 37 respondents ranged from just under $10,000 a year for an editorial aide who also wrote a column to $32,000 a year for a writer on a newspaper with more than 500,000 circulation who had six years of experience and a master's degree. Thirteen respondents received from $10,000 to $14,999 a year, 17 from $15,000 to $19,999, three from $20,000 to $24,999, and two received more than $25,000.

Some Michigan editors had said that they couldn't afford to pay enough to attract and hold black journalists. Two of the younger black journalists responding to this survey presented an interesting contrast. A graduate of a journalism school in May 1979 was working in early 1980 for just over $10,000 a year for a newspaper in the 25,001 to 50,000 circulation group, and covered local government and general assignments. Another young journalist had completed two three-month internships

under the Capital Cities program and took a job in spring 1979 with a 500,000-and-up circulation newspaper and was making $17,000 by early 1980, also covering local government. It appears from these two cases that on the one hand, there are black journalists who will work for awhile on smaller newspapers at modest salaries, but there are newspapers that will pay young black reporters very good salaries without much experience.

Editors and journalism educators attending conferences on the media and minorities for many years have been advising universities and newspapers to encourage high school students to consider journalism careers as a way of increasing the supply of minority journalists. Of the 37 respondents in this survey, 14 worked on their high school newspaper, yearbook or literary magazine. According to their statements, 18 became interested in journalism in college, working either as a stringer (free-lance writer) for weekly or daily newspapers or serving on the staff of the campus newspaper. Only three of Michigan's black journalists moved into journalism after working first on jobs that were not related to writing or photography. Two persons did not answer this question.

Two women were able to move from low-paying jobs, one in a government public information office and the

other with a weekly newspaper, into positions paying $12,000 with a 50,000 circulation newspaper. Both had completed the University of California at Berkeley Summer Program for Minority Journalists. Both women were sponsored by the same Michigan newspaper, one in 1978 and the other in 1979.

A majority of Michigan's black journalists got their present jobs by taking the initiative and seeking the position. Twenty said that they got their present jobs by contacting the newspaper, rather than being sought out by the newspaper. Twelve persons in this group said they either wrote a letter or made a telephone contact with their present employer. Three others said they walked into the newspaper office without making an advance contact. One answered a help wanted advertisement. Four said they got the lead through their university placement service. Three who had completed the graduate program for minority journalists sponsored by Booth Newspapers at the University of Michigan were hired by one of the Booth newspapers after completing internships. One was referred to a job by a co-worker, three by a friend or relative, one to the Detroit Free Press by a Hampton Institute professor and four others by journalism professors. One stated that he was "recruited at a convention," without stating what the convention was. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6.--HOW BLACK JOURNALISTS ON MICHIGAN DAILY LOCATED THEIR CURRENT JOBS

No.	Method
12	Made letter or phone contact with employer
5	Intro. or reference by journalism professor
3	Intro. or reference by friend or relative
3	Walk-in visit to employer's office
3	University's placement service
3	Placed by Booth program at University of Michigan
2	Placed by Summer Program for Minority Journalists
2	Recruited by employer
1	Answered help wanted ad
1	Journalism school's placement service
1	Intro. or reference by business associate
1	Recruited by employer at Wayne State University
1	Recruited at convention

TABLE 7.--NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS CONTACTED IN OBTAINING CURRENT JOB

No. Persons	No. Newspapers contacted
7	0 (Newspaper contacted them.)
4	3
4	2
4	1
3	10
2	4
1	6
1	40
1	75
1	80
9	Did not answer

The number of newspapers contacted by the black journalists in obtaining their present positions varied considerably. The largest number, seven, said they made no contacts at all, being contacted by the newspaper instead. Four other persons made a single contact, four made two, four made three, two made four, one made six, three made 10, one made 40, one made 75 and one made 80. Nine persons did not answer this question. (See Table 7.)

Most respondents felt optimistic as they moved into their current jobs. Eight were very optimistic, marking the choice that indicated they felt their present job had "nearly every quality I wanted in a job." The largest number, 17, felt somewhat optimistic, indicating that they felt it had "more qualities I wanted than those I didn't want." Five felt neutral, stating it had "equal amounts of qualities I wanted and those I didn't want." One felt somewhat pessimistic, saying that it had "more qualities I didn't want than those I wanted." Two were very pessimistic as they moved into their present jobs, indicating that it had "nearly every quality I didn't want, but I needed a job."

Michigan editors in the northern part of the state reported that only a very few blacks had applied for editorial positions on their newspapers. To determine whether any of the blacks currently working for

Michigan daily newspapers had applied for jobs in northern Michigan, a question asked: "Have you ever applied for a job with a newspaper north of the Bay City-Muskegon line?" No one answered "yes" to that question, which lends support to the view of some editors that blacks are reluctant to work in a community where there are few or no other blacks living.

Job Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction Among Michigan Black Journalists

Job satisfaction was high among black journalists working on Michigan daily newspapers on March 1, 1980, and a relatively small number were looking for a new job.[1] That conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of responses from 37 of the 61 black journalists on Michigan daily newspapers on that date.

The subjects were given a range of five choices from "very satisfying" to "very dissatisfying." They also were given a list of 25 factors to choose from to indicate the details as to what specifically was causing the job to be satisfying or dissatisfying.[2] Seventeen

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[1]Respondents filled out and returned questionnaires between November 1979 and May 1980. Because of the difficulty in obtaining the names of all subjects from Michigan editors, questionnaires and a letter explaining the study were mailed or hand delivered from November 1979 to April 1980, as explained in Chapter III, Methodology.

[2]Copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix B. Details regarding the questionnaire are found in Chapter III, Methodology.

persons rated their current job as "more satisfying than dissatisfying." Six persons called their present job "very satisfying." Six others called it "equally satisfying and dissatisfying." Five called it "more dissatisfying than satisfying." No one rated his or her current job "very dissatisfying," and three did not respond to the question. (See Table 8.)

To the question, "What are your current plans for staying?," responses were mixed. Fifteen said they planned to stay on their present job for at least one more year, seven said they were looking for another job, six said they planned to look within the next year and one checked the response stating, "I could very well be here until retirement." Five did not answer this question, perhaps indicating that they were planning to leave but did not want to put it down on their questionnaire. (See Table 9.)

Ranking the list of 25 factors leading to job satisfaction or dissatisfaction, eight respondents, the largest number, picked "Successful completion of tasks and solutions to problems" as most important in providing job satisfaction. Six chose "Opportunity for acquiring new professional skills and stature." Five chose "Praise and compliments for my work." Four chose "Doors open to better positions with the firm." Three picked "Varied, creative and challenging work." Two chose

TABLE 8.--BLACK JOURNALISTS' FEELINGS TOWARD CURRENT JOB

No.	Degree of job satisfaction overall
6	Very satisfying
17	More satisfying than dissatisfying
6	Equally satisfying and dissatisfying
5	More dissatisfying than satisfying
0	Very dissatisfying
6	Did not answer

TABLE 9.--BLACK JOURNALISTS' PLANS FOR STAYING

No.	Plans for staying or leaving
7	Looking for another job
6	Plan to look within the next year
15	Plan to stay for at least one more year
1	Could stay until retirement
6	Did not answer

"Good interactions with peers." One each picked as most important for job satisfaction "Sufficient amount and increase in salary," "Supervisor competent and fair at directing and guiding others," "Sufficient responsibility for own work," "Adequate facilities and equipment," "Work suited to abilities, training" and "Stability of the firm." Two chose no primary satisfying factor, and one simply wrote "Very satisfied." (See Table 10.)

The respondents were given an opportunity to list as many factors as they felt were important. Some listed none. The most listed was seven. After picking their primary cause for job satisfaction, respondents chose their second most important factor. Eleven persons chose "Opportunity for acquiring new professional skills and stature," five chose "Sufficient amount and increase in salary," four chose "Successful completion of tasks and solutions to problems," four also chose "Good interactions with superiors," three each chose "Praise and compliments for my work," and "Sufficient responsibility for my own work," two chose "Stability of the firm," and one each chose "Doors open to better positions with the firm," "Supervisor competent and knowledgeable about the work," "Beneficial company policies," "Varied, creative and challenging work" and "Positive effects on social life." Two comments were written in by respondents.

TABLE 10.--FACTORS LEADING TO JOB SATISFACTION AMONG MICHIGAN BLACK JOURNALISTS

No. persons	Primary cause of job satisfaction
8	Successful completion of tasks & problem solution
6	Opportunity for acquiring new skills & stature
5	Praise and compliments for my work
4	Doors open to better positions with the firm
3	Varied, creative, challenging work
2	Good interaction with peers
1	Sufficient amount and increase in salary
1	Supervisor fair & competent in directing & guiding
1	Sufficient responsibility for own work
1	Adequate facilities and equipment
1	Work suited to abilities and training
1	Stability of the firm

TABLE 11.--FACTORS LEADING TO JOB DISSATISFACTION AMONG MICHIGAN BLACK JOURNALISTS

No. persons	Primary cause of job dissatisfaction
5	Doors closed to better positions with the firm
2	Insufficient amount & increase in salary
2	Supervisor incompetent & not knowledgeable
2	Harmful company policies
2	Poor lines of communication
2	Routine, stultifying, unchallenging work
2	Low job status
1	Unsuccessful completion of tasks & problem solutions
1	Poor interactions with superiors
1	Supervisor incompetent and unfair at guiding & directing
1	Insufficient responsibility for others' work
1	Inadequate facilities and equipment
1	Work unsuited to abilities, training
12	No primary cause of job dissatisfaction

One listed as his third most important satisfying factor, "Feeling that beat I cover is important to community." Another, a recent employee of one of the two largest newspapers, wrote in as his fifth most important factor leading to job dissatisfaction, "Racism." There was no further comment to indicate why he had written in this word.

Each of the 25 factors had been stated in both positive and negative terms. For example, one factor was stated positively, "Doors open to better positions with the firm," and negatively, "Doors closed to better positions with the firm."

An indication of the general level of satisfaction of Michigan black journalists with their jobs on daily newspapers was the fact that 12 respondents said there was no primary cause of dissatisfaction. Five chose as their most important dissatisfying factor, "Doors closed to better positions with the firm." Two each chose "Insufficient amounts and increase in salary," "Supervisor incompetent and not knowledgeable about work," "Harmful company policies," "Poor lines of communication," "Routine, stultifying, unchallenging work" and "Low job status." One each chose "Unsuccessful completion of tasks and solutions to problems," "Poor interaction with superiors," "Supervisor incompetent and unfair at

directing and guiding others," "Insufficient responsibility for other's work," "Inadequate facilities and equipment" and "Work unsuited to abilities, training." (See Table 11.)

Respondents listed 15 other factors that were less important in contributing to dissatisfaction. Four chose "Insufficient promotions," and three each chose "Insufficient opportunity for acquiring new professional skills and stature," "Supervisor incompetent and unfair at directing and guiding others" and "Poor lines of communication." Two each chose "Poor interactions with superiors," "Negative effects on personal life" and "Low job status." One each chose "Criticism and blame for my work," "Doors closed to better positions with the firm," "Poor interaction with peers," "Supervisor incompetent and not knowledgeable about the work," "Insufficient responsibility for own work," "Harmful company policies," "Poorly organized company with unclear lines of authority" and "Routine, stultifying, unchallenging work."

An indication of over-all satisfaction generally by Michigan black journalists in their current jobs (1980) was the fact that they listed 185 satisfying factors, compared to 106 dissatisfying factors. Frederick Herzberg, a personnel theorist who developed

the theory behind the questionnaire used in this survey, maintained that job satisfaction came from the feeling a person had about the content of his job, called motivators: achievement, recognition, interest in job, task responsibility, advancement and occupational growth. Job dissatisfaction came from factors relating to the context of the job, called hygienes: company policies; technical supervision; working conditions; pay; interpersonal relations with peers, subordinates and supervisors; personal status; job security, and personal life.[3]

Michigan black journalists ranked the leading factors, based on their frequency of mention as "most important," to them: (1) task completion, (2) new skills opportunity, (3) praise for work, (4) opportunity for advancement, (5) creative work, and (6) interaction with peers. Promotion was not considered an important factor leading to job satisfaction, perhaps because few Michigan black journalists had received promotions.

On the other hand, "promotion" was the most important factor in job satisfaction with a group of 1960 and 1970 journalism and advertising graduates surveyed by Shaver in 1976, using a similar

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[3]For a fuller discussion of this theory, see Chapter III, Methodology.

TABLE 12.--MOST IMPORTANT JOB SATISFACTION FACTORS, MICHIGAN BLACK JOURNALISTS COMPARED TO 1960 & 1970 JOURNALISM SCHOOL GRADUATES

Black journalists	1960, 1970 graduates
1. Task completion	1. Promotion
2. New skills opportunity	2. Creative work
3. Praise for work	3. Praise for work
4. Advancement opportunities	4. Task completion
5. Creative work	5. Responsibility for work
6. Interaction with peers	6. Interaction with peers

TABLE 13.--MOST IMPORTANT JOB DISSATISFACTION FACTORS

Black journalists	1960, 1970 graduates
1. Advancement doors closed	1. Poor salary increase
2. Poor salary increase	2. Advancement doors closed
* Supervisor incompetent	3. Poor effect on personal life
* Harmful company policies	4. Supervisor incompetent
* Poor communication lines	5. Poor communication lines
* Unchallenging work	6. Poor peer interaction
* Low job status	

*Six-way tie for second

questionnaire.[3-A] By frequency of mention, Shaver's group ranked the most important factors leading to job satisfaction: (1) promotion, (2) creative work, (3) praise for work, (4) task completion, (5) responsibility for work, and (6) interaction with peers.

Shaver's group and Michigan black journalists each included in the group of six most important factors leading to job satisfaction "Creative work," "Task completion," "Praise for work" and "Interaction with peers." While the blacks did not mention, "Promotion," they did list "Opportunity for advancement," which is a similar value, perhaps anticipating the possibility of promotion. Shaver's group also picked "Responsibility for work," indicating one of the fruits of promotion yet to be enjoyed by most black journalists on Michigan daily newspapers in 1980. (See Table 12.)

Shaver found that his group:

> gave strong, although not overwhelming support, to the Herzberg theory. With the exception of the factor of advancement, the motivators definitely weigh more heavily on the satisfaction side of the graph than on the dissatisfaction side. The three motivator factors in this study which support the theory most strongly in terms of the

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[3-A] Studies quoted in Chapter 3, Review of the Literature, indicate that few blacks were in journalism schools in 1960 and 1970, so Shaver's subjects can be presumed to be predominantly white.

direction of the responses are responsibility, achievement and recognition.[4]

Michigan black journalists supported Herzberg's theory to a greater extent than Shaver's group. The first five of the six most important factors leading to job satisfaction named by Michigan blacks were related to the content of the job. Only "Relations with peers" was in the job context group, and that ranked last among the six factors named by Michigan blacks as well as Shaver's group.

Michigan blacks named as the six most important factors leading to job dissatisfaction: (1) doors closed to better positions; tied for second choice were insufficient amounts and increase in salary, supervisor incompetent and not knowledgeable about work, harmful company policies, poor lines of communication, unchallenging work and low job status.

The 1960 and 1970 journalism graduates ranked the six most important dissatisfiers in this order: (1) insufficient amount and increase in salary, (2) doors closed to better positions with the firm, (3) negative effects or personal life, (4) supervisor incompetent and unfair at directing and guiding others, (5) poor

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[4]Harold Carman Shaver, "Job Satisfaction, Career Patterns, and Job Hunting Among Journalism Graduates," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University, 1976, 87.

communication lines, and (6) poor interaction with superiors. (See Table 13.)

Comments About Their Jobs by Some Michigan Black Journalists

The black journalists working for Michigan daily newspapers on March 1, 1980, were given an opportunity to comment about the jobs they had held. Some offered no comments, but 12 out of the 37 offered some observations.

After graduating from a Michigan university with a major in journalism, one woman reporter had stayed five years on the same job at a daily newspaper with less than 50,000 circulation. She was at a point in her career where she was considering "the direction I want my career to take."

Another woman with more than five years on the same job listed as a cause for dissatisfaction, "No blame for work, but no praise for work either, generally."

A man who had been with the same newspaper for more than 10 years wrote:

> Although my personal situation has improved in recent years, it should not be construed that my entire experience has not been without some difficulty. For five years I was stuck in one department writing sports without advancing in stature. It was only after I complained and was on the verge of leaving the _____ that I was able to advance to my present situation. There

> seems to be a real problem in moving up the ladder for minorities despite lip service pronouncements on the belief in affirmative action. I'm certain that this is not a situation that is unique to the paper I work for.

A photographer who was generally satisfied with his job listed as a factor causing dissatisfaction, "Ignorance of modern photojournalism."

A male reporter said he had left a job as a critic, which he found very satisfying, to move to a larger newspaper in another city "because my wife was offered a job with her company that was too good to turn down."

Three black journalists had entered journalism after working in other fields. Two women moved from teaching into journalism and were generally satisfied with the shift. One woman with a master's degree in education had taught, then received a second master's degree in journalism through the Booth Newspapers' minority program at the University of Michigan. Another had taught school for two years before becoming a reporter, then had worked for 10 years at the same newspaper and in the same job. A male reporter had worked two years as an investigator for the Michigan Department of Civil Rights before he became a reporter trainee in 1979. He listed no factors causing job dissatisfaction.

A young male reporter expressed displeasure with internships he had held. He said that one Michigan daily newspaper had "Treated [him] like an idiot." At a Texas newspaper where he did another internship, he stated there was a "Double standard for minority [and white] interns." This was the only criticism leveled at internships by any of the respondents. In fact, another woman had taken an internship at a Booth newspaper, and then was offered her choice of jobs at three Booth newspapers on a one-year trial basis. "After eight months, they decided to keep me. And here I am, professionally as happy as I can be, but realizing that some day, within the next few years, I might want to move on."

Conclusion

Some observations can be made about the data supplied by the 37 respondents to the questionnaire sent to the 61 black journalists working on Michigan daily newspapers on March 1, 1980.

There was a high educational level among the respondents. Several held master's degrees in journalism. A majority of the respondents had high school or college journalism experience, which is considered one way to encourage minorities to go into journalism careers. While many of the respondents were new on the job, a few had worked several years for the same newspaper or at

the same job. The newer journalists were generally being paid modest salaries, but 22 of the subjects were making $15,000 a year or more. Only a few were news executives or desk persons, with the majority working as reporters. A majority of the respondents said they had sought their present jobs, rather than being contacted by the newspapers they were currently working for. None of the 37 respondents had ever applied for a job on a newspaper in the northern part of Michigan, tending to substantiate the contention by some editors that blacks will not work on newspapers in cities where there is a small black population. Most of the respondents felt optimistic when they went to work in their present jobs, and felt generally satisfied with these jobs.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to measure the progress of Michigan daily newspapers in hiring and promoting black journalists. In one part of the study, complete data were obtained from the 52 general circulation newspapers in the state on the total number of journalists employed at four levels: news executive, desk person, reporter and photographer. At the same time, editors of these newspapers were asked to supply data on the number of blacks, Latin Americans, American Indians and members of other racial groups. These statistics were compared with a 1971 study, less thorough in scope, which sought the same information from Michigan daily newspaper editors. In the 1980 study, editors were asked to supply additional information on their general hiring and promotion practices, so that policies relevant to minority journalists could be examined. The editors also were invited to offer comments on hiring and promotion of minority journalists, especially blacks. Several editors were interviewed in person or by telephone to obtain additional observations on this subject.

The second part of the study involved an effort to obtain information from 61 black journalists working for Michigan daily newspapers on March 1, 1980, on their personal backgrounds, education, work experience, and attitudes toward their jobs in journalism. Thirty-seven of the 61 subjects, or 60.7 percent, responded to a mail questionnaire.

Information from Michigan Editors

Responses from Michigan editors showed that considerable progress had been made in the hiring of minority journalists between 1971 and 1980. Minority journalists in 1971 held 2.4 percent of the journalist jobs on daily newspapers. In 1980 they held 6.3 percent of the journalist jobs. While this appears to be significant progress, it must be pointed out that minority journalists still were under-represented in Michigan daily newspaper newsrooms. Their percentage of journalist positions was under 50 percent of the share they should have held when compared with the 12.8 percent that minorities comprise in Michigan's total work force. Minority media activists, a journalists' union, federal equal employment laws, a newspaper editors' organization and the national organization of journalism educators have all stated that the newspaper industry should strive to achieve a goal that would see minority

journalists occupying positions on newspapers equal to their percentage in the United States total population.

Latin American and black journalists in 1980 were particularly under-represented in Michigan newsrooms when compared with their percentage in the state total population or labor force. No Latin Americans were employed in 1971 on Michigan daily newspapers. Six Latin Americans, or .44 percent of the total journalists, were employed in 1980, but this was considerably short of the 1.7 percent that Latin Americans comprise in the total state population. Black journalists in 1971 held 2.2 percent of the total journalist jobs, compared to 4.5 percent in 1980, but again this was far short of the 12.7 percent they comprise in the total state population.

Even more disappointing in 1980 was the lack of progress up the career ladder by blacks employed by Michigan daily newspapers. In 1971 no black journalist was employed as a news executive. By 1980, six blacks were news executives, with a black woman assistant city editor holding the highest position. In 1971 two blacks were employed as desk persons, but by 1980 this number had increased only to four. In 1971 eight blacks were reporters and six were photographers. By 1980 the number of black reporters had increased dramatically, to 45. The number of black photographers remained about the same, rising from six in 1971 to seven in 1980. The

relatively low number of blacks in 1980 occupying news executive and desk positions verifies the contention of many blacks that hiring of black journalists has been stepped up, but promotion still leaves much to be desired.

Blacks were found in the newsrooms of more newspapers in Michigan in 1980, compared to 1971, and this was encouraging. In 1971 blacks were concentrated on six newspapers, and by 1980 they were found on 12 of the 52 daily newspapers in the state. However, the two Detroit newspapers employed almost half of the blacks, and at least five newspapers published in areas with several thousand black residents had no black journalists on their staffs. Comments from editors of some of these newspapers indicated that they were not interested in employing black journalists even though their papers served black readers. On the other hand, some editors indicated by their comments that they were sincerely interested in hiring black journalists, but had been unsuccessful.

Information from Michigan Black Journalists

No black journalists in 1980 on Michigan daily newspapers had applied for a position on a newspaper in the northern half of the lower peninsula or in the upper peninsula, where the black population is small. Furthermore, no black journalists were found on any of these

newspapers, although some editors in the northern part of the state indicated a willingness to hire blacks. This supports the belief of a few editors that black journalists will not work on newspapers in communities where there is a small black population. However, journalists of other minority racial groups, although their numbers were small, were found in smaller communities. The highest ranking minority journalist in Michigan in 1980 was an American Indian editor of a small upper peninsula newspaper. Apparently black journalists were able in 1980 to obtain jobs on newspapers in communities where they felt more at ease. As the number of black journalists increases, they will probably be looking for jobs in some of these communities where there are few black residents.

Thirty-seven of the 61 black journalists working on March 1, 1980, for Michigan daily newspapers indicated in response to a mail questionnaire that they were relatively satisfied with their jobs. Only a few were looking for a new job, and most had taken their present positions with a feeling of optimism. Most of the 37 journalists had sought out their present jobs, rather than being recruited by the newspaper. The black journalists had a high educational level, with only two not holding at least a bachelor's degree. There were

five master's degrees among the group. Salary ranged from $10,000 a year for an editorial aide who also covered sports and had been less than a year on the job, to $32,000 for an editorial writer with six years experience. Fourteen of the 37 had become interested in journalism while in high school, and 18 while in college. Only three had come into journalism after having served in other occupations.

Black journalists were asked to indicate what factors on their jobs contributed to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Factors that led to the most satisfaction included "Successful completion of tasks and solutions to problems," "Opportunity for acquiring new professional skills and stature," "Praise and compliments for my work," and "Doors open to better positions with the firm." Factors that led to job dissatisfaction included "Doors closed to better positions with the firm," "Insufficient amount and increase in salary," "Supervisor not competent and knowledgeable," "Harmful company policies," "Poor lines of communication," "Routine, stultifying, unchallenging work" and "Low job status." Michigan black journalists picked more factors leading to job satisfaction than those leading to job dissatisfaction, indicating general satisfaction with their positions.

The 37 black respondents to this study represented 60 percent of the total number of 61 black journalists in 1980 on Michigan daily newspapers. While their comments are illuminating, more research needs to be conducted in this area, preferably by a black researcher. This was the first time that an effort had been made to probe the attitudes of black journalists about their jobs.

Recommendations

If the newspaper industry is going to attract more blacks and other minorities to newspaper careers and move them into management positions, it will have to give greater support to recruitment, education, promotion and research efforts. This type of commitment can be seen in 1980 on the part of some newspaper organizations, but more executives will have to become committed before blacks reach the goal of holding positions at every level of the newspaper industry in proportion to their number in the total population.

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APPENDIX A

COVER LETTER AND

QUESTIONNAIRE TO EDITORS

(Facsimile)

Olivet College

OLIVET, MICHIGAN 49076 (616) 749-7000

I'm making a study of employment and promotion practices of Michigan newspapers, particularly in regard to minorities. This study should be useful to editors who are interested in hiring and promoting minorities, as well as to minority group members who are considering careers in newspaper journalism.

Results of the study will be invaluable to me in working with minority high school students in the 1979 Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop next May. In addition, I plan to use the findings in my graduate work in journalism at Michigan State University. A similar study was made in 1971 by an MSU student, in cooperation with the Michigan Press Association.

I plan to make a parallel study of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among blacks currently employed as newspersons by Michigan daily newspapers.

Results of the two studies will be shared with persons taking part in the studies, although the invididual responses will be kept confidential. Your cooperation in completing the attached questionnaire will be greatly appreciated. Please feel free to contact me by telephone or letter if you have any questions. Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Willis A. Selden
Director, Urban Journalism Workshop
Associate Professor, Communication

Telephones: (616) 749-9646, 749 7662

Enclosures

HIRING AND PROMOTION PRACTICES OF MICHIGAN MANAGING EDITORS

Name_____Title_____

Newspaper_____ Date_____

1. Do you personally interview all applicants who apply in person for news/editorial and photography positions? Yes___ No___

2. If "no," who does the interviewing?_____

3. Do you personally interview all prospective employees for these positions before they are placed on the payroll? Yes___ No___

4. Who decides what person will be hired?

Managing editor___ Publisher___ Executive editor___

Personnel director___ Department editor___ Combination___

Other_____ _____

5. Has your paper actively recruited in the last 12 months? Yes___ No___

6. If "yes," please check methods and sources:

Campus visits___ Campus inquiry___ Inquiry among present staff___

From other papers___ Inquiry among minority groups___ Ads placed in MPA___

Ads placed in other trade magazines___ Others_____

7. To your knowledge, have any blacks applied in person for news/editorial or photography positions at your paper in the past 12 months? Yes___ No___

8. If "yes," how many have been hired? _____

9. What "yardsticks" do you use in hiring? Place rank importance by numbering 1 through 4 in each category.

Personal: Personality/character___ Ambition___ Grooming___ Marital status___

Family size___ Race or color___

Experience: College education___ Journalism education___ Weekly experience___

Daily experience___ Internship___

News crafts or talents: Judgment___ Language craftsmanship___ Spelling___

Awareness/curiosity___ Growth potential___ Cooperativeness___

Reference checks: Personal___ Financial___ Educational___ Employers___

(more)

10. Does your newspaper use some form of written test before news/editorial employees are hired? Yes___ No___

11. If you give a written test, please check items below that appear on test:

Spelling___ Organizing and writing stories___ Typing___ Copy editing___

General knowledge___ Language, grammar, word definitions___ Psychological test __

Practice story from news source___

12. What "yardsticks" do you use in promoting?

Your own judgment___ Department editor's advice___ Test___

Other_____ _____ _____

13. Please indicate below the number of your employees in each group:

	News executives	Desk persons	Reporters	Photographers
Total employees in each group	_____	_____	_____	_____
Number of black employees	_____	_____	_____	_____
Number of American Indian employees	_____	_____	_____	_____
Number of Latin-American employees	_____	_____	_____	_____
Number of employees of other minority races	_____	_____	_____	_____

14. Do you have any other comments or observations?

Thank you for your cooperation. Please mail in enclosed self-addressed and stamped envelope.

Willis A. Selden
Director, Olivet College Urban
Journalism Workshop
Associate Professor, Communication

(Facsimile)

Short form for telephone interview follow-up on non-response to two mailings to editors:

This is Bill Selden. I teach journalism at Olivet College and am working on a master's at Michigan State. Awhile ago, I sent your paper a form on employment of minorities at your paper. It may have been misplaced, but at any rate, I'm trying to get enough answers to make the study realistic. I wonder if you'd mind giving me a few minutes to complete a short questionnaire?

7. First, to your knowledge, have any blacks applied in persons for news/editorial or photography positions at your paper in the last 12 months? ____yes ____no

8. (If answer is yes) How many have been hired? _____

9. Please indicate the number of employees in each of the following groups:

Total number of journalists, including news executives, desk persons, reporters and photographers? _____.

Number of news execs.____ desk persons___ reports.__photo_____

Do you have any minority employes in these categories?

(If answer is yes, proceed with the following. If no, skip to No. 10.)

Number of black news execs.____ desk____report.___photo____

Number of Am. Ind. news execs____desk____report____photo____

Number of Latin Am. news ex____desk____report____photo____

No. other minor. race news ex____desk____report____photo___

10. Do you have any comments or observations to make on this subject?

What is your name, please?_____Title?_____

(Newspaper_____Date_____)

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B

COVER LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

TO BLACK JOURNALISTS

Olivet College

Olivet, Michigan 49076 (616) 749-7000

I'm making a study of employment and promotion practices of Michigan daily newspapers, particularly in regard to minorities. This study should be useful to minority group members who are considering careers in newspaper journalism, as well as to editors who are interested in hiring and promoting minorities.

I'm making a parallel study of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among blacks currently employed as newspersons by Michigan daily newspapers.

Results of the study will be invaluable to me in working with minority high school students in the 1980 Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop next June. In addition, I plan to use the findings in my graduate work in journalism at Michigan State University. Findings of the two studies will be shared with persons taking part in the studies, although individual responses will be kept confidential.

Enclosed is a questionnaire designed to determine job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among newsroom employees. It has been developed from one used in a study of 1970 and 1960 journalism graduates by Harold C. Shaver. An article on this study appears in the Summer 1978 issue of Journalism Quarterly.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Please feel free to contact me by telephone or letter if you have any questions.
Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Willis A. Selden
Director, Olivet College Urban Journalism Workshop
Associate Professor, Communication Dept.
Box 211
Olivet, Michigan 49076
Telephone: AC616 749-9646

The materials on this page are to be used in answering questions about your job(s), but no answers should be marked or written on this page. Directions are given on the white answer sheets.

7. Indicate how you located this position:

a. letter or phone contact on your own.
b. walk-in visit to the employer's office.
c. help wanted ad.
d. situation wanted ad.
e. university's placement service.
f. journalism school's placement service.
g. commercial placement service.
h. intro and/or reference by business associate.
i. intro and/or reference by friend or relative.
j. intro and/or reference by journalism prof.
k. other. (Please specify.)

8. When I accepted this position, I felt it had:

a. nearly every quality I wanted in a job.
b. more qualities I wanted than those I didn't want.
c. equal amounts of qualities I wanted and those I didn't want.
d. more qualities I didn't want than those I wanted.
e. nearly every quality I didn't want, but I needed a job.

9.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO JOB SATISFACTION	FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO JOB DISSATISFACTION
a. praise & compliments for my work.	aa. criticism & blame for my work.
b. successful completion of tasks & solutions to problems.	bb. unsuccessful completion of tasks & solutions to problems.
c. doors open to better positions with the firm.	cc. doors closed to better positions with the firm.
d. opportunity for acquiring new professional skills & stature.	dd. insufficient opportunity for acquiring new professional skills & stature.
e. promotion(s).	ee. insufficient promotion(s).
- - -	- - -
f. sufficient amount(s) & increase(s) in salary.	ff. insufficient amount(s) & increase(s) in salary.
g. good interactions with peers.	gg. poor interactions with peers.
h. good interactions with superiors.	hh. poor interactions with superiors.
i. good interactions with subordinates.	ii. poor interactions with subordinates.
j. supervisor competent & knowledgeable about the work.	jj. supervisor incompetent & not knowledgeable about the work.
- - -	- - -
k. supervisor competent & fair at directing & guiding others.	kk. supervisor incompetent & unfair at directing and guiding others.
l. sufficient responsibility for own work.	ll. insufficient responsibility for own work.
m. sufficient responsibility for others' work.	mm. insufficient responsibility for others' work.
n. beneficial company policies.	nn. harmful company policies.
o. good lines of communication.	oo. poor lines of communication.
- - -	- - -
p. well organized company with clear lines of authority.	pp. poorly organized company with unclear lines of authority.
q. competent top management.	qq. incompetent top management.
r. adequate facilities & equipment.	rr. inadequate facilities & equipment.
s. varied, creative, challenging work.	ss. routine, stultifying, unchallenging work.
t. work suited to abilities, training.	tt. work unsuited to abilities, training.
- - -	- - -
u. positive effects on personal life.	uu. negative effects on personal life.
v. high job status.	vv. low job status.
w. stability of the firm.	ww. instability of the firm.
x. stability of the job.	xx. instability of the job itself.
y. other. (Please specify.)	yy. other. (Please specify.)

10. Overall this job was (is):

a. very satisfying.
b. more satisfying than dissatisfying.
c. equally satisfying & dissatisfying.
d. more dissatisfying than satisfying.
e. very dissatisfying.

11A. (for CURRENT job only):

a. I'm looking for another job.
b. I plan to look within the next year.
c. I plan to stay at least one more year.
d. I could very well be here until retirement.

11B. (for FORMER jobs only): When I left:

a. I was delighted to leave since I was actively searching for another job.
b. I had mixed feelings about leaving the job.
c. I was reluctant to leave since I wasn't searching for a job, but the offer was too good to turn down.
d. I had no choice; I was dismissed.

DIRECTIONS: There are only three sheets of paper which you will need to complete this questionnaire. On the back of this sheet are the various answers which can be selected for questions 7 through 12 on the white answer sheets. The fourth page of the answer sheets asks for background information.

Generally you will be answering questions about each employer you have had since you graduated. The only exception would be a case in which you worked for the same organization but had appreciably different jobs during your tenure there. In such a case, please answer questions about each kind of job.

Be assured that all your answers will be held in strictest confidence. If you prefer to remain anonymous, however, simply eliminate questions 1 through 7 on the Background Information sheet.

For most respondents it won't be necessary to return this sheet. If you care to make comments or explanations, or if you need additional space, however, use the remainder of this page and return it with the answer sheets.

Now please turn to the first page of the white answer sheets.

DIRECTIONS: Please provide information about each job you have held since you received your bachelor's degree. Begin by giving information about your current job, and then deal with each former job in reverse chronological order, ending with the first job you held after graduation.

CURRENT JOB.

1. Job title _____

2. Major duties and/or responsibilities _____

_____

3. Employer _____

Employer's address _____

4. Dates in the job: from _____ to _____

5. Annual salary: final $ _____ beginning $ _____ How many increases? _____
6. While seeking this job, with how many prospective employers did you have contact? _____

DIRECTIONS: For questions 7 through 12, answers should be selected from the possibilities provided on the yellow sheet. In the blanks below place the letters of the answers you select.

7. Method of locating the job: _____ 8. Feelings toward the job offer: _____
9. Factors contributing to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to satisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the left-hand column below. List in the order of importance. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to dissatisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the right-hand column below, also in the order of importance. Any number of blanks may be used, and you may indicate more than six factors if you wish.

SATISFACTION:			DISSATISFACTION:		
(1) _____			(1) _____		
(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____
(5) _____	(6) _____		(5) _____	(6) _____	

10. Overall satisfaction level: _____ 11A. Plans for staying: _____

If this has been your only job, please turn to the last page.

FORMER JOB.

1. Job title _____

2. Major duties and/or responsibilities _____

_____

3. Employer _____

Employer's address _____

4. Dates in the job: from _____ to _____

5. Annual salary: final $ _____ beginning $ _____ How many increases? _____
6. While seeking this job, with how many prospective employers did you have contact? _____

DIRECTIONS: For questions 7 through 12, answers should be selected from the possibilities provided on the yellow sheet. In the blanks below place the letters of the answers you select.

7. Method of locating the job: _____ 8. Feelings toward the job offer: _____
9. Factors contributing to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to satisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the left-hand column below. List in the order of importance. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to dissatisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the right-hand column below, also in the order of importance. Any number of blanks may be used, and you may indicate more than six factors if you wish.

SATISFACTION:			DISSATISFACTION:		
(1) _____			(1) _____		
(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____
(5) _____	(6) _____		(5) _____	(6) _____	

FORMER JOB.

1. Job title _____

2. Major duties and/or responsibilities _____

_____

3. Employer _____

Employer's address _____

4. Dates in the job: from _____ to _____

5. Annual salary: final $ _____ beginning $ _____ How many increases? _____
6. While seeking this job, with how many prospective employers did you have contact? _____

DIRECTIONS: For questions 7 through 12, answers should be selected from the possibilities provided on the yellow sheet. In the blanks below place the letters of the answers you select.

7. Method of locating the job: _____ 8. Feelings toward the job offer: _____
9. Factors contributing to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to satisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the left-hand column below. List in the order of importance. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to dissatisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the right-hand column below, also in the order of importance. Any number of blanks may be used, and you may indicate more than six factors if you wish.

SATISFACTION:			DISSATISFACTION:		
(1) _____			(1) _____		
(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____
(5) _____	(6) _____		(5) _____	(6) _____	

10. Overall satisfaction level: _____ 11B. Circumstances surrounding departure: ____ .

If you have provided information on all appropriate jobs, please turn to the last page.

FORMER JOB.

1. Job title _____

2. Major duties and/or responsibilities _____

_____

3. Employer _____

Employer's address _____

4. Dates in the job: from _____ to _____

5. Annual salary: final $ _____ beginning $ _____ How many increases? _____
6. While seeking this job, with how many prospective employers did you have contact? _____

DIRECTIONS: For questions 7 through 12, answers should be selected from the possibilities provided on the yellow sheet. In the blanks below place the letters of the answers you select.

7. Method of locating the job: _____ 8. Feelings toward the job offer: _____
9. Factors contributing to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to satisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the left-hand column below. List in the order of importance. Indicate the factor(s) contributing in a major way to dissatisfaction in the job by placing the corresponding letter(s) in the right-hand column below, also in the order of importance. Any number of blanks may be used, and you may indicate more than six factors if you wish.

SATISFACTION:			DISSATISFACTION:		
(1) _____			(1) _____		
(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____	(2) _____	(3) _____	(4) _____
(5) _____	(6) _____		(5) _____	(6) _____	

10. Overall satisfaction level: _____ 11B. Circumstances surrounding departure: ____ .

If you have provided information on all appropriate jobs, please turn to the last page.
If you need more space, please use the front of the yellow sheet.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name _____ 2. Telephone (AC: ___)_____

3. Home address _____

4. Sex _____ 5. Birth date _____ 6. Citizenship _____

7. Marital status: __single; __married; __ separated, divorced; __ widowed. 8. Children? ____

9. Rank in high school class: __ upper tenth; __upper quarter; __ upper half; __ lower half.

10. List all institutions of higher education attended in chronological order:

Name, location of institution	Dates attended	Name, date of degree	Major	Grade average*
a.				
b.				
c.				
d.				

* If grade average is based on a system other than 4.0, please indicate.

11. In what area of journalism did you concentrate as an undergraduate? __ news-editorial;

__ advertising; __ other (Please specify. _____).

12. Were you dually enrolled in another division of the university? _____

If yes, what division? _____

13. During which college year did you officially declare your major in journalism?

__ freshman; __ sophomore; __junior; __ senior.

14. Had you officially declared any other major before declaring journalism? _____

If yes, indicate major(s) previously declared _____

15. List media experience gained before graduation from your bachelor's program. Include all high school, college, and commercial connections, including summer and part-time jobs. In the left column only the type of medium is necessary, e.g. high school yearbook or weekly newspaper. Complete a line for each position held.

Medium	Position	Dates	Were you paid?
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			
e.			

16. If necessary, please account for all times since high school graduation which have not been accounted for under education or jobs, e.g. military service, lengthy illness. Do not include summer jobs.

Activity	Dates
a.	
b.	
c.	

17. Have you ever applied for a job with a newspaper north of the Bay City--Muskegon line in Michigan? ___ If yes, briefly describe what happened._____

_____

_____