

Center for American Progress



**WITH NEW CALIFORNIA MEDIA, THE LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS EDUCATION FUND,
AND BENDIXEN & ASSOCIATES:**

**“ETHNIC MEDIA IN AMERICA:
THE GIANT HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT”**

MODERATOR:

**MARK LLOYD,
SENIOR FELLOW,
CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS**

FEATURING:

**SERGIO BENDIXEN,
CEO, BENDIXEN & ASSOCIATES**

**SANDY CLOSE,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
NEW CALIFORNIA MEDIA**

**KAREN MCGILL LAWSON,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
ON CIVIL RIGHTS EDUCATION FUND**

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JOHN PODESTA: Thanks for joining us today. I'm John Podesta. I'm the president of the Center for American Progress and the Center is very pleased to join with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund and New California Media in the development and the sponsorship of what we believe is really an historic poll on ethnic media.

As remarkable as it may seem, this is actually the first national poll conducted in 10 different languages on the audience and uses of ethnic media in the United States. The preliminary results of this poll were released a couple of weeks ago in New York, and since then our partner in this effort and our pollster, Sergio Bendixen, is looking at the data and has new and interesting information to report. We believe here that one of our nation's great strengths is its diversity and that America does not speak with one voice, but with many. And I think this poll on ethnic media provides clear evidence of the power and reach of American voices speaking about American issues, but in many different voices and rarely heard in the mainstream media.

As I said, we are joined by Sergio Bendixen. His firm did the poll and he will walk through the data and give you the analysis that we think is quite interesting. But I think it's important in two respects: one is, I think it'll help certainly those of us at the Center and the Leadership Conference reach out to people and talk about the issues that we think are important to be fully vetted and discussed with the American public, but I think it's also important to gain the perspective of what's going on in the reporting of ethnic media. We did a session this morning and Sandy, I think, had some really interesting observations about how stories are covered and the work that New California Media has done with respect to the difference in coverage in the ethnic media versus what one might call the mainstream media.

To lead us in the discussion and to moderate the panel, we have our senior fellow, Mark Lloyd. Prior to joining the Center as a senior fellow, Mark was a Martin Luther King visiting scholar at MIT where he focused on communications policy. He also served as the executive director of the Civil Rights Forum on Communications Policy, a non-profit, non-partisan project he co-founded in 1997 to bring civil rights principles and advocacies to the communications policy debate. He was general counsel to the Benton Foundation; a communications attorney at Dow, Lohnes here in Washington DC. He has had nearly 20 years of experience as a print and broadcast journalist, including as a reporter for NBC and CNN. He is the recipient of several awards, including an Emmy and the CINE Golden Eagle. Please join me in welcoming Mark Lloyd.

MARK LLOYD: Thank you, John. And I think at this point what I really want to do is introduce Sandy and – is that our order?

MR. : Yes.

MR. LLOYD: And then I think Sandy wants to show a very short DVD so we can allow folks to – from ethnic media to speak for themselves. But in introducing Sandy, let me just say that I met Sandy about – I don't know – was it six, seven years ago in this drafty old pier in San Francisco that was unfinished with – yeah, it had to be a hundred-plus folks of ethnic media from around the country and I was just dazzled and amazed, and we've kept in touch since then. She was very interested in the fact that I was interested in doing research and actually compiling information about ethnic media, about media uses around the country, and so we've kept in touch as a result of that.

Sandy is also one of the Genius Award winners from the MacArthur foundation and – but shortly after she received that award, and I think it was '85 –

MS. CLOSE: '95.

MR. LLOYD: – '95, the next year she founded New California Media and it was off and running. New California Media is an organization of over 700 ethnic media from around the country. It is a multimedia, really experimental place to come together and find out how folks are using media in very different ways. And I was so excited to be able to bring Sandy into the fold and to be able to partner with her here at the Center for American Progress, and to bring my friends at the Leadership Conference into this as well. And, you know, I should also mention that we've received just really great support from Brian Komar and Daniella Leger, who – is Daniella back there someplace? And just so many people at the Center to try to help bring this about, and we are very thankful that you guys have shown up.

And I'll have some comments that I want to make about Sergio's poll, but I think with that let me introduce Sandy Close.

SANDY CLOSE: Thank you. First of all, it's just wonderful to see so many people coming to hear about a poll that really documents the reach and impact of ethnic media in America. This is a media that's been in the shadows for a long time, but now is so big it's just breaking out of its seams. And I know some of you are representatives of ethnic media and I wondered if you would mind standing up and just introducing yourselves, not by name, but just stand up so we can be sure after the presentation people who've come to learn more will know you are here. So could whoever is here from ethnic media just stand up, if there are any of you in the room? Okay, great. Okay, thank you. Great.

And the – I wanted to use my three minutes of fame to share with you a video we made of ethnic media leaders from around the country. So often people say, well, ethnic media is sort of a stepchild of American journalism. Why aren't – either they say, why isn't mainstream media doing a better job? Why isn't ethnic media doing a better job? Ethnic media is playing a remarkable and distinctive role in American journalism and

you'll hear people talk about what they are doing and why they are doing it for just three minutes – a very small sample – and then we'll turn this over to Sergio.

As John said at the beginning, for me as a monolingual journalist in a state of California where 40 percent of the residents speak other languages, languages other than English, this has been my great partner in expanding my understanding. If you want to know what Terry Schiavo's case meant for Chinese language media, there was no red or blue in their coverage; there was awe at how America could hold its breath over the fate of a single person. And when the courts made their decision, the most passionate advocates accepted it. And that's what the Chinese media wrote, and I thought, am I parochial in the way I've seen this issue? I didn't think of it in those terms. That's what I'm learning every day by assessing whether it's black media, Spanish-speaking media, Thai media, Vietnamese media, Korean media. My sense, ultimately, is that adding these lenses and voices can help us perhaps break free at the polarization in civic discourse today.

Okay, Theo, would you run the video? And thank you for being here.

(Begin video presentation.)

MS. : From *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspaper, back from March 16th, 1827, it simply says, "We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us."

MR. : What the issue be to the heart of the Chinese versus the majority?

MR. : People like us measure the pulse of our community.

MS. : Ethnic media is a means of education, communication, and expressing diversity. That's what we are in the United States.

MR. : At a time of enormous (pain?) in the media industry, ethnic media –

MS. : Ethnic media are a giant hidden –

MS. : – hidden in plain sight.

MR. : Nationwide, some 50 million ethnic Americans –

MS. : Fifty million ethnic American adults access ethnic media.

MR. : Close to a quarter of America's adult population.

MR. : People want to know. They're thirsty. (Unintelligible) – alone, there was 65 ethnic groups, so how could you manage to know all these issues unless you are dealing with an organization (that asks?) who did (unintelligible)?

MR. : The ethnic media has educated mainstream about issues that they are often now aware of and are not covering.

MR. : Native American journalists are more in tune with what's happening on the reservation or on their tribal lands and they understand the history of the culture or the religion; the issues that are important. We cover the achievements of Cherokee people.

MS. : (Unintelligible) – are in our papers. The churches are in our papers.

MR. : Festival (unintelligible) shows the (unintelligible) discrimination, national security and (debt?) and increased special (administration systems?).

MR. : (Unintelligible) – our lead story –

MS. : Earthquakes in El Salvador.

MS. : AIDS in the Latino community.

(Cross talk.)

MR. : The neighborhood, talking about –

MS. : It's as I understand your issues and I'm going to go deep with you to try to figure out how this affects your life.

MS. : Whatever is happening with the (Haitians?), Western California and the Midwest and Florida or Chicago or Boston, I have to be there.

MR. : Our media is not focused only in Vietnamese-American community. We have the reporter – (volunteer?) reporter (unintelligible), Chinese, Filipinos.

MR. : Report on the Korean community in Los Angeles or the Vietnamese community in Orange County versus the Latino community out in the San Fernando Valley.

MR. : (Unintelligible) American news, the Polish-American news, the German-American news, the Italian-American news, the Jewish-American news (unintelligible).

MR. : They want to identify themselves to the language. They want to identify themselves to the culture.

MS. : The power of the collective isn't just important because it's media, but it's important because it represents all these populations.

MR. : (Unintelligible) what the media used to be and what it still can be, which is a convener of community.

(End video presentation.)

SERGIO BENDIXEN: I think this one's on, but I'll try to talk as loud as possible. Thank you so much, Sandy, and we also as a group wanted to thank the chief justice of the Supreme Court for putting off his announcement until we were finished with all of our press conferences, so that we could have your attendance and your full attention.

The title of this study, *The Ethnic Media in America: A Giant Hidden in Plain Sight*, a study of African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, Arab-American and Native American media – first time, as John mentioned, that this type of a study has been done in the United States. It's a big title and I hope to be able to show you over the next few minutes just how scientific we have tried to be about measuring the impact of media. And when you see our major finding, the fact that we are saying that according to our study, 51 million adults, one quarter of the entire adult population of the United States is reached by the ethnic media. That is a big statement and I am going to show you, hopefully over the next few minutes again, just how we arrived at that number and how careful and how conservative we were in terms of our estimates.

So let me talk first about – little bit about the poll, so that you understand how we put this together. According to the United States' census, there are 216 million American adults 18 years of age or over. That is the latest estimate from the 2003 American Community Survey. The groups that we studied were the 27 million Hispanic adults, the 25 million African-Americans, the nine million Asian-American adults and then Native Americans and Arab Americans, so it's a total of 64 million American adults that are represented by the results of this study; 64 million Americans out of the 216 million adults, that's what we are going to report on.

And the study was done – 1900 interviews by telephone, very small margin of error: 2 percent. That means that when we say that there is 51 – that ethnic media reaches 51 million adults in America, we could be off by a million, maybe it's 50, maybe it's 52, but we're not much further off than that if our poll is correct. And the poll was done, as you can imagine, for it to be accurate in terms of its reflection of the media habits, in 10 different languages; in Vietnamese, in Korean, in Mandarin, in Cantonese, in Japanese, in Hindi, in Tagalog, in Arabic, in Spanish, and of course in English.

A very colorful graphic shows you that many of the countries where many of our respondents were born; many of the tribes that they identified with; and also, of course, make it clear that when talk about ethnic Americans, we are not only talking about immigrants, we are not only talking about people born in foreign countries, but we are talking about many Hispanics and many Asians and many Arabs that were born in the United States.

Of course, 90 percent plus of the African-Americans we talked to were born in the U.S. and all of the Native Americans we talked to were U.S.-born. So that gives you a little bit of idea about the poll and the number of interviews, the margin of error, and just how careful we were about designing the samples so that it was as truly representative of the 64 million American adults who consider themselves part of one of these five groups.

So let's get to the first part of how we arrive at 51 million. Our poll indicates that there are 29 million primary consumers of ethnic media; again Hispanics, African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Arab-Americans and Native Americans. And to become a primary consumer, you have – basically you had to get through three barriers in the poll. The first one is – and let me give you the example of Hispanics in television. We asked them, do you – what do you watch most often, Spanish-language television or English-language television? If they said English-language television, of course, they were not going to be a part of this group. But if they said, “Well, we watch both Spanish and English about equally,” they also are not part of this group. So the first obstacle that they had to get through to be a primary consumer is they had to prefer – they had to watch Spanish-language television more often than English-language television or they had to read a Korean newspaper more often than an English-language newspaper or they had to listen to African-American radio more often than the mainstream radio.

The second obstacle was how often do you watch Spanish language TV or how often do you read a Korean newspaper? And it had to be either every day or at the very least a few times a week for them to be included in this category.

And finally, and it ended up being the most difficult of the obstacles, can you name – would you please tell us what your favorite newspaper is? Can you please tell us what television station do you watch that you consider to be African-American, for example? And they had to give us an answer that we then would vet in terms of not only that that newspaper or radio station or the TV channel existed, but that the program or the newspaper that they mentioned was actually an ethnic newspaper.

For example, we did not count hip-hop stations as African-American and we did not count any newspaper or television program that they mentioned that might at one time or another deal with subjects having to do with ethnic communities as valid answers. And a lot of people were not considered primary consumers because they were not able to name the program or the newspaper correctly. So we were very strict we feel; very conservative in coming up with this first group of people, the 29 million that we consider primary consumers of ethnic media for entertainment, for news, for sports. That is their first choice. And of course, that is the equivalent of 13 percent of all American adults: 29 million out of the 216 million adults.

Thirteen percent of all American adults are primary consumers and you see some interesting differences between the five groups. Among the Hispanics, 55 percent – a little more than half – are primary consumers of ethnic media. African-Americans, Arab-Americans: two out of every five tell us, and I will go into some detail a little later about especially the very interesting results we got from Arab-Americans, but two fifths are

primary consumers of ethnic media. And among Native Americans and Asian-Americans, one out of every four is a primary consumer.

Not a lot of differences in terms of the national group study, the Hispanic community, very similar numbers, for Cubans, for South Americans, Central Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans. Not a lot of important differences in terms of African-Americans, but very significant differences when we look at the Asian sample. Vietnamese, Korean, and Chinese are fairly heavy consumers of ethnic media, where the Asian Indians, the Japanese, and the Filipinos when it comes to the primary category basically are in single digits. So very, very important differences here when it comes to the different Asian groups.

Now, how do we get to – from 29 million to 51 million, which is our claim, that 51 million Ethnics are consumers – frequent consumers of ethnic media? There were 22 million others according to our poll, that even though they prefer the English-language or mainstream media for television, radio, and newspapers, they told us that, yes, they do watch – again, going back to my examples – they do watch some Spanish-language television. They do listen to some African-American radio. They do read some Korean newspapers. Again, I'm giving you the examples. But they also had to tell us that they access this media on a frequent basis – every day, or a few times a week – and they also have to be able to name that media, that newspaper they read, the radio station they listen to. And that is, that category, what you call secondary consumers of ethnic media, and maybe secondary is a little misleading because they do access this media frequently even though, again, they do prefer the English-language or the mainstream media – is how we get the 51 million: 29 million primary consumers, 22 million secondary consumers.

And you can see here that they are 24 percent of all American adults; 51 million out of the 216 million American adults are consumers of ethnic media. And you can see from this graphic how the different groups are made up in terms of primary and secondary Hispanics. When you add primary and secondary, you almost have universal coverage for Spanish-language media: 87 percent of all Hispanics access Spanish language media frequently. And for African Americans, Arab Americans and Asian Americans and Native Americans, it's between 64 percent – about two thirds – and 74 percent – three quarters – access ethnic media on a frequent basis. Very, very impressive numbers. Very impressive reach for the ethnic media among these five groups.

We also looked at the internet and we have one graphic which I think tells the story of the internet access. And Arab Americans, number one, and by a large margin: 76 percent of them access the internet regularly and the majority refer websites that are in the Arabic language. Asian-Americans similar; a little lower numbers: two thirds of Asian-Americans access the internet frequently and they prefer websites in their native language. African-Americans and Native Americans: about half of them access the internet, but most of them prefer the mainstream of websites, not websites devoted strictly to African American or Native Americans' issues or subjects.

And maybe the most important thing to see about Hispanics is that they have very low access to the internet. Only 25 percent of them – 24 percent actually, access the internet frequently. Of course, this is the lowest group when it comes to income. They come from the lower socioeconomic strata. They have very – more than half do not have a high school degree, so it is not surprising that they would have very low access to the internet.

Let's look at, now, summary in terms of the summary of the different characteristics of the five groups. Hispanics: we have universal reach of Spanish-language TV, growing penetration of Spanish-language radio and newspapers. As has been mentioned, this is the first national poll, but we have done some polling in California in the past, which allows us to see some movement and there is definitely a lot more penetration of Spanish-language newspapers and radio than there were four years ago.

And if you look at the demographics, you can see that women are a lot more attracted to Spanish-language media than men, and the Cubans, even though not by a large margin, are the ones that consume more ethnic media than their Mexican or Puerto Rican or South American or Central American counterparts. And as I just mentioned, they also are characterized by having very low access to the internet.

African-Americans: strong penetration of African American radio. That is the primary way that the African-American community can be reached through ethnic media, although we also saw that when we looked at the secondary consumers of ethnic media we saw very, very high numbers for the weekly African-American newspapers, and for BET, especially, in terms of television. And as you can see from the final bullet there, African-Americans who make \$40,000 or more are more likely to be consumers of ethnic media than their counterparts who make less money than that on an annual basis.

Asian-Americans: strong reach of the Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese newspapers on a daily basis. Many of these papers are daily. When it comes to weeklies, we see the Japanese and the Filipino written press as having some significant access about one out of every four Japanese or Filipino respondents told us that they access newspapers on a weekly or a monthly basis. And for the first time we see Korean and Chinese television beginning to show up as an important media for these groups; and as I mentioned when we were at the internet, very high access to the internet.

Arab-Americans: high popularity was maybe the most surprising result to me. Very high penetration for Arabic language television, most of it originating in the Middle East; Al Jazeera by far number one. And a very, very high percentage – almost 45 percent – of all Arab-Americans telling us that they prefer Arab television – Arabic television to English-language television. And of course, this is the group with the highest access to the internet.

In Native Americans, very low numbers in terms of radio or television that specially – programs, issues, and subjects that are important to Native Americans, but

when it comes to tribal newspapers that are either weeklies or monthlies, we saw fairly impressive penetration for that group.

A few other topics that we touched on: the influence of ethnic media. You'll see a couple of graphics that are very interesting, I think. When we asked the five different groups, where do you get most of your information about the country where you came from or for those born in the U.S. about your community, about the African-American community, about your Native American community, the ethnic media wins and wins heavily among Hispanics and Arab-Americans and Asian-Americans. Even among Native Americans it has a lead. Only among African-Americans do they tell us they prefer the mainstream media, probably because many of the newspapers are weeklies and because the news coverage on BET is limited.

But among the other four groups, very much of the preference for ethnic media when it comes to coverage about the countries where they come from – Vietnam, El Salvador, Lebanon – and about their communities – the African American community, native American community. But when we asked them about where do you get your information about government and politics in the United States, except for the Hispanics, who in all honesty don't have a lot of choice because many of them do not speak English, the other four groups prefer the mainstream media. And I think some of our commentators, especially Mark, may have some comments on this, but I think this clearly shows that we have a challenge here, both for ethnic media, who needs to do a bit of job of covering politics and government in the U.S., but also for those of you in positions of power in government or in political campaigns where you need to get more access to the ethnic media so that they can cover it in a more comprehensive way.

Well, I know most of you are not interested in politics, but we did see some results that might be of interest for those of you that follow the last presidential campaign. When it comes to Hispanic voters, we see a clear difference between the primary consumers in Spanish-language television, the most important medium for Latinos or Hispanics, with John Kerry having a small lead among those that are primary consumers of Spanish-language TV, where among Hispanics that are basically consumers of English-language television the lead for Kerry grows from nine points to almost 30. So it goes without saying this poll clearly indicates that the Republican Party did a much better job in terms of convincing Spanish-language viewers who are lower socioeconomic and, if you go by other polls and the way other groups behave, should have been more Democratic, but their campaign both in terms of the candidate and their publicity must have been much more effective to be able to see numbers like we are seeing here.

We see the opposite when we look at African-American voters. Consumers of African-American radio, those that prefer African-American radio to mainstream radio voted overwhelmingly, almost unanimously, for John Kerry: 96 to 4, where those that prefer mainstream radio stations – non-African-American radio stations – voted still for Kerry, but Bush did a lot better. Where he only got 4 percent among consumers of

African-American radio, he got 17 percent among those that do not listen to African-American radio very often.

And when it comes to Asian-American voters, perhaps the greatest contrast is among primary consumers of Asian newspapers, Bush wins by three to one. Among mainstream newspaper consumers, it is Kerry that wins by a comfortable, although small, margin. Now, some of the explanation for this is the demographics. The Vietnamese are the strongest supporters of the Republican Party, not only in terms of the Asian groups; they're also stronger supporters of the Republicans than, say, the Cubans and the Hispanic community and they are overly represented in terms of primary consumers of Asian newspapers. Where the Asian Indians voted most heavily for the Democrats, in terms of the Asians subgroups, and they are overly represented in the mainstream newspaper consumers. So that explains for some of the difference, but not for all of the difference. So, again, we may conclude that the Republicans did a lot better job of working the ethnic media at least in terms of Asian newspapers.

A couple of more results: we decided to look at CNN and FOX News, two cable news networks with, I would imagine you would agree, different points of view sometimes on the issues to see which one of these five groups trust the most – which news channel – news network gives you the most accurate news, the most objective. And as you can see here, CNN is preferred over Fox by every single one of the groups. Arab-Americans are basically four to one. Asian-Americans also about four to one. African-Americans four to three. Hispanics who are not reached in heavy numbers by either of the two, but of the groups that watch cable news and watch Fox and CNN, about three to one in favor of CNN. And even native-Americans, but only one point for CNN. And I was just looking at the subgroups: even the Cubans and the Vietnamese who are heavily Republican tell us that they prefer CNN for objectivity and for the reporting of the news in a fair manner.

One final graphic, which we are still trying to figure out what exactly it means: the national reach of the establishment newspapers – of the national newspapers: the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *USA Today* and we are seeing here in these graphics especially among Hispanics, Asian-Americans and Arab-Americans the reach of these three newspapers is fairly limited because the bars that you're seeing here include not only people that read these papers every day, but also people that read newspapers a few times a week. And it's no more than one out every ten, one out of every 20 Hispanics, that access these three newspapers that are so important here in Washington and are so important in terms of creating opinion in this country.

That basically gives you a pretty good reading of the most important results. The full report with all of the demographics, all of the different national groups, all of the different media is in the – is available on the New California Media website. That's www.ncmonline.com and you can see all of the graphics and all of the results. But I will finish by just, again, one more time emphasizing what is the major finding of the study and that is a little known media – I mean, we are all talking about the new media, the blogs, all of the hundreds of TV channels that are now available. This ethnic media

which has been plainly hidden in – or hidden in plain site for so long, we can now very conservatively say that it reaches 51 million Americans – 51 million adults on a frequent basis, and obviously it has great importance to our country and we should take it a lot more seriously as we go about the business of creating a more perfect democracy.

I'll stop right here. Mark.

MR. LLOYD: Thank you. Thank you, Sergio. I'm sure there are number of questions in the – are there any questions in the audience? Maybe there's few, so – but before we get to those, I would like to introduce my leader, who is the executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund and an important partner to us in sponsoring and helping guide this poll, for a few remarks and then I think we are going to try to get few questions after that.

So Karen Lawson, please.

KAREN LAWSON: Mark, thank you so much. I was just sitting here thinking, I have two bosses sitting up here: Mark, who has been a member of the board for many years, and John Podesta, who just joined the board, so it's a partnership in many ways.

I just want to take a very few minutes just to mention who we are and why we thought it was important and didn't hesitate to partner on this project. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund is a communications public education organization that is really grounded in the belief that a well informed public will support strong civil rights/social justice issues that we think are really critical to fulfilling the promise of this country and really respecting our rich diversity. We enjoy a very close relationship with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which as of Tuesday or Wednesday is a collision of more than 190 national civil rights organizations. LCCR has been at the center of every major civil rights/social justice campaign on the national level to enact legislation and then to see that that legislation is enforced very strongly.

So participating in this poll, helping to share this information, just fit so closely to our mission that we are really very pleased to be a part of it. Secondly, because of our central position within the coalition, we see this information as a tool that will help us build our communications infrastructure and do a better job in terms of our outreach, but also to help build the capacity of our 190-plus organizations. This is information that we've already begun to share with them through the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights executive committee meeting last week and that we will continue to strategize about as we move forward in terms of how we use it.

Because, I guess, more than anything or beyond its use as a research tool, this is really a call to action for the progressive community. This is a, as Wade Henderson said the other day, this is not niche media; this is media that is reaching a growing community in our country and it's only going to continue to expand. And so it is central to us that we do a better job of reaching these communities and we are committed as we move forward

to working with NCM and with the Center to see how we can best do this. The stakes are just much too high for us not to take advantage of what we've learned from this poll.

Thank you.

MR. LLOYD: Thank you, Karen. And I just – let me emphasize that media matters – the Center for American Progress is here to promote a progressive agenda, to make sure that in our battle for policies that we believe are best for America that we can communicate those policies that we want to try to push forward with a very growing population of Americans that are often not heard and not listened to. We not only want to communicate what we think are the correct policies on things from national security and immigration, healthcare and environmental reform, but we also want to be able to engage in constructive dialogue with folks who are on the ground and journalists who are doing so much good work to cover those communities, to hear from them what they believe is important.

We also want to hear from you, and so are there questions, particularly for Sergio or for – please?

Q: (Off mike.)

MR. LLOYD: And I'm sorry, I should have asked – we have microphones coming to you. If you could wait for just a second, we want to make sure we capture this.

MR. : Yes. When you did the 1900 phone interviews, did you take into account geography in terms of where the respondents – in terms of doing your study and how you arrived at the preferred media? Was there a breakout done? You get the drift.

MR. BENDIXEN: Yes, if you look at the – I mean, I didn't want to show you graphics for the next two hours or I would have lost most of you, if not all of you. In the full report you will see a regional breakdown for each of the ethnic groups studied and you will see, if you check with the census, that not only from a regional point of view, but also from an age point of view, from an annual income point of view, and definitely from a national group point of view within Asians and within Hispanics that our sample reflects the – each of the ethnic groups. I mean, we were very, very careful about the design of the sample so that we can say that the 600 or so Asian-Americans that we interviewed are representative of the nine million adults; the almost 800 Hispanics are representative of the 29 million Hispanic adults by region, by age, by income, by gender, by national group and also for the other three groups. Yes.

MR. LLOYD: This young lady has a question over here.

MS. BRYANS: Hello. I am Shirley Barnes (sp). I was in marketing in ethnic but mainly Black marketing and advertising with UniWorld in New York City, did work for Tom Burrell in Chicago. That was mainly product advertising, but there are many large

Fortune 500 companies that have a sort of caught on that there is an African-American community out there that are really heavy consumers of certain things.

I wanted to know especially from Mr. Bendixen whether you had a chance to study some of what the African-American black agencies are doing or some of the Fortune 500 companies are doing in consumer advertising. I, for instance, did a long longitudinal study in my advertising days for recruiting of African-Americans, Native Americans, et cetera, into the Navy – Navy recruiting. And in the study itself was a big breakdown of the media that this particular audience they wanted to try and recruit did. And I wanted to know did you have a chance to study or talk to some of the black agencies or are you in contact with them?

MR. BENDIXEN: No, the scope of this poll was to study public opinion, but I can tell you this, about – and, Sandy, correct me if I'm wrong, but \$150 billion is spent on advertising in America today. And of that \$150 billion, about \$3 billion go to ethnic media or 2 percent. And we just learned from the study that 13 percent of all American adults are primary consumers of ethnic media and 24 percent are reached by ethnic media, so that 2 percent seems to be, at least in my personal opinion, to be pretty – pretty small.

MR. LLOYD: Sandy, did you want to comment on it?

MS. CLOSE: No, just to say that the biggest growth in ethnic media advertising has been in Spanish language and a lot of it is targeted television, so that the print sector has actually not gained ground as rapidly as one would have hoped. This poll showing the enduring power of black newspapers – we started Amelia Ward and the Sun reporter in the video because black media has been around, as you know, since the 1850s – that their enduring power and their ability to hold their readerships and their audience is now beginning to attract, so it's going from \$100 million per year of that \$145 billion or \$150 billion. It's growing, but about at 3 percent, whereas Hispanic is growing at 10 percent. And Asian is growing too, but not nearly as rapidly as Hispanic.

And what we are hoping to do – because this is the key question for the thriving of these media and developing more resources, the advertising has to grow and government is the 20th largest advertiser, having the ability through the Center and the Leadership Conference to come to Washington is partly about putting this media on the radar of the 20th biggest advertiser – government – and the whole nonprofit and foundation sector. How often do you hear the big foundations announce themselves on NPR? They're not reaching these audiences if they're not also looking at ethnic media.

MR. LLOYD: So this lady here and there's a gentleman with his hand in the back, so first go here and then back there.

Q: I was wondering if this is a big wake-up call for the mainstream media. People are obviously looking somewhere else for something that they're not getting.

Would you see it that way – a wake-up call? What do you think that – should be the response of mainstream media?

MS. CLOSE: You know, speaking as somebody who has run a mainstream news agency for 38 years, this was a tremendous opportunity call for partnering and the wonderful thing is that as mainstream media understands we are in a real – in some ways, we are at a turning point. We are going to fade away if we don't develop new models to cover the global society we are becoming. These are tremendous partnership opportunities. There are stories we can do together much better than either of us could do alone. And I keep thinking, let's – this is about breaking out of silos and creating a horizontal communications grid, and that's as true for the nonprofits, who need better connections with these media which are our advocacy voices in so many cases, as it is for the mainstream media. But yes, it's a very good question.

We do have a study available on how ethnic media coverage differs from mainstream media in five stories we looked at. It is not an academic study; it's a journalistic study, but please do pick one up when you're leaving because whether you're looking at SARS, outsourcing, media consolidation, or a variety of other issues, it gives you a sense of what is distinctive about the way these media cover topics.

MR. LLOYD: I think that's the right answer to this. Nick Lehman (ph) at Columbia had a very interesting perspective when he looked at this study and – and was talking with a group in New York about this, and that was there is a general despair in mainstream media about their dwindling audience, or what they view as their dwindling audience. And as they pull their conferences together at Columbia, they all bemoan the fact that they're losing viewers and losing readership. And he was very excited to come to the Expo and note the contrasting, I think, excitement about the fact that the audience for ethnic media is growing and that the number of media outlets for ethnic community is actually growing. And so – but again, these are two distinct roles that are being played here.

Q: I just wanted to ask, having worked at one of the civil rights organizations that's a member of the LCCR coalition for a couple of years, I think the broad reach of these publications doesn't really tell you the story. As someone who tries to reach them when we were doing work in the 2002 midterm elections and trying to reach to the Latino populations in the South, it's really hard to try to reach this media the way you can subscribe to a service and get 10,000 white paper reporters, their e-mail address, their fax numbers, and everything you need and instantly get your press release in their hands, we worked with the National – with the NNPA, the National Hispanic Press Association, and it is – it's is not like pulling teeth, but its reasonable dental surgery to get the same level of access.

If you want to advertise, there's hoops to jump through versus just calling one firm and say, "Do an ad buy." And if you want to reach reporters, sometimes it's impossible. And you guys, I'm sure, know from your experiences these aren't full-time reporters who sit at desks and answers phones all day and checks fax and e-mail. They're

stringers, they're freelancers, they have other things going on. It is really hard to present to the nonprofit community, "Here's is your challenge. Reach these people. There's 50 million waiting to hear from you," because the reporters and the editors aren't necessarily just sitting at their desks waiting to hear from you. I wanted you to comment on that.

MR. LLOYD: Good – Sandy, that's – you take all the tough ones.

MS. CLOSE: No, that's – that's a very much the language barriers and the lack of resources and the fragmentation. McDonald's called the Chinese language media in San Francisco to say they wanted to put a freestanding insert for McDonald's, and they went through their major company, Valassis (ph) and the person on the Chinese media end of the line said, "Valassis? I haven't heard of it. I don't know what an FSI is," and that was the end of the conversation. Well, it – then McDonald's called us and we got the media, of course, to respond. They were interested. The word you hear most frequently talking with colleagues in ethnic media, and I know there are many of you – a number of you here – colleagues – is isolation. Asking that same Chinese newspaper what they most wanted by forming an association, the reporters said, "Cocktail parties, because we feel so isolated."

The news press room of San Francisco City Hall – San Francisco, liberal, city – had no desks for ethnic media until the year 2000 when after a year Willy Brown demanded it and got it from my professional colleagues in mainstream media. And at that point, the Asian media began to cover Willy Brown because they got their desks in city hall. And his polling and his vote in his second election went from 20 percent of Chinese voters to 70 and he became an advocate of ethnic media calling it "use it or lose it" in the immortal words of Willy Brown.

What it really takes is a tremendous input of time. This is labor-intensive work. It is enormously rewarding, but its one of the reasons as a nonprofit we've been able to do things PR firms and ad agencies have not been able to do. It doesn't bill out in the 15-minute quadrant; it's not cost-effective for them. They can't do it as well. But that's an opportunity for us. And I think that with these partnerships that we are going to be able to develop fellowships. So many of these media would like to fill the void of national reporting by coming to Washington, by getting to know what the issues are at the national and state level. And I think there's going to be a tremendous commitment required, but journalism schools, fellowship programs, a lot of the infrastructure of mainstream – that supported mainstream media now has to expand and invest in the capacity of these media and they're hungry for it.

MR. LLOYD: So I think we actually thought we were going to be done before they started cleaning the windows here. (Laughter.)

MR. BENDIXEN: The only solution is to cut the rope, and that seems excessive. (Laughter.)

MR. LLOYD: Anna tells me that we have time for one more question. Is that right? Just one more?

We are going to be around here for a little while and we will be available to talk with you after the event, so – but let's pick one in the back where you – just pick one of the hands back there that are being raised. Someone? There you go, this gentleman right here.

Q: Did you look at the ownership of the ethnic media? There's been some controversy around the *New York Times*, I think, establishing rather than just acquiring a newspaper which is aimed at the African-American market and of course, Viacom acquired BET.

MR. BENDIXEN: Well, not in the poll. It's complicated enough putting it into ten languages just try to – and I don't think people would know, in most cases. But I don't know if you want to make a comment on the implications of ownership.

MR. LLOYD: I'm happy to. Is there question for Sergio specifically about the poll that we can get in real quickly?

Yes, right there.

Q: I have a pretty simple question. You mentioned that based on the poll results you could probably conclude Republicans did a better job penetrating ethnic media. Did your survey actually include comparison of whether the Democratic and Republican candidates penetrated ethnic media equally or was that result just strictly based on the public opinion poll?

MR. BENDIXEN: Well, number one, the results are fairly clear, especially when it comes to Spanish-language television and Asian newspapers. The numbers are too different for they're not to be a reflection of the impact of the campaign, especially because if you look at those results from the point of view of the socioeconomics, which are usually a pretty good predictor of how people will vote, it should have been the opposite. But also – and this is just from previous knowledge and experience that I've had, I'll give you one comparison. Between September – during September and October of 2004, the Bush campaign and the Republican National Committee spent \$6 million on Spanish-language television. During those two same months, the John Kerry campaign and the Democratic National Committee spent \$300,000.

So obviously there was a great mismatch when it came to what consumers of Spanish-language television were watching in terms of political advertising during the last two months of the presidential campaign.

MR. LLOYD: And I think that's about what we have time for. Let me just say very quickly about ownership that this was not, obviously, a poll about ownership, though with NBC acquiring Telemundo, with Viacom acquiring BET, we see increased

interest among so-called mainstream organizations in purchasing outlets that will give them greater access at least to ethnic communities. This is, I think, perfectly understandable. There is greater – and a growing media concentration among particularly black radio. We have fewer black owners but more black stations than before, and this is because we have essentially greater media concentration within that industry. This is problematic, but that was not really the subject of what we were trying to do here today.

What we are really tried to show is that media matters and that media that is, I think, owned and controlled and directed to ethnic media matters very much for that growing ethnic audience in the United States. I think we will be around to take questions from those of you who would like to stick around and talk with us.

Thank you very much for showing up. Sandy, do you want to give more – one more plug for your –

MS. CLOSE: Just the directory of ethnic media to help with the fragmentation; we have copies of it outside if people are interested.

MR. LLOYD: Thank you. Thank you again. (Applause.)

(END)