

# PART I

## Majority Rules

*“Minorities” and the Media*

# 1 Demographics

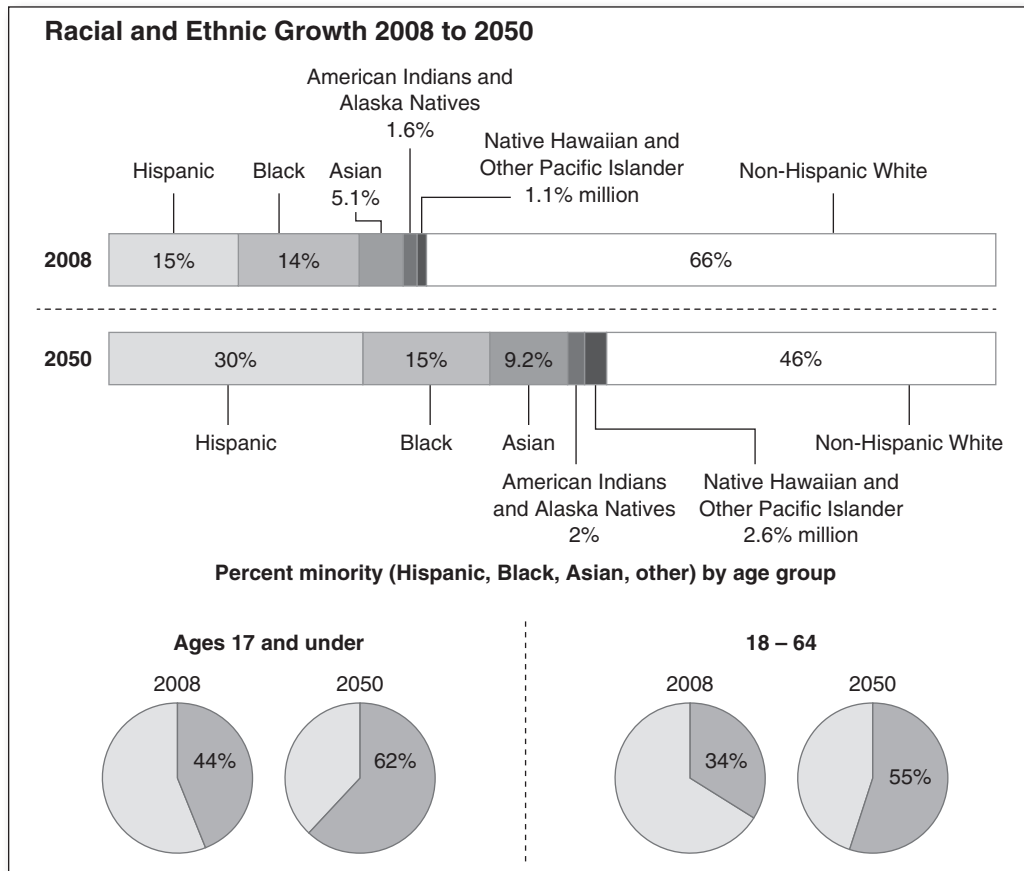
The U.S. Census Bureau made headlines in 2008 when it announced that minorities “are expected to become the majority in 2042.”<sup>1</sup> Digital, broadcast, and print news media in the United States and beyond reported the Census Bureau’s projection that the people it called Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and Other Pacific Islanders would grow to 54% of the U.S. population by 2050.

“Minorities Will Be in Majority,” the *Chicago Tribune* reported. CNN’s website posted a story headlined “Minorities Expected to Be Majority in 2050.” In England *The Guardian*’s headline ran “Ethnic Minorities to Form Majority by 2050.”

The prospect of the United States becoming a majority minority nation in which all people are members of a racial or ethnic minority group also stirred controversy and comments across the nation. Some examined the role of Whites in a nation in which people of other colors collectively composed the majority. In 2009 the blog Digital Journal noted “White people continue to be the largest identifiable group in the U.S. This fact will continue well into the future, regardless of whether or not it’s above 50%.”<sup>2</sup> *Newsweek* ran a column by Ellis Cose headlined “Red, Brown, and Blue: America’s Color Lines Are Shifting.” A review in *The New Yorker* asked “Beyond the Pale: Is White the New Black?” then explored possible changes in White identity and interests as Whites become a minority in a multiracial nation. Author Kelefa Sanneh concluded by observing that the racial change “doesn’t mean that white is the new black . . . and never will be.” But the racial changes from White majority to White minority were seen as portending the “the slow birth of a people” in which Whiteness would become “a work in progress” as Whites developed an awareness of their own history and future in a multiracial nation.<sup>3</sup>

The projected growth of people of color from different races and cultures in the United States to more than 50% of the population and the Census Bureau’s 2011 recognition of Hispanics, also called Latinos, as the largest of those groups also rocked the nation’s race relations mind-set. Moving beyond a focus on Black and White, the nation became more aware of its multiracial and multicultural future. This soul searching heightened as racial and ethnic issues across society became more focused, clearer, and sometimes divisive.

**Figure 1.1** U.S. Minorities Becoming the Majority



Source: Data from U.S. Census Bureau.

As Figure 1.1 shows, the United States is quickly moving from being a nation that has a White majority and minority groups of different races and ethnicities to one in which no single racial or ethnic group will be in the majority. As this happens, the nation and its media will need to change how people of diverse races and cultures are seen and treated. No one group will be the majority, and everyone in the United States will be a member of a minority group.

## Who Are the Minorities?

When used in its statistical sense, the term *minorities* refers to things that are small in number, less than the majority. In the past the term was often applied to people of color in the United States because the total number of Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans was smaller than the White majority. Arabs, South Asians, and some other groups were considered so small that

they were not counted at all or were placed under one of the existing categories. In the late 20th century the term *minorities* became a convenient umbrella label under which any group that is not White could be placed.

However, it is a misleading label. It misleads those using and seeing the label to think of people called minorities as small not only in number, but also in importance. In a democratic nation based on majority rule, the label can make the interests and issues raised by minorities seem less important than those of the majority. Increasingly, it is not a statistically accurate term when referring to the racial and ethnic mix of the United States. By the early 21st century, California, Hawaii, New Mexico, and Texas were states in which people of color were in the majority. Analysis of the 2010 census revealed that eight more states were at the “tipping point” of becoming majority minority by 2020: Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Mississippi, Nevada, New Jersey, and New York. The same census revealed that 341 of the 3,143 counties (11%) were majority minority, and another 225 were at the tipping point of being so classified by 2020.<sup>4</sup>

These projections make it clear that the United States will continue to grow as a nation of color through the next generation. In 2010, Asian Americans, Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans made up 36% of the U.S. population and had accounted for 92% of the nation’s population growth since 2000. As this pattern continues, they will continue to grow at a faster rate than non-Hispanic Whites due to immigration, birthrate, and larger average family sizes. As these groups grow in number and percentage of the U.S. population, factors such as intermarriage between groups and generational, gender, and ethnic diversity within each group will make umbrella labels like Asian, Black, Latino, and Native American less useful. At the same time, Arabs, South Asians, Pacific Islanders, and others will become more important as identifiable groups.

## The WASP Melting Pot

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These changes continue an evolving racial and ethnic mix that has been part of the land that is now the United States since the arrival of the first Europeans in the early 1600s. It is a natural evolution and one that is more inclusive than earlier “Whites preferred” policies that governed the nation’s population policies and practices when immigrants came primarily from Europe.

“The region changed from predominantly Native American to predominantly White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) in large part due to high mortality on the part of the former and high immigration and fertility on the part of the latter group,” wrote population analysts Leon F. Bouvier and Cary B. Davis. “In 1800 close to 20 percent of what, by then, was the United States of America was Black—in large part, the result of high levels of immigration, albeit forced. By 1900, more significant changes had occurred. Blacks were only 10 percent of the population, but among Whites the proportion coming from southern and eastern Europe had grown substantially.”<sup>5</sup>

As Bouvier and Davis pointed out, the influx of southern and eastern European immigrants challenged the nation's WASP identity early in the 20th century and led to the vision of the United States as a "melting pot" society in which newcomers became Anglo Americans by shedding the culture, language, foods, and identities of their homelands and ancestors. In reality, the melting pot is a high-heat fusion process that melts metals into liquids to force out impurities and unessential elements. The Americanization process was seen as subjecting newcomers to a similar process to disassociate them from their pasts, lose their individual and group identities, then forge a new identity closer to the Anglo American model.

"A popular way of getting hold of the assimilation idea has been to use a metaphor, and by far the most popular metaphor has been that of the 'melting pot,' a term introduced in Israel Zangwill's 1908 play of that name," wrote Hunter College professor Peter Salins. He quoted the play:

There she lies, the great Melting-Pot—Listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? . . . Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian, black and yellow . . . Jew and Gentile . . . East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purifying flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God.<sup>6</sup>

Though the play's text included "Latin . . . Syrian . . . black and yellow . . . the crescent and the cross" in a multiracial and multicultural melting pot, in practice the assimilation process of American society was less inclusive of non-White people and some Europeans such as Jews, Italians, and Irish. Their marginalization was examined in Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan's 1963 book *Beyond the Melting Pot*,<sup>7</sup> which also examined practices keeping Blacks and Puerto Ricans from fully assimilating into American life.

Nevertheless, the melting pot became an idealized and popular way of describing the assimilation of European immigrants coming to the United States in the early 20th century. Proponents of the model held that those who came to the United States would cast aside the identities, cultures, and languages of home countries such as Germany, Poland, Ireland, or Sweden as they either adopted, or were forced to adopt, the identities, loyalties, customs, and language of their new homeland.

The melting pot theory held that it was necessary to forget, or at least submerge, the culture of a person's roots in order to be allowed to participate in the benefits of the United States. In essence, assimilation to the WASP standard was the price of participation in U.S. society.<sup>8</sup> It was thought that within a generation or so the children of European immigrants would "melt" into the working class of the United States and no longer be identifiable by the national origin of their homeland. Many shared the white skin of the British and other earlier European arrivals. By adopting the English language, changing their names to sound more

When most newcomers to the United States came from Europe, the immigrants were urged to shed their home country language and customs and “melt” into Anglo American society. The melting pot graduation ceremony of the Ford English School for immigrant automobile factory workers in Michigan in 1916 idealized this with a steamship background and symbolic melting pot.



Source: Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village.

Anglo, and adopting the customs of their new nation, they would appear to be like those who arrived before them.

Leaving the ways of the old country behind and adopting the WASP norms of their new land of opportunity had its advantages for the immigrants. The WASP founders of the United States envisioned a land where people had “inalienable rights . . . of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness” in a nation where all men were created equal, could participate in electing leaders, and could move up based on merit, hard work, and opportunity.

The melting pot concept was so dominant that the Ford Motor Company in Michigan established the Ford English School in 1913. The goal of the school, which in three years had 2,200 students from 33 nationalities studying under 150 English-speaking Ford workers, was to teach the immigrants to read, write, and speak English in eight months. The graduation ceremony ended with graduates standing on stage alongside a huge symbolic melting pot under the Latin words printed on U.S. currency, “E Pluribus Unum” (From Many, One).

“All commencements were held at the school, and every class had to go into this large cauldron in a foreign costume holding a symbol indicating the country he or she came from,” wrote Boris Sanchez de Lozada and Robert Armoush. “The ceremony ended by emerging students coming out of this

cauldron with American clothing and American flags waving in their hands. The school's objective here was to break language and cultural barriers . . . to increase productivity.”<sup>9</sup>

Today the melting pot's legacy is found among White Americans who know little of their family history, other than that their ancestors came from Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, or some other European country. But while the descendants of those who blended into the melting pot may not be able to speak the language or share the customs of their European ancestors, many have shown an increased interest in connecting with family roots, national heritage, and past customs, particularly as political changes and ethnic strife occurred in Eastern Europe.<sup>10</sup>

## U.S. Grows Beyond the Melting Pot

At the same time, the members of groups who were left “beyond the melting pot” because their racial skin color, eye shape, hair texture, or other characteristics made it impossible for them to fully “melt” into Anglo identities by merely changing their last names are growing in number in the United States. Because of differences in race, legal status, or geographic proximity to the home country, they were never fully blended, or allowed to blend, into the melting pot of the United States in spite of efforts by many to approximate Whites in appearance, values, and lifestyle. Rather than a melting pot, people in these groups experienced the United States as a stew pot. As in a stew, each element retains its identity while contributing its own flavor to those of others and absorbing some of the flavors of other groups onto itself. Many today have become Americans by living a daily life of more than one culture, language, or identity as they build on their homeland roots, rather than cutting them off.

As a nation whose population growth has historically been fueled by immigration, the United States has always had racial, national, and ethnic minorities beyond the melting pot available to many European immigrants. People whose racial or ethnic groups fell outside of the melting pot have been counted separately since the first U.S. census of 1790. From the nation's beginning they were considered separate and often-times unequal to Whites.

The nation's first census categories reflect the racial and gender priorities as the new

People of color were long subject to legal and social segregation that limited their educational, political, and social opportunities in the United States. This 1942 NO DOGS, NEGROES, MEXICANS sign attributed to the Lonestar Restaurant Association in Texas marked such segregation.



Source: Lonestar Restaurant Association 1942.



Laws prohibiting Native Americans from voting at the same time that immigrants, identified by their European attire, and newly freed Blacks cast their votes were questioned by *Harper's Weekly* political cartoonist Thomas Nast in 1871. Women were not allowed to vote at that time.



Source: *Harper's Weekly*, 1871.

nation began: free White males, age 16 and older; free White males, age 16 and younger; and free White females. Non-Whites were designated as “all other persons” and “slaves.” Black slaves counted as three fifths of a White person for purposes of determining representation in Congress. The 1790 census counted 757,000 Blacks, 92% of them living as slaves. They composed nearly one fifth of the nation’s population. Native Americans were not included in 1790 census figures for congressional representation because they were considered citizens of separate nations.<sup>11</sup>

In 1910 census takers visited homes and classified people as “White,” “Black,” “Mulatto,” “Chinese,” “Japanese,” “American Indian,” and “Other. The 1960 census was the first time people were asked to self-identify their race, rather than rely on the observations of census takers. A Spanish/Hispanic question wasn’t introduced on the census short-form questionnaire until 1980, and the 2000 census was the first to allow people with multiracial backgrounds to select more than one race.<sup>12</sup> Since Hispanics are an ethnic group whose members can be of any race, the census has evolved into asking



for both race and ethnicity to determine the nation's population composition of Hispanics and non-Hispanics. Further reflecting the nation's racial and ethnic complexity, the census also provides more label options and asks more details about national origin of people of color than of Whites.

The 2010 census question "What is this person's race?" offered Whites only one possible response: White. In comparison, the census asked about Hispanic origin and race in separate questions. Those reporting they were of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin were then asked to check a separate box indicating whether they were Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano; Puerto Rican; or Cuban, or to write in their other Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin, such as Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, or Spaniard. People once simply called Black by the census could check one of three boxes marked Black, African American, and Negro. Others could check a box labeled American Indian or Alaska Native and mark their tribe. Persons of Asian or Pacific Islander race could check Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, Other Asian (Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, etc.), or Other Pacific Islander (Fijian, Tongan, etc.).<sup>13</sup> The census of 2000 revealed more than 1.6 million Asian Indians living in the United States, a population that grew to more than 2.8 million by 2010, a growth rate of 69% that was highest among all Asian American communities.

Although the Census Bureau in 2003 issued a separate report on "The Arab Population: 2000,"<sup>14</sup> it did not include Arabs as a category in the 2010 census and did not list Arabs in its *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010* census report issued in 2011. The 2003 report counted 1.2 million Arabs in the United States in 2000, up from 860,000 in 1990 and double the 610,000 counted in 1980. The census report included all who reported being Arab, Egyptian, Iraqi, Jordanian, Lebanese, Middle Eastern, Moroccan, North African, Palestinian, Syrian, and so on. The report cautioned that not all people from these countries consider themselves Arabs and noted Arabs are found in other parts of the world. About 60% of reported Arabs in the United States in 2000 traced their ancestry to Lebanon, Syria, or Egypt.

Because Islam is the religion most associated with many of the countries to which the Arab Americans traced their roots, Muslims in the United States have often been portrayed racially as Arabs, North Africans, and Middle Easterners. This association has given Muslims a racialized identity in the U.S. media portraying Muslims as Arabs. In fact, Muslims are the most racially diverse religion in the United States, with 28% of the members White, 35% African American, 18% Asian, and 18% other races.<sup>15</sup> The Census Bureau does not report the number of Muslims because they are members of a religion and questions about religion are not part of the census. In 2011 advertisers and companies seeking Muslim customers estimated the Muslim population in the United States at between 6 million and 8 million.

As the Arab report and racial diversity of Muslims illustrate, reporting the nation's racial and ethnic makeup is further complicated by attempts to categorize people by labels that may not really describe who or what they are. Though Asians were counted separately for the first time in 2000, data for

Asians and Pacific Islanders are often combined, putting people from such disparate nations as Japan, Vietnam, Indonesia, and India under the same umbrella. By the same token, American Indians are combined with Alaska Natives, combining people who may appear similar to others, but may have important differences between groups combined together. Hispanics—people who trace their roots to Spain, Latin America, or the Caribbean—can be of any race. The 2010 census forms used the terms *Hispanic*, *Latino*, and *Spanish* origin to identify people it categorized as Hispanic in its reports. *Hispanic* can be used interchangeably with *Latino*, the term most often used in this book.

## The Browning of America

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The 2010 census also reported the continuation of what others have called “the browning of America” as people of color increased their share of the nation’s population. Between 2000 and 2010 the U.S. population grew by 9.3%, an increase of 27.3 million people, and most of the growth was driven by people of color.

The 2010 census reported non-Whites and Latinos were 36% of the U.S. population of 308.7 million in 2010, up from 30% of the population in 2000 and 25% 10 years earlier. As the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites in the United States dropped between 2000 and 2010, the growth rates for other racial and ethnic groups continued to rise, continuing a trend going back at least 40 years. Blacks, American Indians or Alaska Natives, Asian or Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, and those marking “Other” all grew in number and percentage of the population between 2000 and 2010.

The only group that lost ground was non-Hispanic Whites, declining from 69% of the people in the United States in 2000 to 64% in 2010. Persons indicating they were more than one race, a category used for the first time in 2000, increased from 1.6% of the population in 2000 to 3% in 2010.<sup>16</sup>

“The vast majority of the growth in the total population came from increases in those who reported their race(s) as something other than White alone and those who reported their ethnicity as Hispanic or Latino,” the Census Bureau reported in its *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*. “More than half of the growth of the total population in the United States between 2000 and 2010 was due to the increase in Hispanic population.”<sup>17</sup>

The Census Bureau reported that Hispanics, who can be of any race, numbered 50.5 million or 16% of the U.S. population in 2010, an increase of 43% since 2000. The Black or African American population was 38.9 million, 13% of the population. Asian Americans numbered 14.7 million, about 5% of the population. American Indians and Alaska Natives were 2.9 million, slightly less than 0.9% of the population. Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders were half a million, 0.2% of the population. Those reporting they were of some other race numbered 19.1 million, 6% of the population. People who reported being of more than one race numbered 9 million, 3% of the population.

Though all reported groups representing people of color continued to grow in numbers between 2000 and 2010, the Census Bureau reported

In some elections, White mobs kept Blacks from voting, as illustrated by *Harper's Weekly* political cartoonist Thomas Nast's drawing of violence at Atlanta, Georgia polling places during the 1872 presidential election.



Source: *Harper's Weekly*, 1872.

their growth rates varied from group to group, and some saw a decline in their percentage of the nation's population.

"The Asian alone population experienced the fastest rate of growth and the White alone population experienced the slowest rate of growth, with the other major race groups' growth spanning the range in between," the Census Bureau noted. Between 2000 and 2010 the Asian population grew by 43%; Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders grew by more than 33% in population; those reporting "Some Other Race" grew in number by about 25%, mainly due to Hispanics who did not respond to the racial categories listed; American Indians and Alaska Natives experienced an 18% rate of growth; and Blacks had a 12% growth rate.

Although the African American numerical growth from 34.7 million to 38.9 million people in the United States was larger than for any other single minority racial group except Asians, the African Americans' percentage growth rate was lower because their population base is larger. The number of Whites grew by 12 million, but their share of the population dropped from 75% in 2000 to 72% in 2010 because of the growth of other racial groups.

“The only major race group to experience a decrease in its proportion of the total population was the White alone population,” the Census Bureau reported in 2011. Perhaps an even more important indicator of the nation’s future racial makeup was the number of people reporting they were of “Two or More Races,” increasing by one third between 2000 and 2010.

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## Undercounting Racial and Ethnic Diversity

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“The U.S. population has become more racially and ethnically diverse over time,” the Census Bureau concluded in its closing paragraph on the 2010 census. But the growth in diversity “over time” was probably greater than the Census Bureau reported. One reason is because the Census Bureau has admitted undercounting the nation’s people of color for decades.

“The census has historically missed a higher percentage of minorities and children, and this trend continued in 2010,” the Population Reference Bureau reported in 2011.<sup>18</sup> The independent research organization cited an analysis of the 2010 census revealing that African Americans had been undercounted by 2.5%, that Hispanics were “disproportionately missed,” and that more than 1 million children under 18 “may have been missed.” The miscounting pendulum swung both ways: “For other racial groups, there was a slight net overcount of 0.5 percent.”

The Census Bureau reported that the 2000 census undercounted people of color while Whites, according to the acting director of the census, may have been overcounted in 2000.<sup>19</sup> The Census Bureau admitted in 2000 it had missed 2.17% of the non-Hispanic Blacks, 2.85% of the Hispanics, 4.74% of the American Indians and Alaska Natives living on reservations, 3.28% of the American Indians and Alaska Natives off reservations, and 4.60% of the Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders.<sup>20</sup> These were all a higher percentage not counted than the national undercount rate of 1.2%, or about 3.2 million people who the census didn’t count.<sup>21</sup> Despite the admitted undercount of people of color, the Census Bureau refused to adjust its 2000 population figures to accurately reflect the number of people in the United States and provide better baseline data for 2010 census comparisons.

Adding to the census controversies, people who completed their census forms in 2000 and 2010 claimed the Census Bureau’s race, ethnicity, and national origin categories caused their groups to be undercounted. In 2000 some Hispanic groups noted that while Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans had their own boxes to check, people with roots in other countries were asked to check the “Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino” box and then write in the name of their group. Though more options were offered in 2010, some people were confused as to which box to check, didn’t see a label they felt described them, or had problems translating the census terms. Those asked to write in their group often didn’t know the appropriate Census Bureau labels and thus were not correctly counted. Problems with racial and ethnic labels were further illustrated by an analysis of the 2006 Census Bureau American Community Survey, conducted by sociology professors Amon Emeka and Jody Agius Vallejo of the University of Southern



California. The analysis found that 12% of U.S.-born people who declared Hispanic or Latin American ancestry did not check the box saying they were Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, resulting in an undercount of the number of Latinos.<sup>22</sup>

“When you are trying to predict the size of a population, those projections depend on how that population sees itself and how they answer the ethnicity and race questions on the U.S. Census,” said Emeka. Since Latinos can be of any race, some people may check the “White,” “Black,” or “Asian” box because their racial identity may be more important in their daily lives, the researchers suggested. Another factor may be a desire to have a single racial identity.

“There’s still this tendency to pick one race, especially among African Americans, when you must claim more than one on the U.S. Census surveys,” Agius Vallejo said. One example was President Barack Obama, who is half White and half Black, checking the “Black” box instead of indicating his true multiracial background in the place provided on the 2010 Census Bureau form.

Similarly, it was reported that some multiracial students applying to college mark the race that they think will be of more help in gaining admission. A 2011 Associated Press story cited Lanya Olmstead, a Florida-born student whose mother immigrated from Taiwan and whose father is of Norwegian ancestry.<sup>23</sup> Though she considers herself half Taiwanese and half Norwegian, she checked “White” when applying to Harvard.

This 1871 *Harper’s Weekly* drawing by political cartoonist Thomas Nast shows a White mob moving from burning a Colored Orphan Asylum to attacking a Chinese immigrant who seeks protection from Columbia (a U.S. symbol) alongside a wall of anti-Chinese slogans. Eleven years later, the U.S. enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act, versions of which were in force until 1943.



Source: *Harper’s Weekly*, 1871. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

“I didn’t want to put ‘Asian’ down,” Olmstead was reported as saying, “because my mom told me there’s discrimination against Asians in the application process.” The story cited studies showing Asian Americans “often need test scores hundreds of points higher than applicants from other ethnic groups” to gain admission because the proportion of Asian Americans meeting college admission standards is “far out of proportion to their 6 percent representation in the U.S. population.”

In addition to those who might check incorrect boxes, other people are not accurately classified by race or ethnicity because their groups were not listed by the Census Bureau. This is a criticism that has also been raised by Assyrians, Chaldeans, Arabs, and Afghans.

“I’ve checked ‘White’ all my life,” Dearborn attorney Ziad A. Fadel told *The Detroit News* after the 2000 census. “There is no category for who I am,” said Fadel, an Arab American.<sup>24</sup> In California, the San Francisco Bay Area Afghan American community, estimated at between 30,000 and 60,000 people, was reported as numbering only 7,000 in the 2000 census, one sixth of its estimated size. Said Sohaila Hashimi, an Afghan American in San Jose, “It’s going to be a problem for us. Numbers count in order to be effective and to stand up for a statement or a view.”<sup>25</sup>

Further confusing racial and ethnic identity figures in the future is the increase in mixed-race marriages and the growing number of children with parents of different races. By 2010, 15% of all marriages were between people of different races or ethnicities, the Pew Research Center reported. The study revealed that Hispanics and Asians were more likely to marry someone of a different race or ethnicity than Blacks and Whites.<sup>26</sup>

In 2010, 26% of Hispanic and 28% of Asian newlyweds had “married out” to someone of a different race or ethnicity. Seventeen percent of non-Hispanic Blacks and 9% of non-Hispanic Whites married someone of a different race or ethnicity. Since Whites are the largest racial group, most intermarriage involved Whites and members of a minority group.

When comparing race and gender, the Pew study found that 36% of Asian females and 17% of Asian males married non-Asians. In comparison, 24% of Black males and 9% of Black females married outside of their race. There were no gender differences in Hispanic and White intermarriages with people of different races or ethnicities. The study also found growing acceptance of intermarriage, with 63% saying it “would be fine” if a member of their family married someone of a different racial or ethnic group. In 1986, only 28% of those surveyed said people marrying out of their race was not acceptable.

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## Building a More Colorful United States

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But even with the shortcomings of census count and increasing racial and ethnic blending, the reported growth of Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, and Latinos has moved steadily upward over the past four decades. There are many reasons cited for the steady “browning of America” when compared with overall population trends.



One reason is that most racial and ethnic minority groups have a younger median age than Whites and, thus, are more likely to be within the childbearing, family-rearing ages. Their children are also likely to have their own children and families in the near future. The impact of this trend was reinforced by a 2011 study revealing that for the first time non-Hispanic White children were less than half of the babies born in the United States. The study by William Frey of the Brookings Institution found that slightly more than 50% of the children under 3 years old were either Hispanics or children of color, up from less than 40% in 1990.<sup>27</sup>

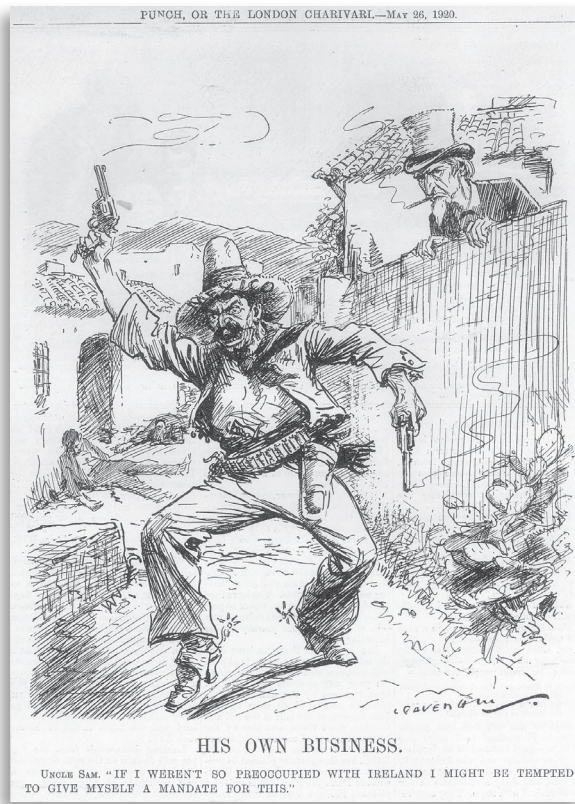
Much of this growth was driven by an increase in what Frey called “new minorities”: Hispanics, Asians, and people of more than one race. From 2000 to 2010 the population of White children in the United States dropped by 4.3 million, while the number of Hispanic and Asian children grew by 5.5 million. Non-Hispanic Whites composed 80% of the U.S. population over age 65, and “with a rapidly aging White population, the United States depends increasingly on these new minorities to infuse its youth population—and eventually its labor force,” Frey reported.

A second reason was increased immigration from Asia and Latin America. While in earlier decades Europe had supplied large numbers of immigrants to the United States, during the 1970s immigration to the United States from Asia and Latin America increased sharply. Some of this was spurred by a 1965 change in U.S. immigration regulations. Another factor was warfare and political turmoil in certain countries in these regions. Other immigrants were driven by the desire for an improvement in their economic status. But, for whatever reason, the United States continued to be the land of opportunity for these new residents, just as it had been for the earlier European immigrants.

The Population Reference Bureau reported in 1982 that, between 1977 and 1979, immigrants from Latin America and Asia accounted for 81% of the immigrants to the country, while those from Europe accounted for only 13% percent in that period. In contrast, between 1931 and 1960, Europeans composed 58% of the immigrants, Latin Americans 15%, and Asians 5%.<sup>28</sup> The Asian and Latin American trends continued through the end of the 20th century. Although the number of European immigrants increased from 1981–90 to 1991–98, more immigrants came to the United States from Asia and the Americas than from Europe, and the number from Africa also increased in the same period.<sup>29</sup>

The first decade of the 21st century saw even more immigrants coming from regions other than Europe. In 2009 the Department of Homeland Security Yearbook of Immigration Statistics reported that only 9% of the legal immigrants to the United States came from Europe and the rest came from Asia, Africa, South America, and North America, which included Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central American nations. A Pew Research Center analysis of the 39.9 million people living in the United States in 2010 who were born in another country revealed only 14.5% were born in Europe or Canada, compared with 85% in Latin America, the Caribbean, South or East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, or Oceania. More than 50% were born in Mexico or other parts of Latin America, and 25% percent were born in South and East Asia.<sup>30</sup>

U.S. intervention in the affairs of Latin American and Caribbean nations has long been accompanied by people moving to the United States from that region. This 1920 political cartoon in the British magazine *Punch* shows Uncle Sam pondering whether to once again intervene as he watches a Mexican revolutionary.



Source: *Punch*, May 26, 1920.

non-Hispanic Blacks at 71.1 births per 1,000 women had substantially higher fertility rates. The Census Bureau also reported an Asian or Pacific Islander fertility rate of 71.3 births per 1,000 women and an American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut rate of 64.6 births per 1,000 women.<sup>33</sup> All four groups had higher fertility rates than non-Hispanic Whites.

Analysts of population trends cited other possible causes of the population boom. These included a possible increase in the number of persons willing to designate themselves as members of minority groups, a change in the racial categories used on census forms, and a stepped-up effort to accurately count members of different minority groups by the Census Bureau. But, whatever the reason, the bottom line was clear. People of color had grown at a substantially higher rate than the rest of the nation's

A third factor spurring the growing racial and ethnic diversity of the United States was the difference in the number of children born to White and non-White parents. Blacks, Native Americans, and Asian and Pacific Islanders all had a higher birthrate than Whites through the 1980s and 1990s. In 2001, the Census Bureau projected those groups and Hispanics would have higher birthrates than Whites through 2010.<sup>31</sup> In the past, the Census Bureau assumed that the childbearing rates for all racial and ethnic groups would eventually be the same and that there would be a steady decline in the number of children each woman would bear. However, noting "a dramatic rise in total fertility levels to almost 2.1 births per woman" and finding no historical evidence to support the assumption that childbearing rates would become equal, the bureau abandoned both positions in 1992.<sup>32</sup>

As predicted, women of color had higher birthrates than non-Hispanic Whites through the early years of the 21st century. In 2008, non-Hispanic White women between the ages of 15 and 44 had 59.4 births per 1,000 women, called their fertility rate by the Census Bureau. Both Hispanics at 98.8 births per 1,000 women and

population and, as a result, composed a larger percentage of the United States than ever before. Even more important are the projections for the future.

It is clear that people of color will continue to grow both in actual numbers and as a percentage of the U.S. population for the foreseeable future. The projected growth rate for people of color and its relationship to the White population's trends are a matter of debate among demographers. But, while they may argue over the slope of the ascending racial and ethnic growth rate, they all agree about its upward direction.

The projected continuation of these trends promises to dramatically alter the racial and cultural mix of the United States through the 21st century. But the "new" America as a nation where everyone is a minority should not come as any surprise. Signs of the changes, as well as spirited debate and discussion of their implications, had put issues of race and ethnicity into the headlines long before the first decades of the 21st century.

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## From Melting Pot Minorities to Multiculturalism

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The racial and cultural trends making a more colorful America may have been news to some in 1992 when a front-page *USA Today* story was headlined "Minorities Are Headed Toward the Majority."<sup>34</sup> But racial and ethnic changes were not news to demographers and others who had been tracking the nation's changing racial and cultural makeup. In 1982, the independent Population Reference Bureau reported the racial growth trends and commented on the changes they could bring to American society.

"There are those who would prefer a 'status quo' society. That is to say a continuation of the present racial and ethnic composition under an Anglo-conformity umbrella," demographers Leon F. Bouvier and Cary B. Davis wrote. "There are those who see the future demographic changes as marking the onset of a new phase in the ever changing American society—a 'multi-cultural' society. In the late 19th century and early 20th century the United States successfully changed identity from WASP to multi-ethnic culture within the White community . . . It may once again change towards being the first truly multi-racial society on the planet earth, a multi-cultural society which while still predominantly English speaking would tolerate and even accept other languages and other cultures."<sup>35</sup> The projected changes caused some rethinking and discussion among those who became accustomed to the melting pot model of assimilation in the United States. The rise of multiculturalism raised sharp debates over issues of race and culture that had long concerned members of racial and ethnic minority groups and forced others to reassess their vision of race and culture in the United States.

In a 1981 interview Daniel Levine, acting director of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, commented that he no longer saw the United States as a melting pot. Instead, he said, he saw the nation developing as a "confederation of minorities" from different groups, each demanding to be counted by the census and, in his words, demanding attention addressing its needs or redressing discrimination against it.

In the same interview, Bruce Chapman, director designate of the Census Bureau, sounded a more optimistic note. He argued that values long seen as “traditional American values” were also part of the value structure of the nation’s newest immigrants, particularly Asians and Latinos. He cited the strong family relationships of members of these groups and predicted they would become assets to the nation. “They may want to retain some cultural identification with the old country, but they also want to be unhyphenated Americans,” he said.<sup>36</sup>

The debates over the impact of the new America’s racial and cultural mix sharpened into the 21st century, particularly in the field of education. Universities, colleges, and school systems debated over the best ways to educate students and prepare them for a multicultural world, including whether standardized admissions tests such as the SAT and ACT were unfair for students who did not come from a standardized background or who attended schools that did not focus on preparing students for college. As the nation’s school-age population grew more racially and ethnically diverse, students who were members of groups that traditionally had not been prepared for college became more numerous.

Along with the admissions issues, other educators discussed the best ways to prepare all students to live and work in a multicultural nation. Some argued for the traditional Anglocentric approach as the best way to equip young people to succeed in America, contending that the ways of other cultures are less important in the United States. Others recognized the need for multicultural curricula, as long as the traditions and influence of England and other European nations were recognized as making the greatest contributions to the shaping of the United States. A third approach argued for a multicultural curricula, recognizing the contributions of all groups to the United States and affording special attention to the advances of groups that had traditionally been underrepresented in the curricula. A fourth alternative called for educating students in the learning styles and content of people of their own race, such as an Afrocentric approach to education.

Reacting against racially inclusive instruction, some school boards limited or eliminated ethnic studies and multicultural textbooks and attacked bilingual education programs designed for children from homes where a language other than English is spoken.

“There has always been resistance to my books,” said Professor Rudy Acuña of California State University, Northridge, the author of several textbooks about Latinos in the United States, including one “banned” from Tucson schools in 2011. “I published three children’s books before *Occupied America* [in 1972], and two were banned in Texas. Some teachers in California threw the books in the waste basket. Censorship in Tucson did not begin recently. I hark back to the banning of bilingual education.”<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps most importantly, the debates raised the importance of culture as a part of racial and ethnic identity. Issues of language, food, lifestyle, and values became more important as people either reclaimed or reinforced cultural elements of their lives that ran counter to the melting pot ideology. And, as intermarriage continued to become more prominent, it became clear that pure racial categories would be less useful in the future.

## *RACIAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES: A WORLDWIDE PHENOMENON*

The United States is not the only country with substantial and growing racial and ethnic minority populations. Nor is it the only one that has recently experienced racial and ethnic turmoil. During the late 1980s through the early 21st century, racial, ethnic, and religious conflicts between groups tore apart nations on all continents. The contests ranged from disputes that had long had international attention, such as conflicts between Jews and Muslims in the Middle East, Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, and Hindus and Christians in India, to smoldering tensions that flared up after political changes, such as battles between Serbs, Slovenes, and Muslims in what had once been Yugoslavia. Conflicts suddenly sharpened between groups that had long contended for the same territory, such as Pakistan and India's claims to Kashmir.

In addition, passions inflamed by new immigration, such as demonstrations for and against immigrant workers from Third World countries coming to England, France, Germany, and other European nations. New workers coming from South to North from Turkey, Morocco, and elsewhere to Europe often found their race, religion, and cultures were not welcome when they arrived in their new homelands, and the job opportunities were less than expected.

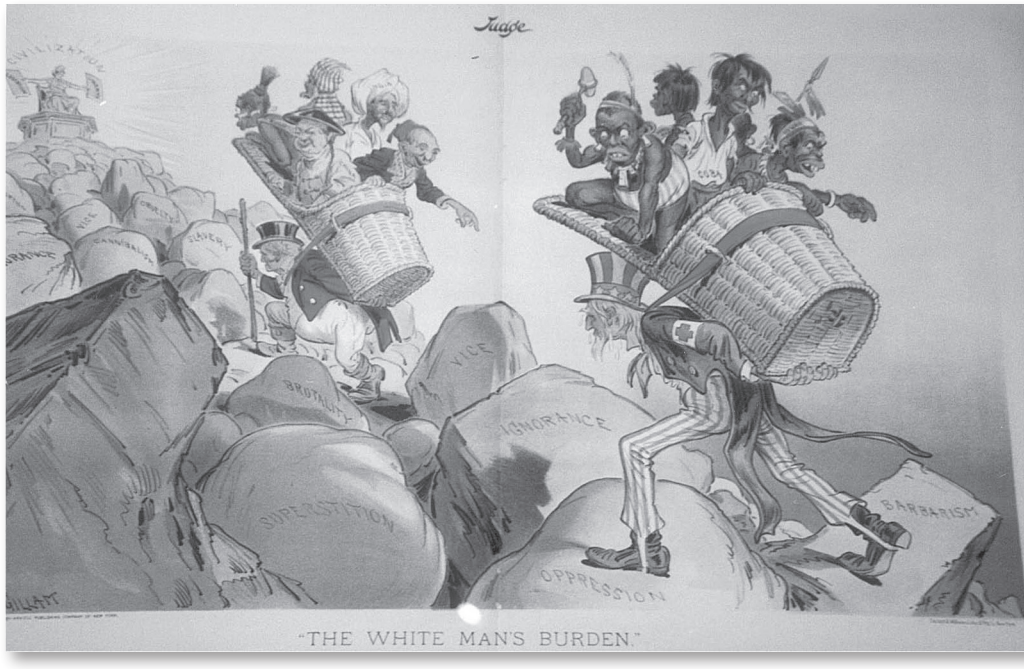
Violent conflicts much like the racial riots in the United States in the 1960s broke out in France and England in the years around the end of the first decade of the 21st century. A *New York Times* correspondent covering riots and fires in the London neighborhood of Tottenham in 2011 reported "frustration in this impoverished neighborhood" and a community where law enforcement was not trusted because "a large Afro-Caribbean population has felt singled out by the police for abuse."<sup>38</sup>

Like the United States, most nations have different religious, ethnic, cultural, or racial minority groups within boundaries that have changed over the years. The treatment of members of these groups varies from nation to nation, depending on the political, religious, and economic systems of the country, as well as the historical relationship between the dominant and subordinate groups.

In most colonial situations in which one country conquers or colonizes the people of another land, there are rigid social separations based on class and race. England, the country to which U.S. political and social institutions are most linked, colonized much of North America, as well as parts of Africa, Oceania, and Asia. The British assumed what it called the "White man's burden" of bringing civilization to uncivilized people, often forcing it on them through a rigid colonial system that put Whites at the top. The British colonial system maintained strict lines of distinction between the predominantly White Anglo colonizers and the people of "colour" whose territory they came to occupy. The United States followed the thinking, if not the strict colonization, of Great Britain's model as it became an international power in the late 19th and 20th century.



During the era of the 1898 Spanish-American War, the United States' Uncle Sam was pictured in *Judge* as following Great Britain's John Bull in picking up "The White Man's Burden" by carrying Cubans and other dark-skinned people up from oppression, barbarism, and ignorance to civilization.



Source: *Judge*, 1898.

“The British colonial code draws the most rigid color line of all,” wrote Raymond Kennedy in 1945, when Britain still maintained much of its colonial empire. “The British have been in contact for a longer time with more dark peoples than any other western nation, yet they hold aloof from their subjects to an unequalled degree. They refuse to associate freely or make friends with other races, and their exclusiveness had engendered a reciprocal feeling toward them on the part of their colonial peoples.”<sup>39</sup>

In England and elsewhere, the children’s stories, literature, movies, news coverage, and other media during the era of the British Empire reinforced images of English colonizers bringing civilization to the uncivilized people they colonized before the United States also picked up the White man’s burden in the Third World in the early 20th century.

The links between popular British and U.S. stereotypes of people of color outlasted the British Empire. From 1958 to 1978, one of the British Broadcasting Company’s most popular television programs was *The Black and White Minstrel Show*, which featured White entertainers in blackface. The program was set in “the Deep South where coy White women could be seen being wooed by docile, smiling black slaves. The black men were, in fact, White artists ‘Blacked-up,’” wrote British media scholar Sarita



Malik. She added that the “racist implications of the premise of the programme” were what “largely led to the programme’s eventual demise.”<sup>40</sup>

As the 21st century loomed, the British Empire’s media images of people of color were still being addressed by journalists and media scholars in England<sup>41</sup> and in other lands still part of the British Empire, such as Australia.<sup>42</sup> A study in the mid-1990s found only 12 to 20 Black journalists among the 3,000 workers on Britain’s national newspapers, leading to charges that England’s news media were “blind to Blacks” and other reports that “Black and Asian faces are rare among Britain’s ‘news breed.’”<sup>43</sup>

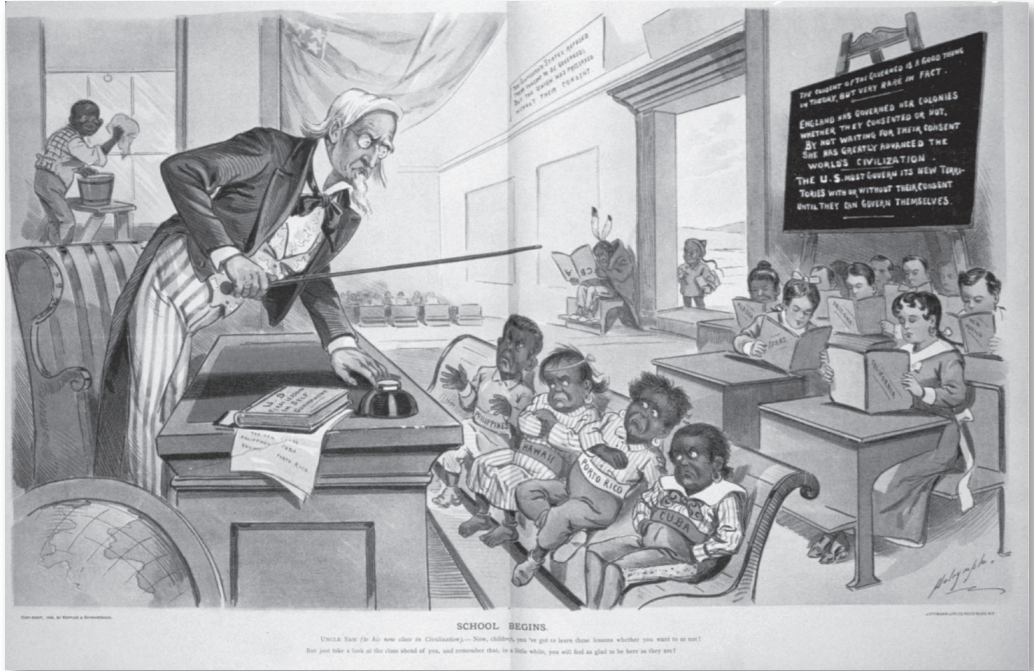
Spain colonized most of Latin America, including what is now the U.S. Southwest from Texas to California and as far north as parts of Wyoming. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America, the racial situation was less clearly defined for those indigenous people who survived the conquest and colonial missions. In all countries the European nation expropriated the lands of the indigenous peoples, making them slaves or peons working the lands in some countries and importing African slaves in others. But, although there were class distinctions between the Spanish Europeans and the indigenous people, there were also intermarriage and elaborate classification systems to label and identify offspring by their racial mixture, with European-born Whites at the top.

As a result, mixed racial populations emerged in Mexico and other places, where Spanish mixed with native populations to blend into *mestizos*, and in Brazil and the Caribbean, where Spanish and native people mixed with Black slaves brought from Africa to form *mulattos*. In contrast to English colonists, who marginalized the identity of the offspring of White and indigenous parents by calling them “half-breed,” the Spanish term *mestizo* indicates a mixture and blending of races and cultures.

Colonialism in Asia and Southeast Asia was shared by several nations, including Britain, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain, each with different policies toward the indigenous residents of the area. Like the Portuguese in Brazil, some colonizing nations also brought in laborers from other areas: Indians from India to Burma and Malaysians and Chinese to most of Southeast Asia. As a result, these colonized areas became stratified on three levels: Europeans, immigrant workers, and the natives.<sup>44</sup> English and Portuguese colonies in Asia continued into the 1990s, long after European nations had given up their African and American colonies.

In the American, African, and Asian colonies of European nations, the relationship between minorities and majorities was the opposite of what racial minorities have experienced in the United States. In the colonial situation, the numerical minority groups were the European colonizers, who conquered and then governed the native people who outnumbered them. In this case, the term *minority* could be applied to the Europeans who, though smaller in number, exerted military, political, economic, and social control over the native populations. Thus, while the Europeans may have been a numerical minority, they were not a power minority. A legacy of this relationship, and the fight of indigenous people to regain their rights, could still be seen in the relationship of Whites over Blacks in South Africa, where Nelson Mandela, the first Black to head the government, was not elected until the

As the 19th century ended, the magazine *Puck* showed Uncle Sam trying to teach unruly dark-skinned Filipinos, Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans in the front row of a class with neatly groomed children representing lands previously conquered by the United States behind them. Pictured, but not participating in the class, are a Black man washing windows, a Native American boy in the corner reading a book upside down, and a Chinese girl hopefully looking in from the outside.



Source: *Puck* January 25, 1899, pp. 8–9, Louis Dalrymple, copyrighted by Keppler & Schwarzmann.

mid-1990s; in Hong Kong, which was not transferred from British to Chinese rule until 1997; and in Macau, which was held by Portugal until 1998.

The legacies of colonialism and distinctions based on race are found throughout the world. As Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer point out in their book *Minorities in American Society*, nations as diverse in political and economic structure as South Africa, Israel, Soviet Russia, and the People's Republic of China have substantial differences based on ethnic and racial divisions between dominant and subordinate groups.<sup>45</sup> The heated conflicts between Blacks and Whites in South Africa and between Jews and Arabs in Israel and other parts of the Middle East have been widely reported. Less well known in the United States is what Marden and Meyer call “the virtual destruction of small tribal people in Asiatic Russia”<sup>46</sup> and the annexation of Tibetan people by the People's Republic of China in the late 1940s.

Except for the Native Americans, who were subjected to colonization by the Spanish and extermination by the English, minority groups in the United States have followed patterns that are different from those of other nations. This is because the predominantly White Europeans who were to

dominate the country were themselves immigrants who became the numerical majority. Rather than exert their control only through a rigid class system, they exterminated or confined the Native Americans; waged war to take lands held first by Native Americans and then by Mexicans; imported and restricted the rights of Blacks, Asians, and Latinos as needed; and encouraged more European immigrants to come, settle, and develop a new society of White European immigrants in the United States. Between 1820 and 1970, 45 million immigrants entered the United States, 75% of them from European nations.<sup>47</sup> It is these immigrants, their children, and their grandchildren who consolidated their identity through the melting pot and became the new majority in the United States, leaving people of color to be designated as racial and ethnic minorities.

### *RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY: PROBLEM OR OPPORTUNITY?*

Growing racial and ethnic diversity will drive the nation's population through the foreseeable future. The census and projected growth figures clearly show where the United States is headed in the future. How the media and other institutions react to these demographic changes will, to a large extent, determine whether the United States is still considered the land of opportunity for all.

The question is: How will people adapt to a society in which everyone is in a minority group? The answer probably lies in changing the dialogue on race and ethnicity from a focus on sociology to a focus on psychology. Until the early 21st century, race and ethnicity in the United States were dominated by sociology: numbers, demographics, and statistical analyses of the different groups. In the next era the discussion should focus more on psychology. While the numbers set the stage, the importance of these statistics will be known only as people make individual decisions regarding their own attitudes and behavior amid growing diversity. Will they withdraw into their own group, perhaps with more people than before? Will they interact with members of other groups, also more numerous than before? Will they intermarry? Will they learn to appreciate new kinds of music, food, and cultures? How will the media prepare people for the changing society, and how will people use media targeted to them and to other groups?

### *MEDIA AND DIVERSITY: MAXIMIZING OPPORTUNITY?*

The growth of racial diversity in the United States has forced the media to reexamine the ways they have traditionally dealt with people of color. As these groups grow at a rate that outstrips the Anglo population both in number and as a percentage of the population, the media executives have looked for new ways to deal with them.

Too often the growth of a racially and ethnically diverse population has been portrayed as a problem for the media and other institutions, forcing them to change their methods of doing business and making them cater to groups that tenaciously hang on to their cultural roots in a nation in which other immigrants have willingly shed theirs. These differences in physical appearance, language, culture, religion, and lifestyle are sometimes seen as threats to Anglo American values, not assets, as the United States seeks to build relationships with countries around the world.

Some media, while professing concern over the changing populations, consciously adopted strategies that appear to be an attempt to avoid minority groups as they moved into the nation's cities. They moved from building audiences based on *geography*, focusing on readers, viewers, and listeners living or working nearest the media outlet, to building audiences based on *demography*, focusing on readers, viewers, and listeners who fit a desired age, education, income, race, or gender profile. In the long run, this has led to more ethnic class media targeted to people of color. But earlier, this change was characterized by general audience mass media efforts to avoid or bypass growing numbers of people of color.

In the 1970s and 1980s, at the same time that the inner cities were becoming increasingly racially diverse, some big-city newspapers looked for ways to avoid the potential readers living closest to their offices, but chase those who were living in suburban cities and counties. Denying any racist intentions, the newspaper managers said they were merely following the more affluent readers who moved to the suburbs.

The strategies of newspapers in avoiding the inner city were described by Ben Bagdikian of the University of California, Berkeley, in a 1978 article.<sup>48</sup> He cited newspapers in different parts of the nation that consciously adopted circulation and news reporting strategies that avoided the growing numbers of minorities and low-income residents in central city areas, while reaching out to readers in the predominantly Anglo and more affluent suburbs of those cities.

“The blackout of news to the central city is usually justified by publishers on grounds that it is harder to sell papers there, that it is harder to hire and keep delivery people on the job and there is a higher rate of nonpayment of bills,” Bagdikian wrote. “That is true, and it has always been true. The difference now is that advertisers don't want that population so now the publishers don't either.”

Because advertisers wanted affluent readers, newspapers and broadcast media targeted their content to audiences in the more affluent, and predominantly Anglo, suburban areas. Circulation percentages and actual numbers declined in the cities whose names the newspapers proudly wore on their front pages, and ratings dropped in cities that television stations were awarded federal licenses to serve. Broadcasters, while they could not control who watched or listened to their stations

and bore no additional costs for having low-income people tuned into their broadcasts, tried to target news and entertainment programming to more affluent viewers and listeners. The ABC network issued a demographic analysis of its audience in the 1970s titled “Some People Are More Valuable Than Others.”

This mentality apparently continued into the 21st century. In 2002, *San Francisco Chronicle* television critic Tim Goodman wrote a front-page article headlined “Un-Reality TV: Few Minority Actors in S.F. Shows,” noting the absence of non-White lead characters in the growing number of television programs based in San Francisco, one of the nation’s most racially diverse cities.<sup>49</sup> After a yearlong study of television news practices, longtime TV network news executive Av Westin reported in 2001 his “project’s most sobering discovery: Every week—every day—stories about African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians are kept off the air . . . I feel confident in declaring that racism is alive and well in many television newsrooms around the country.” As in the 1970s, Westin cited broadcaster desires to achieve certain viewer demographics as driving race-based news decisions. One former news executive told him, “[Blacks] don’t get the demo.”<sup>50</sup>

In 1978, *Los Angeles Times* publisher Otis Chandler admitted to an interviewer that the *Times* had “a way to go” in adequately covering Los Angeles’ minority communities. But he added that it “would not make sense financially for us” to direct the newspaper to those readers because “that audience does not have the purchasing power and is not responsive to the kind of advertising we carry.”<sup>51</sup>

“So we could make the editorial commitment, the management commitment, to cover these communities,” Chandler said. “But then how do we get them to read the *Times*? It’s not their kind of newspaper: it’s too big, it’s too stuffy. If you will, it’s too complicated.” In a 1979 *Columbia Journalism Review* article by two authors of this book, Chandler and other *Times* executives denied that the newspaper approached coverage and circulation from a racial standpoint, although one did admit the strategy meant the newspaper was directed at a predominantly Anglo audience. John Mount of the *Times*’s marketing research department said, “We don’t approach marketing from a racial standpoint. It just happens that the more affluent and educated people tend to be White and live in suburban communities.”<sup>52</sup>

“Our major retail advertisers have said to us that ‘We want a certain class of audience, a certain demographic profile of reader, whether that person be Black, White, or Brown or Chinese or whatever. We don’t really care what sex or race they are. But we do care about their income,’” Chandler said. He also expressed optimism that more minorities would begin to read the *Times* “as their income goes up and their educational level comes up and they become interested in a paper like the *Times*. Then they become prospects for our advertisers.”



Unlike earlier newcomers to the United States, 21st-century immigrants stay in close touch with their home country through daily news reports, such as Korean-language KBS World live television news with English-language news running at the bottom of the screen. Cultural ties are transferred from generation to generation through language, music, and food, as illustrated by this grandmother and granddaughter shopping at a California grocery store specializing in Mexican food.



By the 21st century, it was clear that Chandler's dream would not come true. Los Angeles and Southern California were growing as one of the nation's most racially and ethnically diverse regions. Yet, *Los Angeles Times* circulation, whether measured by the numbers of readers or by the percentage of Southern Californians who read the paper, was lower than when he made the projection in 1978. Instead of turning their attention to the *Times*, many members of racial and ethnic groups turned to broadcast, print, and digital ethnic media that covered them and things they cared about. The highest-rated local newscast in Los Angeles and many other major cities was the Spanish-language Univision news. The *Times* had to compete for readers against strong regional newspapers, more radio and television stations, and print, broadcast, and digital media targeting racial and ethnic audiences. The *Times* couldn't afford to sit back and wait for people of color to fulfill Chandler's hope they would "become interested in a paper like the *Times*."

The lesson that the *Los Angeles Times* and other media learned is that a growing racially and ethnically diverse population is not a problem for the media, but an opportunity. Instead of trying to bypass non-White readers and coverage, news organizations that made the greatest gains are those that have seen the growing opportunities presented by racial diversity not as a problem to be solved. Some general audience media, such as English-language daily newspapers and television news programs, had a hard time learning that, if they wanted people of color to pay more attention to them, they had to pay more attention to people of color.



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