Article

Electronic News
000(00) 1-21

DOI: 10.1177/1931243110367755
http://en.sagepub.com

Beyond "Anchorman": A Comparative Analysis of Race, Gender, and Correspondent Roles in Network News

Kathleen M. Ryan[1] and Joy Chavez Mapaye[2]

Abstract

In 2006, network news seemed to enter a new period of racial and gender diversity: Katie Couric was appointed anchor of the CBS Evening News, NBC's Ann Curry filled multiple roles, and Martin Bashir anchored ABC's Nightline. However, although researchers have analyzed representation on specific news programming (such as the evening newscast), talent demographics in the overall news picture have gone unexamined. This study involves a content analysis of all network news programs from a sample week in 2007, comparing results with similar data gathered in 1987. It finds in the 20-year period, networks have become more diverse, with women and minorities (men and women) anchoring and reporting on a regular basis across the news spectrum. At the same time, networks demonstrate a shift in news covered, with a move to what some have dubbed increased commercialization, or "soft" news. The study argues these findings indicate that our definition of news might be changing from the traditional hard/soft divide.

[1] Miami University, Ohio, USA
[2] University of Alaska, Anchorage, USA

Corresponding Author:
Kathleen M. Ryan, Department of Communication, 108 Williams Hall, Miami University, Oxford, OH 45056, USA
Email: ryankm3@muohio.edu

Keywords
television, news, gender, race, commercialization

When Katie Couric assumed the anchor chair at The CBS Evening News in late 2006, it signaled that broadcast news was possibly entering a new, female-dominated era. Couric was the first woman named as permanent, solo anchor of a network's evening weekday newscast. Quietly, and during roughly the same time frame, ABC named a woman to join Diane Sawyer as cohost of Good Morning America (former GMA news reader Robin Roberts); the two became the first permanent female cohost team of a network morning news show. In another first, Cynthia McFadden was named cohost of ABC's prestigious newsmagazine Nightline. Ann Curry had taken a lead role in the third hour of NBC's powerhouse, the Today show, expanding her news anchor role. On CBS, three women (cohosts Julie Chen, and Hannah Storm, along with news reader Rene Syler) joined cohost Harry Smith on the The Early Show. It seemed that on-air positions of both White and minority women in network news had moved far from Barbara Walters' job as the token "Today girl" in 1964 (Bliss, 1991, p. 270).

These myriad changes on the network news provided an opportunity to determine exactly how and where White female and minority[1] anchors and correspondents were being used. In a previous study conducted in 1987, women and minorities were largely relegated to what was dubbed by one anchor as the "fringe time:" early mornings, overnights, and weekends when viewership was lower (Ryan, 1987). Anecdotal evidence from 2006 indicated this had changed and newscasts better represented the overall makeup of the U.S. population.

However, although researchers have analyzed representation on specific news programming (such as the evening newscast), the demographics of talent across the news spectrum, and the stories they're covering, have gone unexamined. Which stories are reported by women and minority correspondents? And in which newscasts are these stories placed? This study compares data collected in 1987 and 2007 to analyze whether the roles of women and/or minorities in network news across all shows and time slots changed between these years. This comparative content analysis of network news programming looks at issues of story type, story placement, reporter gender, and reporter race, and demonstrates an increase in talent diversity and a shift in story content during the 20-year period. Unlike other studies, the database includes all news programming: early morning news shows, morning news programs, news magazine shows, and overnight news. We believe this is the first time that a comprehensive comparison of all news programming aired on the three broadcast networks has been undertaken.[2]

Literature Review

American television viewing patterns have slowly shifted, from the traditional over-the-air networks to the multichannel universe we now know. A 2005 J. D. Power &

Associates survey found cable penetration at 60% with 27% of households subscribing to satellite TV. However, even with increased competition and eroding audiences, network newscasts still generate more viewers than their cable competitors. For example, the lowest rated network evening news program, The CBS Evening News, averaged 6.1 million news viewers in 2008 (Gough, 2008), six times that of the daily average for Fox Newschannel, the highest rated cable news outlet (Greppi, 2009). One explanation for this disparity is that the three traditional broadcast networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, offer several hours of daily news programming over the public airwaves, free of charge, to the entire nation (PBS news coverage is much more limited, in terms of both hours aired and audience). In addition to drawing more viewers, the traditional networks remain the gold standard of broadcast journalism. Producers and reporters can be given days or weeks to develop even routine stories for network news programs. Newsmagazine programs, such as Nightline and 60 Minutes, offer in-depth investigative reporting. The ratings for 60 Minutes, for instance, surpasses both its broadcast and cable competitors, averaging 11.9 million viewers in 2008, making it in some weeks one of the most watched programs on television (Project for Excellence in Journalism [PEJ], 2009). It's also one of the most trusted programs, with 69% of the audience rating the program high for believability (PEJ, 2009).

Women, Minorities, and News

Couric, of course, isn't the first woman to anchor a network television newscast. That honor goes to Marlene Sanders, who filled in for one night on ABC in 1964, shortly after she was hired (Biagi, 1987, p. 124). By the early 1970s, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) required broadcast licensees to file annual employment reports, including a "distribution of such employees within various grades and levels of employment and the distribution of such employees in various levels according to minority groups and women" (Federal Communications Commission [FCC], 1971). This resulted in a spate of hiring of people who weren't White men. The most prominent, perhaps, was ABC's $5 million acquisition of Barbara Walters, a former Today cohost, as the first permanent female coanchor on a weekday nightly newscast in 1976. Critics said she was turning the news into show business, ignoring the $500,000 annual contracts male news anchors were already making (Powers, 1977). The bad publicity, coupled with palpable on-air resentment from coanchor Harry Reasoner, doomed Walters' anchoring stint. She left a few months after she began. Since then, only three other women have been named to the anchor position for the weeknight newscast: Connie Chung spent 18 awkward months alongside Dan Rather from 1993 to 1995 at CBS (Moore, 1995); Elizabeth Vargas and Bob Woodruff briefly shared anchoring duties at ABC in 2006; and Couric at CBS.[3]

Citing these high-profile examples does little to quantitatively illuminate the changes in on-air talent and overall news content since the FCC's 1971 ruling. At the local level, in post-1971 era, news has consistently been dominated by White men (Papper, 2007; Stone, 1988). The Radio Television News Directors Association

(RTNDA), now the Radio Television Digital News Association (RTDNA), reported in 1999 that the percentage of minorities working in on- and off-air jobs in local newsrooms was about 16% of the workforce (Prato, 1999). Women, by contrast, were 39% of the local television news workforce (Papper, 2000). By 2007, those percentages had increased, with 21.5% of local television news jobs held by minority workers and nearly 50% held by women (Papper, 2007).

A similar trend is evident at the network evening newscasts, where since the early 1980s (the first studies found on the topic) White men have covered a majority of news stories (Foote, 1992; Singleton & Cook, 1982, p. 490; Ziegler & White, 1990). In fact, women's on-air presence remained stagnant throughout the 1980s, with about one fifth of all stories on the network evening newscasts reported by women (Foote, 1992). But by 2006, the Center for Media and Public Affairs found diversity, based on network correspondents' gender and race, was at its highest since this study began in 1990 (Center for Media and Public Affairs [CMPA], 2007, p. 3). The study analyzed more than 11,000 network evening news stories. Women reported 28% of all evening news stories and minorities 15% of all evening news stories. This study also found that The CBS Evening News led the networks with stories covered by women (34%) and minorities (15%).

These findings are complicated by results from Tyndall, who has been monitoring network news since 1988 and found during the first 6 weeks of the CBS Evening News with Katie Couric reports filed by women correspondents declined by 40% compared to when Bob Schieffer was in the same position (Staff, 2006). However, the level of anchor exposure increased in terms of voice-over time (+20%) and face time (+15%) with Couric as anchor and managing editor. Simply put, Couric was benefiting, getting more storytelling time than her predecessor, at the expense of other women correspondents on the CBS Evening News.

Prime Time Versus Fringe Time

The authors of past studies have, for the most part, selected data based on a traditional news dynamic, which positioned the evening newscast as the most important news program of the night. In this traditional dynamic, men staffed the serious (i.e., evening) news programs, because "survey research showed that viewers sought authority and strong journalism from their network anchors; and fair or not, those qualities were usually associated with male correspondents" (Auletta 1992, p. 273). Women were relegated to what was dubbed "fringe time:" mornings and weekend evenings (Flander, 1985). By 1987, each of the morning news and early morning news programs had female and/or minority anchors or coanchors (Ryan, 1987), including Bryant Gumbel on Today, and weekend news anchors Connie Chung (NBC) and Carole Simpson (ABC).

But times have changed. Modern network news executives have dispensed with tradition and are instead seeking popular nightly news talent. This talent often hails from morning news programs. Couric is a veteran of Today; ABC's two most recent

evening anchors (Charles Gibson and his successor Diane Sawyer) both were former cohosts of GMA (Bauder, 2009). By contrast, during the last anchor change at all three networks in the 1980s, only Tom Brokaw came from morning news (Auletta, 1992). The hunt for popular talent is a move to counteract the well-documented trend of declining viewership, especially in regard to younger audiences. One recent study indicates that evening news viewership during the past 25 years has decreased by at least 1 million per year (PEJ, 2008). Morning shows, by contrast, draw a younger, and more advertiser-friendly demographic; the logic is that a talent's morning news popularity will, when transplanted, translate into increased evening news ratings.

Couric's move to CBS News comes at a time when newscasts are increasingly expected to become commercially viable entities. Commercialization is defined by media ownership patterns and the rise of media conglomerates (e.g., Disney owns ABC and General Electric owns NBC Universal), increased competition, and other economic pressures (Lake, 2008; Wood, Nelson, Cho & Yaros, 2004). Commercialization means more emphasis on market position and profitability as opposed to operating in the public interest (Lake, 2008; Mosco, 1996). One effect of commercialization on media products, such as television news, occurs when programming decisions are influenced by network quests to maintain and increase audience size and advertising revenue (Mosco, 1996).

By this model, it's the 21st-century morning news programs (with their advertiser friendly demographic) that are news "prime time." These newscasts aren't merely proving grounds for the evening shows; morning shows, because of their larger amount of airtime, are setting the news agenda. The hosts are highly compensated news stars. Of the five top paid network news talent in 2007, only one (Couric) anchored an evening news program (Reuters, 2007). The remainder was seen on the morning newscasts (Matt Lauer, Diane Sawyer, and Meredith Vieira) or nighttime news specials (Barbara Walters).

The evening newscast is declining in viewers, and it's also declining in prominence. Consumers, accustomed to news on-demand in a 24/7 environment, aren't making the evening newscasts "appointment television" (Farhi, 2001). As a result, the very notion of "fringe time" is transforming. The salaries for morning talent indicate that the networks no longer consider the morning news programs an off time for testing and developing nontraditional talent (i.e., not White and male). Instead, it could be argued the morning news is a new "prime time," as relevant and important as the traditional half-hour weekday evening news program.

"Hard" News Versus "Soft" News

Traditionally, the network newscasts focused on "hard" news, defined by the Project for Excellence in Journalism (PEJ) as a story about the government, military, domestic, and foreign affairs (Trigoboff, 2002). Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson (2003) note "hard" news is identified as a serious, and male, news dimension, implying

objectivity and a lack of emotion. "Soft" news, by contrast, comprises stories told from an emotional human perspective. These stories, including issues such as parenting, health care and entertainment, are identified as a female news dimension (Djerf-Pierre & Lofgren-Nilsson, 2003). Modern network newscasts are packed with these sorts of stories, which critics dub "news lite:" feature and/or magazine-style stories that "entertain rather than inform" (McCartney, 1997).

Feminist scholars point out that as the "softening" of story content has increased so too have women's roles within news (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004; Van Zoonen, 1998). However, they're divided as to why these two developments seem to go hand in hand. One school of thought posits that it's a search for profits (i.e., commercialization) that's making the news landscape more conducive to softer news, thus opening the doors for more women to enter the picture (Chambers et al., 2004; Van Zoonen, 1998). The other argues that women themselves cause this softening of news content (Lavie, 2005; Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig, 2005; Weaver, 1997). In this area, the division of "hard" versus "soft" news is in and of itself a masculine concept: men covered issues while women covered stories (Lavie, 2003). A 1982 study seemed to reinforce this notion. Singleton and Cook found that women were assigned one hard news dimension more than men (U.S. government) but also were more likely to cover "soft" stories about social problems and "women's issues." Men, by contrast were more likely to cover hard news (disasters, business) and only one "soft" dimension (sports). In 2007, this tension was illustrated by the appointment of Couric to helm The CBS Evening News, which The New York Times described as the "'Today'-ification" of the program: transforming it through both her storytelling style (being in the field for "small stories" such as a profile of the woman who created a Web networking site instead of the State of the Union address) as well as the potential ratings she might draw through her "pep and pizazz" and "star power" (Stanley, 2007).

Hypotheses

In 1987, Ryan conducted a content analysis using a composite week of all news programming by all three networks during a 14-day period. That study investigated when women and minority reporters were seen on network newscasts and which stories they were covering (specifically, were they relegated to "fringe time" or not?). The researcher encountered problems finding statistical reliability for findings in certain categories controlling for race and gender, and so as a result in many categories combined all minority reporters (male and female) to compare against nonminority reporters. The current study builds off of this analysis.

Enough time has passed since the original study was conducted to assess if demographic changes have occurred, and no one to date that we could find has assessed demographics in all network news programming. This study fills that gap and evaluates network news from a holistic perspective by examining all network news

programming aired during a 1-week period. The past studies have led to two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Overall representation on network news is changing, with more women and minorities working in prominent roles in television when comparing 2007 and 1987.

Hypothesis 2: Television news content also will show a marked difference between 1987 and 2007, with less coverage of traditional "hard" news and more coverage of features and lighter news stories.

Method

Although previous studies have laid the groundwork for this current analysis, each has specific limitations. Past content analyses failed to look at all dayparts for news programming. Studies about news content and commercialization offer compelling arguments for why news programming seems to be softer, but often lacks empirical data to support the hypothesis. In comprehensive longitudinal studies such as those done by PEJ, the focus is on news content; the demographics of who's reporting the news are ignored. Studies that consider demographics either ignore content (such as Papper's local news surveys) or consider only specific programs. This study's authors seek to fill those gaps.

This study compares data from the 1987 analysis, a composite week created during a 2-week period in June/July, with a census of a week of all network news programming conducted in February 2007. The census week was selected at random and fell during a ratings sweeps period. We justified this switch because past research shows a sample of one complete week of network programming by genre (in this case, news) achieves the same results as a randomly selected sample (Dominick, 1973). Almost 4,800 stories, representing 226 news programs were analyzed (1,853 for 1987; 2,941 for 2007). Each story in each news program was coded for the following factors: network, type of program, gender of reporter, race of reporter, length of story, story content, role of reporter, and story placement in the news program. Anchor introduction and tags were considered independent from reporter packages. This followed the 1987 protocol and allowed us to account for the reality of how television news is produced, that is, anchors traditionally appear solo on camera and toss to a reporter, either in the field, in the studio, or on a prerecorded package. In addition, the names of the reporters were noted.

To help ensure reliability, we developed strict guidelines for the various categories. Each program type was identified: early morning news (airing sometime during 5–7 a.m.), morning news (Today, Good Morning America, and The Early Show), evening news, newsmagazine (prime-time programs and Nightline), overnight (airing between 1 and 5 a.m.), and interview (Sunday morning issue-oriented programs). We also divided morning news and evening news between weekday and weekend. Story content was divided into broad areas, following the hard/soft construct as outlined by PEJ

and Djerf-Pierre and Lofgren-Nilsson. Hard news was divided into four subcategories: international (non-U.S. news), Washington, D.C. (any story concerning the three branches of government, regardless of location), national, and regional. Soft news was divided into two categories: features and women's issues. One additional category was added for commentary. Feature stories included any story being covered because of celebrity involvement, as well as weather, health, sports, and other stories told from an emotional human perspective; women's issues were feature stories targeted strictly toward women. Morning news programs were considered a complete show, running 2–3 hr. Overnight news, which is designed by the network for local affiliates to run as needed, was considered as multiple half-hour newscasts each night for story placement consideration.

Roles were categorized as follows: solo anchor, coanchor, host, cohost, moderator, news anchor, weather anchor, and correspondent. Anchors and coanchors, by definition, appeared only during news shows (overnight, early morning, and evening). Hosts and cohosts presented newsmagazines and morning news, while moderators presented interview programs. Those in news and weather anchor roles were similarly specified as only appearing during a morning news show. Correspondents were defined as all other reporters in a program, both on and off camera, on location, or on the set. Finally, we also allocated substitute categories, as well as a category for multiple talent. We counted a story as "belonging" to an individual depending on the story's presentation. If a reporter did a live introduction and tag to a prerecorded package, or did a live report (on location or on set) with studio produced graphics or other elements, the story was credited to the reporter. Anchors/hosts were credited for introductions to packages, as well as any questions and answers with a reporter after a live report or studio segment.

It was most difficult to develop appropriate guidelines on the issue of race and ethnicity. We were concerned about judging the race and ethnicity of a reporter by name or appearance and are well aware of past studies, which have been criticized for not appropriately recognizing a reporter's ethnic background (Prince, 2005). We also were concerned that many reporters might identify themselves as representing more than one race. As a result, we set up racial and ethnic categories as defined by the U.S. Census Department for the 2000 census, with a few modifications. We settled on 10 broad categories: African American, East Asian, Middle Eastern/Asian subcontinent, Native American/Pacific Islander/Inuit, Hispanic, White, Mixed, and Unknown.

Before conducting the content analysis, we accessed the Web sites for ABC, NBC, and CBS and made a comprehensive list of all identified network reporters. We then looked at reporter biographies and newspaper stories to see whether a reporter indicated a racial or ethnic background or was a member of an advocacy organization for reporters of various ethnicities, such as the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ). Coders were given a sheet with this information. If we couldn't determine a reporter's identity, we instructed the coder to enter the race/ethnicity as "unknown."

The findings for each story were entered into a computer, which compiled the results using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). First, a simple

frequency distribution of male and female reporters was recorded. Then, each story was compared across the various codings of the analysis. Some of the results were basic comparisons (as in the number of male and female reporters within each of the various racial groups). A chi-square goodness-of-fit test was calculated to determine whether the relationship between two variables was significant (such as the number of male and female reporters in each racial group by network or a comparison between 1987 and 2007 results). All results were statistically significant to a level of .05 or less, except as noted. Intercoder reliability was 81%.

Results

Hypothesis 1 posits that more women and minorities will be showcased in "prominent" on-air positions. A simple frequency analysis shows that in 1987, men covered approximately three times as many stories as women (1,349 vs. 504). In 2007, the number of stories reported by men increased slightly (1,403), while the number of stories reported by women more than doubled (1,183). Men reported 73% of stories in 1987; by 2007, the percentages were closer to equal with 40% of stories reported by women versus 48% by men (the remaining 12% were multiple talent).

Numbers were also up for minority reporters, although percentages are far less equal. In 1987, 5% of stories ($n = 98$) were reported by minorities, compared to 88% (1,625) by White reporters. By 2007, even though the number of stories reported by Whites had increased (to 1,959), the percentage of stories reported by Whites declined, while both the percentage and numbers of stories covered by minority or mixed race reporters had increased (to 958 or 32% of the total). Our coding protocol also enabled us to lower the number of "unknowns" from 7% in 1987 ($n = 130$) to 4% of the total in 2007 ($n = 112$); most of those reporters were people who never appeared on camera and worked for local affiliates.

Hypothesis 1 also seeks to qualify the types of jobs held by women and minorities as "prominent." Prominent roles for our discussion would be the lead talent in network's morning and evening newscasts and news magazine shows. The data demonstrate that although there are significantly more female anchors and correspondents in 2007 than in 1987 (for anchor, $\chi^2 = 95.1$, $df = 1$, $p < .000$; for correspondent, $\chi^2 = 130$, $df = 1$, $p < .000$), there's no significant difference among any other categories (see Table 1). The 1987 study didn't break down story content by race/ethnicity, so the numbers for 2007 can be offered only as a baseline for future research. White reporters appear in every show category with significantly more frequency than any minority group; $\chi^2 = 4.325$, $df = 8$, $p < .000$ (see Table 2).

Hypothesis 2 moves from demographic concerns to issues of story coverage, positing that there will be more commercialization in 2007 than in 1987. The results are confirmed. There were significantly more feature stories reported in 2007 when compared to 1987 and significantly fewer international, Washington, and regional stories. Gender made no significant difference in most areas of story coverage. White

Table 1. Role by Gender—1987 versus 2007

	1987			2007		
	Male	Female	Multiple Talent	Male	Female	Multiple Talent
Anchor	80% ($n = 357$)[a]	20% ($n = 92$)[b]	[b]	52% ($n = 469$)[a]	48% ($n = 432$)[a]	2% ($n = 0$)
Coanchor	71% ($n = 95$)	29% ($n = 61$)	[b]	46% ($n = 77$)	33% ($n = 55$)	20% ($n = 34$)
Cohost	54% ($n = 110$)	46% ($n = 130$)	[b]	35% ($n = 197$)	53% ($n = 296$)	12% ($n = 68$)
Correspondent	86% ($n = 540$)[a]	14% ($n = 85$)[a]	[b]	56% ($n = 296$)[a]	44% ($n = 229$)[a]	>0% ($n = 1$)
Moderator	93% ($n = 27$)	7% ($n = 2$)	[b]	100% ($n = 23$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
News Anchor	62% ($n = 220$)	38% ($n = 134$)	[b]	61% ($n = 198$)	39% ($n = 127$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Weather	[b]	[b]	[b]	93% ($n = 117$)[a]	7% ($n = 9$)[a]	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute Anchor (solo)	[b]	[b]	[b]	89% ($n = 17$)	11% ($n = 2$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute Coanchor	[b]	[b]	[b]	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 18$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute News Anchor	[b]	[b]	[b]	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 15$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute Weather	[b]	[b]	[b]	80% ($n = 8$)	20% ($n = 2$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Multiple Talent	[b]	[b]	[b]	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 253$)
Total	73% ($n = 1,349$)	27% ($n = 504$)	[b]	48% ($n = 1,402$)	40% ($n = 1,185$)	12% ($n = 356$)

Note: No statistics were computed for the following categories because there was no point of comparison coded in 1987: Weather Anchor, Substitute Anchor, Substitute Coanchor, Substitute News Anchor, Substitute Weather, and Multiple Talent.

Multiple Talent in the top row refers to more than one individual in the segment (who could hold the same job); in the left column it refers to more than one role in the segment.

Percentages don't add up to 100% due to rounding.

[a] Statistically significant difference between 1987 and 2007.

[b] These categories were not coded in the 1987 study.

Table 2. Role by Race/Ethnicity—2007

	Asian (East)	Asian (West)	African American	Hispanic	Native American	White	Mixed Race	Unknown	Multiple Talent
Anchor (solo)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	2% ($n = 17$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	98% ($n = 880$)	>1% ($n = 4$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Coanchor	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	31% ($n = 51$)	0% ($n = 0$)	46% ($n = 77$)	2% ($n = 4$)	0% ($n = 0$)	20% ($n = 34$)
Cohost	7% ($n = 40$)	1% ($n = 8$)	10% ($n = 58$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	68% ($n = 384$)	1% ($n = 3$)	0% ($n = 0$)	12% ($n = 68$)
Correspondent	3% ($n = 14$)	3% ($n = 14$)	6% ($n = 33$)	7% ($n = 39$)	1% ($n = 5$)	74% ($n = 398$)	1% ($n = 4$)	5% ($n = 27$)	>1% ($n = 2$)
Moderator	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 23$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
News anchor	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	31% ($n = 101$)	4% ($n = 12$)	0% ($n = 0$)	27% ($n = 87$)	38% ($n = 125$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Weather	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	22% ($n = 46$)	3% ($n = 7$)	0% ($n = 0$)	32% ($n = 65$)	0% ($n = 0$)	42% ($n = 87$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute anchor (solo)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	83% ($n = 16$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	16% ($n = 3$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute coanchor	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 18$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute news anchor	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 15$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Substitute weather	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 8$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Multiple talent	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 253$)
Total	2% ($n = 54$)	1% ($n = 22$)	9% ($n = 271$)	7% ($n = 109$)	>1% ($n = 5$)	63% ($n = 1,958$)	4% ($n = 140$)	4% ($n = 114$)	11% ($n = 357$)

Note: Multiple Talent in the top row refers to more than one individual in the segment (who could hold the same job); in the left column it refers to more than one role in the segment.
Percentages don't add up to 100% due to rounding.

reporters covered significantly more stories in all categories than minority reporters did. Chi-square indicates the results were statistically significant at the $p < .000$ level.

In 1987, content was evenly distributed, with approximately 1/5 to 1/4 of stories coming from each category (with the notable exception of commentary and women's issues, each 1% or less of the total). By 2007, content had become much more skewed, with 54% of the stories covered being soft news (features/women's issues; 1,009 stories); the hard news categories combined (national, international, Washington, regional, and commentary) combined totaled just 46% of the content, or 869 stories. This is a significant difference ($\chi^2 = 282$, $df = 4$, $p < .000$). Story count in every individual category dropped between 1987 and 2007, except for national news (which increased from 201 to 249 stories but remained 13% of the total story count) and features (which went from 26% to 52% of overall content, 403 stories to 982). In 2007, there was no difference as to who covered the story; men and women appeared in each category with equal frequency except for commentary. Chi-square indicates that results were statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level (see Table 3). As with reporter roles, story coverage by minority reporters can be offered only as a baseline for future research. Whites covered more stories than any minority group in every category. However, African American and Hispanic reporters covered more features than other minority groups (see Table 4).

But it's less clear whether the increase in women reporting the news across dayparts is leading to more commercialization of news content. In 1987, the majority (63%) of stories reported by women appeared on the weekday morning news programs. By 2007, that percentage had declined, to 38%, with women appearing in greater numbers on a most other types of shows. Women's presence on the evening news increased, from 3% of stories reported by women in 1987, to 9% in 2007. Women's appearances increased significantly (chi-square indicates the results were statistically significant at the $p < .009$ level) between 1987 and 2007 on all types of programs except for weekend evening news and issue shows. In morning news and early morning news, women and men's 2007 story count was nearly equal; on overnight news, women reported nearly twice as many stories as men (see Table 5).

Discussion

The results for Hypothesis 1 offer statistical proof for the validity of the anecdotal evidence mentioned at the beginning of this study. The appearance of Katie Couric on the CBS Evening News isn't a fluke: more women are reporting overall on air in a greater variety of jobs and time slots than they did two decades ago. Although the data set makes it impossible to determine if there's a similar overall improvement for minority correspondents, on-air numbers are nonetheless higher in 2007 than in 1987. White correspondents still dominate network news staffs, but in certain prominent roles minority groups appear in significantly higher numbers: cohost (for East Asian and African American reporters), anchor (African American), news anchor (African American and mixed race), and weather (African American). This again offers

Table 3. Content by Gender and Overall—1987 Versus 2007

	1987			2007			
	Male	Female	Overall	Male	Female	Multiple Talent	Overall
International	74% ($n = 306$)[a]	24% ($n = 97$)[a]	26% ($n = 403$)[b]	53% ($n = 132$)[a]	47% ($n = 121$)[a]	>1% ($n = 1$)	14% ($n = 254$)[b]
Washington	71% ($n = 213$)[a]	29% ($n = 87$)[a]	20% ($n = 300$)[b]	52% ($n = 121$)[a]	48% ($n = 116$)[a]	>1% ($n = 1$)	13% ($n = 238$)[b]
National	81% ($n = 162$)[a]	19% ($n = 39$)[a]	13% ($n = 201$)[b]	54% ($n = 113$)[a]	54% ($n = 115$)[a]	>1% ($n = 1$)	13% ($n = 249$)[b]
Regional	74% ($n = 132$)[a]	36% ($n = 75$)[a]	14% ($n = 207$)[b]	53% ($n = 63$)[a]	47% ($n = 57$)[a]	0% ($n = 0$)	6% ($n = 120$)[b]
Features	82% ($n = 331$)[a]	18% ($n = 72$)[a]	26% ($n = 403$)[b]	51% ($n = 492$)[a]	43%($n = 425$)[a]	6% ($n = 65$)	52% ($n = 982$)[b]
Women's issues	74% ($n = 6$)	24% ($n = 2$)	1% ($n = 8$)	48% ($n = 13$)	48% ($n = 13$)	4% ($n = 1$)	1% ($n = 27$)
Commentary	100% ($n = 4$)	0% ($n = 0$)	>1% ($n = 4$)	100% ($n = 7$)	0% ($n = 1$)	0% ($n = 0$)	>1% ($n = 8$)
TOTAL	76% ($n = 1,154$)	24% ($n = 372$)		51% ($n = 961$)	46% ($n = 866$)	4% ($n = 69$)	

Note: Overall refers to the total number of stories in each categorization, as a percentage of the total.
[a] Statistically significant difference between 1987 and 2007 in stories as covered by men and women.
[b] Statistically significant difference between 1987 and 2007 for overall content.

Table 4. Content by Race/Ethnicity—2007

	Asian (East)	Asian (West)	African American	Hispanic	Native American	White	Mixed Race	Unknown	Multiple Talent
International	>1% ($n = 1$)	0% ($n = 0$)	8% ($n = 20$)	6% ($n = 15$)	0% ($n = 0$)	70% ($n = 182$)	12% ($n = 28$)	3% ($n = 7$)	>1% ($n = 1$)
Washington	1% ($n = 2$)	0% ($n = 0$)	6% ($n = 16$)	5% ($n = 10$)	0% ($n = 0$)	79% ($n = 190$)	7% ($n = 17$)	>1% ($n = 1$)	1% ($n = 2$)
National	1% ($n = 2$)	0% ($n = 0$)	6% ($n = 15$)	6% ($n = 14$)	0% ($n = 0$)	79% ($n = 197$)	6% ($n = 17$)	1% ($n = 3$)	>1% ($n = 1$)
Regional	3% ($n = 3$)	>1% ($n = 1$)	10% ($n = 12$)	8% ($n = 10$)	0% ($n = 0$)	69% ($n = 83$)	8% ($n = 10$)	>1% ($n = 1$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Features	1% ($n = 13$)	>1% ($n = 06$	11% ($n = 113$)	6% ($n = 50$)	>1% ($n = 5$)	68% ($n = 674$)	4% ($n = 37$)	2% ($n = 19$)	7% ($n = 65$)
Women's issues	3% ($n = 1$)	0% ($n = 0$)	6% ($n = 2$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% (n=0)	87% ($n = 27$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	3% ($n = 1$)
Commentary	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	100% ($n = 8$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Total	1% ($n = 22$)	>1% ($n = 7$)	9% ($n = 178$)	5% ($n = 99$)	>1% ($n = 5$)	72% ($n = 1,361$)	6% ($n = 109$)	2% ($n = 31$)	4% ($n = 70$)

Percentages don't add up to 100% due to rounding.

Table 5. Program by Gender and Overall—1987 Versus 2007

	1987			2007			
	Male	Female	Overall	Male	Female	Multiple Talent	Overall
Weeknight Evening News	93% ($n = 213$)[a]	7% ($n = 15$)[b]	12% ($n = 228$)	70% ($n = 259$)[a]	28% ($n = 102$)[a]	2% ($n = 7$)	13% ($n = 368$)
Weekday Morning News	62% ($n = 514$)[a]	38% ($n = 319$)[a]	45% ($n = 833$)	40% ($n = 464$)[a]	39% ($n = 450$)[a]	21% ($n = 235$)	39% ($n = 1,149$)
News-magazine	82% ($n = 47$)[a]	18% ($n = 10$)[a]	3% ($n = 57$)	62% ($n = 60$)[a]	36% ($n = 36$)[a]	4% ($n = 4$)	3% ($n = 100$)
Early Morning News	74% ($n = 280$)[a]	26% (n=96)[a]	20% ($n = 376$)	49%($n = 252$)[a]	49% ($n = 248$)[a]	2% ($n = 8$)	17% ($n = 508$)
Weekend Evening News	80% ($n = 85$)[b]	20% ($n = 21$)[b]	6% ($n = 106$)[b]	86% ($n = 83$)	13% ($n = 13$)	1% ($n = 1$)	3% ($n = 97$)
Weekend Morning News				57%($n = 123$)	27% ($n = 57$)	16% ($n = 35$)	7% ($n = 215$)
Overnight	96% ($n = 141$)[a]	4% ($n = 6$)[a]	8% ($n = 147$)	29% ($n = 140$)[a]	57% ($n = 277$)[a]	13% ($n = 65$)	16% ($n = 482$)
Issue	67% ($n = 2$)[a]	33% ($n = 1$)[a]	>1% ($n = 3$)	100% ($n = 22$)[a,b]	0% ($n = 0$)[a,b]	0% ($n = 0$)[b]	1% ($n = 22$)[b]
Newsbrief	65% ($n = 67$)	35% ($n = 36$)	6% ($n = 103$)				
Total	73% ($n = 1,349$)	27% ($n = 504$)		48% ($n = 1,403$)	40% ($n = 1,183$)	12% ($n = 355$)	

Note: Comparisons in table are significant at $p < .009$.

[a] Statistically significant difference between 1987 and 2007.

[b] Not calculated because program type wasn't available during study period.

Overall refers to the total number of stories in each categorization, as a percentage of the total.

Table 6. Distribution by Content, Weeknight Evening News—2007

	International	Washington	National	Regional	Features	Women's issues	Commentary
ABC	19% ($n = 16$)	14% ($n = 12$)	30% ($n = 30$)	1% ($n = 1$)	29% ($n = 24$)	7% ($n = 6$)	0% ($n = 0$)
CBS	23% ($n = 15$)	12% ($n = 8$)	21% ($n = 14$)	5% ($n = 3$)	39% ($n = 26$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
NBC	18% ($n = 10$)	11% ($n = 6$)	23% ($n = 13$)	11% ($n = 6$)	38% ($n = 21$)	0% ($n = 0$)	0% ($n = 0$)
Total	20% ($n = 41$)	13% ($n = 26$)	25% ($n = 52$)	5% ($n = 10$)	34% ($n = 71$)	3% ($n = 6$)	0% ($n = 0$)

statistical confirmation of anecdotal evidence. Robin Roberts, an African American woman, is cohost of GMA; Julie Chen, an East Asian American woman, holds a similar role on CBS's The Early Show. Anne Curry (mixed race) and Al Roker (African American) both have prominent roles on NBC's Today. Russ Mitchell (African American) is an anchor at CBS.

It could be interpreted that minority correspondents in 2007 are filling similar roles to women in 1987: filling the "fringe time." However, that argument would ignore the changing news landscape. Yes, Roberts, Chen, Roker, Curry, and Mitchell all hold roles on morning news programming. But for the networks, those programs are considered ratings successes, and an important part of their overall news platform (since the study was conducted, Today has expanded from 3 to 4 hr, for example, with Egyptian American Hoda Kotb as cohost). To dismiss these programs as somehow "lesser" than the evening news ignores the clout these programs (and their talent) hold as part of the new news prime time. In this reconfigured news landscape, appearing on the morning news offers a prominence not found in other news programming.

When considering content (Hypothesis 2), the majority of hard news stories were found on the overnight newscast, while the majority of feature stories were on the morning news programs. The overnight newscasts, designed as half-hour programs, offer the most editorial "real estate," so to speak (a total of 12.5 hr per week on two networks; 16% of total news programming), so there's more opportunity for traditional hard news placement than in other programs (such as the morning news, which is conceived of as a 2-hr show, three on NBC, with the first half hour as the news "lede"). And indeed, the morning news programs, with their larger "feature" slot (27.5 hr per week) aren't only the shows with the highest frequency of female reporter appearances but also have significantly more features than any other show. Chi-square indicates the results were statistically significant at the $p < .000$ level.

However, although evening newscasts on all three networks have significantly more features than other story types, they are virtually indistinguishable from one another when it comes to content (see Table 6). In other words, although the show anchored by Katie Couric does cover a greater number of features than its competitors, there's no statistical difference between the three networks in evening news programming (chi-square indicates the results were statistically insignificant; $p = .303$). The difference has nothing to do with the presence of a female anchor (and managing editor); it could just as easily have happened by chance.

So at best, the results are mixed. Women appeared in a greater variety of dayparts in 2007 than in 1987, and are more likely to appear on the evening news. There are also significantly more feature stories on morning news in 2007 than other story types and a significant difference in coverage between the morning and evening news programs. However, it can't be conclusively proved that this has anything to do with the anchor's gender, because there's no statistically significant difference between the evening newscasts, which feature both men and women as solo anchors. This indicates the gender of the anchor appears to have no impact on the overall softening of news content.

Instead, increasing feature content might be the result of something other than the gender or race/ethnicity of the people reporting the news. We would argue that it's a mere coincidence that the shows with the highest level of female correspondents also have the highest level of feature stories (morning news, early morning news, and overnight news); it might be more a function of the nature of the programs and the expectations of the audience in those time periods. The CBS Evening News is the one show in the study period for which a woman replaced a man as not only anchor but also as managing editor, and it covers stories in a nearly identical pattern to that of the male-anchored evening newscasts on ABC and NBC. This evidence underscores the argument that reporter/anchor gender and news content are unrelated.

When coding stories for the content analysis, we were confronted by the limitations of the hard news/soft news dynamic. Many stories were coded as "soft" news, either because of the way they were told (human interest profiles) or the content of the stories (health, consumer reports, the environment, and celebrity). However, the stories covered issues that were of interest to a large segment of the population, even though the importance of those stories might be debatable. A profile on an Iraq War veteran recovering from head injuries received in combat is a vastly different story than ongoing reporting about the trial involving the disposition of Anna Nicole Smith's body (both covered during the coding period). In this analysis, both were coded as features.

The coding challenge is evidence of a changing, and conflicted, news dynamic. Network executives argue that the traditional divisions of "hard" and "soft" news are actually old-fashioned. Instead, news coverage is changing because our definition of news is transforming (Becker, 2007; Trigoboff, 2002). This transformation might be occurring because news has expanded well beyond the traditional evening news block, into hours such as prime time, overnight, weekends, or daytime (the former provence of soap operas, talk shows, and game shows). ABC's overnight news program World News Now, for instance, dissolves into a sort of sleep-deprived loopiness at certain times during the night; in their celebrity gossip feature called "The Skinny," the floor director yells "It's skinny time!" to start the segment while music plays and the anchors dance in their chairs. But the same newscast also features regular live reports about politics and the Iraq War; it's important to note that the overnight newscasts had more traditional hard news than programs during any other time period. Meanwhile, even in traditional news slots, human interest features, such as the aforementioned

profile of the Iraq War veteran, provided insight into hard news issues. The veteran's inability to get consistent physical therapy, as highlighted in the profile, offered evidence that the military's postwar medical challenges extended beyond the Walter Reed Medical Center (which was in the news at the time).

Even researcher Andrew Tyndall acknowledges there might be a need for a new "intermediate group" between traditionally defined hard news and soft news (Trigoboff, 2002). The results of this study bolster that argument. It demands an acknowledgment of the news value found in stories that aren't about the government, military and foreign/national affairs, or in those that are told from a human, rather than "official," perspective. Textual analysis, a detailed description and deconstruction of media "texts" (in this case news stories), when used with content analysis, can help to flesh out this difference, and complicate the notion that "real" news is being overtaken by "soft" content. It can help to demonstrate how a contemporary notion of what's news has shifted beyond the traditional hard/soft paradigm.

Meanwhile, a longitudinal study of all network news programming might be the best way to more fully understand the current demographics of network news talent. This study offers a beginning, but because there's no access to the original coding sheets from the 1987 analysis, a complete comparison can't be made, especially on changes in racial demographics in network correspondents. The longitudinal analysis should encompass both sweeps and nonsweeps weeks to account for uses of substitute talent in various roles (for instance, Anne Curry is the regular substitute anchor for Brian Williams on the NBC Nightly News, but she didn't show up in that role during our sample week). Adding a sample of a week of cable network programming, and/or incorporating a sample week of network, Internet coverage can also help to better assess the changing news landscape.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that there's increased diversity in on-air positions in network news programming. It demonstrates a decline of a "fringe time" dumping ground for minority and female talent. These changes in who's delivering news to viewers to better reflect the demographics of the audience is positive. However, this study also demonstrates that the networks are running more feature stories in their news agendas than in the past. The mixed results of this study don't demonstrate that gender and race contribute to increased commercialization in network news. In the one show in which a woman replaced a male talent (The CBS Evening News), differences in story content were statistically insignificant.

To fully understand the relationship between demographic and content changes in network news, other factors must be considered. These factors include accounting for advances in technology, changing audience needs, influence/pressure on network news divisions by their parent companies, and understanding the relationship between the personal and professional ethics of network news professionals. This study serves as an indicator that progress has been made in terms of equality in network news. It

offers a template for future research into the nature of gender/racial representation and story content in a way that will allow researchers to consider the full complexity of news programming at the networks, rather than focusing only on a selected hierarchy of newscasts. It follows the lead of the news networks, expanding news research into the new prime time.

Notes

1. A note about usage: "minority" in this article will refer to both men and women of minority groups as identified by the U.S. census. Numbers were so low in the 1987 study that minority men and women were combined into one data set; we don't have access to the original data for comparison by race/gender.
2. The Project for Excellence in Journalism's The State of the News Media 2008 expanded its focus from the nightly newscast to include the first half hour of the morning news programs.
3. Since this study was undertaken, Diane Sawyer was named anchor of ABC's World News; she takes over in January 2010 after Charles Gibson's retirement (Bauder, 2009).

Acknowledgment

The authors would like to thank Hillary Lake for her assistance in research and writing an earlier version of this essay.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no conflicts of interest with respect to the authorship and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research and/or authorship of this article.

References

Auletta, K. (1992). *Three blind mice: How the TV networks lost their way.* New York: Vintage Books.

Bauder, D. (2009, September 2). Gibson retiring, Sawyer will be anchor. Associated Press Online. Retrieved November 21, 2009 from http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.lib.muohio.edu/us/lnacademic/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T7948298802&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo=51&resultsUrlKey=29_T7948298806&cisb=22_T7948298805&treeMax= true&treeWidth=0&csi=147876&docNo=58

Becker, A. (2007, May 12). New commanders in the news wars. *Broadcasting & Cable*, 3.

Biagi, S. (1987). *Newstalk II.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Bliss, E. (1991). *Now the news: The story of broadcast journalism.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Center for Media and Public Affairs (2007, Winter). *Media Monitor,* XXI-1.

Chambers, D., Steiner, L., & Fleming, C. (2004). *Women and journalism.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Djerf-Pierre, M., & Lofgren-Nilsson, M. (2003). Gender-typing in the newsroom: The feminization of Swedish television news production, 1958–2000. In M. De Bruin & K. Ross (Eds.), *Gender and newsroom cultures: Identities at work* (pp. 81-106). Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Dominick, J. R. (1973). Crime and law enforcement on prime-time television. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *37*, 241-250.

Farhi, P. (2001). Nightly news blues. *American Journalism Review*, *23*, 33-37.

Federal Communications Commission. (1970). *Federal Communication Commission reports*. Volume 27, Part 1, Title 47.

Federal Communications Commission. (1971). *Federal Communication Commission reports*. Volume 28, Section 1.187, Title 47.

Flander, J. S. (1985, March). Women in network news. *Washington Journalism Review*.

Foote, J. S. (1992). Women correspondents' visibility on the network evening news. *Mass Communication Review*, .

Gough, P. J. (2008, December 29). NBC keep news ratings leads. *The Hollywood Reporter*. Retrieved November 20, 2009, from http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy.lib.muohio.edu/us/lnacademic/results/docview/docview.do?docLinkInd=true&risb=21_T7944050255&format=GNBFI&sort=BOOLEAN&startDocNo= 101&resultsUrlKey=29_T7944050258&cisb=22_T7944050257&treeMax=true&treeWidth= 0&csi=12015&docNo=101

Greppi, M. (2009, January 5). Election keeps cable soaring. *Television Week*, *28*, 9.

J. D. Power & Associates. (2005). *2005 Residential cable/satellite TV satisfaction study*. Westlake Village, CA: Author.

Lake, H. (2008). *Negotiating professionalism and commercialism in network news: A case study of Ann Curry at work*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, Eugene.

Lavie, A. (2003). *Reclassifying "soft" and "hard" news—culture specific findings or a reflection of gender?* Paper presented to the International Communication Association conference, San Diego, CA.

Lavie, A. (2005). *A feminine footprint: Reclassifying conflicting evidence in news media products*. Paper presented to the International Communication Association conference, New York.

Lavie, A., & Lehman-Wilzing, S. (2005). The method is the message: Explaining inconsistent findings in gender and news production research. *Journalism*, *6*, 66-89.

McCartney, J. (1997, June). News lite. *American Journalism Review*, 18.

Moore, F. (1995, May 24). What are the lessons in the Dan and Connie split-up? New York, NY: Associated Press.

Mosco, V. (1996). *The political economy of communication.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Papper, B. (2000, March). Minority hiring may be facing retrenchment. *USA Today Magazine*, *128*, 66-67.

Papper, B. (2007, July/August). Women and minorities in the Newsroom. RTNDA Communicator, 20–25. Retrieved October 10, 2007, from http://www.rtnda.org/media/pdfs/communicator/2007/julaug/20–25_Survey_Communicator.pdf

Powers, R. (1977). *The newscasters.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Prato, L. (1999). Bumping up against the glass ceiling. *American Journalism Review*. Retrieved November 21, 2009, from http://www.ajr.org/Article.asp?id=3156

Prince, R. (2005, March 2). On evening news a 14% ceiling. Richard Prince's journal-isms, an on-line column. Retrieved October 16, 2007, from http://www.maynardije.org/columns/dickprince/050302_prince

Project for Excellence in Journalism. (2008). The state of the news media 2008. Retrieved March 17, 2008, from http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/2008/

Project for Excellence in Journalism. (2009). The state of the news media 2009. Retrieved March 26, 2010, from http://www.stateofthemedia.org/2009/index.htm.

Reuters News Service (2007). Oprah tops list of highest paid TV Stars. Retrieved June 16, 2009, from http://www.reuters.com/article/entertainmentNews/idUSN2422348120070725

Ryan, K. M. (1987). *Newsqueens. Women in Network News*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA.

Singleton, L. A., & Cook, S. L. (1982). Television network news reporting by female correspondents: An update. *Journal of Broadcasting*, *26*, 487-491.

Staff. (2006, October 23). Women scarcer on Evening News. *Broadcasting & Cable*. Retrieved October 23, 2006, from http://www.broadcastingcable.com/CA6383729.html

Stanley, A. (2007, Februrary 14). Still in third place, but working hard to move up. *The New York Times*, p. E-1.

Stone, V. A. (1988). Trends in the status of minorities and women in broadcast news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *62*, 288-293.

Trigoboff, D. (2002, May 27). It depends on what "hard" is; PEJ study says TV news lost its 9/11 edge; news execs challenge the definitions. *Broadcasting & Cable*, p. 18.

Van Zoonen, L. (1998). One of the girls? The changing gender of journalism. In C. Carter, G. Branston & S. Allan (Eds.), *News, gender & power* (pp. 33-46). London, UK: Routledge.

Weaver, D. H. (1997). Women as Journalists. In P. Norris (Ed.), *Women media and politics* (pp. 21-55). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Wood, M. L. M., Nelson, M., Cho, J., & Yaros, R. A. (2004, Winter). Tonight's top story: Commercial content in television news. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *81*, 807-822.

Ziegler, D., & White, A. (1990). Women and minorities on network television news: An examination of correspondents and newsmakers. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *34*, 215-223.

Bios

Kathleen M. Ryan, PhD, is an Associate Professor in Journalism and Mass Communication at Miami University in Oxford, OH. Dr. Ryan is also a documentary producer who has spent 20 years working in television news (network and local).

Joy Chavez Mapaye is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Journalism and Public Communications at the University of Alaska, Anchorage. She is also a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Oregon (degree expected September 2010), and has spent more than 10 years in television news.