

Reinventing Minority Media for the 21st Century

A Report of the Aspen Institute Forum
on Diversity and the Media

América Rodríguez, Rapporteur

with a paper on African-American
web entrepreneurs and
Internet advertising

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THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

Communications and Society Program

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Executive Director

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Foreword

Historically, when ethnic, linguistic, religious, or racial groups needed to communicate with community members, to offer news of the homeland, and/or to open a window on the majority world, they could not rely on mainstream, or “majority” media. Their audience segments were too specialized, too small, or too invisible for the majority audience, and hence too insignificant for mainstream media to devote time and space to them. Consequently, specialized “minority” media arose to appeal to these particular, discrete audiences.

Furthermore, the vibrant, dynamic, and in some instances, rapidly growing minority communities have had their own stories to tell, stories that are best told by those who can speak with the authentic voice of the group. Those involved in minority media have learned from personal experience that mainstream media could not usually be counted on to report on their communities. From overt actions such as derogatory stereotypes of minorities to more subtle actions such as neglecting to address these communities at all, the mainstream media and their supporting base of advertisers have historically shown little interest in minority concerns. In this light, continuing strong ethnic media in the 21st century is imperative.

Economic Challenges

Many of these ethnic media, however, are struggling for sustainability in the new century. Given the specific nature of the audience, and perhaps some prejudices among mainstream businesses, ethnic media have had to rely on, and in turn support, minority business advertisers. These media have received mainstream attention and advertising only when majority interests have needed to inform minority audiences about political candidates, public issues, and limited, targeted shopping opportunities.

Otherwise, minority media have existed largely as islands of information, powerful forces within their own communities, often defining the community, while largely being ignored by the larger advertising

industry. Without advertising revenues from mainstream advertisers, minority media are often at the margin, economically. Their basic ability to sustain their business, usually through advertising revenue, is an ongoing struggle because mainstream advertisers have failed, repeatedly, to understand the potential benefits of advertising to minority audiences. Advertising companies' failure to recognize cultural, educational, and economic differences among ethnic groups has resulted in mainstream advertisers' thinking that it is not profitable for them to target the minority community. Yet, when ethnic groups are recognized as large and significant economic factors—in other words, when they are finally visible to the mainstream advertisers—the minority media face an even bigger economic challenge of competing against large mainstream entities for the advertising dollar aimed at minority audiences.

Added to the economic difficulties faced by traditional minority media is the rise of the Internet as an information medium. New communications and information technologies require ethnic media to re-examine business models, audiences, advertisers, as well as to rethink collaboration with former competitors. Minority-targeted web sites, in addition, face unique burdens of creating relevant content and hiring minority personnel who are trained in the new technology. Media convergence, new technologies, and the struggle for economic survival are thus forcing minority media companies to reevaluate themselves.

The Forum on Diversity and the Media

To address minority media sustainability in the face of these many challenges, the Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program convened its annual Forum on Diversity and the Media in Aspen, Colorado during the summer of 2000 titled, *Reinventing Minority Media for the 21st Century*. With sponsorship from the Ford Foundation, the Aspen Institute brought together 21 media business executives, financiers, academics, and other leaders and experts to consider: How can minority media leverage their historically strong community base to be successful in the new century? How can they overcome financial challenges, particularly those of undervalued advertising rates and opportunities? What measures might they adopt to keep

abreast of the opportunities posed by new communications media? What is the effect of issues such as training, employability, and job retention, in fields of journalism and technology, on media sustainability?

Participants at the Forum developed initiatives that would not only maintain the economic viability of these media as businesses, but also address the mission of many of these firms—to enhance ethnic identity, to maintain community, and often, to provide employment for people from the community. One thought-provoking suggestion was for ethnic media to use a *mixed business model*, which combines the best practices from the business and non-profit worlds. Recognizing the ongoing problems in obtaining adequate advertising revenues, participants suggested alternative funding sources such as contributions from more profitable media. For example, one African-American community newspaper also publishes a glossy men's health magazine. This magazine generates funds for a public health project and an investigative journalistic unit for the newspaper.

Research Paper

Following the report is a paper by Kofi Asiedu Ofori, *In the Black: African-American Web Entrepreneurs and Internet Advertising*. This paper analyzes advertising in digital media that target minorities. It builds on his groundbreaking study for the Federal Communications Commission, which found widespread discrimination in majority advertising on minority radio stations. This first foray into research on advertising on minority web sites indicates that advertisers are willing to move into this new area. However, majority advertisers' ignorance of minority markets still hinders minority web entrepreneurs from being fully competitive with majority owners. *In the Black* examines the total web environment, including digital divide and economic issues, and suggests revenue-enhancing solutions other than advertising to help insure minority web site sustainability.

Together, this Forum report and research paper invite the reader to consider the traditional strength of minority community media and to reflect on how combining that strength with new perspectives on business and

technology can create fully empowered minority media in the 21st century.

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The Aspen Institute
March 2001

**REINVENTING MINORITY
MEDIA FOR THE 21ST
CENTURY**



Reinventing Minority Media for the 21st Century

Introduction

For the fourth year, the Aspen Institute gathered together policy analysts, industry leaders, and academics to discuss the present state—and the future—of U.S. media that is produced purposefully and strategically for U.S. minority communities. These media, which range from small weekly newspapers in Filipino communities in Northern California to transnational corporations such as Univision (*Univisión*) which serves the Hispanic community, were the centerpiece of a lively exchange at the Aspen Institute in Aspen, Colorado, July 13-15, 2000.

The conference participants' challenge was to examine how minority communication media of all types—print, web, television, and radio—are retaining, and could continue to retain, their role as sources of specialized information and entertainment in their communities in the face of the growing dominance of mainstream media. Another closely related conference theme that emerged was audience and societal fragmentation. That is, the internal splintering of Latino or African-American audiences by class, taste, and socio-economic status. One issue permeated most of the discussions: the relationship of communities of color and their media, to the dominant culture and the mainstream economic marketplace.

Among the questions discussed were: What role does minority media play in social change? What role *should* these media play in creating and promoting distinct ethnic community identities? Given the dynamic societal forces of immigration and assimilation as well as conglomeratization and increasing media ownership concentration in the business sphere, how do minority media remain viable in the media marketplace?

Historical and Economic Contexts

Historically, minority media have been created by huge social movements: the various waves of immigration from Western Europe in the

eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century; the conquest and eventual annexation of what we now call the U.S. Southwest, which ended the U.S.-Mexico War in 1848; and the migration of African-Americans from the South to other parts of the United States at the end of the Civil War and again after World War II. Newspapers produced by and for these usually marginalized communities of color were often the sole public voice addressing their needs and interests.

From wedding and funeral announcements to reporting on international political developments, early ethnic minority media, along with churches and schools, were the collective voice of their communities. At a time when federal, state, and municipal governments had not expanded much into minority communities, early ethnic media were some of the first social institutions created by these communities. They were an integral part of, and a force for cohesion within, their communities. For example, Mexican refugees in Texas wrote political columns about the “home” country for their growing community in the United States. Other Mexican immigrants published literary journals for the elite expatriate community. Thus, these media were often at the center of the community’s economic, political, and social life.

In addition to acting as internal communication conduits within their communities, these newspapers were also a link to the outside world for communities that were often separated geographically, linguistically, and racially, from the larger society. Early minority media functioned as bridges between minority communities and majority society government and business. Government offices, from the federal Census Bureau, the armed forces, and local elected politicians seeking votes, used these ethnic newspapers (which were commonly weeklies) to communicate with communities with which they often had little personal knowledge or interaction. Publishers, editors, and writers for eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century ethnic minority newspapers self-consciously embraced their roles as mediators between their communities and official offices. At the same time, these early minority media leaders were entrepreneurs, quick to grasp the commercial opportunities the specialized newspapers (and beginning in the early twentieth century, ethnic radio programs) afforded them.

The space for early minority media was created by the mainstream publishers’ indifference (at best) to minority audiences. It is difficult to overstate the breadth and depth of the separation between white or

Anglo society, and the media it produced, and communities of color and their media, in this historical period. The gulf between racial groups was residential and occupational as well as economic and cultural. Language differences fortified the cultural barrier between mainstream media firms and immigrant communities. Ironically, uninformed assumptions, misconceptions, and prejudice held by mainstream publishers opened a space for ethnic minority media to flourish.

While mainstream employers hired ethnic minority workers at often exploitative wages, few seemed to recognize that this labor force was also active in the marketplace in another role, as *consumers*. Newly freed slaves and newly arrived immigrants, while generally poor, did spend money for food, clothing, and housing. And although many mainstream businesses seemed not to appreciate the minority community's role within the larger mainstream community, these facts of life were apparent to early minority media advertisers, most of whom owned small businesses such as bakery or dry goods stores in ethnic communities.

One of the more salient aspects of early ethnic minority newspapers is the melding of their community-oriented and business-oriented functions. This is perhaps to be expected of such small organizations where writers and sales people in these publications were often interchangeable, if not the same people. Within the ethnic minority enclave, advertisers were often neighbors, as well as clients. No matter what their official title, all concerned with the enterprise were advocates for their communities, though most of these weekly newspapers were short lived, with a few notable exceptions (*La Opinión*, Los Angeles' Spanish language daily newspaper for instance, nourished by continuous waves of new immigrants from Latin America, has been continuously published since 1917).

The template offered by early ethnic media, a combination of community service and business acumen, is still useful. While today minority media compete with the cacophony of radio and television (and recently, the Internet) in a vastly more complex media landscape, the core historical mission remains the same: simply put, minority media tell different stories. Significant portions of these audiences remain on the fringes of society and their informational and entertainment needs remain different from those of the mainstream.

In addition, from the vantage point of the media marketplace, it may seem that not much has changed. Relative to white audiences, ethnic

minority audiences must still be validated. Producers and marketers of African-American, Latino, Asian, and Native American media still have to prove to potential advertisers and distributors that audiences of color buy goods and services, that they spend money in the marketplace. Further, finding a foothold in the market often involves establishing—often across racial divides—that people of color in the United States consume, and value, those media which have been purposefully and specifically produced for them.

But of course, much *has* changed. The growth of the ethnic minority middle class, and the consequent increase in the power of their dollars, has contributed to the expansion and increased visibility of ethnic minority media. At the same time, however, there has been an increase in the number of jobless and working poor in minority communities. This disparity highlights a defining tension: ethnic minority media producers—regardless of the particular media—tend to consider their ‘audience’ also to be their ‘community.’ Put another way, while there is a class divide among those minorities who produce (as well as study and teach) ethnic minority media, and most of those who consume it, the common ethnic, racial, or linguistic differences from the majority society unites them.

The ‘audience,’ which is bought and sold in the minority media market place, and the corresponding ‘communities’ these media serve, are often the same. How will minority media successfully continue to straddle these two functions—as both business and social institutions—in the 21st century?

Media Making Communities: The Role of Ethnic Communications in the Community

Minority media bring the world, including the majority society, to their communities. At the same time, minority-oriented media represent the racially and/or linguistically identified community to itself. By focusing prominently on issues of particular importance to these communities, minority media help define a particular community’s identity. News coverage of Central America, Russia, or West Africa, for example, is a regular feature of minority-oriented newspapers, broadcast media, as well as Internet portals which cater to those who have emigrated to the United States from abroad. Economic and political news of particular interest to these communities are regular features of the

ethnic minority media. At one level, this is a straightforward audience-building strategy: provide particular content to attract a particular audience. The history of African-American and immigrant media also shows that minority media can be powerful political organizing tools. Both, in terms of traditional get-out-the-vote electoral politics, and more incisively, by highlighting disparities and social injustices, these media can help shape a community's political consciousness.

Understood as a form of "narrowcasting," practiced first by the radio industry and then institutionalized by cable television more than two decades ago, contemporary minority media have the potential to be attuned to generational, regional, national origin, and other differences *within* minority groups. Finely tuned traditional media forms and distribution systems, as well as more technologically sophisticated digital media, replace the blunt instrument of 'race' (which in majority media often means little more than 'not white') with the more detailed social markers that define minority media audiences.

Focusing on generational differences within ethnic and racial media audiences, conference participants agreed, is key to the future of these media. Generational, in this context, refers not only to the chronological age of the audience (in traditional media marketing terms, ages 12-17, 18-25, 26-40, etc.), but also in the case of immigrant groups, the time elapsed since immigration to the United States.

For instance, recent Russian immigrants, born in Russia and currently residing in the United States are "first generation immigrants." Continuing with the Russian immigrant example, there are several Russian language newspapers published in New York City; their target audience is first generation Russian immigrants. A key challenge for Russian immigrant media in the United States will be holding the attention of the *second* generation. Will they be like the sons and daughters of nineteenth century racially white Western European immigrants, who stop using the "mother tongue," and otherwise assimilate or blend with the majority society, and so do not consume specialized media? Or, will the Russian immigrant community and its media, remain identifiable as culturally separate from the larger society?

Conference participant Elvira Grau of Elvira Consulting, Inc. emigrated to New York from Russia in 1979. With her U.S. born husband Jim, she founded *Antenna Satellite, TV/Radio USA*, a company that (among other endeavors) publishes newspapers for the Russian community in

Brooklyn, New York. Ms. Grau declares, "My generation is becoming too assimilated!" Grau elaborated, saying she feared that the Russian language, central to her community's identity, was increasingly being replaced by English. Jim Grau, president and chief executive officer of AllNationsOnline.com, agrees, saying, "The newspapers right now are struggling. They are competing with other media, with radio and television." However, he points out that Russian, Polish, and other 'foreign', or non-English language electronic media are expanding at a rapid pace.

"Because of satellite technology and digital technology, that [foreign] programming has become less expensive to bring from overseas to this country. Right now, New York has three 24-hour Korean channels, two Russian [cable television] channels and a 12-hour a day Russian radio station!" Overall, Grau concludes, at least in his corner of the world, the future for minority media is bright. "Electronic media is growing. It is helping to bring our communities together, helping the language. The [other than English language, ethnic] newspapers are targeting older people. Radio and television are targeting younger people. I've seen this in the Indian market, the Greek market, and the Arabic market as well."

Other conference participants who are producing media for new immigrants were not always as optimistic. With little or no continuing migration to reinforce immigrant communities' identity, assimilation will prevail. Like the Irish and German immigrants of previous generations, the fear is that racially white immigrant groups, such as the Russians and others from Eastern Europe, will be absorbed into the larger society, thus ending demand for media catering to these groups.

However, in the case of the largest minority immigrant population today, Hispanics, or Latinos, assimilation seems unlikely for two reasons. First, in contrast with the Irish or other white immigrant groups, Latinos have been racialized in United States popular culture (think about how often one hears the phrase, "black, white, Hispanic, Asian"). They therefore have a distinct market and social identity. In addition, Latinos are in fact the majority group in several major cities (for example, Los Angeles, San Antonio), and have been projected by the Census Bureau to become the majority group in several states (California, Texas, and New Mexico) by 2050. The racialized identity, the group's generally lower socio-economic status, continuing immigration, and

the sheer size of the Latino population make it unlikely that it will be completely absorbed or blended into the mainstream society in the foreseeable future.

Taken together, these characteristics make possible the existence of the lucrative ‘Hispanic Market.’ However, it is misleading to speak of one ‘Hispanic Market,’ or a singular ‘Hispanic audience.’ The proliferation of Latino-oriented media in the last twenty years is testament to the fragmentation of this media market segment—along generational as well as class lines. There are significant differences between national origin groups: many older Cuban-Americans for example, are solidly upper middle class, while most Mexican immigrants are working class.

In addition to class, the Hispanic audience is clearly divided by length of residency in the United States, resulting in specialized markets within this niche market. The most recently arrived Latin American immigrants are the mainstay of the *telenovela* (soap opera) audiences (both print and television), while second and third generation Latinos are the target audience for varied print media from *Buen Hogar* (*Good Housekeeping*), published in Spanish, to *Hispanic Business* (similar to *Business Week*), in Spanish, English, and bilingual formats.

Consistent with this differentiation within minority communities, there is not one, unitary African-American community or audience. Rather, suggested Nat Irvin II, president and chief executive officer of Future Focus 2020, a center at Wake Forest University’s Babcock Graduate School of Management, categorizations such as the “backboners” (everyday black folks), “the flygirls” (younger, smart cosmopolitan women), “the new agers” or “mixers” (black flower children, concerned about the earth and the environment, often baby boomers), the “civil righters,” and the “belites” (black elites) are used by marketers and other cultural industry workers to describe the continuously emerging identities of African-American communities, and shape their media. While class, or socio-economic status, is implied in many of these categorizations, it is not necessarily defining. In considerations of the African-American audience, money may not be as important an identifier as race-based generational identity.

The thriving Filipino communities in northern California provide another example that highlights the importance of recognizing generational differences in minority audiences. *Filipina*, a monthly, glossy women’s magazine, attracts a largely second and third generation audience.

These ethnic minority readers are assimilated, meaning they are economically and educationally integrated into the larger society. However, as Filipino-American Renato Ciria Cruz, web site editor of the Pacific News Service & New California Media Online, reminds us, "This is a highly racialized society." Though they may consider themselves fully assimilated, Filipina women are attracted to specialized content produced with their specific interests and informational needs in mind, like *Filipina*. Though these women may read mainstream women's magazines such as *Glamour*, they are also reading specialized ethnically identified publications written specifically for them. *Filipina* has also been available on-line for the last five years. The digitized version of the magazine is a bonus to the magazine's publishers, who use it as a public relations and marketing tool to recruit subscribers to the print magazine.

These contemporary examples of the 'immigrant' or 'race' press embody the expansive cultural sensitivity of today's minority media: they appreciate the variety of cultural and economic assimilation across, and within, minority groups, as well as differences from region to region within the United States. The successes of these, and scores of other similar media enterprises, highlight a key paradox of ethnic minority media: as these media grow, their audiences are further fragmented. Yet contemporary ethnic minority media are held together by a deceptively simple sounding continuity of purpose: the stories that ethnic minority communities have to tell are different from other stories, they matter, and they will be told. This does not imply that the future of minority media is assured. Rather, the question considered by conference participants was, how can ethnic minority media reinvent itself for the 21st century and beyond?

Media and the Internet

Perhaps the most complex issue confronting minority media today is how to best adapt to, and take advantage of, the growing presence of digital technology in our society. Is the Internet a threat or an opportunity for ethnic minority media? Conference participants were ambivalent about this technological development. Those who already had a presence on the Internet welcomed the possibilities offered by digital technology. Others counseled caution about the Internet's potential impact on traditional ethnic minority media.

Some of the questions posed, but not completely resolved, by the conference participants include: Can minority media firms, many of which are struggling financially, afford to enter this field? Can the Internet be a vehicle for wider distribution of traditional print media content? Conversely, is this cannibalizing of print content for Internet use, a net drain on the ethnic minority media firms' already meager resources? How can ethnic minority communities best secure access to this technology? And, closely related, how can they facilitate training and Internet skill development in their communities?

Many of the challenges facing minority-oriented Internet sites are the same as those that are facing minority-oriented traditional media: raising significant capital, persuading advertisers to become sponsors and, closely related, defining an audience and increasing its size. In other ways, however, the digital media present uncharted terrain.

The potential for audience interactivity—which is at the core of Internet technology—could radically alter the nature of media content. Audience members could theoretically also be site authors and producers. E-commerce and business-to-business Internet transactions are creating new types of market opportunities for ethnic minority media firms. As in the *Filipina* example discussed earlier, a web site could be used to promote a magazine, for instance, and *vice versa*. Most ambitious are the possibilities for multimedia partnerships, where radio, television, print, and Internet content is produced and distributed in a coordinated fashion to ethnic minority communities.

A possible model for Internet minority media spans and fuses the two functions of ethnic minority media discussed earlier. Rather than having to choose between being primarily a social, community-oriented agency, or a business, profit-oriented firm, this vision of the future of ethnic minority media suggests a role as community *institutions*, like museums or churches—financially self sufficient, yet above all, committed to the community.

Regardless of the type of digital ethnic minority media, a central challenge is content and its production. Few ethnic minority individuals have computer programming or web-authoring skills, compared to those in the majority culture. A bank, or warehouse of digitized ethnic minority web content, while growing, is not yet sufficient. It is noteworthy to mention that a source of aggregated, inexpensive content is a primary reason Yahoo is economically successful and there appears to be no reason why aggregated sites geared toward minorities cannot also be successful. NetNoir,

a black-oriented site, is a prime example of the successful use of content aggregation on an ethnic site.

In addition to the problem of content production, there are a number of access issues confronting ethnic minority media producers, marketers, and audiences. The economic realities that keep many individual minorities on the other side of the “digital divide,” also keep their communities from having such things as high-speed fiber optic cables. Schools, libraries, and community centers in ethnic minority neighborhoods are less likely to have computers and Internet access than wealthier areas. As with cable television penetration, many minorities are being left out of the promise of digital technology. Misconceptions about ethnic minority communities contribute to low digital penetration in many minority neighborhoods. The presumption is that residents of African-American and Latino neighborhoods will be unable to purchase the services that fiber optic wiring makes possible.

Despite the ethnic differences in access to technology and the difficulties in developing digital, minority-oriented content, Professors Sharon Strover and Joe Straubhaar, in a study of digital technology use in a predominantly minority Austin, Texas public high school, caution against reducing the ‘divide’ in ‘digital divide’ solely to race.¹ The study found that those students—regardless of race or ethnicity—with computers at home, were more comfortable and more adept at using the school computers than those who didn’t have them at home. This study suggests that having a home computer (and the economic wherewithal to buy one) is a better indicator than race of who is on the far side of the digital divide. In addition, the study found that male high school students were less likely to embrace computers than their female counterparts. The young men told researchers that key-boarding or typing, an entry point skill in computer use, was “sissy stuff,” and “women’s work,” suggesting that clerical “pink collar” jobs that use computer technology, are not attractive to some young men. The study suggests that money and gender may be at least as important as race and ethnicity, in shaping young people’s attitudes towards digital technology.

Broadcasting in Transition: Creating More Diverse Media or More of the Same?

Digital broadcasting is slated to be in full effect by 2006. More channels could provide an opportunity to present more minority programming.

However, there is little reason to expect broadcasters—given their decades old pattern of minimizing minority programming—to change their behavior now. Further, United States regulatory agencies such as the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), citing the First Amendment, have been wary of issuing rulings that might directly influence broadcasting content. In short, broadcasters have little incentive to change their ways. Given these mutually reinforcing tendencies, what steps can be taken to assure that minority programming does not lose ground?

As U.S. media move toward seamless integration of radio, television, print, and the Internet, a key challenge for ethnic minority media makers is to demonstrate to its public that it has a relationship with the mainstream media industry that goes beyond that of consumers. In the complex (and not fully realized) environment of the Internet, where a click on a screen is sufficient to buy a shirt, and the same screen can also be a portal to civic participation in city council deliberations, for example, how best can minority groups influence public communication policy?

Perhaps the best way is indirectly, through Congress. But here too, the ground has shifted. Roughly ten years ago, African-American and Latino advocacy groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Council of La Raza, charged racial discrimination in protests filed with the FCC against major broadcasters. However, federal policy in this critical area remains largely unwritten, and so is difficult to challenge. The FCC has not issued rules regarding ascertainment of community needs or equal opportunity employment, formerly policy gateways into the broadcasting industries for people of color, about digital technology. The failure to have specific minority-oriented policies could present formidable regulatory obstacles for minority media for the foreseeable future.

Building on Success: Strategies for Growing Ethnic Community Media

Given the limitations of the marketplace, and the constraints on regulatory relief outlined above, what are some concrete strategies ethnic minority media firms can embrace to ensure that they not only survive, but also thrive, in the years ahead? How might ethnic minority media protect themselves and benefit from the increasing conglomeratization of U.S. media? More broadly: How can ethnic minority media best

operate in this complex environment, and at the same time maintain and strengthen the ties between themselves and the communities they serve?

While no firm consensus was reached in the discussion of these interlocking questions, conference participants seemed most drawn to a mixed business/non-profit model. For example, KQED-TV (PBS) and KQED-FM (NPR), San Francisco do not sell advertisements, but their monthly program guide and magazine do, and those revenues are put back into the broadcast operations. Similarly, the *Baltimore Times*, an African-American community newspaper, publishes a glossy men's health magazine, which underwrites the newspaper's small investigative reporting unit and a public health project.

Variations of this concept can be found in Northern California, where four Vietnamese newspapers and Knight Ridder's *San Jose Mercury News* are jointly producing an advertising supported newspaper for the Vietnamese community. The partnership of the *Los Angeles Times* and *La Opinión*, two Southern California dailies, has been mutually beneficial, in terms of production costs and advertising sales, to both enterprises.

Anticipating an unprecedented demand for content as digital and other multi-media delivery systems proliferate, ethnic minority media firms have begun brainstorming about future production and distribution models. Could major ethnic minority media companies such as Black Entertainment Television (BET) or Univision, as well as BET.com and Univision.com, provide seed money, as general market film and television studios have, for independent productions?² Conference participants suggested that these and other ethnic minority media institutions could establish a foundation to provide seed money, which in turn would attract venture capital for promising projects. The search for the optimal combination of government, business, and community support for ethnic minority media remains as problematic as ever.

Digital media allow for the creation of new paradigms such as radio and video delivery by means of the Internet, as well as digital delivery of newspaper and magazine content. For ethnic minority media makers, the possibilities of convergent media present a market opportunity, as well as an opportunity to expand the traditional service-oriented role that these media have played in communities of color. But is there room, can a niche be constructed, for ethnic minority media in this

merged, interactive, highly concentrated media environment? For instance, while many of the ethnic minority media owned by large corporations already have digital editions (such as Miami's *El Nuevo Herald*, which is owned by Knight Ridder, and BET.com), it remains unclear how smaller firms will be able to fund their entry into the digital marketplace.

One vision of the repositioning of ethnic minority media in the digital age proposes that these media be community portals, disseminating information ranging from how to apply for a driver's license, to the latest political developments in the home country. Content such as events listings, streaming video of the latest school board hearing, and the like, highlight ethnic minority media's role as a civic space. Jon Funabiki, program officer at the Ford Foundation, proposed that rather than choosing the business model or the community service model, ethnic minority media firms should think of themselves as cultural institutions. That, Funabiki suggests, is the true value of ethnic minority media. "Just as a museum, a church, a school, community institutions have great value. How do museums stay alive? How do churches stay alive? There are other revenue sources we might want to think about."

Summarizing the challenges facing minority media, Jorge Schement, professor at the Pennsylvania State University College of Communications, and co-director of the Institute for Information Policy, emphasized what he called the "tensions" which characterize ethnic minority media discourse, its defining contradictions and inconsistencies. The tensions, Schement suggested, were not frailties, but potential sources of strength.

Wrapping up the discussion, Schement said, "We've talked about the hazards of going it alone, versus the possibilities of collaboration. We've also talked, in terms of audience, of the tension between economic assimilation and economic marginalization. Minority populations experience both. On the flip side of that, we've also talked about social identity and social assimilation . . ."

"And then we talked about old media and new media," Schement continued. "And to me it is extremely of interest, and also hopeful, that we didn't talk about them in conflict with each other. Instead we talked about old and new media as assets, that they can build with each other."

While no clear consensus was reached on ethnic minority media's economic future ("What's wrong with making a profit?" asked one participant),

most participants were receptive to the idea of a “mixed model” future for ethnic minority media: not quite non-profit organizations, but not completely for-profit enterprises either.

There was no disagreement however, about the importance of continuing to disseminate an unmistakably alternative perspective on current events. A perspective which promotes U.S. communities of color—communities within and yet somewhat separate from the mainstream—distinct parts of the American multi-cultural mosaic.

Conclusion

As we look forward, will Latino, Asian American, Native American, and African-American media be created only for the older members of their communities, while second generation immigrants and the young embrace the radio and television of the mainstream media? How will minority communities, and their media, remain identifiable and distinct from the majority society?

Will advertisers maintain or increase their support of these specialized media? As Pluria Marshall, Jr., owner of the *Informer* and *Texas Freeman* put it, “How do we get advertisers to do what they should do?”

Alongside these ongoing, difficult questions, there are more certain prospects. Immigration from Latin America and Asia is projected to continue at current high levels. Our society is likely to remain highly racialized. People of color are often caught in a seemingly intractable double bind: forced to assimilate by social pressures, but ultimately not allowed to by the larger society. The conceptualization of African-Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, by the mainstream population and by members of their own communities as *essentially different*, is central to the identity of these audiences, and so to minority media. Given these powerful social dynamics, it seems reasonable to conclude there will continue to be demand for minority media.

Perhaps our greatest challenge is to train our audiences, especially young people, and to give them the skills they need to benefit from the current, as well as the not yet realized, changes in the media landscape.

Notes

1. Stover, Sharon and Joseph Straubhaar. "E-Government Services and Computer and Internet Use in Texas," Telecommunication and Information Policy Institute, University of Texas, Austin, May 2000. at <http://www.utexas.edu/research/tipi/> (last accessed March 5, 2001).
2. The conference was held before Viacom's purchase of Black Entertainment Television (BET). At the time of this writing, there is no information as to what changes, if any, Viacom will make to BET's business model.

Recommended Readings

Dines, Gail and Jean M. Humez, eds., *Gender, Race and Class in the Media: A Text-Reader*, Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, California, 1995.

Downing, John, Ali Mohammadi, and Anabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, eds., *Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction*, Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, California, 1995.

Gonzalez, Alberto, Marsha Houston, and Victoria Chen, eds., *Our Voices: Essays in Culture, Ethnicity and Communication*, Roxbury Publishing Company: Los Angeles, California, 1997.

Rodriguez, América, *Making Latino News: Race, Class, Language*, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1999.

**IN THE BLACK: AFRICAN-AMERICAN
WEB ENTREPRENEURS AND
INTERNET ADVERTISING**

In the Black: African-American Web Entrepreneurs and Internet Advertising

Introduction

African-Americans represent the largest online segment of the United States minority population comprising 4.9 million users.¹ The number of African-Americans online grew an impressive 43% during 1999—out pacing all other racial/ethnic categories.² Despite these developments, obtaining advertiser support for African-American targeted web sites has been an uphill battle for some web entrepreneurs.

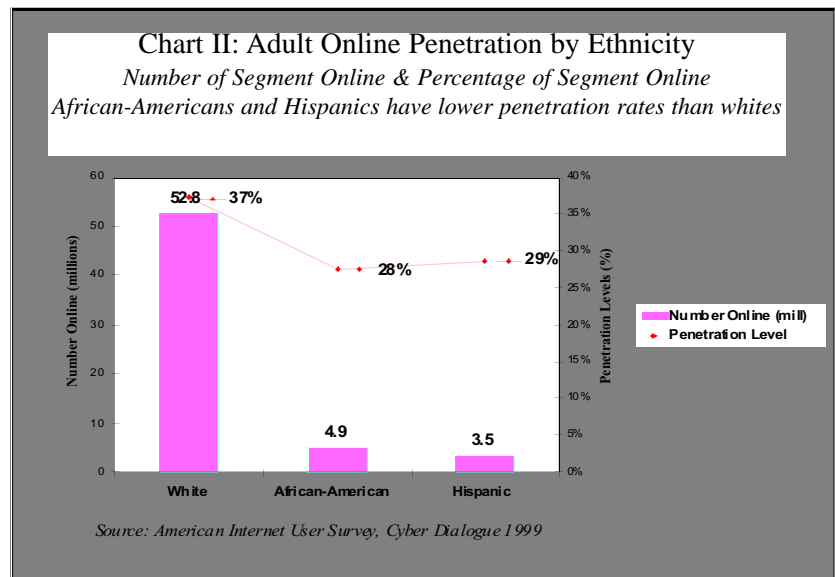
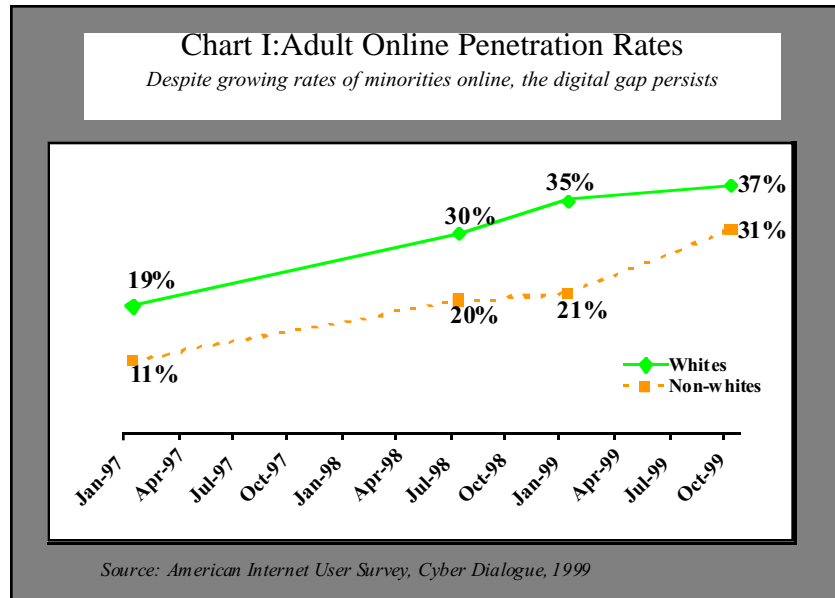
Fifteen executives at web sites that target African-Americans were interviewed for this paper to gain to a better understanding of their experiences when seeking advertisements from Fortune 500 companies. Contrary to previous studies, few executives said they encountered the kind of racial stereotyping that has been reported by urban-formatted stations in the radio industry.³ On the other hand, sales are not booming at African-American targeted sites, but for reasons that are more related to the size and age of sites as well as general uncertainties about the effectiveness of online advertising. Compounding these factors is the fact that although it is the beginning of the new millennium, many companies remain unfamiliar with the African-American market.

Debunking the Digital Divide

As Chart I (page 20) indicates, the gap between online whites and minorities was 6 percentage points at the end of the third quarter in 1999—down from 14% in January 1999 and 8% in January 1997.

Recent figures also show that 28% of the African-American population is online compared to 29% for Hispanics and 37% for whites (Chart II).

The racial gap in the digital divide has been the focus of most discussion since release of the report *Falling through the Net*⁴ by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Other research, however, has indicated that



racial/ethnic measures are an inadequate tool for understanding online usage patterns.⁵ Maintaining that ethnic background should not be the focus of analyzing the digital divide, Forrester Research has stated that:

Although Net consumers are not a homogenous group, the differences are mostly due to income, education, technology optimism, and primary motivation.... Net consumer segmentation and product positioning should focus on the attributes that determine behavior—income, education, age, attitudes, and primary motivation.⁶

In general, the Internet population is younger, wealthier, and more educated than the offline population. This pattern applies to African-Americans as well. Internet usage among African-Americans is driven by high household income (averaging \$50,000 plus), education (some college or more), and young age (35% are 16 to 24).⁷

Considering the fast growing pace of the upscale online African-American segment, the question remains to what extent have these developments resulted in a commensurate growth in African-American targeted advertising.

In interviews conducted for this paper, web executives said that they have encountered a wide-range of responses from Fortune 500 advertisers. On one hand, many major advertisers have only been willing to commit to short-term market 'tests.' At the opposite extreme, companies such as Sprint, Microsoft, HBO, Cox Communications, and The Tribune Company have entered into strategic partnerships with sites such as Afronet.com, BET.com, Volume.com, Blackfamilies.com, and Blackvoices.com.⁸ It appears that some advertisers have not digested recent data on the African-American market potential while others are prepared to be the market innovators.

Advertiser reluctance may also be attributed to reasons unrelated to the racial characteristics of the users, such as a belief that the Internet has not yet matured into an effective advertising medium in the eyes of many advertisers.

Size Matters: The New Numbers Game

According to a three-year veteran in sales at NetNoir, “No one believes that blacks are online—and if they are, they think white.”⁹ This line of thinking, on the part of some advertisers, provides a basis for neglecting the African-American consumer or concluding that general market web sites are effective for reaching African-Americans.

The challenge of overcoming the perception that “blacks are not online” is reminiscent of the problem that confronted radio stations that targeted African-Americans during the 1960s and ‘70s. Urban-formatted stations were told that they did not have enough listeners to qualify for the advertising rates obtained by non-minority formatted stations.

Today, urban radio stations rank among the top five in audience size in almost every major market. Frequently, they rank number one.¹⁰ However, top-ranked urban stations generally receive less advertiser dollars per listener than stations serving white audiences that are a fraction of the size of the urban-formatted stations.¹¹ It is a common practice for advertisers in the radio market to pay more per listener to stations with relatively small audiences. The reason is very simple—*advertisers are not merely interested in numbers*; the goal of large audience size is commonly relinquished for targeted upscale demographics. WTOP-FM in Washington, D.C., for example, has a white audience with household incomes in excess of \$75,000. On the scale of a dollar, advertisers pay \$1.00 per listener to place commercials on WTOP compared to \$0.62 per listener to place ads on WPGC-FM, a station with an audience twice the size of WTOP, comprised mostly of African-Americans.¹²

So why doesn’t the same logic apply to the Internet? Why aren’t advertisers willing to target the online African-American market? Albeit a small market niche, it is in the same income and educational range as the non-minority market segment (see next section). The answer is not a simple one, however, one sales executive rationalized that, “...any explanation will do when you are predisposed not to make a buy.”¹³

In addition to predispositions against African-American targeted ads there is the broader challenge facing all small- and medium-sized web sites—Internet advertising dollars are highly concentrated in websites with the greatest amount of online traffic. The Internet research firm, eMarketer, reports that 95% of all web advertising dollars go to the top 50 web sites (i.e., Yahoo, Excite, CNET, etc.).¹⁴ This means that one percent

of the ad supported web sites account for 95% of the advertising revenues.¹⁵

Sites in the top 50 tier are estimated to average \$58.9 million in annual revenues compared to \$26.6 thousand for sites not within the top 50 tier.¹⁶ Clearly, there are disadvantages to sites (i.e., those targeted to African-Americans) that cannot generate sufficient traffic to be among the nation's top tier.

An Internet media rating company was recently reported as saying that the traffic at all of the African-American targeted sites *combined* is insufficient to place them among the top 400 web sites.¹⁷ Therefore, despite traffic in the millions at sites such as BlackPlanet.com, BET.com, and BlackVoices.com, African-American sites are no match for the top tier non-minority sites.¹⁸ In addition, many African-American sites are less than one year old and have yet to establish stable traffic volumes.

At the end of this paper is a chart providing information on the number of monthly page views and the official rate card price for a full banner advertisement for fifteen advertisement-supported African-American sites. The rates generally fall below the industry average of \$35 CPM.¹⁹ However, rates as high as \$100 CPM are attainable for small *non*-minority sites that focus on computing and technology.²⁰

Rate cards, however, are often the starting point for negotiating the final price for placing an ad. Post-negotiated rates for the top four African-American sites (BlackPlanet.com, BET.com, BlackVoices.com, and NetNoir.com) have been estimated to range from \$3 to \$35.²¹ The Black World Today.com (www.tbwt.com), which averages 3 million monthly page views, commonly receives \$3 CPM although its official rate is \$35.²²

In order to make the leap into the \$35 CPM range or above, some web sites have found it important to form strategic relationships with large players in the communications industry. The recent announcement of the partnership between Afronet and Sprint is an example. Others, such as NetNoir and BlackVoices, are co-branded with established media outlets—America Online (AOL) in the case of NetNoir and the *Chicago Tribune* in the case of BlackVoices.

Even so, executives at the same firms have said that they encounter advertisers that believe that African-Americans can be effectively reached through general market web sites. Market research on the socio-psychological characteristics of the African-American demo-

graphic suggests that just the opposite is true. A survey by Don Coleman Advertising in conjunction with Yankelovich Partners indicates that African-Americans prefer media that celebrates their individuality as African-Americans, and that African-Americans pay more attention to advertisements carried by programming or media vehicles that reflect their culture.²³

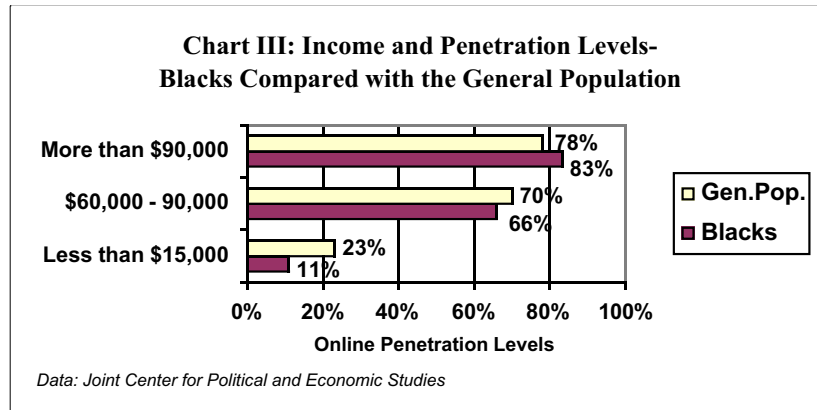
The good news is that a number of companies have done their homework and are implementing market plans to target online African-Americans. Home Box Office's (HBO) decision to launch Volume.com is an example.²⁴ Companies, such as HBO, Sprint, General Motors, and others, are informed about the growing online African-American market segment and appear to be prepared to utilize media vehicles designed to address cultural preferences.

Desirable Demographics: Do Online African-Americans Earn Enough?

A venture capitalist with investments in African-American targeted web sites commented that the perception of advertisers in the broadcast arena—that African-Americans don't make enough money—is also commonplace in the new media.²⁵ Other executives said that they encounter the perception that African-Americans can't afford upscale products and services.

Market research over the past two years, however, supports the conclusion that the online African-American consumer is in the same upscale category of income and education as their non-minority counterparts. For example, Cyber Dialogue found that 47% of online African-Americans have college degrees compared to 43% for whites. Median income for online African-Americans is \$47,000 compared to \$52,000 for whites.²⁶

What has been found to be true for the general online population is also true for African-Americans—Internet users constitute an affluent segment of the American population.²⁷ Chart III shows a positive correlation between increased income and Internet usage for African-Americans and the population as a whole. Internet penetration levels are between 11% and 23% for African-American and general population households earning less than \$15,000. For households in the \$60,000 to \$90,000 range, online penetration is 66% for African-Americans and 70% for the general population. Penetration levels for



African-Americans exceed that of the general population for households with incomes over \$90,000 (83% vs. 78%).²⁸

Not only is the income of online African-Americans within the same range as the general online population, African-Americans also are more likely to state that they intend to begin using the Internet to make purchases.²⁹ Minorities, in general, are reported to have a higher propensity to click on online advertisements (averaging 41 clicks per month for minorities and 24 clicks per month for whites).³⁰ Given increasing advertiser interest in click-through rates as opposed to page view metrics, the attitudinal distinction between minority and white views of online ads should enhance the ability of African-American targeted sites to generate advertisements.

Forrester Research reports that an average of \$255 was spent by each African-American household making online purchases during the last quarter of 1999.³¹ African-Americans lead other online racial/ethnic households in the purchase of music, clothes, and furniture and shared the lead with Asian-Americans in the purchase of software and jewelry.³² During 1999, online stocks and mutual funds were the most frequently purchased category for all online households, including African-Americans.³³ Consistent with the finding that African-Americans are very interested in sites featuring entertainment, research by Cyber Dialogue indicates that African-Americans are more likely than the general population to make online purchases of music.³⁴

There are also indications that African-Americans are more receptive than whites to brand awareness campaigns, a proven strength of the

Internet. An Internet advertising effectiveness study conducted by the Internet Advertising Bureau concluded that online advertisements generate increased advertisement awareness, brand awareness, product attributes, and purchase intent.³⁵ Juxtaposed with socio-psychological research on the African-American consumer, it is surprising to find advertisers not relying upon the Internet to establish brand awareness among African-American consumers.

Brand uniqueness has been reported to be a key element in assisting African-Americans in identifying items for purchase.³⁶ A Don Coleman Advertising survey found that African-Americans are more likely than whites to:

- Place a high premium on the status of owning tangible things (e.g., expensive home, car, clothes, jewelry);
- Need to dress in the latest fashions in order to enhance appearance;
- Spend more for “the best;” and
- Be brand loyal and, moreover, to rely upon brands to help them make informed purchase decisions.

The survey found that these patterns apply especially to the “urban mindset”—those African-Americans who set urban marketing trends and exert a strong influence on crossover markets.³⁷

Emerging data on the ability of the Internet to establish brand awareness coupled with the upscale qualities of online African-Americans suggests that advertisers should take advantage of the Internet to target this market segment. Eventually, perhaps market research will translate into market practice.

The Questionable Effectiveness of Internet Advertising

A major objection to Internet advertising has been the declining response rates to web advertisements. The number of users that click on Internet advertisements, known as click-through rates, has dropped from 10% in 1994 to 5% in 1999.³⁸ Click-through rates for web advertisements are now less than the 2% consumer response rates to postal direct mail. As a result, many advertisers are questioning whether the Internet provides a reasonable return on investment.³⁹

Although minorities are reported to have a higher propensity to click on advertisements, questions about the suitability of the Internet as an

advertising medium presents an additional barrier that African-American sites must hurdle. The response of web executives has been to remind advertisers that unlike direct mail, the Internet provides an opportunity for consumers to respond in real time to an advertisement. The delays associated with snail mail are avoided. The opportunity to make an impulse buy and to receive next day delivery is an advantage. Also, there are indications that the cost-per-sale is significantly lower on the Internet.⁴⁰

As discussed earlier, establishing brand awareness can be done very effectively over the Internet. If advertisers were to match marketing goals that are appropriate for the Internet (e.g., establishing brand awareness to increase long-term revenues) with metrics that measure the Internet's branding effectiveness, the medium may become more conventional. Click-through-rates may prove to be an inappropriate gauge for measuring Internet advertisement effectiveness.

When Advertising Isn't Enough: Alternative Business Models

Of the 3.6 billion web sites worldwide, only 7,928—less than half of 1%—are advertiser supported.⁴¹ Although this number is growing, most web entrepreneurs are eagerly seeking out additional methods to generate revenue. Their motivation rests upon declining advertising rates and the fact that the top 50 web sites account for 95% of the advertising dollars.⁴² Web entrepreneurs at African-American sites are particularly concerned about their inability to qualify for the concentrated amount of ad spending at highly trafficked sites.

As a consequence, combining web sites into network affiliates has become an increasingly popular method for selling Internet ad inventory. Rep firms have responded to advertiser demands for traffic by affiliating small web sites into networks that belong to the same content genre (e.g., entertainment, business and finance, and sports).⁴³ According to one marketing executive, "Advertisers prefer to buy African-American sites that are part of a network. It's more convenient. And it's an easier way for them to make their numbers."⁴⁴

AdVenture, an Internet marketing firm, presently promotes nine African-American targeted sites through its "African American channel." These sites are identified in the appendix with the abbreviations

viation 'adv' next to their CPM rate.⁴⁵ Advertisements placed on the 'channel' are rotated among all nine sites. The 'channel' is promoted to advertisers on the basis of combined traffic in the amount of 25 million monthly page views and its appeal to "business professionals [and] computer savvy individuals interested in black culture."

The downside to this model is that the rep firm retains a portion of advertising revenues. This has prompted some web entrepreneurs to form their own network of affiliates.⁴⁶ In this variation of the network model, a web site provides a page that lists links to its affiliates and the affiliates, in turn, provide links to the main site. As an incentive for joining the network the main site may provide free or low-cost hosting and other backend services. Advertisements are solicited on the basis of the network's combined traffic.

Other web entrepreneurs have been able to enhance their revenue streams by establishing *value-added* strategic partnerships with some of the leading Fortune 500 companies. These partnerships involve more than venture capital money. They include co-branding opportunities, experience in related fields, established advertiser relationships, and opportunities for e-commerce.

BlackVoices, owned by the Chicago-based Tribune Company, is an example of a value-added partnership. The web site obtained \$2 million in financing from Tribune Venture Capital, the newspaper's venture capital division. BlackVoices has also benefited from its association with the newspaper's sales force, which is used to leverage Internet advertising.⁴⁷ Advertisers with ads on the site include General Motors, McDonalds, Boeing, Showtime, Warner Brothers, and Sony.

In Washington, D.C., the American Visions Society, a source for information on African-American art and culture (www.americanvisions.com), has benefited from its parent company's ownership of five print magazines. By marketing advertisements for the web site in conjunction with the print publications, the dotcom division has received full rate card prices from a stable of print media advertisers. Advertisers paying \$50 CPM include Toyota, Nissan, and American Family Homes.⁴⁸

Volume.com, launched in 2000, has been underwritten by HBO. The site's market niche will be the young African-American segment. HBO's willingness to finance the site was, in part, influenced by its experience with the 'urban mindset' in the video entertainment market. According to Volume.com's CEO, "We didn't have a problem with convincing HBO to market to black audiences."⁴⁹

Other examples of value-added strategic partnerships include:

- \$35 million in funding provided by Microsoft, USA Networks, Fox News Corp., and Liberty Mutual to BET.com which launched in February 2000;⁵⁰
- Co-branding and advertisement leads provided by AOL for NetNoir;
- Cox Communications' investment in BlackFamilies.com; and
- Investments by Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT) Media Lab director Nicholas Negroponte and Allen & Company in the Urban Box Office Network (www.ubo.net), a network of 17 sites targeted to the urban mindset.

Further underscoring the need to pursue other web business models are the comparatively higher revenues associated with e-commerce. Business-to-consumer e-commerce sales for the year 2000 are estimated to be \$30.6 billion; \$80.5 billion in sales are projected by 2003. Spending for web advertisements will be considerably lower; \$4.8 billion for the year 2000 increasing to \$13.3 billion in 2003.⁵¹ E-commerce clearly is the mother lode of Internet revenues over the foreseeable future.

Capitalizing upon the high growth e-commerce market is Shopnow.com.⁵² According to the company's African-American CEO, Dwayne Walker, Shopnow's vision of the future is that "every buyer can become a seller." Shopnow recently went public and successfully raised \$800 million. Launched in 1999, 50 percent of the company's growth is attributable to increased sales.

As an e-commerce enabler, Shopnow does not sell products directly to consumers. The company provides an electronic shopping mall in which retail merchants 'lease' space. Revenue streams associated with hosting merchants in an electronic shopping mall include:

- Fees for being listed in the electronic mall;
- Fees for ensuring top listing as a result of categorical searches;
- Fees based upon click-through rates;
- Fees for guaranteed business performance (e.g., Shopnow directs sufficient numbers of users to a merchant to guarantee a certain level of sales); and
- Fees for backend services and web site design.

By charging very low listing fees (beginning at under \$20 per year), Shopnow has quickly obtained over 15,000 merchants and maintains a high level of traffic.

Other e-commerce entrepreneurs concentrate on merchandising products directly to consumers. Three revenue streams are associated with this business model:

- 1) Markups over the wholesale price;
- 2) Fulfilling inventory orders for merchandise sold at other e-commerce sites; and
- 3) Commissions on advertisement click-throughs.

Although web e-commerce sales have been very high, 96% of the nation's retail sales take place off-line according to Cushcity.com's co-founder, Gwen D. Richardson.⁵³ For this reason, many e-commerce sites have found it prudent to provide customers with print catalogues. Substantial portions of Cushcity's sales, which are targeted to African-Americans, take place as the result of people conducting online searches and completing their purchases offline.

Forrester Research has predicted \$185 billion in e-commerce sales by 2004.⁵⁴ Supporting this prediction is a dramatic increase in the number of Internet shoppers; 56 million *new* net shoppers are expected by 2003 (see Chart IV).

Projections such as these have inspired Shopnow's Dwayne Walker to state, "We are in just the first minute of the first quarter of the Internet opportunity."⁵⁵

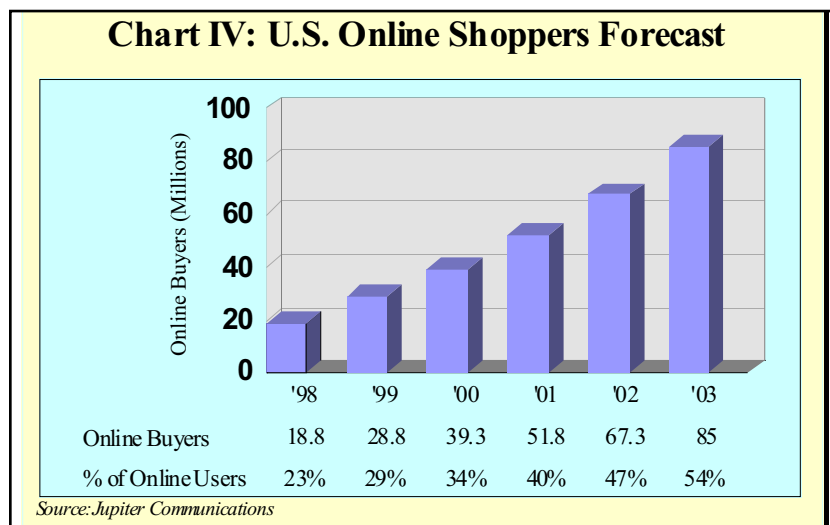


CHART V: SELECTED AFRICAN-AMERICAN WEBSITES

Site Name/URL	Content	Page views per month	Official Rate (CPM)*
BlackPlanet.com (www.blackplanet.com)	Community site that facilitates individual web pages	90 million	\$33
BET.com (www.bet.com)	Portal site offering interactive communities and entertainment content etc.	20 million	\$35
BlackVoices (www.blackvoices.com)	Afro-centric news, information, and entertainment	20 million	\$30-\$45
NetNoir (www.netnoir.com)	Afro-centric content community	10 million	\$40
Black Stocks (www.blackstocks.com)	Information for black investors	8 million	\$25 adv
The Black World Today (www.tbwt.com)	News, analysis, and editorial commentary about the black diaspora	3 million	\$25 adv
Blacksingles.com (www.blacksingles.com)	For professional singles who want to meet other singles	2 million	\$25 adv
Blackvue (www.blackvue.com)	Urban media guide to music, radio, movies, TV shows, etc.	1.25 million	\$25 adv
Everything Black (www.everythingblack.com)	Links to web sites of African-American content	500 thousand	\$25 adv
Digisoul (www.digisoul.com)	Portal site with free e-mail, homepages, and interactive discussion	500 thousand	\$25 adv
American Visions Society (www.americanvisions.com)	An international calendar and chats with health, travel, cooking professionals, and celebrities	450 thousand	\$25 -\$50
Ebony Online (www.ebony.com)	Provides the best news about African-American achievers	150 thousand	\$45 dc
Essence Online (www.essence.com)	Lifestyle magazine for African-American women	69 thousand	\$45 dc
Florida Black Folk (www.floirdablackfolk.com)	Designed to increase Internet awareness among black businesses in Florida	3 thousand	\$25 adv
Singled In (www.singledin.com)	Healthcare, fitness, sports, finance, and investing for black singles	1.5 thousand	\$25 adv
Tribal Heat (www.tribalheat.com)	Melting pot for African-Americans, Native Americans, and other minorities	1.3 thousand	\$25 adv

*CPM, cost per thousand, is the rate that advertisers pay for 1000 views of a page on which an advertisement appears. The abbreviations "adv" and "dc" denote that the web site is affiliated with the AdVenture or Doubleclick network.

Notes

1. Cyber Dialogue, "American Internet User Survey" (1999).
2. Ibid.
3. A study on radio industry advertising practices released by the Federal Communication Commission suggested that some ad agencies and/or advertisers discriminate against African-American and Hispanic targeted radio stations due the desire to disassociate a company's image from minority consumers, disregard for market research on minority spending patterns, and the desire not to have minority patronage. Kofi A. Ofori, *When Being No. 1 Is Not Enough: The Impact of Advertising Practices on Minority-Owned & Minority-Formatted Broadcast Stations* (Washington, DC: Civil Rights Forum on Communications Policy, 1999). Also available at: http://www.fcc.gov/Bureaus/Mass_Media/Informal/ad-study/adsynopsis.html (last accessed March 5, 2001).
4. National Telecommunications and Information Administration, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, "Falling Through the Net: Defining the Digital Divide," July 1999.
5. J. Ledbetter, "Dividing the Divide," *The Industry Standard*, January 3, 2000 and at <http://www.thestandard.com/article/display/0,1151,8476,00.html> (describing race as a "poor analytic filter") (last accessed March 5, 2001).
6. E. Walsh, Forrester Research Inc., "The Digital Melting Pot," *The Forrester Brief* (March 3, 1999): 2.
7. Don Coleman Advertising/Yankelovich Partners, "1999 African-American Monitor" (1999): 39.
8. See page 27, "When Advertising Isn't Enough: Alternative Business Models."
9. Joseph Mouzon, Chief Executive Officer, Imhotech, interview by author, March 31, 2000.
10. Stations targeted to African-Americans rank first in the Washington, D.C., Miami, and Houston Arbitron markets. Such stations rank second in the Detroit, Washington, D.C., and New York markets based upon local commercial shares. Data obtained from Media Access Pro, version 2.6, published by BIA Research Inc.
11. Kofi A. Ofori, *When Being No. 1 Is Not Enough* (Washington, DC: Civil Rights Forum on Communications Policy, 1999): 55. Also available at: http://www.fcc.gov/Bureaus/Mass_Media/Informal/ad-study/adsynopsis.html (last accessed March 5, 2001).
12. Advertiser rates are derived from the power ratios of WTOP and WPGC provided by Media Access Pro, version 2.6, published by BIA Research Inc.
13. Asten Morgan, Jr., Vice President, Sales, NetNoir Inc., interview by author, April 1, 2000.
14. eMarketer, "The eAdvertising Report" (December 1999): 81. The Internet Advertising Bureau reported that the 10 leading Internet sites accounted for 72% of third quarter 1999 advertising revenues. Internet Advertising Bureau, "IAB Internet Advertising Revenue Report, Executive Summary" (2000): 2.

15. In other industry sectors an 80/20 ratio is the norm. "The Advertising Report."
16. Figures are derived from estimates of annual ad revenues and the number of ad supported web sites. eMarketer estimates that ad revenues were \$3.1 billion in 1999 and that the number of US based ad supported web sites was 6,112. eMarketer, "The eAdvertising Report" (December 1999): 80 – 81. In comparison, the Internet Advertising Bureau estimates that 1999 advertising revenues exceeded \$4 billion. Internet Advertising Bureau, "Internet Advertising Revenue Report, Executive Summary" (2000): 1.
17. Asten Morgan, Jr., Vice President, Sales, NetNoir Inc., interview by author, April 1, 2000.
18. eMarketer reports the minimal threshold for generating advertiser support is one million page views per month. eMarketer, "The eAdvertising Report" (December 1999): 97. Traffic at half the African-American targeted sites exceeds that number (see Appendix). For a current list of top US sites according to unique page views, visit the Nielsen/Netratings Reporter at www.nielsen-netratings.com/weekly.htm (last accessed February 26, 2001) and the Media Metrix Press Room at <http://www.mediametrix.com/usa/press/releases/> (last accessed February 26, 2001).
19. The CPM, or cost per thousand, is what an advertiser pays for one thousand views of a page on which an advertisement appears. eMarketer reports that the average CPM has declined from \$40 in 1997 to \$35 in mid-1999. eMarketer, "The eAdvertising Report" (December 1999):147. In comparison, About.com reports the present average CPM to be \$20. Brian Cavoli, About.com, "Advertising Online," February 24, 2000, <http://adsonline.about.com/industry/adsonline/aa011000.htm> (last accessed March 5, 2001).
20. For a discussion of advertising rates based upon site content see, AdRelevance Intelligence, "A Survey of Ad Dimensions and Rate Card Prices," January 17, 2000, http://www.adrelevance.com/intelligence/ratereport12_99.pdf (last accessed March 5 2001).
21. Asten Morgan, Jr., Vice President, Sales, NetNoir, interview by author, April 1, 2000.
22. Don Rojas, President, The Black World Today, interview by author, March 14, 2000. Negotiated prices for highly trafficked sites such as DoubleClick and 24/7 have been estimated to range from \$3 to \$7. eMarketer, "The eAdvertising Report" (December 1999): 149.
23. African-Americans, especially "urban mindsets," are reported to look for cultural cues in media, advertising, and shopping experiences. Fifty-six percent of the African-Americans and seventy-three percent of the "urban mindsets" are reported to pay more attention to commercials that run during TV programs with a primarily African-American cast. Don Coleman Advertising/Yankelovich Partners, "1999 African-American Monitor," (1999): 8.
24. Remarks of Kevin Dowell, CEO of Volume.com, before the "Marketing Opportunities in Black Entertainment" conference in Los Angeles (April 1, 2000).
25. Anthony Williams, Vice President of MSBDFA Management Group, interview by author, March 14, 2000.
26. Figures derived from the "1999 American Internet User Survey" by Cyber Dialogue. Underscoring the affluence of the online African-American segment, Cyber Dialogue reports that the average household income for African-Americans online is \$58,300 and that 18% have incomes of \$75,000 or more. See, Cyber Dialogue, "While Digital Gap Remains, 4.9 Million

- African-Americans Now Online According to Cyber Dialogue,” December 10, 1999. Available at: <http://www.cyberdialogue.com/news/releases/index.html> (last accessed March 5, 2001). Also see, J. Ledbetter, “Dividing the Divide,” *The Industry Standard*, January 3, 2000 and at <http://www.thestandard.com/article/display/0,1151,8476,00.html> (last accessed March 5, 2001). “I’ve been looking at these numbers since 1998, says Idil Cakim, an analyst for Cyber Dialogue, a New York research firm, and I’ve determined that income is the controlling factor for Internet access.” According to Cakim’s research, there is essentially no digital divide by race among the wealthiest Americans.”).
27. According to Forrester Research, factors such as income, education, technology optimism, and primary motivation more accurately describe the digital divide than racial/ethnic background. See E. Walsh, “The Digital Melting Pot,” *Forrester Research*, March 3, 1999.
28. Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. “National Opinion Poll Factsheet, Internet Use 1998 and 1999.” Available at: <http://www.jointcenter.org/factshts/nopfcsh.pdf> (last accessed March 5, 2001).
29. Cyber Dialogue, “While Digital Gap Remains, 4.9 Million African-Americans Now Online According to Cyber Dialogue,” December 10, 1999. Available at: <http://www.cyberdialogue.com/news/releases/index.html> (last accessed March 5, 2001).
30. I. Cakim, “Analyst Insight: Old Racial Issues in a New Medium,” *The Industry Standard*, April 5, 2000 and at: <http://www.thestandard.com/research/metrics/display/0,2799,9857,00.html> (last accessed March 5, 2001). Writing for Cyber Dialogue, Mr. Cakim also found African-Americans “disproportionately more likely” to register on Web sites than the total user population. Cyber Dialogue, “While Digital Gap Remains, 4.9 Million African-Americans Now Online According to Cyber Dialogue,” December 10, 1999. Available at: <http://www.cyberdialogue.com/news/releases/index.html> (last accessed March 5, 2001).
31. In comparison, \$331 was spent by Asian-Americans, \$254 by whites, and \$254 by Hispanics. E. Walsh, “The Truth about the Digital Divide,” *Forrester Research*. (April 2000): 6.
32. *Ibid.* (based upon percentage of purchases by online households).
33. E. Walsh, “The Digital Melting Pot,” *Forrester Research* (March 1999): 2.
34. African-Americans were reported by Cyber Dialogue to make relatively fewer purchases in the travel and clothing categories. Cyber Dialogue, “While Digital Gap Remains, 4.9 Million African-Americans Now Online According to Cyber Dialogue,” December 10, 1999. Available at: <http://www.cyberdialogue.com/news/releases/index.html> (last accessed March 5, 2001).
35. Internet Advertising Bureau and Millward Brown Interactive, “1997 IAB Online Advertising Effectiveness Study,” (1997): 7. eMarketer reports similar findings by Ipsos-ASI, but also points out that the effectiveness of banner ads must be examined in the context of studies that show that the majority of web users ignore banner ads. eMarketer, “The eAdvertising Report” (December 1999):109-114.
36. Don Coleman Advertising/Yankelovich Partners, “1999 African-American Monitor” (1999): 10-13.
37. *Ibid.*, 7.

38. eMarketer, "The eAdvertising Report" (December 1999):114.
39. The ROI model is used increasingly to evaluate the effectiveness of the Internet as an effective advertisement medium. Four common methods are: 1) Advertising-To-Sales Ratio – total cost of web advertising divided by online sales during the same period; 2) Click-Through Rate – the number of click-throughs divided by the number of ad impressions served; 3) Cost-Per-Lead –ad rates based upon number of web users that participate in a contest or complete a registration form; and 4) Cost-Per-Sale–ad rates based upon number of web consumers that make a purchase as a direct result of the ad campaign. Ibid., 152.
40. Ibid., 153.
41. Ibid., 78.
42. Ibid., 81.
43. Rep firms typically aggregate many web sites to sell national advertising.
44. LaTonya Junior, President of My.com (formerly with Stedman Graham & Partners), interview by author, January 19, 2000.
45. Sites with the abbreviation "dc" are part of the DoubleClick.com network.
46. Don Rojas, President, The Black World Today, interview by author, March 14, 2000.
47. Remarks of Melvin Fallis, VP of Sales and Marketing, BlackVoices.com before the "Marketing Opportunities in Black Entertainment" conference in Los Angeles (April 1, 2000).
48. Robert Bush, Director of Online Services, American Vision Society, interview by author, March 21, 2000.
49. Remarks of Kevin Dowdell, CEO, Volume.com, before the "Marketing Opportunities in Black Entertainment" conference in Los Angeles (April 1, 2000).
50. S. Henry, "Today's the Big Day for BET.COM," *The Washington Post*, Washington Business Section (February 7, 2000): 10.
51. E-commerce figures represent business-to-consumer sales only. Business-to-business sales are projected to be \$102.5 billion for 2000 and \$573 billion by 2003. eMarketer, "The eAdvertising Report" (December 1999): 45.
52. Remarks of Dwayne Walker, CEO, Shopnow.com, before the "Marketing Opportunities in Black Entertainment" conference in Los Angeles (April 1, 2000).
53. Gwen D. Richardson, Co-Founder, Cushcity.com, interview by author, April 1, 2000.
54. Thompson, M. J., "Customer Feeding Frenzy: E-Retailers vie for \$185 billion," *The Industry Standard*, November 15, 1999 and at: <http://www.thestandard.com/research/metrics/display/0,2799,10077,00.html> (last March 5, 2001).
55. Remarks of Dwayne Walker, CEO of Shopnow.com, before the "Marketing Opportunities in Black Entertainment" conference in Los Angeles (April 1, 2000).

APPENDIX

Aspen Institute
Forum on Diversity and the Media

Reinventing Minority Media for the 21st Century

July 13-15, 2000
Aspen, Colorado

List of Conference Participants

Carol L. Adams-Means

Journalism Doctoral Candidate
and
Program Coordinator for Digital
Archive
College of Communications
University of Texas, Austin

Peggy Binzel

Executive Vice President
National Cable Television
Association

Karen Buller

President and CEO
National Indian
Telecommunications Institute

Renato Ciria-Cruz

Editor/Web Site
Pacific News Service and New
California Media Online

Jannette Dates

Dean
School of Communications
Howard University

Debra Dickerson

Senior Fellow
New America Foundation

Charles M. Firestone

Executive Director
Communications and Society
Program
The Aspen Institute

Ernesto Fraga

Editor
Tiempo

Jon Funabiki

Program Officer
Media, Arts and Culture
The Ford Foundation

Jim Grau

President and CEO
AllNationsOnline.com

Elvira Grau

Elvira Consulting, Inc.

Note: Titles and affiliations are as of the date of the conference.

Nat Irvin, II
President and CEO
Future Focus 2020
Babcock Graduate School of
Management
Wake Forest University

Benjamin Todd Jealous
Executive Director
National Newspaper Publishers
Association

Mark Lloyd
Executive Director
Civil Rights Forum on
Communications Policy

Lavonne Luquis
President and CEO
Latino.com

Pluria Marshall, Jr.
Owner
Informer
and
Texas Freeman

Kofi Ofori
Consultant
Ofori & Associates

América Rodríguez
Associate Professor
Departments of Radio-
Television-Film & Journalism
University of Texas, Austin

Don Rojas
Founder, Publisher, and CEO
The Black World Today
and
Black World Radio Network

Jorge Reina Schement
Professor
College of Communications
and
Co-Director
Institute for Information Policy
Pennsylvania State University

Jonathan Webb
Executive Director
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Patricia Katopol
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Note: Titles and affiliations are as of the date of the conference.

About the Authors

América Rodríguez, former correspondent for National Public Radio (NPR), is an associate professor at the University of Texas, Austin. She teaches in the Department of Radio-Television-Film and the Department of Journalism, and is director of the College of Communication's Senior Fellows program (an undergraduate honors program). Rodríguez is the author of *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Sage, 1999). She has published articles about Latino journalism and the construction of the Hispanic audience in *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *Communication Review*, and *Quarterly Journal of Film and Video* as well as several mass communications anthologies. She has a B.A. in English and Spanish Literature from Swarthmore College, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Communication from the University of California, San Diego.

Kofi Asiedu Ofori, a graduate of Boston University School of Law, is presently in private practice in the District of Columbia. He served as Director of Research for the Civil Rights Forum on Communications Policy from 1997 to 1999. During his tenure at the Civil Rights Forum, Ofori prepared a study on discriminatory advertising practices in the radio industry for the Federal Communications Commission, *When Being No. 1 Is Not Enough*. Ofori was chief lobbyist for the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ. His areas of interest include the digital divide, broadcast media ownership concentration, minority tax certificates, market entry barriers for small and minority-owned businesses, broadcast program content standards, petitions-to-deny license renewals, equal employment opportunity, and interconnection standards for local exchange competition. Ofori is the lead author of the book *Blackout? Media Ownership Concentration and the Future of Black Radio*. He has also worked for the Black College Communications Association to identify funds to revise communications curricula at historically black colleges and universities. Ofori is a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association and has served as a board member of the Minority Media and Telecommunications Council.

The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program

The overall goal of the Communications and Society Program is to promote integrated, thoughtful, values-based decision making in the fields of communications, media, and information policy. In particular, the Program focuses on the implications of communications and information technologies on democratic institutions, individual behavior, instruments of commerce, and community life.

The Communications and Society Program accomplishes this goal through two main types of activities. First, it brings together leaders of industry, government, the nonprofit sector, media organizations, the academic world, and others for roundtable meetings to explore the political, economic, and societal impact of communications and information infrastructures. Second, the Program promotes research and distributes conference reports to local, national, and global decision makers in the communications and information fields, and to the public at large.

Topics addressed by the Program vary as issues and the policy environment evolve. In recent years, the Communications and Society Program has chosen to focus on the issues of Internet policy, electronic commerce, information literacy, digital broadcasting, international and domestic telecommunications regulation, journalism, the role of the media in democratic society, and the impact of new communications technologies on democratic institutions and practices.

Charles M. Firestone is executive director of the Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program. Prior to joining the Aspen Institute in 1989, Mr. Firestone was director of the Communications Law Program at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and an adjunct professor at the UCLA Law School. He was also first president of the Los Angeles Board of Telecommunications Commissioners. Mr. Firestone's career includes positions as an attorney at the Federal Communications Commission, as director of litigation for a Washington, D.C. based public interest law firm, and as a communications attorney in Los Angeles. He has argued several landmark communications cases before the United States Supreme Court and other federal appellate courts.

Previous Publications from the Aspen Institute Forum on Diversity and the Media

*Coming Together—Bridging the Gap between Investors and Minority
Internet Entrepreneurs (2000)*

Robert M. Entman. This report is a thought-provoking presentation of the problems minority Internet entrepreneurs face in their quest for venture capital funding. It also recommends some initiatives for overcoming the paucity of funding opportunities. 38 pages, ISBN Paper: 0-89843-298-7, \$12.00 per copy.

*Changing Rules in the Market for Attention: New Strategies for Minority
Programming (2000)*

Richard P. Adler. This report addresses new strategies and business models for producing and distributing news, entertainment, and general programming in traditional and digital media with the goal of increasing minority participation in all levels of the media. 68 pages, ISBN Paper: 0-89843-293-6, \$12.00 per copy.

*Investing in Diversity: Advancing Opportunities for Minorities and the
Media (1998)*

Amy Korzick Garmer. This volume is the result of work done during the first two years of the Aspen Institute Forum on Diversity and the Media. It includes papers on a wide range of issues (for example, demographics, economics, Internet usage, business ethics) that relate to the broader goal of the forum, which is to identify and understand the business case for greater cultural and ethnic diversity in the media. 249 pages, ISBN Paper: 0-89843-240-5, \$12.00 per copy.