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WHAT'S ON PAGE ONE?
HOW MINORITIES ARE DEPICTED IN THE NATIONAL PRINT PRESS

by
Susan Guthrie Chang Saridakis

A Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts Degree
of
The Graduate School
at
Rowan University
May 1, 2001

Approved by _____

Date Approved 5/7/01

ABSTRACT

Susan Guthrie Chang Saridakis

What's on Page One? How Minorities are Depicted in the National Print Press
2001

Dr. John Klanderman and Dr. Roberta Dihoff
School Psychology

The purpose was to identify how positively minority groups and non minority groups are depicted in the American print media. Fifty-two editions each of USA Today and The Wall Street Journal published during 2000 were rated for how positively and negatively minority and non minority groups were portrayed. Two raters completed a questionnaire, identifying 1,144 newspaper stories and providing 1,626 ratings of minority and/or minority groups. Descriptive data and correlational results were calculated. No relationship between socioeconomic status of readership and positive presentation of group or minority/non minority group membership and positive presentation of group were found. However, it was found that non minority white males were overrepresented in newspaper stories and that stories about gay men and lesbian women and disabled people groups were very rare.

MINI ABSTRACT

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Chapter One

Need

The twentieth century has truly been a century of both technological and social change. In the field of physics we have seen the advent of the theory of relativity, the atom bomb, and discovery of black holes. In the life sciences, we've seen the elimination of some diseases (smallpox) and the advent of others (AIDS), the discovery of DNA, the mapping of the human genome, the discovery and use of antibiotics, and fantastic diagnostic tools like MRI and PET, which can show real time functioning of the brain. Art is not just viewed, it is performed! The computer was invented and not only records our banking transactions, but controls our cars and our kitchen appliances and has transformed life, especially with the advent of the Internet. Politically we've seen the rise and the fall of communism and the withering away of most monarchies. Spiritually, we've seen the spread of Islam and wondered: Is God Dead? In psychology we've seen the flowering of Freud, the acceptance of psychotherapy and the decade of the brain.

One change that has pervasively affected American society is acceptance of the norm that discrimination due to age, gender, race, religion, national origin, physical disability or sexual orientation is unacceptable. While this change is consistent with the United States as a class free (or mostly class free) society, it is only recently that this norm has been woven more or less successfully into public practice.

The conceptual roots of non-discrimination are quite old, dating back at least to

early Christian teachings that all people are equal in sin and equal in their opportunity to be saved. The practice of non-discrimination was not there, however, for St. Paul, a contemporary of Jesus, placed men squarely at the head of both religious and family structures: "...so you wives must submit to your husbands in everything" Ephesians 5:24 (New Living Translation) and "I do not let women teach men or have authority over them. Let them listen quietly" 1 Timothy 2:11 (New Living Translation). Subsequently, the theoretical underpinnings of non discrimination were advanced by several philosophers and political theorists, notably John Locke, who believed in religious freedom, in the inherent goodness and equality of all people and that church and state should be separated (Encarta, 2000). An empiricist and liberal, Locke believed that people had a duty to overthrow unjust governments, and many of his beliefs were incorporated into the government of the United States. The founding of the United States, hailed as an experiment in tolerance, included a constitution that counted African-Americans as equivalent to 3/5 of a white man, and women were not allowed to vote!! (Carr, 1971).

The practice of non-discrimination was left to non-mainstream groups, such as the Quakers, or The Religious Society of Friends. Their practice, and that of their founder, George Fox, is to "walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one" (Fox, cited in Outreach Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1994); this led them to be both early adopters of non-discriminatory beliefs and activists for the downtrodden. Some of their causes and beliefs included equality of all people, women as preachers, abolition of slavery and better conditions for criminals.

The late eighteenth and nineteenth century gave witness to several American reform movements that were attempts to practice non discriminatory ideals: Jane Adams founded Hull House, which provided urban social services, Dorothea Dix championed the rights of criminals and people with mental disabilities, John Woolman, a Quaker, and Frances Wright, who founded the utopian settlement of Nashoba, in Memphis, Tennessee, were both anti-slavery advocates. Other utopian communities included the New Harmony community in Indiana, an experiment in cooperative living, and the Oneida community, a religious and social experiment. The Women's Rights movement, which had its roots in the Age of Enlightenment, was very active. The Seneca Falls (New York) Convention was held in 1852, and the movement went on to champion the right to vote, temperance, property rights, health and reproductive issues, equality in divorce and children's custody, and employment rights.

The beginning of the twentieth century finally gave American women the right to vote, although not until this researcher's mother was 4 years old! Ideals were advancing, but their practice was tenuous. The Nazi Holocaust was a defining moment at mid-century, where the world witnessed the unspeakable horrors visited on Jews and certain ethnic groups. The culmination of World War II destroyed two military powers (Germany and Japan) and created two others (China and the Soviet Union) and also unleashed many other changes: scientific, economic, and social. In 1954, the year this researcher was born, the United States Supreme Court ruled racial segregation in public schools illegal in *Brown v. The Board of Education*. In 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on the

bus to a white man, and the US civil rights movement entered a decisive phase. The civil rights movement was followed in succession by a renewed women's movement, seniors' rights, gay and lesbian pride, and activism for the rights of the handicapped.

There is, however a certain schizophrenic nature to the turn of the twenty-first century non-discrimination state of affairs.

On the positive side:

a) American society is becoming increasingly multicultural. Currently, racial and ethnic minorities alone (African-Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans and Asian Americans) are about 31% of the population (Schmitt, 2001). The US Census Bureau predicts that by 2050, this population subgroup will constitute 50% of the population. (US Bureau of the Census, 1995, cited in Hall, 1997).

b) American laws provide legal protection for minority groups – the Fifth Amendment separates church and state, the Thirteenth prohibits slavery, the Fourteenth provides equal protection against state violation of federal law, and the Nineteenth Amendment granted voting rights to women. Federal legislation supporting Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) include Sections 1981 and 1983 of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1871, The Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Order 11246 of 1965, The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, and The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Gutman, 1993). Even this is not an exhaustive list, since many states have passed their own non-discrimination statutes.

c) Norms of 'political correctness' protect us all

d) Even though America is not color blind, increasingly non-whites are among those most admired by Americans. Examples include Michael Jordan, Colin Powell, Nelson Mandela, Maya Angelou, Rosa Parks, and Martin Luther King Jr. Other widely admired African-Americans are Tiger Woods, Oprah Winfrey, and less recently, Muhammed Ali, and Michael Jackson (Seplow, 2000).

On the negative side:

a) In recent years there have been numerous high profile cases where minorities were principals in violent crimes. Examples include the O.J. Simpson murder trial, the violent death of Amadou Diallo at the hands of New York City police (shot with 41 bullets), the dragging death of James Byrd in Texas, and the murder of Matthew Shepard, a gay student who was beaten, tied to a fence, and left exposed to the elements.

b) Increasing multiculturalism brings opportunities for learning AND increased opportunities for conflict. Ireland is currently growing in both population and immigration, with 40% of immigrants not Irish. Unemployment is low, and the economy is booming. However, since the country has been historically white and Catholic, the country has had difficulties in welcoming those who don't fit into the historical definition of what it is to be Irish. The government planned to fingerprint every asylum seeker older than 14; these seekers are often denied work permits for fear that it will be difficult to deport them once they are employed. So in a land where unemployment has dropped from 13.0% to 4.7% in 6 years (1994 to 2000), asylum seekers sit in refugee shelters instead of

working (Vrazo, 2000).

c) The public debate on how to rectify wrongs has not been satisfied, with the desirability and efficacy of Affirmative Action and preferences litigated in both the court system and the ‘court’ of public opinion.

d) There are two generations in American society who reached adulthood before non-discrimination had become the law and the norm of the land.

e) Even among those born since 1960, who presumably have been raised with non-discriminatory ideals, there is no agreement about what is acceptable or even legal behavior.

Given these conflicting forces, it is, in the researcher’s opinion, worthwhile to assess the state of the United States in non-discrimination affairs. Two obvious barometers of minority treatment are behavior and opinion. One measure that reflects both is how the media presents minorities, as the media both shapes and reflects society. The media itself is changing. Traditionally it has included the various print media, radio, television, cable, and more recently, the Internet. While the print media is viewed by some as ‘old economy’ compared to the zines and e-newspapers on the Internet, print papers and magazines are still both widely read and are influential. They provide coverage rivaling the Internet for depth, ease of use, and comprehensiveness, in the researcher’s opinion.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to assess how minorities are presented to the

American public by national newspapers. This will be done by analyzing the contents of a year of front pages of two national American newspapers – the Wall Street Journal and USA Today.

Hypotheses

The study will investigate three hypotheses:

- a) 50% or more of minority stories in newspapers either present minorities negatively or, in the raters's opinions, represent a negative state of affairs
- b) A newspaper with a demographic readership geared to the financial community, The Wall Street Journal (whose readers have an annual household income of \$163,616 (Wall Street Journal, No Date) will present a more negative representation of minorities than a newspaper geared to the general population (USA Today, with an average annual household income of \$71,661 (Hawkins, 2001, March 23)).
- c) Non minorities will be more likely to be portrayed positively than minorities.

Definitions

Mass media – the collection of communication methods directed at large numbers of individuals. This includes television, cable, radio, the Internet, and the various print methods, which includes books, newspapers and magazines.

Minority – a US resident who meets one or more of the following categories:
Race: African-American (or Black, Negro), Native American or Alaska Native, Asian (including Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Native

Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Somoan, Pacific Islander, or Other Asian).

Religion: any non-Christian religion: Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, or other.

Ethnicity: any non Anglo-Saxon (not born in or a descendent of an inhabitant of England, Scotland, or Wales).

Gender: females.

Sexual orientation: gay men and lesbian women.

Age – people 55 years old and older.

Disabled: a person or group who has a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of the individual or group.

Examples include: sight impaired, hearing impaired, autism, mental retardation.

Minority data – data developed in this study from a day when stories with minorities only were rated.

Minority and non-minority data – data developed in this study from a day when stories with both minority and non-minority individuals were rated.

Multicultural – reflecting varied cultures.

News article – news stories that have at least 2 separate paragraphs.

Non-discrimination – the belief that an individual's or group's rights should not be reduced or increased due to race, religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, or disability.

News mention – a news story that may be an independent story or may only summarize an article appearing elsewhere in the newspaper. It always has less than 2

paragraphs.

News story – a general term for any mass media content that is non-paid advertising.

Subject story – a newspaper story that was selected for content review because it contained references to minorities or non-minorities.

Assumptions

It is assumed that a single year of newspapers reviewed will be sufficient to smooth out any data skewing due to a single news event of unusual proportions, such as the OJ Simpson murder trial.

It is also assumed that raters will be able to accurately determine who is and is not a minority.

It is valid to compare and contrast newspapers which have different goals; USA Today is a general newspaper, while the Wall Street Journal targets financial readers.

Finally, it is assumed that raters will accurately record their assessments of how minorities are presented in newspapers and not give answers because they are felt to be politically correct.

Limitations

Since only the front pages of newspapers will be reviewed, it is assumed that this will provide an adequate representation of how minorities are represented in print. Since both subject newspapers provide summaries of content in subsequent parts of the newspaper, this is a fair assumption.

Ratings were made by two individuals will provide a sufficiently fair rating of news stories. While it would have been preferable to have more raters, it was difficult to find people willing to make the time commitment.

Overview

Chapter II, a review of the literature, will include a review of research that shows why the study of minority presentation in the media is important and will also review studies that are similar to this one. Chapter III will present the details of the research design. Results will be presented in Chapter IV, and Chapter V will discuss the implications of this research study.

Chapter Two

This chapter is a discussion of literature on minority presentation in the mass media. Three major areas will be covered. First, research and discussion will be presented that answers the question: why is it important to study how the news media presents minorities? While Chapter One presented some general statements on the importance of American multiculturalism, this section will review research primarily on the American media. Then, current issues and events effecting the news media will be presented. Finally, research that studies how the news media presents minorities will be discussed.

Importance of Minority Media Presentation

Recent history and the literature illustrating the importance of minority presentation can be grouped into several categories.

First, the media is important simply because it is pervasive. Just like Marshall McLuhan's fish (McLuhan, 1968 cited in Wolf & Kielwasser, 1991) who doesn't know about water because it is all encompassing, so is the mass media pervasive in modern society. We learn about politics, the global village, health, parenting, food, fashion, cars, and money, from our local newspaper. We chat on the Internet. We learn about famine in Ethiopia from CNN. We hear music on the radio, and rude phrases on The Simpsons. We also learn concepts from the media. We learn, from Good Housekeeping, what good housekeepers are supposed to do with their days. Mass media tells us what is real, even if it is not. "Latinos, who make up over 10 percent of the population, are seen rarely (on

television). And Asian children are very aware that they're not there. When children don't see themselves, they think they don't count" (Gardner, 1998).

Second, one of the eminently practical uses of the media is to introduce change. In the United States, Richard Nixon, a sitting president, was forced to resign by the revelations of Carl Woodward and Bob Bernstein in *The Washington Post*. More recently and more tragically, the murder of Megan Kanka in 1994 led directly to a New Jersey law known widely as Megan's Law, which requires sex offenders to register in the communities where they live. High-risk offender information is then made public. To date, over 20 states have similar laws (Scott, 2000). "With their power to frame, define, and neglect aspects of the social world, the mass media are a principal social and cultural institution...Ethnic, religious, age, and gender groups struggle to influence society's values, myths, symbols, and information through the media." (Gans, 1972 cited in Milkie, 1999).

Third, the media has inherent in it aspects of control – since whoever has control of the media can limit information AND impose a framework for all questions. It's not accidental that in coup d'états, troops quickly secure broadcast facilities. And during the heyday of communism, the mass media was invariably state-controlled.

Harold Lasswell presents an alternate theory on the functions of mass media. He wrote a well regarded essay in 1948 that stated there were three major functions of mass media. The first was surveillance of the society: information is presented so positives and negatives are identified. The second purpose is correlational, so that constituent parts are

evaluated for their status in the society. The third purpose is transmission of social culture from one generation to another (Lasswell, 1948, cited in Wilson and Gutierrez, 1995).

But beyond the theoretical, let's identify some aspects of the media and minorities that are practical in everyday life. While this sounds prosaic and boring, such studies are useful to a wide variety of audiences, in part because when one is studying the multiculturalism, which implies that people are not homogenous (the death of the melting pot concept), then many areas can be studied or restudied with a multicultural cast.

Living a healthy life is a major concern, and one study found that among older adults, African-American survey respondents were more receptive than Asian-American or non minorities in getting health care information from the media (Matthias and Der-Martirosian, 1998). Additionally, the study identified risk factors for the individual minorities, for example, that Asian-Americans are at risk for not getting mammograms and Pap smear exams. Another health study relates the cultural issues for Asian American women receiving gynecological services – in Chinese culture, illness prevention is an unfamiliar concept, there are language barriers, and there are significant modesty issues around breast health and pelvic examinations (Sent and Ballem, 1998).

Sexually transmitted diseases are a continuing health risk in the United States and a catastrophe for many African nations. In an American study of gay and non gay MDs treating HIV patients, healthy gay men and gay men infected with HIV, the gay non physician groups were the most convinced that public reports about HIV were not exaggerated, followed by non gay MDs and lastly, gay men, healthy or not. (Reardon and

Richardson, 1991). This implies that the mass media in the early 90s did not have the confidence of at risk populations and needed to make changes to be effective in curbing the spread of HIV.

In another study in the health field, a review of 2000 newspapers and popular magazines presenting epilepsy found that 31% of stories contained errors, either in scientific accuracy, inaccurate treatments, or exaggeration of risks (Krauss, 2000).

Crime is a troubling aspect of our society. However, the presentation of crime is itself an issue. Are youth gangs a major social problem, or have the facts about them been unreasonably presented, and even distorted, by the police, educators, and the media? Brotherton (1998), presenting ethnographic data, contends that the urban youth gang has been grotesquely distorted as part of the claims-making process of identifying and constructing social issues, with the media presentation of minorities playing a significant role in this process.

Parenting is informed by the nature and content of the media. For example, the link between television viewing and initiation of sexual intercourse in adolescents ages 11-16 did not find a positive relationship. However, for females, there was a nonsignificant correlation between amount of TV viewing without their parents and sexual experience. The relationship for boys was stronger, and the authors suggest this is so because normative pressures for girls against sexual activity were stronger (Peterson and Moore, 1990). However, there is a positive correlation between adolescent viewing of television shows with sexual content and sexual intercourse that is consistent across gender and race

categorizations (Brown and Newcomer, 1991). And as a footnote, there is a statistically significant and causal relationship between aggressive behavior and television viewing (Hampel, 1998).

Let us now proceed beyond the strictly practical. One significant issue is how the media is used to form self-concepts. Of course, one doesn't have to review the scholarly literature to intuitively know that the media presents unrealistic images of minorities. Women are presented so stereotypically that Kellogg's ran a television commercial several years ago spoofing women's body issues, with a man deadpanning "let's face it, I have my father's thighs". There is a body of literature that theorizes that repeated exposure to negative stereotypes about a group causes members to internalize the stereotypes and develop self-hatred (Steele, 1997). One very informative study (Milkie, 1999) contrasts the research of content studies that review what is presented in the media and assume that the self concepts of minorities are harmed by the distorted or exclusive treatment, versus qualitative studies that instead review the meaning that people form from the media. (See Taylor and Stern, 1997, for an example of a content study). She believes that, in interpretive studies, people are not passive recipients of meaning but can be critical of the presented images. She studied White and African-American adolescent girls from both urban and rural communities. Most girls saw the images presented by teen magazines for girls to be unrealistic: even though the magazines presented both white and African-American girls, all subjects indicated that these models were unrealistic – too perfect, too thin, too idealized. A significant racial difference, however, was that most White girls

wanted to emulate the models, however unrealistic, while minority girls did not seek to be like the models, thus rejecting the models as a reference group. Also, White girls believed that males are influenced by the ideals presented by the media, while African-American girls subscribe to a more inclusive image of female beauty. In summary, while most of the subjects were critical of the ideals presented in girls teen magazines, the White girls were unable to reject the ideals as a reference group, and were still harmed by them, while the African-American girls, rejecting the reference group, were not harmed.

Several studies have reviewed introductory college marriage and family textbook content to analyze how minorities are presented. Bryant and Coleman (1988) found that 9 of 25 surveyed texts presented African-American families as culturally deviant, 13 portrayed them from a culturally equivalent model, but that none presented the family as a variant of West African traditions. A 1995 update of this study by Shaw-Taylor and Banokraitis found that only 2.1% of the total space in these texts was devoted to minorities, that Native Americans were 'virtually invisible', and that 29% of texts compared minority families to white, middle-class families instead of as equivalent family structures.

Current Issues in The Mass Media and Minorities

While the media presents the news, analysis, and commentary, it itself is also the subject of news, analysis, and commentary. Of particular interest is the ethnic composition of print journalists in the United States. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) tracks and publicizes the proportion of minorities in print journalism. In 1999, a

survey of United States daily newspapers found the percentage of minority journalists (African-American, Asian American, Hispanic, or Native American) increased from 11.55% to 11.85. This increase – 1/3 of a percent, is actually the largest growth in 5 years. However, the percentage of African-American journalists declined from 5.36% to 5.31%, the first decline in over 20 years (Fitzgerald, 2000). Twenty years ago, ASNE set the goal that the percentage of minorities in print journalism should mirror the US minority population by the year 2000. As of 2000, the minority population is 28.4% of the population, versus 11.9 % in the print journalism profession. Since the goal is not even close to being met, the goal was extended to the year 2025! (Case, 1999a). One contributing factor to the lack of minority journalists is the decline in independent, community-based papers. In the past 20 years, they have declined in number from 700 to 300. Many of them – especially those owned by African-Americans - were family owned, and the Federal estate tax has forced many sales and consolidations (Blethin, 1999). Perhaps not coincidentally, the percentage of minorities that read a daily newspaper is only about 33% compared to 51% of the general population (Case, 1999b). One bright spot is the number of female journalists. The percentage of women at daily newspapers has increased significantly; from 1988 through 1998 the percentage increased from 37% to 43% of the workforce (Strupp, 1999).

Another area of controversy is the use of multicultural media for advertising. Advertising expenditures in the United States are estimated to be about \$200 billion. However, the expenditures on multicultural media are only about \$3.6 billion, or 2% of

the total. However, as noted above, minorities constitute almost 30% of the United States population (Cunningham, 1999). This source notes that Hispanic advertising is focused on television, African-American media is concentrated on radio, and Asian American directed advertising expenditures are on print. A component of this issue is that non-minority media are paid more than minority media. Advertising agencies contend that minority stations reach fewer people than traditional media. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) sponsored a study that contends that minority owned stations earn 29 percent less revenue per listener than non minority owned stations, even when the minority stations have higher ratings (Mellillo, 1999).

Another issue is the presentation of minorities on network television. In the fall of 1999, several minority groups threatened to boycott selected network shows: *Will & Grace* was boycotted by Hispanic groups for using pejorative terms. *Suddenly Susan* was targeted because it is set in San Francisco, whose Asian-American population is 35% of the total, but has no Asian-American characters. The American Muslims for Jerusalem boycotted all Disney-owned programs due to an EPCOT commercial that identified Jerusalem as Israel's capital (Castronovo, Cooper, De Leon, Levy, Taylor, and Thigpen, 1999).

Studies Of Media Content

There are many studies over the past twenty years that describe how various minorities are presented in the mass media. As one might expect from such a broad field, there is great variability in the methods, topics, and conclusions of these studies. Studies

can be categorized by descriptive vs. experimental, type of media studied, minority group investigated, and content vs. qualitative. Finally, the two studies most similar to this one will be reviewed in detail.

Many of these studies are strictly descriptive in nature. Examples include a study of gay males and lesbians that portrays them as a self-described minority group, how the media depicts the mainstream of American life, and how gay men and lesbians are marginalized (Gross, 1991). This study was an unstructured, wide-ranging review of sources from many media samples. Another study similar in its unstructuredness presented a narrative review of three case studies of women undergoing art therapy. This study concluded that this form of counseling is therapeutic in helping clients examine and challenge culture based feminine stereotypes (Ellis, 1989). A more focused study of two Japanese players in the American major leagues set specific time periods for analyzing the New York Times and Los Angeles Times, but beyond this there was no method for selecting which articles were selected (Mayeda, 1999). One descriptive study used a questionnaire asking respondents to self-select a print ad without people of color and comment on it (Hailstolk, 1998). In contrast, Milkie (1999) presents a tight experimental design.

The media studied also varied widely, with a predictable emphasis on print and television media. However, one study reviewed rap music and hip-hop culture among Turkish and Moroccan youth in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, concluding that the music was reworked to express concerns about racism and citizenship (Bennett, 1999). Another

interesting study reviewed comic strips pre and post World War II. In mainstream comics, Asian-Americans and African-Americans were portrayed in harsh stereotypes. Post war, minorities disappeared from the comics as the early stereotypes became politically incorrect to express. In African-American comics, pre-war subjects were relatively wide open, but post war the comics focused on racial equality (Lentall, 1998). A study of television commercials found that stigma oriented television commercials (conditions that show some deviation from the ideal) were not directed especially to minority focused programs but did find that minority performers are frequently used in these stigma oriented commercials (Davis, 1987). A review of 14 weeks of local television coverage in Philadelphia found that persons of color were overrepresented in crime stories compared to noncrime stories and that in crime stories, persons of color are overrepresented in criminal roles as opposed to non criminal roles, (e.g. victim, bystander, expert). Furthermore, this overrepresentation could not be supported by underlying crime statistics (Romer and Jamieson 1998).

The minorities portrayed varied widely, covering all minority groups that will be reviewed in this study. One study reviewed television commercials and found that religious symbolism is rarely used, either because to do so is sacrilegious or because people distrust religious authorities (Maguire, 1999). A study on Hispanic representation in the media found that members of a minority group will be more likely to believe their group is underrepresented than non minorities, and that both blacks and Hispanics found that Hispanics are underrepresented on television. However, contrary to the expected

hypothesis, there were no significant differences between blacks, Hispanics, AND non-minorities in rating the fairness of Hispanics on television (Faber, O'Guinn and Meyer, 1987).

The study that most resembles the current study is a 1995 review of photographs in three California newspapers (DeLouth, Pirson, Hitchcock, and Rienzi, 1995). This study reviewed photographs from the front page and sports pages of two local and one national newspaper. Women were pictured less frequently than men and were more likely to be presented as victims. Overall, women, Latinos, and Asian Americans were underrepresented compared to their representation in the California population. African Americans were overrepresented, but most frequently in the sports section or in criminal roles. Unfortunately, the sample of this study was quite small – only one week.

Summary

This review of the literature identified several key points. First, the mass media is a pervasive and powerful force in modern society. Second, there are many practical applications of studying minorities in the mass media. Third, there are many psychosocial implications of discrimination against minorities in the mass media. Fourth, the United States mass media is under attack for possible discriminatory business practices. Finally, there is great variability in research studies investigating media presentation of minorities, but none that is close in scope to this study.

Chapter Three

Sample

All editions of USA Today and The Wall Street Journal purchased on the east coast from January through December, 2000 comprised the population of newspapers sampled. One day was randomly selected from each week for review of minority stories from both newspapers; this was done to limit the size of the sample and to ensure a seasonal distribution of content. Newspapers were only selected from days when both papers were published to ensure that both newspapers were based on the same current events. Additionally, one day was selected each month from days selected as per above for a review of both minority and non-minority content.

Two Delaware Valley residents read and classified the subject newspapers:

Raters

Rater 1: 47 year old white non Anglo-Saxon male (Greek-Italian ethnicity), college graduate, bachelor's degree in biology, graduate degrees in zoology and business administration, owner operator of a wholesale produce distribution business.

Rater 2: 29 year old white Anglo-Saxon-Irish male college engineering undergraduate student with associate's degree in science, previously employed as a truck driver.

Rater 1 is a relative of the researcher, and Rater 2 is a friend of the researcher.

Measures

In order to test the hypothesis of negative minority presentation, reader demographic data was obtained from both newspapers.

To collect the data of minority newspaper content, a questionnaire was developed (see Appendix A) to determine the overall number of newspaper stories, the number of stories that mention minorities, and the number of minority mentions that are positive, negative, neutral, or other in content. (See Appendix B for rater directions, which include a definition of these categories).

To test the hypothesis that minority media presentation is more negative than non-minority presentation, the number of ratings of non minority mentions and the numbers of non minority mentions that are positive, negative, neutral, or other in content were also collected.

Both raters selected the paper, and not an electronic version, of the data recording form.

Design

This study had both descriptive and experimental components. The descriptive component identified number and percentages of newspaper stories that mention seven minority groups and one non minority group, and further classified the number and percentage of these mentions that were positive, negative, neutral, or other in content in the rater's opinion. For the first experimental component, the study design manipulated the percentage of negative minority mentions as the dependent variable to the independent

variable of reader demographics, namely, that higher socioeconomic status would correlate to a more negative minority presentation. For the second experimental component, the study design manipulated the ratio of positive/negative ratings as the dependent variable to the independent variable of minority vs. non-minority, namely, that non-minorities would be more positively represented.

Testable Hypotheses

Null Hypothesis 1: Less than 50% of minority ratings in newspapers present minorities negatively.

Null Hypothesis 2: Socioeconomic status of newspaper's readers will have no statistically significant effect on how positively or negatively newspapers presented the seven minority subject groups.

Null Hypothesis 3: Minority/non minority status will have no statistically significant effect on how positively or negatively newspapers presented the groups.

Analysis Of Results

Presentation of Results

Aggregate Numbers

1. Table 4-1: number of newspaper stories published in subject newspapers.
2. Figure 4-1: average number of stories published per day, by newspaper, and type.
3. Table 4-2: number of newspapers rated (subject newspapers) by newspaper and type.
4. Table 4-3: number and distribution of rated references.
5. Table 4-4: percentage of subject stories by newspaper and article type.
6. Table 4-5: percentage of subject stories to total stories published in respective newspapers
7. Table 4-6: average number of subject stories per day by newspaper.
8. Figure 4-2: average number of stories counted by rater, newspaper and article type.

Number of Stories by Group

9. Figures 4-3 through 4-8: pie charts of story distribution by minority/non minority group and newspaper.
10. Figure 4-9: Counts per day for stories for minority days by rater.

Story Count by Rater

- 11-13. Figures 4-10 and 4-11: counts per day for stories for minority and non minority days by group, newspaper, and rater.

Favorability Analysis

14. Figures 4-11: bar chart of positive, negative, neutral, and other responses by group.
15. Figures 4-12: bar chart of positive, negative, neutral, and other responses by newspaper.
16. Figures 4-13 and 4-14: bar charts of number of positive, negative, neutral, and other responses by group by rater and by newspaper.
17. Table 4-7: favorability of ratings of minority and non minority groups.

Hypothesis Analysis

18. Tables 4-8 through 4-10: statistical result details

Summary

Two raters analyzed a year of high and low socioeconomic status newspapers for number of minority and non-minority stories and classified these stories by positive, negative, neutral, and other content. Chapter 4 will present an analysis of the results.

Chapter Four

Aggregate Counts

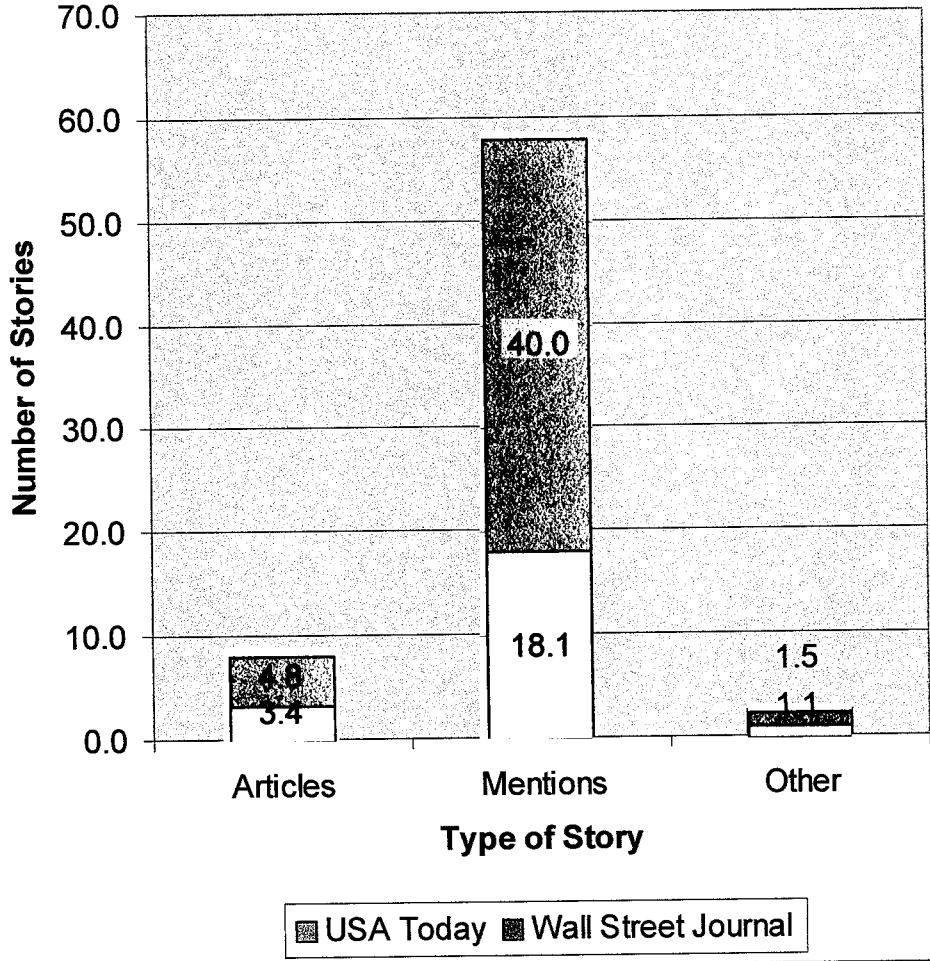
Each rater reviewed 52 editions of USA Today and 52 editions of The Wall Street Journal. For each newspaper, an edition was reviewed from each week of the year 2000. Raters were instructed to rate minority stories from these papers. These are subsequently referred to as Minority data and newspapers. In addition, for each month of 2000, a single edition was selected from the above mentioned editions where the rater additionally reviewed stories about non-minorities; these are referred to as Minority and Non-Minority data and newspapers. Table 4-1 identifies the total number of stories published in these newspapers, which contained 7,173 stories.

Table 4-1
Number of Newspaper Stories Published in Subject Newspapers

	<u>Articles</u>	<u>Mentions</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
USA Today	356	1,883	117	2,356
Wall Street Journal	503	4,162	152	4,817
Total	859	6,045	269	7,173

Figure 4-1 identifies the breakdown of stories by type, with the Wall Street Journal publishing an average of 40.0 mentions per day, vs. 18.1 for USA Today.

Figure 4-1
Average Number of Stories Published Per Day by
Newspaper and Type



This reflects the different formats of these newspapers. Table 4-2 identifies the number of stories that were identified by the raters as falling within the selection criteria for review

noted above; a total of 1,144 stories were reviewed by the raters for positive, negative, neutral or other presentation of the seven minority groups and one non minority group.

These stories are subsequently identified as subject stories.

Table 4-2
Number of Subject Stories in Subject Newspaper by Newspaper and Story Type

	Articles		Mentions		Other		Total
	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	
USA Today	109	60	317	196	6	2	690
Wall Street Journal	77	81	125	169	1	1	454
Total	186	141	442	365	7	3	1,144

Table 4-3
Number and Distribution of Rated Newspaper References

Minority Category	USA	WSJ	Total
Race	178	64	242
Religion	44	73	117
Ethnicity	55	57	112
Gender	387	233	620
Sexual Orientation	8	8	16
Age	63	33	96
Disability	15	3	18
Non Minority	203	202	405
Total	953	673	1,626

Since a subject story can have multiple minority references, Table 4-3 identifies the number and distribution of all stories with minority references: a total of 1,626 stories

were recorded between Raters 1 and 2. Table 4-4 identifies that 60.3 % of subject stories were from USA Today, and 39.7% from The Wall Street Journal.

Table 4-4
Percentage of Subject Stories in Subject Newspaper by Newspaper and Article Type

	Articles		Mentions		Other		Total
	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	
USA Today	9.5	5.2	27.7	17.1	0.5	0.2	60.3
Wall Street Journal	6.7	7.1	10.9	14.8	0.1	0.1	39.7

Table 4-5 compares the number of subject stories to the total stories published in their respective newspapers. Note that USA Today has a higher percentage of subject stories than The Wall Street Journal except for the other category, which were so low in number as to have little effect on results.

Table 4-5
Percentage of Subject Stories to Total of All Stories Published in Own Subject Newspapers

	Articles		Mentions		Other	
	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority
USA Today	4.6	2.5	13.5	8.3	0.3	0.1
Wall Street Journal	1.6	1.7	2.6	3.5	0.0	0.0

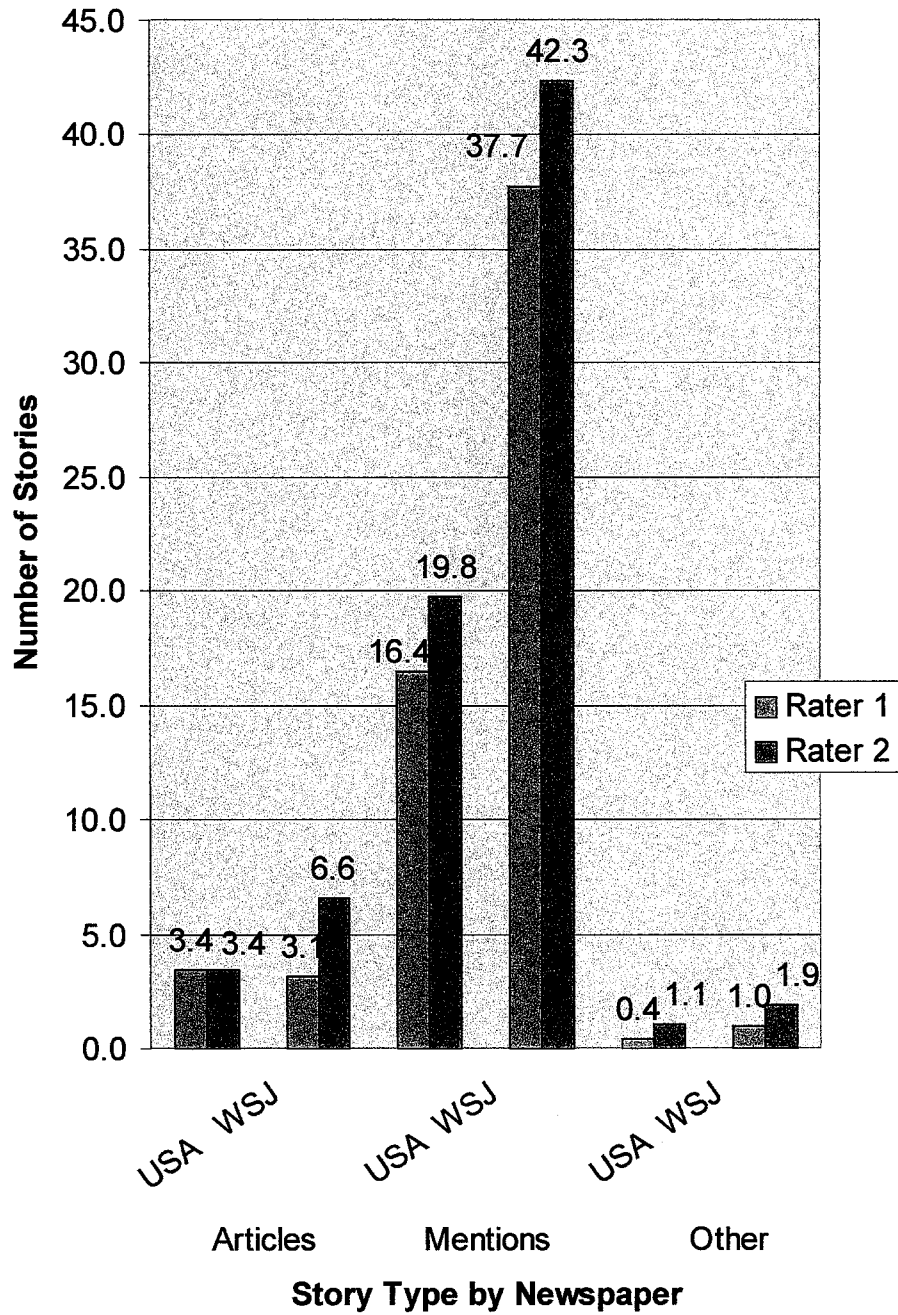
Table 4-6 shows by article type, the average number of subject stories per day in each newspaper. In almost all cases, USA Today had a higher number of average subject stories per day, although The Wall Street Journal has a higher number of stories per day.

Table 4-6
Average Subject Articles per Day by Newspaper and Article Type

	Articles		Mentions		Other	
	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority	Minority	Minority and Non Minority
USA Today	1.0	0.6	3.0	1.9	0.1	0.0
Wall Street Journal	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.6	0.0	0.0

Finally in the area of aggregate analysis, Figure 4-2 displays the average number of published stories counted by each rater in each newspaper and article type. It identifies that the two raters counted published stories differently for The Wall Street Journal articles and mentions for both USA Today and The Wall Street Journal.

Figure 4-2
Average Stories per Day by Newspaper, Type and Rater



Distribution Of Stories By Group

This section describes how the subject stories were distributed by minority and non-minority groups.

The first area of analysis is for the Minority and Non Minority stories. Figure 4-3, 4-4 and 4-5 show respectively the distribution of subject stories for all stories, and then for USA Today only and then The Wall Street Journal only.

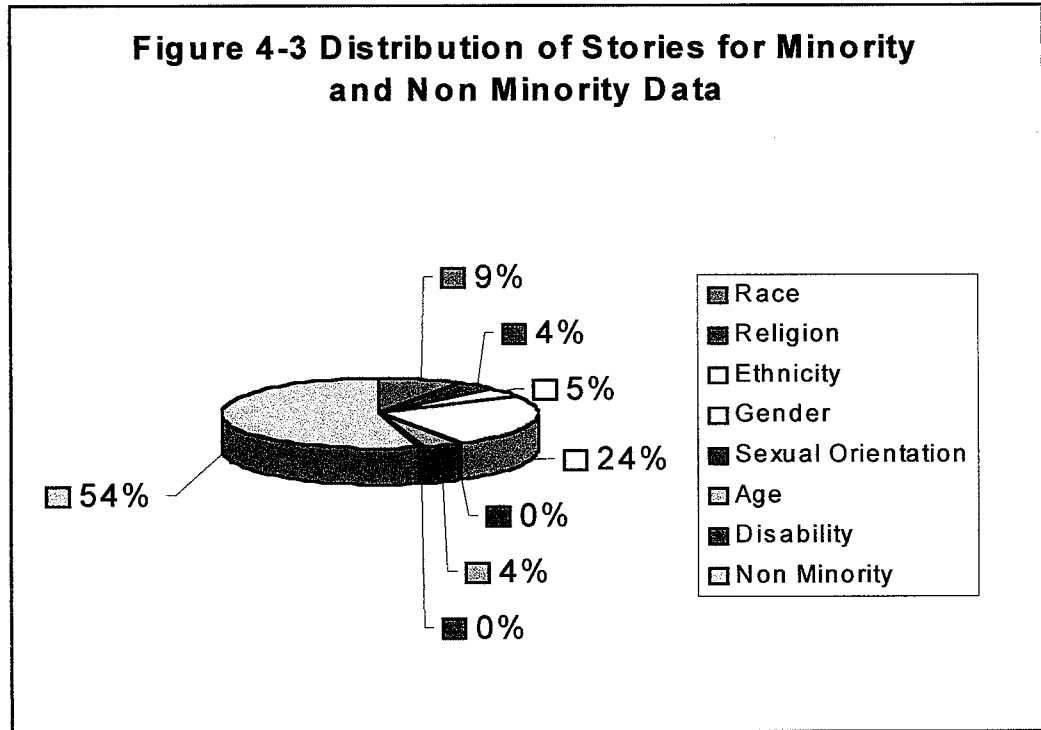


Figure 4-4 Distribution of Stories for USA Today (Minority and Non Minority Data)

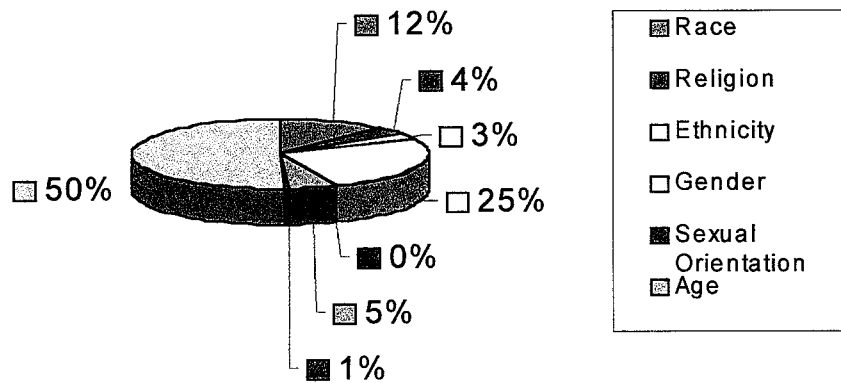
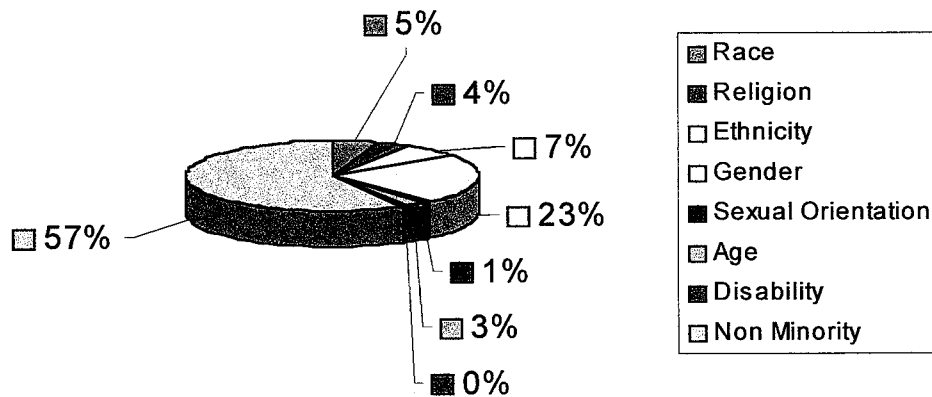


Figure 4-5 Distribution of Stories for Wall Street Journal (Minority and Non Minority Data)



For all these stories, there is a stratification of distribution in descending order:

1. Male stories dominate the distribution, with 50% or more of stories.
2. Female stories follow, with about 25% of stories, even though they are 50% of the population.
3. Stories with racial minorities (predominately African-American) contribute 5-12% of stories
4. Religion, ethnicity and age categories each contribute about 5% each.
5. The 'invisible' minorities of sexual orientation and disability had only a token number of stories.

In summary, the story distribution between USA Today and The Wall Street Journal were remarkably similar.

When non-minority stories are removed, understandably the distribution changes significantly (see Figures 4-6, 4-7, and 4-8).

1. Female stories contribute about 50% of minority only stories.
2. Stories rated with racial content vary significantly by newspaper; USA Today had 24% of stories mentioning racial minorities and The Wall Street Journal had only 14%. This may be due to the anecdotal recollection that many sports stories had racial content, which would get less exposure in The Wall Street Journal.
3. Age and ethnicity stories each contributed about 10%.
4. Religious minority stories (overwhelmingly Judaism) were heavily

represented in The Wall Street Journal (18% of minority stories), but were almost a token representation in USA Today with 5%. Many of these stories were rated as neutral, indicating that the stories were not religious in content, merely that members of identifiably minority religions were mentioned.

5. Sexual orientation and disability stories were still effectively invisible due to low representation.

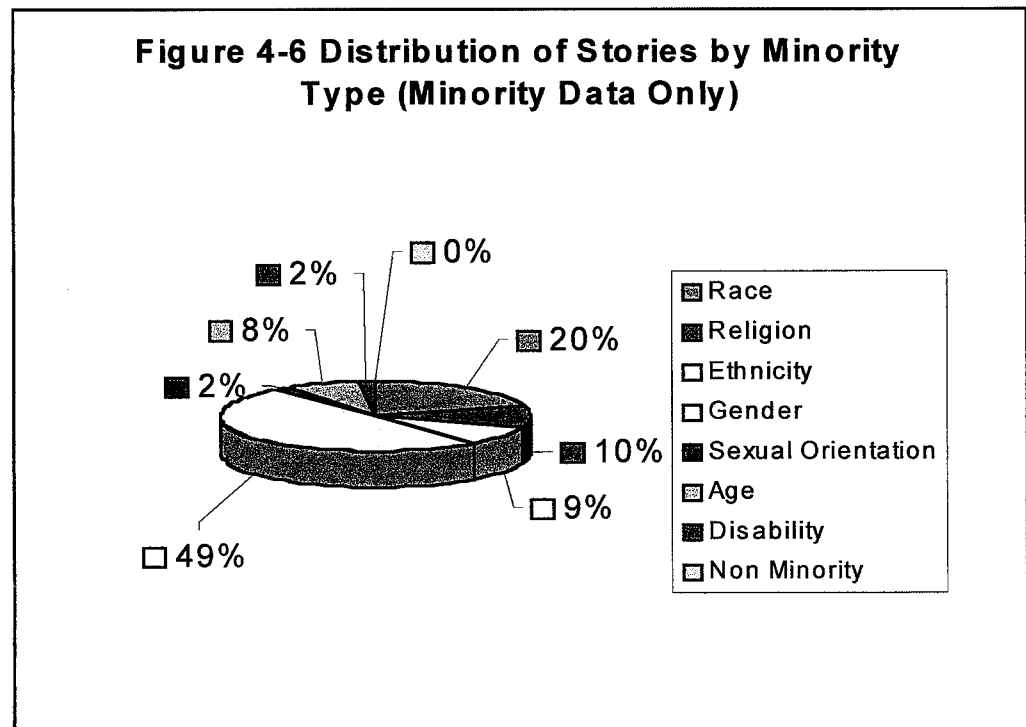


Figure 4-7 Distribution of USA Today Stories (Minority Data Only)

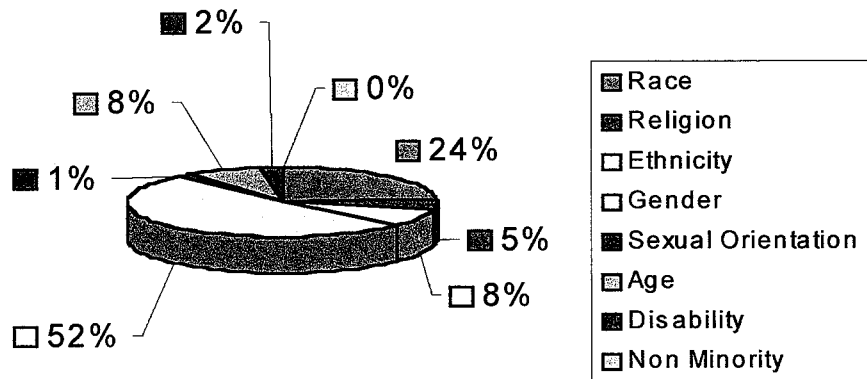
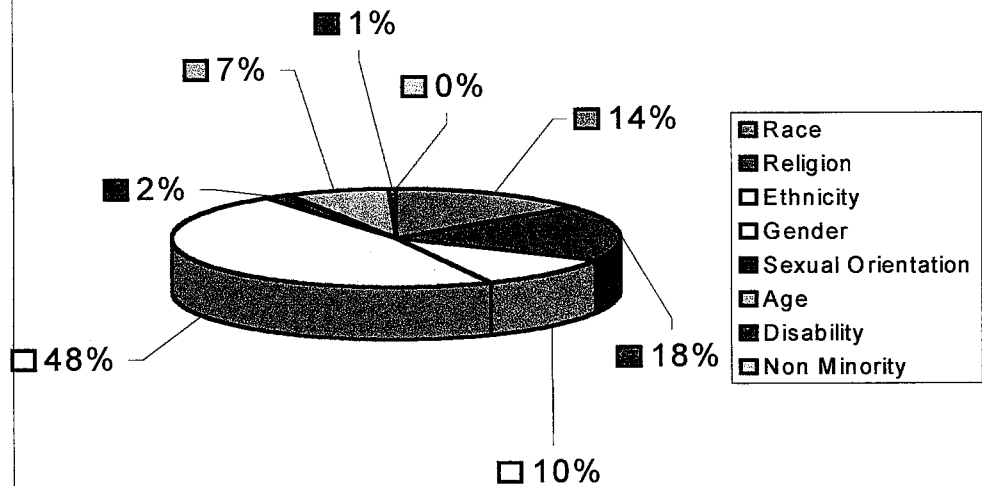
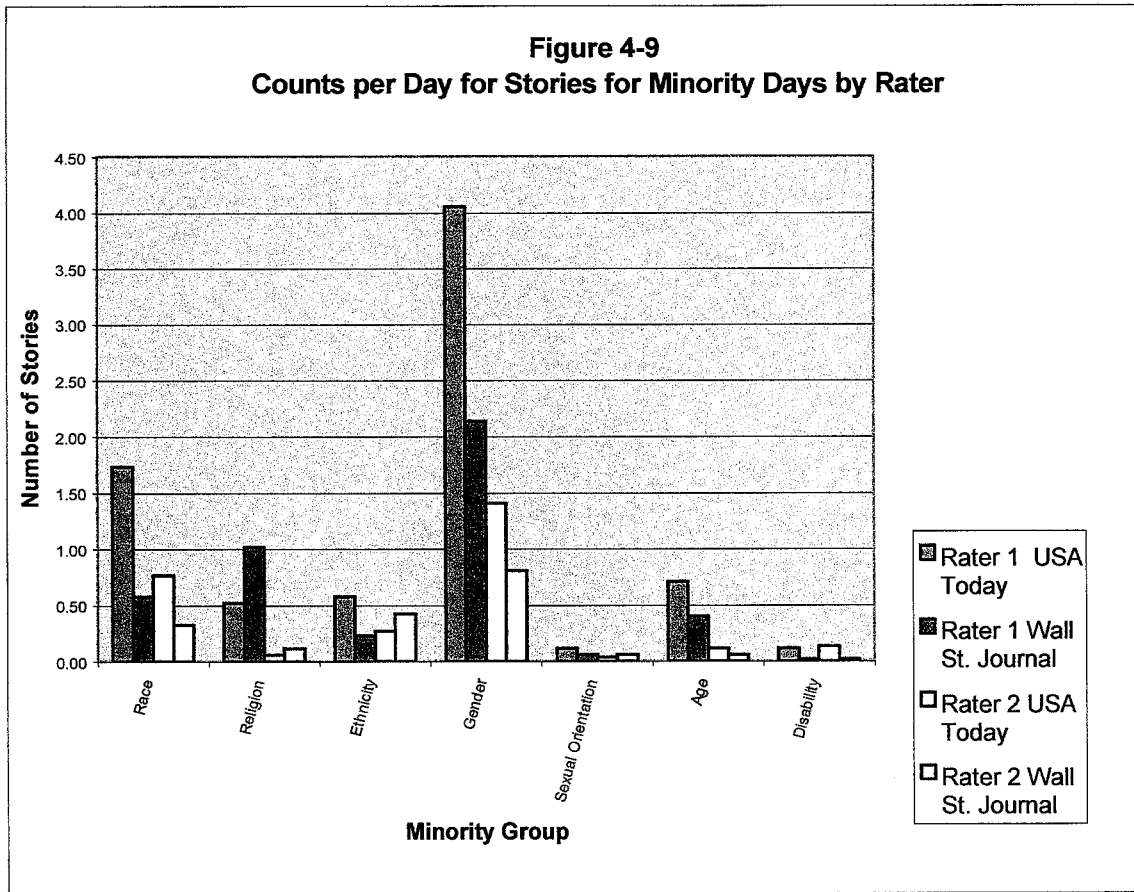


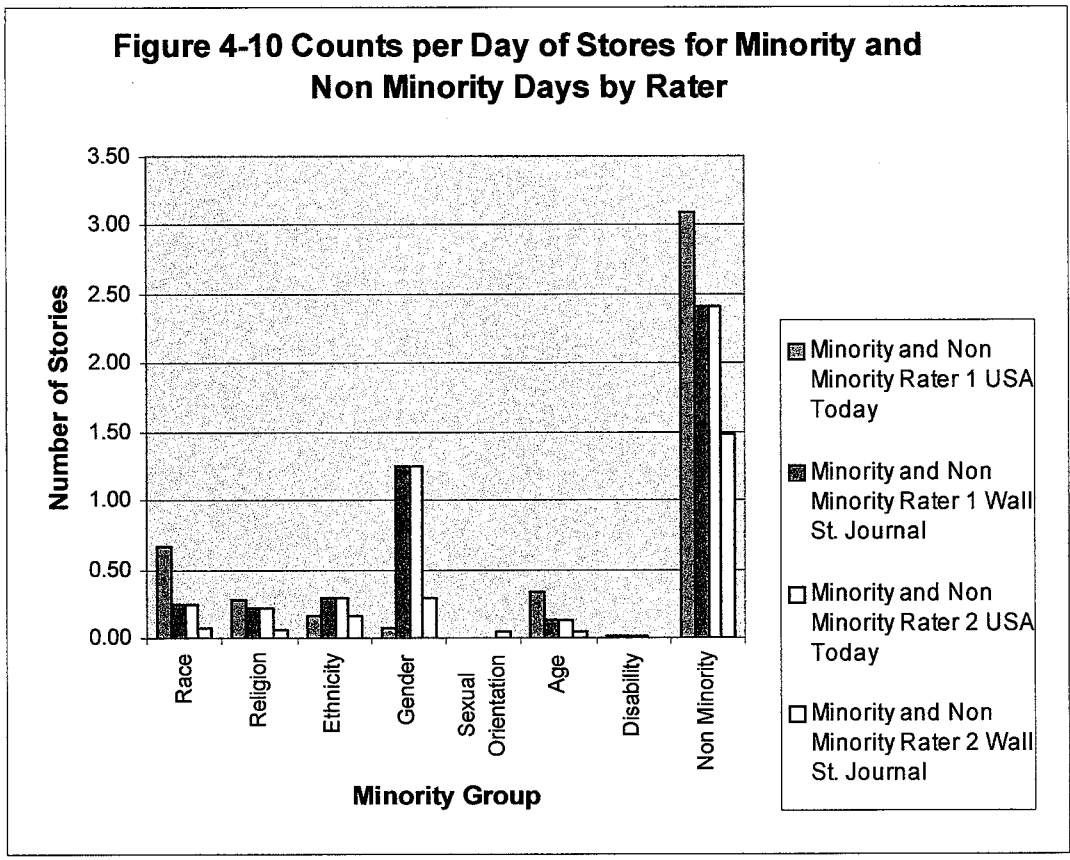
Figure 4-8 Distribution of Wall Street Journal Stories (Minority Data Only)



Story Count By Rater

Figures 4-9 and 4-10 identify rater differences by minority only and minority and non-minority data. In almost every situation, Rater 1 identified more stories with minority AND non-minority content than Rater 2. It appears that Rater 1 was very careful in his analysis.

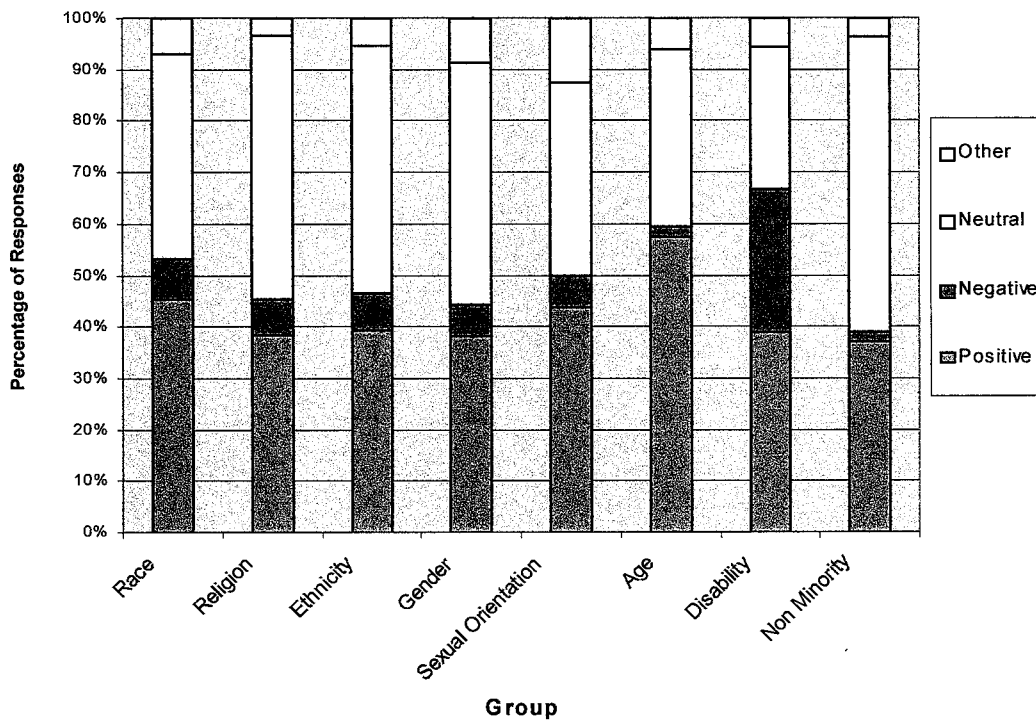




Favorability Analysis

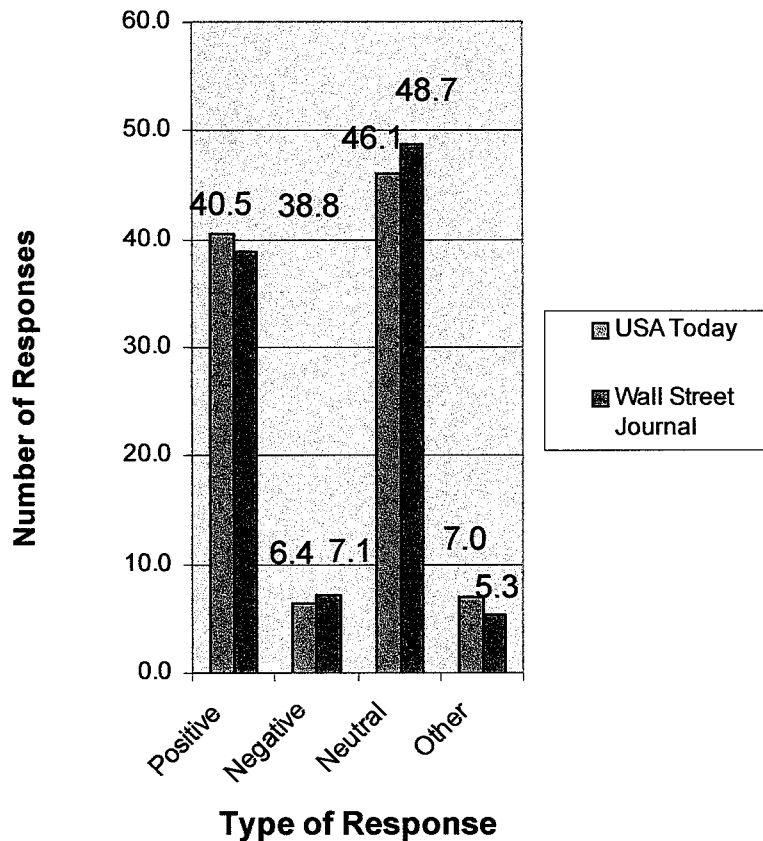
Each subject story was rated on how the group or group members were presented: whether positively, negatively, neutrally, or other (typically, the other category included stories where both positive and negative references were present). Figure 4-11 presents an analysis of the ratings assigned to each group. The uniformity of responses within a range is readily apparent, and surprising in its consistency. The single exception is the age group, which had nearly a 60% favorability rating!

Figure 4-11
Favorability Analysis by Group



When the data is analyzed by newspaper, results indicate that USA Today was more positive than The Wall Street Journal, with 40.5% of responses rated as favorable, vs. 38.8%. USA Today was also less negative; 6.4% of its stories were negative, vs. 7.1% for The Wall Street Journal. Neutral and other ratings for both papers were similar (see Figure 4-12). This directionally supports hypothesis 2, but see below for further discussion of this hypothesis.

Figure 4-12
Favorability Results by Newspaper as a
Percentage of Results



Analysis by rater shows that the raters had markedly different response patterns (see Figure 4-13). First, Rater 2 was more positive in his ratings than Rater 1; 29.8% of Rater 1's responses were positive, compared to 67.6% for Rater 2. However, they were similar in their use of the negative category (6.0% and 8.6% for 1 and 2 respectively). Rater 1 used the neutral category extensively; 55.8% of his responses were neutral, while only

23.1% of Rater 2's responses were in this category. Rater 2 effectively ignored the 'other' category; only 0.7% of his responses were 'other'.

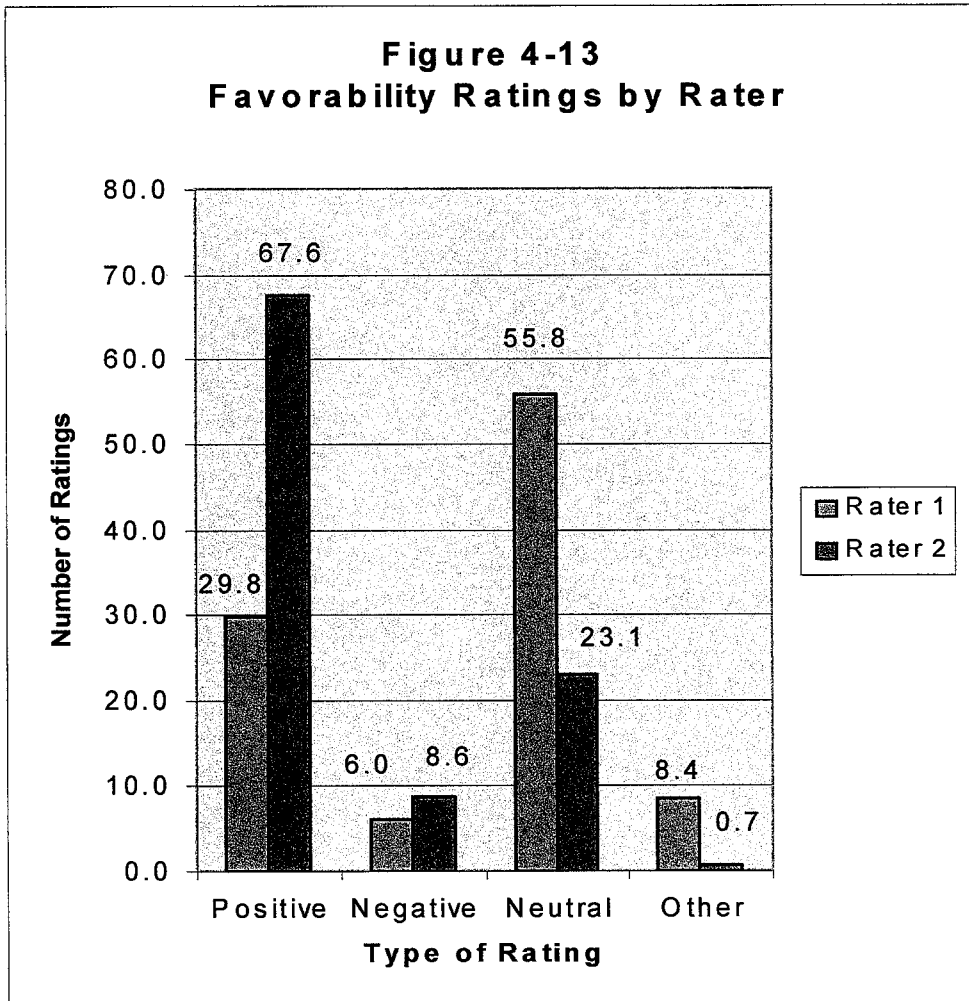
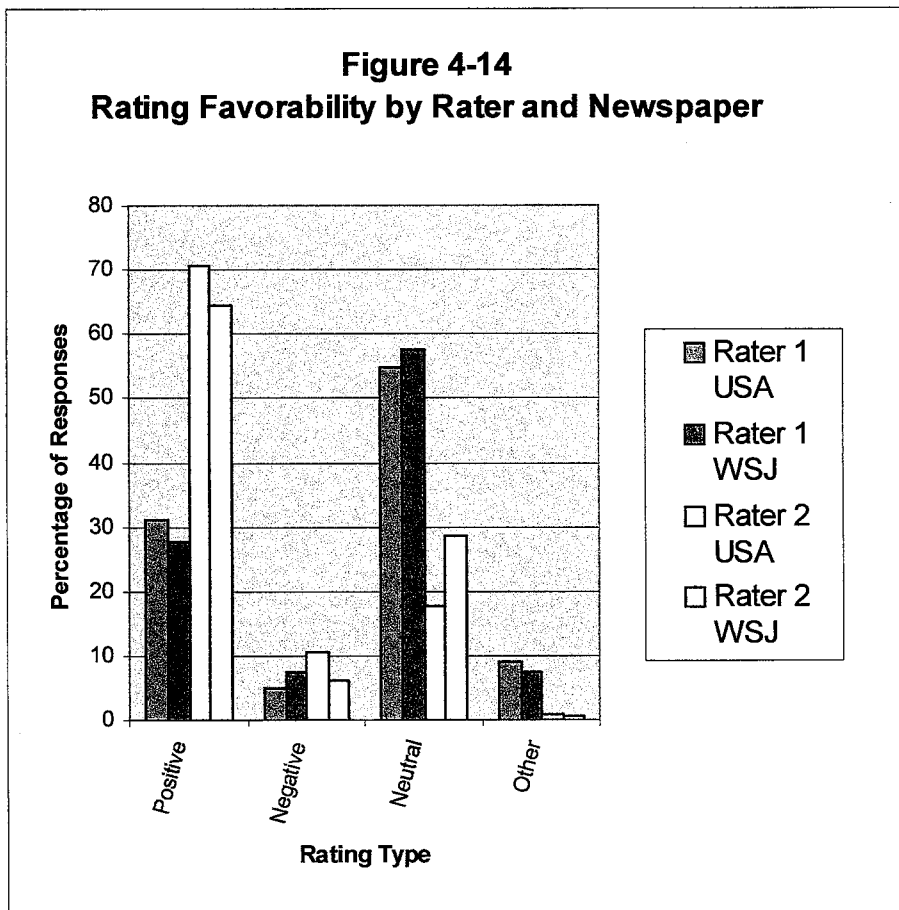


Figure 4-14 analyzes their responses by newspaper, with their patterns generally consistent across newspapers. One exception is that Rater 2 noticeably used the neutral category more on The Wall Street Journal articles: 18% of his responses in USA Today were neutral, while 29% of responses from The Wall Street Journal were neutral.



Hypothesis Analysis

Hypothesis 1 states that 50% or more of minority references in newspapers present minorities negatively. Table 4-6, however, identifies that only 6.6% of all references were negative. Overwhelmingly, references were either positive or neutral. Null hypothesis 1 was not rejected.

Table 4-7
Favorability of Ratings of Minority and Non
Minority Groups

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Other	Total
Minority Ratings	505	81	546	89	1,221
Percentage	41.4	6.6	44.7	7.3	
Non Minority Ratings	142	28	221	14	405
Percentage	35.1	6.9	54.6	3.5	100.0

Hypothesis 2 states that socioeconomic status of newspapers will be inversely related to positive newspaper ratings. However, an asymptotic, 2 tailed Mann-Whitney nonparametric test returned results of .704, indicating no statistically significant relationship for minority and non minority data, while the same test run on all data returned results of .519. Null hypothesis 2 was not rejected; see Table 4-8 .

Table 4-8
Mann-Whitney Test Results for Hypothesis 2

	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Minority data			
USA Today	97	77.98	7,564
Wall Street Journal	56	75.30	4,217
All data			
USA Today	213	167.86	35,755
Wall Street Journal	120	165.47	19,856

Hypothesis 3 states that minority members and groups will be inversely related to positive newspaper presentation. However, an asymptotic, 2 tailed Mann-Whitney non parametric test returned results of .213, indicating no statistically significant relationship for minority and non minority data. The same test run on all data returned results of .824. Null hypothesis 3 was not rejected; see Table 4-9.

Table 4-9
Mann-Whitney Test Results for Hypothesis 3

	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Minority data			
Minority groups	104	75.50	7,852
Non minority group	49	80.19	3,930
All data			
Minority groups	282	166.52	46,960
Non minority group	51	169.63	8,651

Further Mann-Whitney tests were run on minority and non minority data: the neutral and other rating categories were removed from analysis, analysis of story types (article, mention, or other) were made, and tests on individual raters were run. However, none of these indicated a statistically significant relationship. When tests were run on all data, story type identified no significant results, but an analysis of rater results on positiveness of data was significant at the .001 level; see Table 4-10. This is indicative of how differently the two raters rated stories.

Table 4-10
Mann-Whitney Test Results for Minority and Non
 Minority Data, Rater Differences

	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Rater 1	219	179.22	39,249
Rater 2	114	143.53	16,362

Summary

None of the three null hypotheses were rejected. However, since these hypotheses were all pessimistic in nature, it is positive for our society that minority and non-minority gender groups are represented similarly. The descriptive statistics identify race and gender groups as most prominent in news presentation. Sexual orientation and disability groups have very little representation in the national print media.

Chapter Five

Summary

The purpose of this study was to assess how positively or negatively the American national print media depicts seven minority groups and non-minorities. The year 2000 was the subject time period: fifty-two editions each of USA Today and The Wall Street Journal were rated for how positively and negatively both minority and non minority groups were portrayed. Two raters completed a questionnaire, identifying 1,144 newspaper stories and providing 1,626 ratings of minority and/or minority groups. Descriptive data and correlational results were calculated. No relationship between socioeconomic status of readership and positive presentation of group or minority/non minority group membership and positive presentation of group were found. However, it was found that non-minority white males were overrepresented in newspaper stories and that stories about gay men and lesbians and the disabled were very rare.

Rater Analysis

There are three distinct discussion areas in rater analysis. First, it was originally planned to have a third rater who is both female and a racial minority. Unfortunately, this rater dropped out due to personal reasons. This data would have provided the opportunity to analyze the results of gender and racial group on perception of results. Second, even in areas where agreement would be expected, such as counting the number

of stories on a newspaper, the two raters did not agree. Better training and in process controls would have been helpful in this area. Finally, the two raters approached these tasks in different ways. Rater 1 was extremely methodical in approach, while Rater 2 appeared to be more intuitive as opposed to analytical and in fact spent much less time than Rater 1. A larger rating pool would have helped this study.

Hypothesis Analysis

The hypothesis analysis is a 'good news-bad news' situation: it is bad news that all hypotheses were so decisively rejected. It is good news, however, that minorities and non-minorities are viewed so similarly. It is interesting, of course, that both raters made so little use of the negative category: collectively, 6.6% of minority group mentions were identified as negative. The non-minority category was actually more negative, with 6.9% of ratings negative. The first issue is: why, in aggregate, are so few stories viewed negatively, even though there is a perception that we live in a complex and flawed world? Is it because that in the year 2000, life is significantly better than 20 years ago? Or, is it because the directions and instruments used in the study were flawed? It would be interesting to do a longitudinal study of this type to try to obtain additional data. The second issue is: why were non-minorities (essentially white males) viewed more negatively than minorities? This directly contradicts hypothesis 3; further analysis of story content (sports, crime, business, social issues) might provide some direction.

For hypothesis 2, which postulated that a higher socioeconomic readership newspaper would present minorities more negatively, results were directionally supportive but did not achieve statistical significance. One possible contributing factor is that there were 49 non-

minority stories and 104 minority stories; it's possible that a matched pair analysis of equal number of ratings might achieve different results.

Hypothesis 3 suggested that minorities would be presented less positively than non-minorities, but these results were not even directionally supportive of the hypothesis. Similar to hypothesis 1, it would be interesting to see if there are one or two categories, such as sports and crime, that contributed to these results.

Descriptive Analysis

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from the descriptive data. First, it should be noted that non-minority mentions are about double that of women, indicating a signification overrepresentation. Content analysis would identify if much of this is contributed by sports stories. Second, ethnic groups – primarily Hispanics – have significant visibility. Religious groups have little representation in the general press – about 5% of ratings. Third, disability and sexual preference groups have so little representation that they are effectively invisible. This parallels results by Shaw-Taylor and Banokraitis, who found minimal representation of some minority groups, albeit in family textbooks.

Implications For Further Research

There are several areas of research that would be interesting to pursue. First, a replication study with modified instruments would demonstrate the content accuracy of this study. Second, a small and homogenous number of raters were used in this study. It would be interesting to both increase the size of the rater pool and to diversify it with minority group members. Third, a time series study over several years would indicate if this study's results are a

culmination of trends or isolated results.

Conclusion

This study demonstrated that in a long time frame of data – one year – that minorities are not presented more negatively in the national print media than non-minorities. They are, like non-minority groups, either represented positively, or neutrally. However, males are represented twice as frequently as females, and several groups have extremely restricted visibility.

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APPENDIX A: RECORDING FORM

Recording Form

Rater Name _____ Date of Review _____

Newspaper: USA Today Wall Street Journal (circle one)

Date of Paper _____ No. of Papers Reviewed Today _____

Total Newspaper Stories:

Articles	Mentions		Others					
First 5 Words of Article:	Circle 1:	Article	Mention	Other				
	Race	Religion	Ethnicity	Gender	Sexual Preference	Age	Disability	Non Minority
Positive								
Negative								
Neutral								
Other								
Comments:								
Duplicate?								
Draw line to connected article								

APPENDIX B: RATER DIRECTIONS

Rater Directions

This is a research project on how the national media portrays minorities. You will read front page stories of two national newspapers - USA Today and the Wall Street Journal - and categorize these stories.

Who is a Minority?

For this study, a minority group is defined as an American resident who is either:

Race: Afro American (or Black, Negro), Native American or Alaska Native, or Asian (including Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, Pacific Islander, Australian Aboriginal Person or Other Asian).

Religion: any non Christian religion: Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, or other.

Ethnicity: any non Anglo Saxon (not born in or a descendent of an inhabitant of England, Scotland, or Wales).

Gender: females.

Sexual preference: gays and lesbians.

Age: 55 years and above.

Disability: a person or group who has physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of the individual or group. Examples include: sight impaired, hearing impaired, autism, impaired intelligence.

In some cases you will be classifying non minorities. These are people who do not fit into any of the above categories.

Here are the specific instructions:

1. For each newspaper reviewed, complete a single recording form and fill in:
 - ◆ Your name
 - ◆ The date the newspaper was reviewed
 - ◆ The name of the newspaper reviewed
 - ◆ The date of the newspaper
 - ◆ The number identifying how many newspapers you have reviewed to date today (if this is the first reviewed today, enter 1, if the second enter 2, and so on).

Open the newspaper to the front page of the first section of the paper. You will classify **ONLY** stories that appear on or start on the first page. However, you can use information from any part of the newspapers you review today to classify the stories.

2. Count all the newspaper stories that appear on the first page. There are three kinds of stories; count the number of:
 - ◆ Newspaper articles: these are stories that have at least 2 separate paragraphs, whether those paragraphs appear on the first page of the newspaper or not.
 - ◆ Mention: a short piece of text. It may be an independent story or it may only summarize an article appearing elsewhere in the newspaper. It always has less than 2 paragraphs.
 - ◆ None of the above, such as a chart.