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Network News and Racial Beliefs: Exploring the Connection Between National Television News Exposure and Stereotypical Perceptions of African Americans

Travis L. Dixon

Department of Communication, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, IL 61801

A random survey of nonstudent adult residents was undertaken to determine whether exposure to network news has a demonstrable effect on racial attitudes and perceptions of African Americans. After controlling for a number of factors, results revealed that exposure to network news depressed estimates of African American income. In addition, network news exposure increased the endorsement of African American stereotypes, particularly the view that African Americans were poor and intimidating, and was positively associated with higher racism scores. The theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

A growing body of research has begun to examine the content and effects of racial stereotypes on U.S. television news programming. Many of these studies have been dedicated to investigations of race and crime imagery featured on local television news programs. The vast majority of that work has reached two major conclusions. First, people of color are often associated with criminality on local news programs (Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b; Entman, 1992; Romer, Jamieson, & de Coteau, 1998). Second, this programming can activate crime stereotypes regarding African Americans that can be used in subsequent judgments (Dixon, 2006a, 2006b; Gilliam & Iyengar, 1998, 2000; Oliver & Fonash, 2002).

Although important, much less attention has been focused on television network news programming with regard to African American stereotypes (Dixon, Azocar, & Casas, 2003; Entman, 1994; Entman & Rojecki, 2000). The current study is a survey designed to address this issue by examining whether exposure to television network news programming can predict racial attitudes and perceptions of African Americans. Below, an overview of the current research objectives is offered. Preceding this,

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Corresponding author: Travis L. Dixon; e-mail: tldixon@uiuc.edu

a brief review of prior content work on network news and African Americans is undertaken. Afterward, prior research on the effects of television news programming is discussed.

Network news and the portrayal of African American stereotypes

Surprisingly, very little work has actually been undertaken on the portrayal of African American stereotypes on television network news. An early study of network news by Roberts (1975) found that African Americans were often associated with racialized issues such as bussing and segregation—issues that might fuel racial prejudice by Whites. In addition, African Americans were often relegated to blue-collar roles and impoverished situations on network news programming.

Work that was conducted by Gilens (1996a) replicated the finding that African Americans were overwhelmingly associated with poverty. His content analysis revealed that network news overrepresents the number of African American poor, particularly those who are of working able-bodied ages. Other work by Gilens (1999) has concluded that imagery associated with African American poverty on network news may contribute to the perception of African Americans as lazy and undeserving of welfare assistance.

However, the most notable recent studies of television network programming have been undertaken by Entman (1990, 1994; Entman & Rojecki, 2000). Entman (1994) found that African Americans were largely represented as perpetrators or victims of crime and that African Americans were more likely than Whites to appear as perpetrators in drug and violent crime stories on network news. In addition, Entman (1994) observed that African American political interests were equated with special politics on television news programs, whereas White political actions were equated with public interest politics. This was partly a function of the political situation that required African American political leaders to make noise in order to be heard. As a result, the media that would rather see noisy heads than talking heads highlighted these noisy African American politicians.

Network news, stereotypes, and modern racism

Taken together, the scholarship reviewed above suggests that African Americans typically occupy roles as poor people, loud politicians, and criminals on network news. Some scholars have observed that such portrayals could lead to two outcomes: (a) the endorsement of African American stereotypes (regarding poverty and laziness) and (b) an increase in modern racism. Modern racism has three components including: (a) anti-African American affect or a general emotional hostility toward African Americans, (b) resistance to the political demands of African Americans, and (c) the belief that racism is dead and that racial discrimination no longer inhibits African American achievement (Entman, 1990; McConahay, 1986). Given network news' stereotypical portrayal of African Americans, exposure to network news programming might be related to stereotyping of African Americans and modern racism.

Quantitative social scientists have investigated this relationship by relying on the cultivation perspective that suggests media exposure may predict social reality perceptions (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 2002). For example, Armstrong and Neuendorf (1992) found that among college students, television news consumption was weakly correlated with the belief that African Americans contributed little to the socioeconomics of the United States. Similarly, Busselle and Crandall (2002) found that among college students, television news viewing predicted the endorsement of stereotypes that Blacks lack jobs and are not motivated to work. Furthermore, Matei and Ball-Rokeach (2005) found that fear perceptions were cultivated by television dependency that created mental maps emphasizing the danger of "Black" neighborhoods, particularly Los Angeles' Watts.

In summary, scholars have concluded that television news programming may be related to the perception that African Americans are poor and unintelligent, and exposure to this programming may also predict racism against African Americans. However, there are a number of limitations of the prior studies. First, almost all the empirical studies have relied on student samples to investigate this topic. It is possible that a nonstudent adult sample might behave differently from a student sample due to demand characteristics and the attributes of the samples (Zaller, 1992). Second, none of the prior empirical work attempts to directly test the predictive power of network news exposure versus local news exposure. Most of the prior work vaguely refers to television news (Armstrong & Neuendorf, 1992; Busselle & Crandall, 2002). Given that network news tends to focus on politics and policy, whereas local television news tends to focus more on crime and disasters (Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b; Dixon et al., 2003; Entman, 1994; Kaniss, 1991), it is possible that the impact of each might be different with regard to racial stereotypes and prejudice. Third, none of the prior empirical studies directly test whether network news exposure is positively related to modern racism.

Hypotheses and research questions

The current study seeks to extend the prior work conducted in this area by doing three things. First, this study employs a nonstudent sample. Second, this study attempts to directly test the impact of exposure to network versus local television news. Third, this study attempts to empirically test whether exposure to network news predicts modern racism. Three hypotheses are tested.

> H1: Exposure to television network news will be negatively associated with estimations of Black income.

Prior research has found that African Americans are associated with poverty and blue-collar jobs on network television news. In addition, prior research has found that general exposure to television news is associated with lower estimates of African Americans' socioeconomic status. An increase in exposure to network television images should lead to a decrease in the estimates of Black income.

H2: Exposure to television network news will be positively associated with stereotypical perceptions of Blacks.

Prior research has found that nonfictional portrayals of African Americans are associated with negative perceptions and stereotypes of Blacks. These include the perception of Blacks as hostile and demanding (Entman & Rojecki, 2000). Exposure to network news portrayals of complaining African Americans should increase the stereotypical perceptions of African Americans as intimidating, hostile, and poor.

H3: Exposure to television network news will be positively associated with modern racism.

Based on the research noted above, at least two of the components of modern racism appear to be connected to network news programming. First, network news provides content that might fuel anti-African American sentiment by portraying African Americans as lazy and dependent on governmental programs. Second, resistance to African American political issues might be related to exposure to news programming featuring loud African American politicians who appear to be making unreasonable demands. Each of these factors suggests that exposure to network news portrayals might predict modern racism (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994; Gerbner et al., 2002).

Method

Telephone surveys were conducted in the county of Los Angeles, CA. Los Angeles was chosen as the location for the survey because prior work has demonstrated that it is a diverse area and an area that features news programming with biased depictions of race (Ball-Rokeach, Kim, & Matei, 2001; Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Matei, Ball-Rokeach, & Qiu, 2001). In addition, the sample was originally gathered as part of a larger study of race and media exposure (Dixon, 2008). Although a national sample would have been most desirable, the current sample still remains superior to most other student convenience samples (Zaller, 1992). A multistage sampling approach was undertaken using random digit dialing techniques in order to gather the sample of adults aged 18 years and older. First, a standard random sample was gathered using random digit dialing and computer-aided interviewing. In the second wave, census tract data were used to stratify the sample by race in order to oversample African American and Latino respondents (GENESYS Sampling Systems, 2003). This was done to allow for better intergroup comparisons between people of color and Whites in the sample and to produce a more representative sample that mirrors the demographics of Los Angeles.

Respondents

A total of 506 respondents took part in the survey. The cooperation rate was 60%.[1] The final sample was 58% female and 42% male. In addition, the sample was 43% White, 16% African American, 26% Latino, and 15% Other. A complete breakdown

of the characteristics of the sample and subsample is described in Table 1. Although these demographics do not mimic national population statistics, the demographics of the sample of respondents did largely mirror the demographic diversity of Los Angeles County (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003b). Moreover, the large diversity of this sample is a benefit given the lack of sample diversity in a number of prior studies of news and race (Armstrong & Neuendorf, 1992; Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Dixon, 2006a, 2006b; Oliver, 1999; Oliver & Fonash, 2002).

Control variables

All the measures used in the current study have been used, validated, or derived from a number of prior media effects studies (Dixon, 2006a, 2006b; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004; Gilliam & Iyengar, 1998, 2000). The control variables employed in this survey included the gender, age, education, political ideology, income, race of respondents, overall television viewing, and newspaper exposure. Each of these measures is described below.

Gender

Interviewers identified the gender of respondents. Males were coded as 0 and females were coded as 1.

Age

Respondents were asked how old they were in years ($M = 41.36$, $SD = 17.96$).

Education

Educational attainment was assessed on a 1–11 scale (*eighth grade or less*, *some high school*, *high school graduate*, *trade or vocational school*, *1–2 years of college*, *AA or AS degree*, *3–4 years of college*, *college graduate BA*, *5–6 years of college*, *master's degree*, and *graduate work past master's degree*; $M = 5.94$, $SD = 2.69$).

Political ideology/conservatism

Respondents were asked about their political ideology or conservatism on a 1 (*strongly liberal*) to 7 (*strongly conservative*) scale ($M = 4.23$, $SD = 1.78$).

Income

Respondents were asked their total household income on a 1–7 scale (*less than 30,000*; *30,000–40,000*; *40,000–60,000*; *60,000–80,000*; *80,000–90,000*; *90,000–100,000*; and *more than 100,000*; $M = 3.71$, $SD = 2.39$).

Table 1 Demographic Breakdown of Samples and Subsamples

	% Men	% Women	% of Total Sample
Total sample	42	58	—
Whites	50	50	43
Blacks	28	72	16
Latinos	39	61	26
Others	41	59	15

Race
Respondents were asked which race or ethnicity they most identify with (White/Caucasian, African American/Black, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, or Other). Race was later dummy coded as African American, Latino, or Other with Whites as a reference group. This categorization strategy mirrors the conceptual definition of race employed by the California Department of Justice (2003; Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b).

Overall television viewing
Respondents were asked how many hours on an average day they spend watching television ($M = 2.79$, $SD = 2.24$).

Newspaper exposure
Survey participants' exposure to news via newspapers was assessed by asking them how often they read newspapers for news on a 1 (*never*) to 5 (*daily*) scale ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.63$).

Neighborhood diversity
Neighborhood diversity was measured by calculating the percentage of people of color in each community, town, or city in which respondents lived to assess contact with people of color (Ball-Rokeach et al., 2001; Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2005; Matei, Ball-Rokeach, & Qiu, 2001; Matei, Ball-Rokeach, Wilson, Gibbs, & Hoyt, 2001). Respondents' ZIP codes were used to identify their location. Afterward, the census bureaus' Web site was consulted, and the resulting diversity of the respondent's community was calculated based upon the sum percentage of Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans living in each community (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003a; $M = 66.17$, $SD = 19.90$).

Measures of news exposure
This survey employed two media measures in order to understand how news viewing affects perceptions of African Americans and racial attitudes. These included the amount of local news programming exposure and the amount of television network news exposure.

Local news exposure
Respondents were asked how often they watched their favorite local news program on a 1 (*never*) to 5 (*daily*) scale ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 0.68$).

Network news exposure
Television network news was defined as the flagship nightly news programs on broadcast, cable, public, and Spanish-language networks. Survey participants were first asked which network nightly news program was their favorite. Their responses are displayed in Table 2. Afterward, survey participants were asked how often they watched their favorite network news program on a 1 (*never*) to 5 (*daily*) scale ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 0.86$).

Endorsement of stereotypes and racial prejudice

The controls and media variables described above were designed to be predictors of three criterion variables in the current study. These variables were formulated to assess respondents' stereotypical perceptions and racial prejudice. The three variables included perceptions of African Americans' income, stereotype endorsement of African Americans, and racial prejudice.

African Americans' income

Respondents were asked to estimate the average African American family's total household income on a 1–7 scale (*less than 30,000*; *30,000–40,000*; *40,000–60,000*; *60,000–80,000*; *80,000–90,000*; *90,000–100,000*; and *more than 100,000*; $M = 3.11$, $SD = 2.57$).

African American stereotype endorsement

A number of studies have suggested that news may associate African Americans with a number of stereotypes including being intimidating, hostile, and poor (Dixon, 2006a, 2006b; Gilens, 1996a, 1996b, 1999). The current variable was designed to provide a global assessment of stereotype endorsement as it regards African Americans. Respondents were asked to assess the extent to which they agreed with a number of stereotypical statements of African Americans on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale (e.g., "Blacks are intimidating"; seven items, $\alpha = .70$; $M = 8.52$, $SD = 5.38$).

Racism

Participants were asked about their level of racism using a revised version of the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; McConahay, 1986; e.g., "African Americans should not

Table 2 Listing of Popular Network News Programs and the Percentage of the Sample Who Reported Watching Regularly

Network News Program	Percentage of Sample Who Watched
CBS Evening News	6.4
NBC Nightly News	14.2
ABC World News	18.1
Fox Cable News	9.0
CNN Cable Network News	24.2
MSNBC News	3.3
CNN Headline News	11.3
CNBC News	1.0
PBS Newshour	5.1
Univision News	1.6
Telemundo News	1.2
Other not mentioned above	4.7
Total	100.0

push themselves where they are not wanted"; five items, $\alpha = .82$). The MRS was modified and updated to improve the relevance of the featured items. Although some have argued that the measure can be reactive under certain circumstances and that it is really measuring political ideology rather than racism (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995), research has also shown the MRS to be correlated with more traditional racial attitudes (McConahay, 1986). It is used here, in part, in order to assess the extent to which respondents feel free to express prejudicial attitudes. The potential reactive nature should not be a limitation in the current study because most prior research that has found such reactivity has almost always used student samples who tend to be more sensitized to issues of race (Valentino, 1999; Zaller, 1992). The use of a nonstudent adult sample should attenuate any reactivity. In addition, if the measure is actually measuring political conservatism, the effect of the MRS should be attenuated by the political ideology control variable ($M = 10.46$, $SD = 5.31$).[2]

Results

In order to test the relationship between news media exposure and perceptions of African Americans, multiple regression analysis was undertaken. Age, gender, education, political ideology, income, racism score, and race of respondent served as controls and were entered simultaneously on the first step of the analysis for the African American income and stereotype endorsement dependent measures. Racism was removed as a control when racial prejudice was analyzed as a dependent variable. The news exposure variables (i.e., local news exposure and network news exposure) were entered on the second step simultaneously for all analyses. All statistical tests were conducted at the $p < .05$ significance level.

Perceptions of African American income

The results for the perception of African American income regression model are displayed in Table 3. In terms of the control variables employed, older people and females tended to provide higher estimates of African American income, whereas those with more education provided lower estimates. In terms of the news exposure measures, network news exposure was negatively related to estimates of African American income, $F(14, 235) = 2.88$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .14$.

African American stereotype endorsement

The results of the African American stereotype endorsement dependent measure are displayed in Table 4. In this model, conservatives and racists tended to endorse African American stereotypes more than liberals and nonracists. In addition, females were less likely than males and Others were less likely than Whites to endorse these stereotypes. The news exposure step of the analysis revealed that network news exposure was positively related to African American stereotype endorsement, $F(14, 221) = 4.66$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .23$.

Table 3 News Exposure as a Predictor of Estimations of African American Income

Variable	β	R^2	R^2 Change	F Change
Step 1: Demographics and controls		.11	—	2.64**
Age	.16**			
Females (reference males)	.18**			
Education	−.26***			
Conservatism	−.02			
Income	.07			
Racism	−.09			
African Americans	−.10			
Latinos	−.12			
Others (reference Whites)	−.02			
Overall television viewing	.02			
Newspaper exposure	.01			
% people of color in neighborhood	−.03			
Step 2: News exposure		.14	.03	3.96*
Local news exposure	.12			
Network news exposure	−.21**			

Note: Final model: $F(14, 235) = 2.88$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .14$.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Table 4 News Exposure as a Predictor of the African American Stereotype Endorsement (Blacks Are Intimidating/Poor)

Variable	β	R^2	R^2 Change	F Change
Step 1: Demographics and controls		.22	—	5.19***
Age	.09			
Females (reference males)	−.16**			
Education	.08			
Conservatism	.21***			
Income	−.13			
Racism (Modern Racism Scale)	.26***			
African Americans	−.10			
Latinos	−.13			
Others (reference Whites)	−.13*			
Overall television viewing	.02			
Newspaper exposure	−.06			
% people of color in neighborhood	−.10			
Step 2: News exposure		.25	.03	3.53*
Local news exposure	−.08			
Network news exposure	.19**			

Note: Final model: $F(14, 221) = 4.66$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .23$.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Racial prejudice

The results of the racism regression model are displayed in Table 5. This analysis revealed that Others (as opposed to Whites) and conservatives rather than liberals were more likely to score high on modern racism. In addition, the educated were less likely than the noneducated to hold racial prejudice against African Americans. The final step of the analysis revealed that exposure to network news was positively related to modern racism, $F(13, 236) = 5.79$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .24$.

Discussion

The current study was an attempt to understand the relationship between network news exposure and stereotypical perceptions of African Americans. The results revealed that exposure to network news depressed estimates of African American income. In addition, exposure to network news increased the endorsement of African American stereotypes, including the perception of Blacks as intimidating. Finally, exposure to network news was positively associated with higher scores on the MRS. The implications of these findings are discussed below.

Selective exposure and network news viewing

The primary findings of this research appear to establish a relationship between network news exposure and racialized perceptions. However, it is important to note that a cross-sectional survey such as this one cannot determine causality with any sufficient amount of certainty (Babbie, 1990; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). One

Table 5 News Exposure as a Predictor of Racial Prejudice (Modern Racism Scale Ratings)

Variable	β	R^2	R^2 Change	F Change
Step 1: Demographics and controls		.21	—	5.69***
Age	−.04			
Females (reference males)	−.10			
Education	−.21**			
Conservatism	.20***			
Income	.11			
African Americans	−.08			
Latinos	.14			
Others (reference Whites)	.21**			
Overall television viewing	.11			
Newspaper exposure	−.01			
% people of color in neighborhood	−.09			
Step 2: News exposure		.24	.03	5.21**
Local news exposure	.04			
Network news exposure	.18**			

Note: Final model: $F(13, 236) = 5.79$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .24$.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

alternative possibility is that some other third unmeasured variable influences both news viewing and racialized perceptions (Babbie, 1990, 1992). For example, religiosity may be related to both racialized perceptions and news viewing (Conover, 1984; Sniderman & Piazza, 1993).

Another possible explanation is related to selective exposure and perception, the notion that viewers selectively attend to information that already supports their preconceived notions (Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974). The theory of selective exposure points to how people choose the information to which they will expose themselves. In the simplest terms, selective exposure means that people look for information and interpret it through their personal filters (Campbell, Martin, & Fabos, 2005). Thus, a prejudiced person or stereotype endorser would seek information on network news that coincides with his or her perspective (Mutz, 1994). Therefore, people with a particular political or racial perspective would be inclined to seek out network news programming that has information supporting their personal views and filter out news programming with opposing views.

However, these alternative explanations for the findings appear unlikely for two reasons. First, in the case of the African American income and stereotypical perception models, the most likely candidates who could influence outcomes, racial prejudice, and conservatism were statistically controlled. Second, a growing number of experimental media effects studies have determined that news viewing affects racial perceptions (Dixon, 2006a, 2006b; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Iyengar, 1990). Experiments by design do not suffer from potential third variable or reverse causation explanations (Babbie, 1990; Wimmer & Dominick, 2005). Given these factors, the most likely reason for the current findings is that network news exposure shapes racial perceptions. This possibility is further explored below.

Network news exposure and stereotyping

This study provides evidence that suggests that network news might shape both racial perceptions and racial prejudice. However, why might this be the case? The findings appear to contradict the intuitive assumption that those who stay well informed via network news programming would be less prejudiced and hold fewer stereotypes of African Americans.

One explanation for the current findings might come from research conducted by political communication scholars on framing (Iyengar, 1987, 1990, 1991; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Valentino, 1999). Framing refers to the way concepts or terms are used to present choice or decision options in news programming in ways that ultimately affect political judgments (Iyengar, 1990). Frames subtly direct attention to particular reference points and considerations. They may also insinuate who or what is responsible for specific social realities, such as African American poverty.

Prior work on framing has found that network television news programs tend to depict episodic frames that focus on the role of individuals in social problems (Iyengar, 1987). Work on framing has demonstrated that African Americans in

particular tend to elicit severe negative judgments from viewers when problems involving Blacks are framed episodically on news programs (Iyengar, 1990). Given network news' propensity for episodic frames, it seems likely that the negative perception of African Americans and racial prejudice might be fueled by this episodic network television news coverage.

In addition, cultivation and theories of social cognition may also offer a partial explanation for the findings (Dixon, 2006a; Domke, Shah, & Wackman, 1998; Price & Tewksbury, 1997). According to scholars working in the area of social cognition, the information that we gain from the mass media results in the production of stereotypes that help us simplify our environment. Television network news may act as a sociocultural agent or source of stereotypical information about African Americans (Devine, 1989; Dixon, 2006a; Gerbner et al., 2002; Hamilton, Stroessner, & Driscoll, 1994).

We might view the media as a source of social learning that essentially teaches, reinforces, and cultivates certain ideas about Blacks. This learning function may be similar to the way that the media reinforces notions of violence (Gerbner et al., 1994; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Wilson et al., 1998). Prior research has found that African Americans are typically associated with poverty, complaining, drugs, and crime on network news (Dixon et al., 2003; Entman, 1994; Gilens, 1996a, 1996b, 1999). Given research that suggests that network news portrays Blacks in stereotypical ways, it makes sense that stereotypes and racial prejudice might be reinforced by network news exposure (Dixon, 2006a). In spite of the prior experimental work, it should again be noted that the current survey alone is insufficient to determine causality and more work is needed to buttress the current findings that appear to point to a causal relationship.

The role of local television news

Local television news was not directly related to racial prejudice, stereotype endorsement, or perceptions of African Americans' income. This may be because local television news tends to focus on race and crime portrayals that may activate stereotypes regarding African American criminality, and these were not assessed in the current study. Prior work suggests that local news does indeed activate stereotypes regarding crime and race (Dixon, 2006a, 2008; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Oliver & Fonash, 2002; Oliver, Jackson, Moses, & Dangerfield, 2004). However, network news programming focuses more on policy and politics compared to local news programming (Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Network news encourages viewers to locate blame for societal problems such as income disparity and lack of education. The dependent measures of the current study tapped into these sentiments and into attitudes that may derive from the efforts of African American leaders to correct these disparities. Future research should focus more on how orientation toward network news (e.g., news trust and attention) affects stereotypical perceptions and prejudice. Other research initiatives that might expand the current set of findings are described below.

Limitations and future research

The current data set only includes about 506 respondents. Future work should seek to incorporate larger data sets to allow for additional comparisons and analyses. For example, due to sample size concerns, additional analyses could not be conducted that examined the potential interaction between race and news exposure on the dependent measures. However, such research should be conducted in the future.

In addition, Los Angeles County was selected as a location for the current study. This was because of (a) what had been revealed by prior research undertaken on the content of local Los Angeles news programs, (b) the demographic diversity of the area, and (c) data access as the current study was an extension of a larger study of news media and race (Dixon, 2008). Future research should attempt to broaden this study to other cities. Specifically, a content analysis study along with a survey of residents across a number of locations should be undertaken in the future to examine the extent to which the effects generalize to other populations. In addition, future work should attempt to expand the number of moderators that might have an impact on racial perceptions and prejudice.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1   Due to limited resources, eligible numbers were only called an average of 1.65 times. In addition, non-English speakers were not included in the sample. The cooperation rate was based on formulas derived from the American Association of Public Opinion Research (2003). Although it is relatively low, we are not concerned with this for a number of reasons. First, both Oliver and Armstrong (1995) and Babbie (1990) contend that a response rate of at least 50% is considered adequate. Second, this survey was not designed to estimate population parameters but was undertaken to examine the relationships between variables (Oliver & Armstrong, 1995). Lavrakas (1987) contends that when this is the goal of a survey, a heterogeneous sample instead of a rigorous random one may suffice, and the sample was indeed heterogeneous. Third, all surveys have begun to suffer from lowered response rates, partly as a result of telemarketing activities (American Association of Public Opinion Research, 2003).

2   In addition to all these measures, participants also responded to a number of distracter questions unrelated to the study. These included (a) estimations of crimes committed by Whites, (b) the extent to which the respondent reported gossiping, and (c) the extent to which the respondents believed they were good listeners.

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Nouvelles télévisées et croyances raciales : Une exploration du lien entre l'exposition aux nouvelles télévisées nationales et les perceptions stéréotypées des Afro-Américains

Travis L. Dixon

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Résumé

Un sondage aléatoire fut mené auprès de résidents adultes non étudiants afin de déterminer si l'exposition aux nouvelles télévisées a un effet démontrable sur les attitudes raciales et les perceptions des Afro-Américains. Après avoir neutralisé plusieurs facteurs, les résultats indiquent que l'exposition aux nouvelles télévisées diminue l'estimation des revenus des Afro-Américains. De plus, l'exposition aux nouvelles télévisées augmente l'endossement de stéréotypes des Afro-Américains, particulièrement l'idée selon laquelle les Afro-Américains seraient pauvres et intimidants. Cette exposition fut aussi associée positivement à des niveaux de racisme plus élevés. Les conséquences théoriques et pratiques de ces résultats sont commentées.

Network-Nachrichten und Rassenüberzeugungen: Eine Untersuchung zur Beziehung zwischen der Rezeption nationalen Fernsehnachrichten und einer stereotypen Wahrnehmung von Afroamerikanern

Mittels einer Umfrage unter zufällig ausgewählten, nicht-studentischen Erwachsenen sollte festgestellt werden, ob die Rezeption von Network-Nachrichten eine Wirkung auf die Einstellungen zu Rasse und der Wahrnehmung von Afroamerikanern hat. Nach der Kontrolle verschiedener Faktoren, zeigten die Ergebnisse, dass die Rezeption von Nachrichten die Schätzungen des Einkommens von Afroamerikanern verminderte. Außerdem bestärkte die Rezeption von Network-Nachrichten afroamerikanische Stereotype, insbesondere die Ansicht, dass Afroamerikaner arm und einschüchternd wären; dies war zudem positiv verknüpft mit höheren Rassismuswerten. Die theoretischen und praktischen Implikationen dieser Ergebnisse werden diskutiert.

Las Noticias de Red y las Creencias Raciales: Explorando la Conexión entre la Exposición a las Noticias Nacionales de Televisión y las Percepciones Estereotípicas de los Africano-Americanos

Travis L. Dixon

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Resumen

Una encuesta aleatoria a residentes adultos no estudiantes fue llevada a cabo para determinar si la exposición a las noticias de red tiene un efecto demostrable sobre las actitudes raciales y las percepciones de los africano-americanos. Después de controlar una serie de factores, los resultados revelan que la exposición a las redes de noticias reducen las estimaciones sobre el ingreso de los Africano-Americanos. Además, la exposición a las noticias de red incrementó el apoyo de estereotipos de los Africano-Americanos, particularmente la opinión que los Africano-Americanos son pobres e intimidantes, y fue asociada positivamente con altos niveles de racismo. Las implicaciones teóricas y prácticas de estos hallazgos son discutidas.

网络新闻和种族信仰：探讨全国电视新闻接触和对非裔美国人之刻板成见的感知的联系

Travis L. Dixon

伊利诺伊大学香槟分校

为了决定接触全国电视网新闻是否对非裔美国人的种族态度及感知产生可证明的影响，本研究对非学生的成人居民进行了随机调查。在控制许多变量之后，我们发现接触全国电视网新闻降低了人们对非裔美国人收入的估测。另外，收看全国电视网新闻加强了对非裔美国人刻板成见，尤其是认为非裔美国人是贫穷的、令人害怕的的认同程度，且和更高的种族主义分值正相关。我们讨论了上述发现的理论及实践含义。

네트웍 뉴스와 인종에 관한 믿음들: 전국적 텔레비젼 뉴스에 대한 노출과 흑인에 대한 전형적인 개념간의 관계에 대한 연구

Travis L. Dixon

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

요약

학생이 아닌 어른 거주자들의 무작위 연구가 네트웍 뉴스에 대한 노출이 흑인에 대한 인종적 태도와 개념에 주목할만한 영향을 미치는가를 결정하기 위해 실시되었다. 여러요소들을 통제한 결과는 네트웍 뉴스에 대한 노출은 흑인 수입에 대한 판단을 악화시키는 것으로 나타났다. 그밖에, 네트웍뉴스에 대한 노출은 흑인 전형의 지지를 증가시켰으며, 특히 흑인들은 가난하고 위험하다는 견해를 증가시켰다. 이러한 발견들의 이론적 그리고 실제적 함의들이 논의되었다.