MINORITIES AND NETWORK NEWS:

THE ROLE OF RACE IN SOURCE SELECTION AND STORY TOPIC

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication

Chapel Hill

2006

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ABSRACT

LYNN CORNEY: Minorities and Network News: The Role of Race in Source Selection and
Story Topic
(Under the direction of Dr. C.A. Tuggle)

The study's author conducted a quantitative content analysis of ABC, CBS, and NBC

nightly news programs. A stratified random sample of 2005 dates yielded a month's worth

of broadcasts from each network. A total of 857 stories and 1530 sources were coded for a

broad range of characteristics such as story topic, race of the reporter, race of the sources,

and types of sources (e.g. private individual, expert, victim).

Results show that Whites dominated television news coverage, comprising more than

three quarters of the 1530 sources coded. Nearly 90% of network news reporters were also

White. Elite sources such as experts, company spokespeople, and government officials were

overwhelmingly White, whereas minority sources appeared most often as private individuals,

or ordinary citizens.

 In addition, White sources clearly dominated all story topics, with a majority

presence in every case, except for foreign affairs stories in which foreign sources made up

the bulk of soundbites. Minority sources were scattered more sparingly across story topics,

barely making a showing in some, such as stories about science/technology, foreign affairs,

and electoral politics. Black and Hispanic sources appeared most often in stories about

accidents/disasters/weather events, in both pre-Hurricane Katrina and post-Hurricane Katrina

samples.

Results indicated that minority reporters were more likely to use minority sources in their stories than White reporters were.

DEDICATION

My father, William James Corney, completed his dissertation about 30 years ago. I feel honored that I have been able to follow in his footsteps. I could not have come this far without the support of my dad, and I proudly dedicate my dissertation to him.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As the news media landscape in America is changing, with more ways to access news than ever before, Americans themselves are also changing. According to the 2000 Census, Americans are more racially and ethically diverse than they were just 10 years before. In 2000, one out of every four Americans identified himself or herself as a member of a minority group, compared with one in five in 1990. Although the word minority refers to groups that are less than the majority, racial groups such as Black, Asians, Latinos, and Native Americans collectively constitute a large portion of the American population. Census reports clearly indicate that America is transforming into a more racially heterogeneous society.

Unfortunately, according to many media critics, the term "minority" is often synonymous with unimportant. The ideas and issues of Blacks, Asians, Latinos, and Native Americans are frequently dismissed by the White majority and the American news media. The news media have been criticized for covering racial minorities through symbols and stereotypes, even though minorities more diversified in their education, profession, and class status than ever before. The authors of many studies have concluded that minorities are often ignored and misrepresented (Campbell, 1995; Entman, 1994; Heider, 2000; Poindexter et. al, 2003; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1995; Ziegler & White, 1990).

The majority culture reflected in television news coverage can feed stereotypical notions about Americans of color and can contribute to contemporary racist attitudes (Campbell, 1995). According to Wilson & Gutierrez (1985), journalists cover minority communities only when these communities are posing a threat to the majority, orare involved in a colorful cultural festival, befitting of common stereotypes. The result is news content that reinforces rather than challenges the established norms and attitudes of American society.

With the increase in American racial diversity comes a responsibility for news outlets to cover news in a manner that accurately represents both majority and minority groups. Television news in the United States is a for-profit business, making its money from advertisers who demand a large audience to which to market their products. Network news can choose to capitalize on the racially diverse American society, but penetrating the minority audience takes news coverage that treats them in an equal manner. In his study of race in television news, Heider (2000) warned that minorities who represent large segments of the population felt television stations were clearly out of touch with their interests. If the perceived lack of accurate representation continues, the segments of the audience made up of non-Whites might be lost entirely.

Underrepresentation of minorities in television news programs can contribute to a marginalization of the lives and interests of people of color. Framing theory has long been used in the study of race representation in the news media. Frames are represented by a news outlet's selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration of certain ideas – these frames supply context and suggest to the audience what the issue is (Tankard, 2001). Framing can influence how members of the racial majority feel about equality, fair play, or affirmative

action. How minorities are framed on television news might influence how they are perceived by the audience (Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Dixon &Linz, 2000; Gandy, 1998; Resse, 2001).

Although some studies focusing on race representation in television news do include minority populations such as Latinos, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans, a vast majority of research in this area concentrates on the difference between African American representation and White representation. The historically tenuous social climate between African Americans and Whites in the United States prompted the Kerner Commission report, the first comprehensive study of race representation, and Black-White relations continues to drive research in mass communication and other social sciences. Nevertheless, African Americans are only one racial minority group of many in the United States who deserve news coverage. Without an examination of how a racial minority group is covered, there can be no challenging the television newsroom's status quo. This study will seek to fill the gap that exists in the literature regarding other racial minorities, such as Asians, Latinos, and American Indians.

The focus of this research is two-fold. First, the study will examine how racial minorities are framed as on-camera news sources, or soundbites, on television network news. Second, the study will examine the role the race of the journalist plays in the way minority on-camera news sources are framed.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

The 1960s American Civil Rights Movement served as the backdrop for the first in-depth examination of the news media's coverage of race. Some of the biggest news stories of the day were "black" news events, namely the struggle for desegregation. The images of defiance and brutal racial strife made history: hundreds of troops escorting nine black youths into Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas; club-wielding police officers attacking demonstrators who sat in at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina; and angry mobs defending "white only" public facilities (Dates & Barlow, 1990).

In August 1963, television news networks covered the massive civil rights march on Washington, D.C., where Martin Luther King delivered his famed "I Have a Dream" speech. The effect of network coverage was so powerful and moving that local television stations had little choice but to give serious attention to the story (Dates & Barlow, 1990). Although the March on Washington was a peaceful movement, racism and poverty fueled the urban unrest that would culminate in the next few years and ultimately forced television news stations to take a closer look at their coverage of minority groups and the stations' hiring practices.

During the summer of 1967, terrible riots broke out in the black sections of many American cities. In Newark, a black rally in front of an inner-city police precinct quickly burst into a full-scale riot as African Americans clashed with the all-white police force. The state police and New Jersey National Guard were called in, and some of the untrained and

unprepared guardsmen began firing their weapons into the crowd. When the violence

subsided, 25 people had been killed, and looting and burning resulted in more than $10

million in damages.

One week later, Detroit police raided an illegal after-hours bar and arrested 82

African Americans. A crowd of more than 200 neighborhood African Americans gathered to

watch the arrests. A bottle was thrown against a police car, and the rioting began. State

police, the National Guard, and federal troops rushed to the scene which soon involved

thousands. By the next morning, 33 blacks and 10 whites were dead, 279 people were

injured, and 700 buildings were burned. Twenty-eight other cities had riots in the summer of

1967, including Atlanta, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, and Tampa.

President Lyndon Johnson urgently assembled the Kerner Commission – made up of

city, state, and national politicians, the executive director of the NAACP, the president of the

AFL-CIO, the CEO of Litton Industries, and the police chief of Atlanta – to get to the root of

the causes of the violence and to recommend steps to prevent it. Johnson urged members to

"find the truth, the whole truth, and express it in your report" (Harris & Curtis, 1998).

The commission issued its landmark report in March 1968, with a stark warning:

"Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white – separate ad unequal" (p.

1). They found the primary causes of the unrest were economic deprivation and racism.

After World War II, African Americans began to leave rural and small towns, particularly in

the South, and they flooded into the nation's cities. They looked for work, but the jobs were

drying up. Soon inner cities became packed with African American migrants, and white

residents, along with jobs, moved to the suburbs. Black frustration rose, as did black

expectations as a result of civil rights activism, and the combination was explosive (Harris &

Curtis, 1998). The urban uprisings led to the first recognition in the mainstream public of the existence of a frustrated and desperate "underclass" (Jacobs, 2000).

The Kerner Commission also examined news coverage of the 1967 riots and devoted an entire chapter of its report to the news media. The commission criticized the media for failing to analyze and report the racial problems in the United States adequately, and for failing to bring more African Americans into the journalism profession. The report stated that journalists treated African Americans as invisible people, and issued a call for change – starting in the newsroom.

> It must become a commitment to seek out young Negro men and women, inspire
> them to become – and train them – as journalists. We believe that the news media
> themselves, their audiences and the country will profit from these undertakings. For
> if the media are to comprehend and then to project the Negro community, they must
> have the help of Negroes. If the media are to report with understanding, wisdom,
> sympathy on the problems of the black man – for the two are increasingly intertwined
> – they must employ, promote and listen to Negro   journalists (p. 389).

The commission clearly believed thatdiversifying the news team would have a positive effect on minority coverage. Many news media outlets did heed the call for change, and they began bringing more African Americans into the newsroom – but much of the hiring was merely a token gesture (Dates & Barlow, 1990). African Americans in television news were put in highly visible positions, but Whites were largely pulling the strings. Dates

and Barlow (1990) called it a "split image:" Blacks were considered good enough to be seen up front and on camera but not trusted to "do the thinking" in managerial positions.

Since the release of Kerner Commission report, a wealth of research has been conducted about not only the news media's coverage of African Americans, but also the news media's hiring of African Americans. Stone (1988) examined the status of minorities employed in television news from 1976 to 1986, and found the Commission's goal of increasing minority representation in the newsroom had worked at first, but then leveled off in the early 1980s. By the mid-1980s there was a decline in black and Hispanic males and no notable change for Asian-Americans or American Indians working as television journalists. According to Stone, many black reporters claimed they experienced racism in the newsroom, being treated as "separate and unequal members of the team" (p. 293).

In the past decade, journalism organizations have poured millions of dollars into minority training and recruitment, yet many media outlets still have not put together newsroom staffs that reflect the communities they cover (Alvear, 1998; Barton, 2002; Kerschbaumer, 2003; McQueen, 2001).

The hope of many journalism organizations is that minority journalists will be able to bring a more representative voice to the news and promote stories that are both accurate and relevant to the minority community. Whether a more racially diverse reporting staff actually has a positive effect on minority coverage is an oft-debated question with little empirical research to provide answers. This study is aimed at finding out if minority reporters are indeed more likely to use minority sources, and if so, are they more likely to frame minority sources in a positive light? In addition, the framing of minority sources beyond African

Americans is research that has been left virtually untouched, and this researcher also intends

to explore that

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars have continued to study how news media outlets portray racial minorities since the publication of the Kerner Commission report. Much of the research is concentrated on television news, where video serves as a powerful storytelling element – written words can take on multiple meanings when read by a broadcaster behind video images. The results of television news research in this area have been largely disappointing, as researchers have found the Kerner Commission's goals of fair race representation have not been realized. Study after study has uncovered a reoccurring theme: when television news does cover minority groups, it focuses much of its attention on negative actions such as crime and social deviance. Television news depicts more positive and more frequent images of majority groups, while ignoring less powerful minority groups.

RACE REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL NEWS

Many researchers have focused on race representation in local news. Heider (2000) found that minorities who watch local news said they did not see their concerns represented on the news, nor did they see anchors or reporters who represented them. If this type of misrepresentation continues, Heider warned, the segments of the audience made up of non-Whites may tune out and turn to news outlets they find more relevant and representative. He

argued that on television news "there needs to be not only racial-ethnic diversity, but a commitment to diversity and coverage of diversity at every level" (p. 95).

Research about race representation in local news has been conducted in television markets across the country, with strikingly similar results. The term "market," short for Designated Market Area (DMA), refers to a viewership area determined by Nielsen Media Research, the major supplier of national and local market television rankings and audience measurement. Each DMA is comprised of counties in which the preponderance of total viewing can be attributed to local television stations (Webster, 2000). Every county in the United States belongs to one, and only one, DMA. The data in all ratings reports for local news stations come directly from viewers in their respective DMAs. Each DMA is ranked from one to 210 – market one, New York City, having the largest audience, and market 210, Glendive, Montana, having the smallest audience.

Dixon and Linz's (2000) content analysis of local news programs in the Los Angeles market revealed that African Americans and Latinos were more likely to be portrayed as lawbreakers than were Whites. When the number of crimes broadcast was compared with law enforcement statistics, the researchers found African Americans were actually overrepresented as committing crimes, whereas Latinos were underrepresented, and Whites were neither overrepresented nor underrepresented. Whites were also more likely to be portrayed as victims of crime on local television news than were African Americans and Latinos. In this case, comparisons of news coverage to crime reports showed Whites were overrepresented as crime victims. The researchers concluded that, overall, African Americans were relegated to roles as perpetrators of crimes, and Latinos were largely absent in local news programs.

Similarly, in Romer, Jamieson, and De Comau's (1998) content analysis of Philadelphia local television news stations, the researchers found that African Americans and Latinos were more likely than Whites to be portrayed as perpetrators of crime and less likely to be portrayed as police officers. Once again, minority coverage proved to be concentrated on deviance, while the positive images were reserved for the White majority.

Poindexter, Smith, and Heider (2003) looked at how minorities are used as news sources in local news, and they expanded their sample to include multiple local television markets. Their examination of 12 local television news markets in different geographic regions of the country framed race from the 1980 through 2000 and found that sources in news stories were overwhelmingly White. African Americans represented 14% of on-camera sources, and Latinos represented only 2% of on-camera sources. Asian Americans and Native Americans were almost non-existent as sources in television news. The study also showed African Americans were more likely to be newsworthy because they had committed a crime.

Although some studies focusing on race representation in television news do include minority populations such as Latinos, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans, the majority of research in this area concentrates on the difference between African American representation and White representation. This research focus is understandable given the tumultuous relationship between African Americans and Whites in American history, and it continues to drive research in mass communication and other social sciences. In Entman's (1992) study of local news programs in Chicago, he found that African Americans were more likely than Whites to appear in mug shots. He also found that African Americans were more likely than Whites to appear in handcuffs, jail clothing, or being restrained by an officer.

Entman and Rojecki (2000) also examined local television news in Chicago and found that although African Americans and Whites were equally represented in the news, there were far more White victims shown in crime coverage than Black victims. News stories about White victims were three times as long as news stories about African American victims.

Although there are more than 200 local television news markets in the United States, Campbell (1995) did not find much of a difference between a sample of them. He analyzed newscasts from 29 American cities, and he noted that not only did the news look the same (the news sets look similar, as do the fashions of the news anchors), but the news they carry was also similar. Campbell found that most stations, whether from a metropolitan television market or rural television market, virtually ignored life outside of middle-American/dominant culture parameters, which contributes to an understanding of minority cultures as less significant or marginal.

The difficulty in studying the portrayal of minorities in local news coverage is that there are so many local television markets, and each market represents a different type of population. Some market areas are more racially diverse than others; therefore, critiquing a station's coverage depends largely on the demographics of its audience. One might criticize a local television newscast for its absence of non-White faces, but it is possible that the station's audience is almost entirely White, and it is doing an accurate job in its coverage. Network news, on the other hand, is much easier to critique. The network news audience is essentially the American public, and all of the networks are trying to reach the same audience. Network news also has more money and more resources than local news outlets do, so there is less justification for inaccurate coverage.

Unfortunately, research about the portrayal of racial minorities on American network news has yielded results much the same as that of local television news research. Even at the highest level in the television news industry, minorities are misrepresented. Entman and Rojecki (2000) studied the ways network news helps to construct Whites' sense of African American traits. In their examination of four randomly chosen weeks of evening news from ABC, CBS, and NBC networks in 1997, Entman and Rojecki found thatWhites dominated coverage. More than three-quarters of the stories did not contain any clearly identifiable members of non-White groups. Only 6.3% of the stories focused on the activities of racial minorities. The researchers included citizens of other countries (particularly Asians and Latinos) in their count of racial minorities; therefore, coverage of minority Americans is even sparser than the 6.3% reported.

Dixon, Azocar, and Casas (2003) conducted a content analysis of television network news and found that African Americans were more likely than Whites to appear as perpetrators of crimes than as victims and law enforcement officers. Unlike many local news studies, however, the researchers found that African American and White law-breakers were represented in a way consistent with their perpetration rates. Nevertheless, Whites were overrepresented as victims of violent crime, while African Americans were underrepresented as victims. Similar to the Romer et. al. (1998) local news study, Dixon et. al. (2003) found whites were also overrepresented and African Americans were underrepresented as police officers on the national news networks.

In his study of national news stories, Entman (1994) found that in nearly half of network news stories involving African Americans, African Americans were portrayed as

criminals or as victims of social misfortune (e.g. poverty, bad schools). The findings are consistent with his research of local television news stations in Chicago (1992).

Ziegler and White (1990) examined minorities on network television news and found Whites were more likely to be used as sources and more likely to be portrayed in diverse roles than were people of color. In addition, 94% of the stories sampled were covered by white correspondents.

THE NETWORK NEWS AUDIENCE

According to the Pew Research Center for People and the Press (2002), 32% of Americans watch network news. Nearly 30 million viewers each night make the three network news programs, *ABC World News Tonight*, *CBS Evening News*, and *NBC Nightly News*, the three most-watched and most influential news outlets in America. The number of people watching network news has been declining since 1969 when 59% of Americans tuned in. Much of the fall-off can be attributed to technology creating more alternatives. In the 1970s many viewers had only three or four choices on their broadcast television dial. In 1980, cable expanded the range of television choices to 20, then 30, then 40, including several 24-hour news outlets. Local television news has access to many of the same pictures and stories that were once the exclusive domain of the networks. And the Internet, including the network news outlets' own websites, has also drawn in some of the television news audience ("The State of the News Media," 2005   The State of the News Media 2005 reports that as the evening newscasts have lost viewers, they have also cut back on their newsgathering. This has led to a decline in the number of bureaus and beats, and a shrinkage in the number of minutes of news produced in each program. The managers of evening

newscasts have also tried changing the programs' tone, particularly in the mid-1990s, doing more lifestyle coverage and less traditional news about national and international affairs.

There is evidence, however, that audiences are not giving up on nightly network news programs – they are just catching them less often. In fact, survey data from the Pew Research Center for People and the Press have shown a gradual increase in regular nightly network news viewing. The median age of network news viewers sits at 60, which is a worrisome demographic for network news executives. But according to Nielsen Research Reports, the median age is getting younger. The retirement of Dan Rather and Tom Brokaw and the death of Peter Jennings have forced the nightly network news programs to make adjustments, and the changes have given them an unprecedented opportunity to change content to attract new audiences.

MINORITIES AS SOURCES

Most research about race on television news focuses on images of minorities. In some studies, researchers examine each frame of video and log the appearances of African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and American Indians to gauge how often they appear and in what context they appear. The intent of this study is to go one step further and study the presence of minorities in speaking roles, or soundbites. While the impact of visual images with words behind them has shown to influence audience perception of minorities, soundbites can have an even greater impact. The appearance, the voice, and the words of a speaker can all strongly shape the way a viewer thinks about a person. One speaker on television news can serve as a representative for that person's race or occupation.

Entman and Rojecki (2000) examined soundbites in their three-network sample, and they found thatAfrican Americans were not only interviewed significantly less often than were Whites, but were also quoted about topics that fell in line with Black stereotypes. For instance, only one black person said anything in years' worth of economics stories, compared with 86 soundbites by Whites. On the other hand, African Americans were more prominently used as sources in human interest features, sports and entertainment stories, and discrimination reports. Entman and Rojecki argued that the patterns of racial inclusion and exclusion could reinforce an image of African Americans as a group whose identity, knowledge, and interests are both narrower and different from Whites. Similarly, Campbell (1995) found little presence of journalists of color and of minority news sources in his study of local television news. He argues that the paucity of minorities contributes to a myth of marginalization, that racial minorities exist at the periphery of mainstream society and do not merit the attention granted to Whites.

A reason for the disproportionate coverage is the fact that Whites do dominate nearly every arena of American society; however, these images might actually be reinforcing White domination. Even though news sources are not entirely White, the lack of minorities used as sources could perpetuate traditional stereotypical notions about minority life. As Entman and Rojecki (2000) said, "At the most general level the color pattern of the news conveys a sense that America is essentially a society of White people with minorities – the very word rings pejoratively – as adjunct members who mainly cause trouble or need help" (p. 63). This study will examine not only how often racial minorities are used as on-camera news sources, but also which roles they fill (eg. victims, experts, publicofficial s.)

EXPLANATIONS

Two arguments have often been used to explain what might produce racial misrepresentation in television news. First, a power relationship perspective suggests that White ownership of the media, ethnocentrism, and stereotyping by Whites produce positive images of Caucasians and negative images of minorities (Dixon & Linz, 2000). Crimes committed by African Americans, particularly if Whites are victims, might be deemed highly newsworthy by journalists who feel obliged (even if subconsciously) to conform to preexisting stereotypes.

Second, an economic interest perspective suggests that the news-gathering process emphasizes anomalies to produce higher ratings. For example, because journalists might see African American victims as more typical than White victims, the journalists might see depictions of African American victims as being less likely to capture high ratings than the portrayal of White victims. Therefore, journalists will inflate the depiction of White victimization at the expense of Black victims (Dixon & Linz, 2000).

The fact that television news is a medium largely driven by video also adds insight into the causes of minority misrepresentation. Television news journalists focus on violent crimes and property crimes because they are more visual and dramatic than are white-collar crimes. Flashing police lights and crime tape provide the type of sensational video that white collar "paper trail" crimes cannot. This increases the appearance of African Americans as criminals and decrease the portrayal of White lawbreakers.

In addition, the production process of television news – the daily scramble for reporters and camera crews to get stories, the on-the-spot interpretation of events and formulaic reporting – leaves little room for understanding the complexity of the problems

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that have led to the perpetuation of stereotypical differences between minority and White America (Campbell, 1995).

Some argue that the lack of minorities in the newsroom has an effect on news coverage. Poindexter, Smith, and Heider (2003) examined television reporters' race and the racial focus of news stories to determine if story assignments were segregated. They found that African Americans were more than three times as likely as White reporters to report stories with a "black focus," meaning more than half of the individuals shown in the news story were black. White reporters were more likely to put White sources in their reports. This evidence of segregated story assignments promotes the argument that racial diversity in the newsroom could lead to a more diverse product.

The explanations for why journalists misrepresent racial minorities remains largely speculative, which prompts the need for more research focused on the news-gatherers themselves. This study's author intends to look not only at how minorities are portrayed in network news, but to also examine how the racial makeup of television journalists affects the representation of minorities.

STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes can become an ingrained heuristic for understanding crime and race, and unfortunately, media scholars have found American news coverage riddled with them. Television news has the power to disguise stereotypes as being normal, or "the ways things are" (Ferguson, 1998). Gilliam and Iyengar (2000) noted the prevalence of what they called a "crime narrative" in television news. This narrative consisted of two core elements: the idea that crime is violent and those perpetrators of crimes are non-White males. The

researchers conducted an experiment to assess the impact of the crime narrative on viewers and found that exposure to the racial narrative heightened negative attitudes about African-Americans among White, but not Black viewers. The White viewers of the crime narratives also had higher support for punitive approaches to crime.

Racial stereotyping of minorities can heighten animosity between them and the White majority, as shown in several experimental studies. Stereotypes are short-cut mechanisms for processing what would be an overload of information, and breaking the habit of thinking stereotypically is not an easy task. As Gandy (1998) noted, it would take substantial commitment and resolve on the part of an individual to overturn stereotypical thinking. It even requires the rebuilding of a large part of the individual's cognitive structure.

Cambell (1995) warned that television news offers little in the way of helping to break racial stereotypes:

When the news sustains stereotypical notions about non-white Americans as less-than-human, as savages, as derelicts, it feeds an understanding of minorities as different, as 'other,' as dangerous. It feeds that same understanding by exclusively highlighting the successes of African Americans in terms of sports and entertainment. The myths that for hundreds of years have governed how white Americans think about people of color must be carefully reexamined and eliminated if the news media are to play their proper societal role of providing a democratic citizenry with the kind of information it needs to act in its own best interests (p. 132).

While the stereotypes in television news that portray African Americans in antisocial or criminal roles can have damaging effects, so can the stereotypes thatshow African

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Americans as successful athletes or musicians. Positive stereotypes can feed the myth that

success is equally accessible to all. Those who are not successful can ultimately become

disillusioned and choose not to accept and embrace the American Dream (Campbell, 1995;

Ferguson, 1998).

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The predominant theory used in the study of race representation is framing. A frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration (Tankard, 2001). Entman (1993) defined the framing concept:

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. (p. 52).

Frames invite viewers to think about social phenomena in a certain way, often by appealing to basic psychological biases (Reese, 2001). How minorities are covered on television news influences how they are perceived by the audience. Messaris & Abraham (2001) wrote, "Implicit visual imagery is increasingly being used to frame messages that involve the representation of African Americans in news" (p. 215). They found that framing can influence how non-African Americans feel about issues of equality, fair play, or affirmative action.

Dixon and Lentz (2000) argued that if television news portrays significantly fewer minorities as victims of crime than Whites, negative stereotypes of those minorities as criminals rather than as victims of crime are perpetuated in the minds of viewers. Habitual

viewing of television news might therefore result in the creation and reinforcement of stereotypical thinking about minorities.

Nelson, et. al. (1997) suggest that frames originate within or outside the news organization. Journalists' reliance on elite sources for quotes, information, and analysis means that the media often serve as conduits for individuals who are eager to promote a certain perspective to the public audience. These elite sources are often White and therefore eclipse the perspective of minority sources.

Using framing as the theoretical groundwork for their study, Gandy and Baron (1998) linked news viewing with perceptions about African Americans. Respondents who said they paid attention to news stories about race relations had perceptions of greater socioeconomic disparity between Blacks and Whites than those who said they did not pay attention to the news stories.

Busselle and Crandall (2002) also used framing to explore relationships between media consumption and perceptions about African Americans and Whites. Their study found heavier news viewing was linked to the respondent's belief that lack of motivation is the reason for relative lack of success among African Americans. The researchers argue that their findings are consistent with analyses indicating that Blacks in the news are often portrayed as criminals or as the idle, yet able-bodied, poor.

Dates and Barlow (1990) observed a discrepancy between the way Blacks and Whites were framed in local newscasts. In their study of a dozen local television news stations in the United States, the researchers found evidence of a "split system," wherein Whites were framed one way and minorities were framed another way. Their findings showed that minorities were often missing from local newscasts, and when they did appear they were

overrepresented in stories about crime. Conversely, news stories about discrimination were virtually non-existent.

On-camera sources, which are a major focus of this study, can shape the way people think. Images of a person being interviewed in a television news story appear more natural and more closely linked to reality than quotations on a printed page (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). Visuals affect viewer perception and can evoke stereotypes of an ethnic group, sometimes automatically, yet unintentionally. Viewers are less aware of the process of framing when it takes place through words. What the audience might resist if read in words, they receive more readily in visual form.

CHAPTER V

JUSTIFICATION FOR STUDY

Television images combined with interpretations of direct observation and experience result in an individual's impression of the world and of race (Entman & Rojecki, 2000). The three network news programs, *ABC World News Tonight*, *CBS Evening News*, and *NBC Nightly News*, are the three most-watched, most influential news outlets in America (The State of the News Media 2005). Because television's portrayal of racial minorities can shape the public's perception of them, it is important to take a closer look at exactly how the powerful network news outlets are portraying racial minorities.

As Campbell (1995) states, the vast majority of contemporary American journalists would consider their work to be free of imagery that could contribute to racist attitudes. However, the attitudes of contemporary racism can be subtle, and the news production process – which is ultimately affected by factors including individual socialization, newsroom values and the intensity of deadline pressure – does not allow for careful examination of how the news coverage could affect public perception.

Television journalists are following the same routine, unconsciously interviewing the same types of sources, and therefore producing the same kind of coverage day after day. It is possible to be too close to a product to observe a pattern. This study's author intended to see if there is a pattern in network news use of minorities in source selections – research that has not yet been expanded to include more racial minorities than just African Americans.

Knowing how Hispanics, Asians, American Indians, and African Americans are being used as sources is the first step to making positive change.

Finally, no comprehensive study of the portrayal of minorities in network news programs after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, has been released. It is particularly important to observe how American racial minorities are represented with the major influx of international news since the attacks. Are the majority of non-Whites on network news internationals rather than Americans? If so, the argument that network news feeds an understanding of minorities as different, as "other," could be made in a new way. Perhaps the racial majority in America is at risk of seeing minorities as even more foreign than scholars had feared in the past.

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGY

A quantitative content analysis was performed using a sample of nightly newscasts from the three national networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC. This study examined a constructed month's worth of network news programs from 2005 broadcasts. The shows were chosen using stratified random sampling. All dates from January 1, 2005, through December 31, 2005, were separated by weekday into seven groups: Group 1 consisted of all the Sundays in 2005, Group 2 consisted of all Mondays, Group 3 consisted ofallTuesdays , Group 4 consisted of all Wednesdays, Group 5 consisted of all Thursdays, Group 6 consisted of all Fridays, and Group 7 consisted of all Saturdays.

Next, simple random samples were drawn from each group, and these subsamples were joined to form the complete stratified sample. The dates in each group were assigned numbers from one to 52, because there were 52 of each weekday in 2005. Using a computer program that generates random numbers, four random numbers from one to 52 were chosen for each group. The corresponding dates were then included in the constructed month. For instance, the first Sunday in 2005 (January 1, 2005) was assigned the number 1, because it was the first date in Group 1. If the random number generator selected the number 1, then January 1, 2005, would be one of the four Sundays in the constructed month for this study.

In total, 28 dates were chosen at random (Appendix I): four Sundays, four Mondays, four Tuesdays, four Wednesdays, four Thursdays, four Fridays, and four Saturdays. For each

date, full half-hour network nightly news programs – *ABC World News Tonight*, *CBS Evening News*, and *NBC Nightly News* – was borrowed from the Vanderbilt Television Archive and examined. This yielded a total of 84 programs for analysis.

The stratified random sample resulting in a constructed month was selected instead of a simple random sample because it allows us to get an idea of network coverage every day of the week. A simple random sample of all 2005 dates could possibly result in more of certain days of the week, and some argue that television news content varies depending on the particular day of the week. For instance, the nightly network news is staffed differently on the weekends than it is during the week – different anchors, producers, and reporters work the weekend shift, while the weekday regulars take their days off – and the product, too, can be markedly different from the weekday shows.

A constructed month would also be more representative of the news outlets' overall content than a consecutive month would be. The data yielded from a consecutive month's worth of network news programs could be strongly affected by a particular news event, and therefore would not be as generalizable. For example, if the month chosen as the sample is during hurricane season, it is likely that hurricane stories would dominate news coverage and displace stories that would normally appear during other times of the year.

Once all of the data were collected, the content was be coded. The unit of analysis was the story. Every story in the half-hour newscast was coded. Coding included an indication of the network airing the story, the story's order of appearance in the newscast (e.g., 1st, 2nd, etc.), story production type (copy only, voice-over, voice-over with an interview, reporter package, commentary from reporter or an analyst, or some combination of these elements), story location, and story topic.

Categories for story topics on the coding sheet (Appendix II) are based on Entman and Rojecki's (2001) topics for on-air sources used in their 1997 study of network news. Entman and Rojecki used 13 different topic categories: 1) sports/entertainment; 2) discrimination; 3) human interest; 4) crime; 5) deaths/rituals/anniversaries; 6) court proceedings/government hearings; 7) science/technology; 8) disasters/rescues/weather events; 9) economics/business; 10) health/medicine; 11) foreign affairs; 12) electoral politics; 13) other. This study employed Entman and Rojecki's topic categories and two additional categories: war/terrorism, education, and religion. In light of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and subsequent military actions, the war/terrorism category is an unfortunately inescapable topic on nearly every evening newscast. The two additional categories, education and religion, are also a topics often addressed on network news, but that were left out of Entman and Rojecki's list.

The race and sex of the reporter was coded, as well as the race and sex of all on-camera sources who provided "soundbites." The on-camera sources' order of appearance in the story (e.g., 1st, 2nd, etc.) was also coded, as well as the type of source they represent. Source types are based on Poindexter, Smith, and Heider's (2003) study of race portrayal in local news, and Entman and Rojecki's (2001) study of race portrayal in network news. Twelve source-type categories were used in this study: 1) private individual; 2) public official; 3) activist; 4) expert; 5) athlete/celebrity; 6) criminal; 7) crime victim/witness; 8) military/troops; 9) law enforcement/emergency responders; 10) spokesperson/public relations practitioner; 11) attorney; 12)other.

Race categories used were nearly identical to those used by the U.S Bureau of the Census in 2000 to determine population demographics: White, Black, American Indian,

Asian, and Hispanic. For this study, however, the category "Middle Eastern" was added. American government agencies and the U.S. Census categorize those of Middle Eastern descent as White, even though they are often excluded from the general structural concepts of White-American society. Because of the frequency of Middle Easterners in the news because of stories about war and terrorism, it is important to make a distinction between Middle Eastern and White for the purposes of clarity.

The Census also has an "other" and a "more than one race" category, but the reporters and on-camera sources was not be coded for those categories. If the race of a reporter or on-camera source cannot be determined, the individual was coded as "other."

Admittedly, coding race and ethnicity is not fool-proof. In some cases, looks and names can be deceiving. However, for the purposes of this study, race was coded based on the surface evidence alone, because this is all a viewer has to work with. For instance, it is possible that reporter Lisa Rodriguez looks Hispanic and has a Hispanic last name, but is not Hispanic. Nevertheless, she was coded as such, because it is reasonable to assume viewers would identify her as Hispanic.

The author coded all of the news stories according to guidelines as stated in (Appendix III). After discussing the coding instructions and conducting a practice session, a trained graduate student coded 10 randomly selected programs from the sample, resulting in 101 stories, or 12% of the total sample. After comparing the coding, Cohen's kappa, a widely used index of inter-coder reliability in the study of mass communication was calculated (Dewey, 1983). The ratio of total coding agreements to total number of coding decisions produced an inter-coder reliability of 87%, which exceeded the minimum acceptable level of 80%.

Inter-coder reliability for individual variables ranged from 82% to 100%. When race was coded for the speakers and sources, inter-coder reliability ranged from 82%-95%. Inter-coder reliability for source type and story topic ranged from 87% to 97%. Inter-coder reliability for story type and story locale was calculated at 100%.

Data analysis varied according to the research question. Frequencies and means were be used to answer questions pertaining to the presence of minorities as on-camera news sources on network news. The categorical variables in this study are the race of source, race of reporter, story topic, soundbite position, and source type. The chi-square test for independence was used to determine if two categorical variables are related. Cross-tabulations in this test compare the frequency of cases found in the various categories of one variable across the different categories of another variable. For example, are minority reporters more likely to use minorities as on-camera sources than white reporters are to use minorities as on-air sources? Independent-samples t-tests were conducted to determine whether statistically significant differences exist in the mean number of minority sources for two groups, such as White reporters and minority reporters. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the final coded data.

CHAPTER VII

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

R1. What is the level of presence of minorities as on-camera sources on network news?

> H1. Racial minorities will have less presence as on-camera sources on network news than Whites will.
>
> > Rationale: Studies of race representation in local news and network news have found Whites have significantly more presence as on-camera sources than minorities do.

R2. What role does race play, if any, in the topic of stories on network news?

> H2. Racial minorities are most likely to appear in storiesabout crime, sports/entertainment, and human interest.
>
> > Rationale: Previous research has found that African Americans are more likely to appear in stories about crime, sports, and human interest. The same could be true for other racial minorities.

R3. What role does race play, if any, in the types of on-camera sources used in network news?

> H3. Racial minorities will be less likely to be interviewed as experts than Whites will. Minority sources will appear most often as private individuals, victims/witnesses, or athletes/celebrities.

Rationale: Previous research has found that African Americans are more likely to be interviewed when they are criminals, victims of a crime, athletes, or celebrities – all existing stereotypical roles of African Americans. The same could be true for other racial minority sources.

R4. What role does race play, if any, in the order of on-camera sources used in network news stories?

H4. Whites will appear as the first source in the story significantly more often than racial minorities will.

Rationale: Because Whites are more likely to appear as on-camera sources in television news than minorities, Whites will also be more likely appear as the first on-camera source in network news stories.

R5. What role does the race of the reporter play, if any, in the topic of news stories on network news?

H5. There will be no significant difference in the topics of the stories covered by White network news reporters and the topics of the stories covered by minority network news reporters.

Rationale: Network news managers who are responsible for assigning stories probably do not regularly discriminate by assigning story topics according to the race of reporters. If this type of discrimination did occur regularly today, it is likely that more literature would exist to document it.

R6. Are minority reporters more likely to use minorities as on-camera sources in network news stories than White reporters are to use minorities as on-air sources in network news stories?

> H6. Minority network news reporters will be more likely to use minorities as on-camera sources than White network news reporters will be to use minorities as on-camera sources.

>> Rationale: Living as minorities themselves, minority reporters are more likely to recognize whether they have included a diverse group of on-camera sources in their stories, and will be more likely to use minorities in their stories. White reporters are more likely to use fewer minorities as on-camera sources, even if the exclusion of minority sources is subconscious.

R7. What role does the race of the reporter play, if any, in the types of on-camera sources used in network news stories?

> H7. There will be a significant difference in the types of on-camera sources White network news reporters use in their stories than the types of on-camera sources minority network news reporters use in their stories.

>> Rationale: Minority reporters are more likely than White reporters to be aware of minority stereotypes and recognize whether minority stereotypes were perpetuated through the types of on-camera sources used. Minority reporters will be more likely avoid perpetuating stereotypes of racial minorities. Whites will be more likely to include,

perhaps subconsciously, on-camera sources thatperpetuate existing

stereotypes.

CHAPTER VIII

RESULTS

The year began with network news follow-ups to one of the biggest natural disasters in history. In December 2004, a deadly tsunami devastated coastlines around the Indian Ocean, killing nearly 200,000 people. In January 2005, workers in countries like Indonesia and Sri Lanka continued the gruesome task of collecting bodies and clearing debris.

In February, the FBI apprehended the so-called BTK serial killer, Dennis Rader. Thirty-one years after the murder of his first victim, Rader is sentenced to 10 consecutive life sentences.

The major story in March was that of Brian Nichols, and inmate who murdered three people, including a judge, in the Fulton County Courthouse in Atlanta, Georgia. Nichols escaped to a nearby house, where he held a woman hostage. She convinced him to surrender to police the next day.

The death of Pope John Paul II dominated news coverage in April 2005. More than a million people traveled to Vatican City to mourn. Hundreds of thousands stood in line through the night to pass his coffin.

The Pope's death briefly postponed the marriage of England's Prince Charles and Camilla Parker Bowles. They held the ceremony a week later, on April 9th, and Camilla assumed the titles Her Royal Highness and The Duchess of Cornwall.

Three months later, Britain experienced a terrorist attack, and news networks drew parallels to the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States. Suicide bombers killed 56 commuters during rush hour in London. The investigation in the following weeks remained among the top stories on the American news networks.

On July 24, Lance Armstrong won a record seventh straight Tour de France before announcing his retirement from bicycling. Two days later, NASA launched Space Shuttle *Discovery*'s "Return to Flight" mission, nearly two and a half years after the tragic breakup of Space Shuttle *Columbia* on its return into the Earth's atmosphere. *Discovery* completed its mission successfully, but not without similar structural problems that doomed the *Columbia*.

In August, Helios Airways Flight 522 crashed into a mountain in Greece, killing 121 passengers and crew. The accident captured worldwide media attention because of the mysterious circumstances surrounding it – the plane flew for a long period of time after everyone on board had passed out from lack of oxygen.

Later that month, the biggest news event of the year occurred along the U.S. Gulf Coast. Hurricane Katrina struck the Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama coastal areas, leaving the Mississippi delta and New Orleans shattered. Television news crews documented the slow response of federal agencies, inciting anger and frustration among not only residents of affected areas, but people throughout the country. The hardest hit victims were mostly poor and Black, creating further strife and accusations of racial inequality. Hurricane Katrina killed at least 1,604 people, and caused billions of dollars in damage. Oil prices rose sharply following the hurricane, prompting more news stories about its economic effect on Americans.

In September, Supreme Court Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist died of cancer. Judge John G. Roberts Jr. was nominated as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, then nominated and confirmed as Chief Justice. After justice Sandra Day O'Connor announced her retirement, Judge Samuel Alito faced tough questioning at Senate hearings on his nomination to fill O'Connor's seat.

In late September, Republican U.S. Congressman Tom DeLay was indicted on charges of conspiracy by a Texas grand jury. Three weeks later, vice presidential adviser Lewis "Scooter" Libby resigned after being charged with obstruction of justice, perjury, and making a false statement in a CIA leak investigation.

In October, civil rights pioneer, Rosa Parks, passed away. Her death prompted a look at the history and current state of civil rights in America. Many news organizations used the topic to revisit the racial disparity between people living in the Gulf Coast who were hit by Hurricane Katrina.

Throughout 2005, American troops continued fighting in Iraq with the goal of establishing a constitutional democracy in the country. On a nearly daily basis, news networks reported about attack after attack, and counterattack after counterattack. By the end of the year, more than 2,100 U.S. troops were dead, and more than 7,500 were seriously wounded.

STORY TYPES, TOPIC, AND LOCATION

The 84 newscasts examined in the study yielded a total of 857 stories. A majority (63.3%) of the stories were packages – pre-edited stories typically filed by a reporter including narration, a stand-up, soundbites, and accompanying video and natural sound.

Thirty-six stories (4.2%) were live interviews between the news anchor and a source, such as an expert.   Only nine stories (1.1%) were VO/SOTs, stories in which the anchor reads the first part of the story accompanied by video and then pauses for a soundbite from a news source. The remaining 267 (31.2%) stories were read by the anchor with no accompanying soundbites.

Of 15 possible news story topics, war and terrorism was the leader, representing 17.3% of the total Following close behind were stories about disasters and accidents (17.2%). Other network news story topics included: foreign affairs (10.5%), economics (9.1%), crime (8.5%), deaths/rituals/anniversaries (8.4%), health (7.6%), human interest (5.8%), domestic electoral politics (4%), court proceedings/government hearings (3.2%), sports/entertainment (2.9%), science/technology (2.2%), religion (1.9%), education (.8%), and discrimination (.7%).

A majority of the network news stories focused on events in the United States (67.1%). Second most prominent were stories based in the Middle East (20.2%), followed by stories from Western Europe (7%), Asia (2.7%), Africa (1.2%), Eastern Europe (0.7%), South America (0.6%), Canada and Mexico (0.4%), and Australia (0.2%).

MINORITY PRESENCE

Research question one addressed the level of presence of minorities as on-camera sources on network news. Of the 1530 total sources, results showed that Whites made up the overwhelming majority (77.3%) of on-camera sources (see Table 1). Minorities accounted for about 21% percent of sources in stories aired. Of the minorities used as sources, Blacks appeared most often (8.6%), followed by Middle Easterners (6.3%), Hispanics (4.2%), and

Asians (2.6%). American Indians were virtually non-existent as sources (.01%) with only one distinguishable on-air source – an activist in an electoral politics story. In twelve cases (0.1%), the race of the source could not be determined.

Many of these non-White sources, however, were not Americans. For example, 85.6% of Middle Easterners shown were of foreign descent, featured usually as part of an international story. Once American non-Whites are separated from foreign non-Whites, the percentages are much different (see Table 2). Only 13.8% of sources appearing in network news were American minorities. Of these American minorities, Blacks appeared most often (8%), followed by Hispanics (4.2%), Asians (1.5%), Middle Easterners (.11%), and American Indians (.08%).

In contrast to the racial makeup of American sources, a majority (62.9%) of foreign sources were non-White. Middle Easterners made up the largest percentage (47.4%) of foreign sources, which can be attributed primarily to the preponderance of stories about U.S. military action in Iraq and Afghanistan. White foreigners made up 37.1% of all foreign sources, followed by Asians (26.2%), and black foreigners (5.7%).

STORY TOPICS AND FRAMING OF RACIAL MINORITIES

Research question two focused on the role race plays in the topic of stories on network news. Table 3 shows that White sources clearly dominated all story topics, with a majority presence in every case, except for foreign affairs stories in which foreign sources made up the bulk of soundbites (55.8%). Stories about electoral politics, religion, and science/technology had almost entirely white sources – more than 90% of soundbites in these

story topics were from White sources. More than 80% of soundbites in stories about health/medicine, human interest, economics, crime, and education were also White.

Of the 1118 White soundbites identified in the sample, most were found in accident/disaster stories (15.8%), followed by war/terrorism (13.9%), health/medicine (10.5%), economics/business (10.1%), crime (9.1%), electoral politics (6.4%), deaths/rituals/anniversaries (4.6%), foreign affairs (4.5%), sports/entertainment (3.8%), court hearings (3.2%), religion (3.2%), science/technology (2.4%), education (1.6%), and discrimination (.81%).

Minority sources were scattered more sparingly across story topics, barely making a showing in some topics. Black interviews were found in accident/disaster/weather event stories more than any other topic (37.7%). Stories about Hurricane Katrina accounted for many of the Black sources within the accident/disaster/weather events topic. Blacks were also frequently interviewed for other weather events like winter storms and heat waves. The latter topic, in particular, almost always featured Black sources. For instance, one ABC News heatwave story had a total of seven soundbites from private citizens in Chicago, St. Louis, and Miami -- four of them were Black, and the other three were Hispanic.

The minority group made its second largest appearance in stories about crime (13.1%). Stories about murder investigations, illegal drugs, and police beatings were the most common subjects within the crime topic featuring black sources. These sources were usually private citizens. For example, in one NBC News story about a shooting in a Philadelphia neighborhood, all four soundbites used were Black residents living in the area.

Black sources also appeared in stories about war/terrorism (9%), health/medicine (9%), economics/business (8.2%), deaths/rituals (7.4%), court hearings (4.9%), human interest (3.3%), sports/entertainment (2.5%), discrimination (1.6%), education (1.6%), science/technology (.82%), and electoral politics (.82%). No Black sources appeared in any stories about foreign affairs or religion.

Of the 65 Hispanic sources, most were in accident/disaster/weather event stories (23.1%). Like Black sources, many of the Hispanic sources within the accident/disaster/weather events topic appeared as private citizens in Hurricane Katrina stories. Hispanics also regularly appeared in other weather events stories, such as heat waves, rainstorms, and mudslides in California.

Hispanic sources made their next largest appearance in stories about economics (13.8%). The rising price of oil was a big economic news story in 2005, and Hispanic soundbites were used often in this topic. They appeared mostly as private citizens -- a farmer discussing the higher cost of running equipment, a truck driver reacting to prices at the pump, a resident complaining about her large heating bill. Stories about the economic effects of illegal immigration also accounted for many Hispanic sources.

Hispanics also appeared in stories about human interest (9.2%), discrimination (7.7%), sports/entertainment (7.7%), war/terrorism (7.7%), health/medicine (6.2%), crime (4.6%), deaths/rituals/anniversaries (4.6%), court hearings (4.6%), foreign affairs (4.6%), religion (3.1%), and education (3.1%). No Hispanic sources appeared in science/technology stories or electoral politics stories.

Twenty-three Asian-American sources were identified in the sample. About one-third of the Asian-American sources were found in stories about health/medicine (30.4%).

Asian-American sources frequently appeared as doctors or medical researchers in stories about diseases and new medications. For example, two out of the three sources in an NBC News story about new techniques to prevent Sudden Infant Death Syndrome were Asian. One source was a doctor and the other was a medical researcher.

After health/medicine stories, soundbites from Asian-Americans were found most often in stories about economics/business (13.1%) and foreign affairs (13.1%). Asian-Americans appeared as importers and small-business owners in many economic stories, and as scholars and private citizens in stories about international relations with China and North Korea.

Asian-American sources also appeared in stories about sports/entertainment (13.1%), accidents/disasters/weather events (8.7%), human interest (8.7%), electoral politics (4.3%), deaths/rituals/anniversaries (4.3%), and court hearings (4.3%). No Asian-Americans appeared in stories about crime, war/terrorism, religion, science/technology, education, or discrimination.

Americans of Middle Eastern descent were interviewed most often in stories about war/terrorism and foreign affairs, making up 2.7% and 2.3% of sources in those topics respectively. The group also made up small percentages of other topics such as deaths/rituals/anniversaries (1.1%), court hearings (2.1%), accident/disaster/weather events (.1%), and economics/business (.07%). No Americans of Middle Eastern descent appeared as interviews in stories about health/medicine, human interest, economics, crime, electoral politics, sports/entertainment, religion, science/technology, education or discrimination.

The least represented of all Americans were American Indians. Of the 1530 total sources, only one American Indian source was identified. She was a member of a Choctaw

Indian group who spoke to U.S. senators about the damaging financial effect Washington lobbying had on her tribe.

More than 11% of all people interviewed in the sample were not Americans. Nearly half of these foreign sources were Middle Eastern. Middle Easterners made up a substantial number of sources in stories about foreign affairs (35.5%) and war/terrorism (12.1%). The vast majority of these stories were somehow tied into U.S. military actions in the Middle East. Elections in Iraq, Iraq's constitution, Iran's nuclear program, and tensions between Syria and Lebanon were big stories within the foreign affairs topic. Most foreign sources in foreign affairs stories were government officials and experts on public opinion (primarily in the form of foreign journalists). Iraq's interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, and Iraqi ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad were interviewed regularly, as were journalists from Al Jazeera and Arab newspapers.

Stories within the war/terrorism topic changed on a daily basis. Each broadcast brought word of a new U.S. attack in Iraq, suicide bombing, or an ambush on American troops. All three networks frequently covered stories about the growing resiliency and sophistication of the insurgency in Iraq. Another popular story among the networks was that of American troops training Iraqis for newly created local police forces and military. Hostage situations received a great amount of media coverage, such that of Italian journalist Giuliani Sgrena who was shot on the Baghdad airport road by US troops in Iraq after she was released by her kidnappers. One of the biggest stories on the topic of terrorism did not occur in the Middle East — the London subway bombings in July 2005 and the resulting investigation dominated news coverage for more than a week.

White foreign sources appeared most often in stories about deaths/rituals/anniversaries, accounting for 25.3% of all sources in that story topic. Most of these stories involved the death of Pope John Paul II who died on April 2, 2005. White foreign sources also appeared in stories about foreign affairs, sports/entertainment, and war/terrorism, making up 15.8%, 7%, and 6.3% of all soundbites in these topics respectively.

Foreign Asians and Blacks made the smallest showing, appearing in stories about accident/disaster/weather events and foreign affairs. Specific stories included tropical storms, earthquakes, and U.S.-China/U.S.-North Korea relations. A total of twelve sources in the sample could not be identified by race.

Statistically, results show that the race of the source does play a role in story topic, as hypothesized. A two-way contingency table analysis was conducted to evaluate whether minority sources were more likely to appear in certain story topics than others. The two variables were story topic with fifteen levels (sports/entertainment, health, economics, etc.) and minority presence with two levels (minorities present and no minorities present). Story topic and minority presence were found to be significantly related, Pearson X^2 (14, N = 545) = 40.73, $p < .002$.

Follow-up pairwise comparisons were conducted to evaluate the difference among these proportions. The Holm's sequential Bonferroni method was used to control for Type 1 error at the .05 level across all of the comparisons. Outof the 105 pairwise comparisons, 19 pairwise differences were significant (see Table 4).

The results of these analyses indicate that the significant differences occurred between story topics with a larger number of cases without minority sources, and the topics with a balanced mix of cases with and without minority sources. For example, 87.7% of

foreign affairs stories had no minority sources, resulting in significant differences when compared to other topics. Stories about court proceedings were more than four times as likely to have minority sources as were stories about foreign affairs. Stories about sports/entertainment, disasters, economics, and health were nearly three times as likely to have minority sources as were stories about foreign affairswere . And stories about crime were more than twice as likely to have minority sources as stories about foreign affairs were.

Similar to foreign affairs stories, 87.5% of electoral politics stories had no minority sources. Court proceedings stories were more than four times as likely to have minority sources as electoral politics stories were. Accident/disaster/weather events, health, and economics stories were each about three times more likely to have minority sources as electoral politics stories were.

Disaster/accident/weather events, health, and economics stories were also about two times more likely to include minorities as sources than stories about war/terrorism were. Court proceedings stories were nearly three times more likely to use minority sources than war/terrorism stories were.

Three of the 19 pairwise differences that were significant involved the accident/disaster/weather events story topic. On August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina made landfall near New Orleans, Louisiana, devastating an area largely populated by low-income, non-White Americans. Media watchdog organizations criticized journalists for inaccurately reporting about negative actions of racial minorities, particularly Blacks, in stories of looting, rape, and murder among storm survivors. Many media critics also accused journalists of focusing on minorities as victims of the hurricane, and giving less attention to the thousands of Whites in the same situation. The results of this study concur, black sources were found in

accident/disaster/weather event stories more than any other topic. In order to control for

minority presence in accident/disaster/weather event stories from Hurricane Katrina, a two-

way contingency table analysis was conducted with the shows from August 29, 2005 through

October 1, 2005 (the approximately one month period with the most Hurricane Katrina

coverage) removed from the sample. Story topic and minority presence were again found to

be significantly related, Pearson X^2 (14, N = 505) = 37.35, $p < .002$.

Follow-up pairwise comparisons were conducted to evaluate the difference among the

proportions. The Holm's sequential Bonferroni method was used to control for Type 1 error

at the .05 level across all three comparisons. Even with the Hurricane Katrina dates

eliminated from the sample, the three pairwise differences were still significant.

Accident/disaster/weather event stories were more than twice as likely to contain minority

sources as were foreign affairs, electoral politics, and war/terrorism stories.

SOURCE TYPES AND THE FRAMING OF RACIAL MINORITIES

Results show that a majority of soundbites in network news are from private

individuals, experts, and government officials. The three source types accounted for 77.8%

of all sources. Activists accounted for 6%, public relations/spokespeople for 4.7%, law

enforcement/emergency responders for 4.6%, troops for 3.4%, athlete/celebrities for 1.5%,

attorneys for 1.4%, victims/witnesses for .3%, and criminals for .2%.

Research question three addressed the role race plays in the types of on-camera

sources used in network news. As Table 5 indicates, Whites represent the clear majority of

all source types. Although number-wise, White sources were most often private individuals,

percentages show that White sources made up the largest amount of total expert sources

(86.4%) followed by the largest amount total attorney sources (85.7%). Whites also accounted for about 85% of all activist sources and all public relations/spokesperson sources.

The largest number of Black sources was private individuals; however, about a quarter of athlete/celebrity soundbites and criminal soundbites were from Blacks. Fifteen percent of all troops interviewed were Black, as were 11.4% of law enforcement/emergency responders, and 9.5% of all attorneys. Blacks made the smallest number of appearances as experts (3.5%) such as doctors and researchers, and government officials (3.9%) such as federal and local legislators.

Hispanics, too, appeared most often as private individuals. But the minority group had its biggest representation in the activists category (6.5%), primarily as advocates for illegal immigrants' rights and as members of labor unions. Asian-Americans and Americans of Middle Eastern descent were interviewed most often as experts, although representing only 2.7% and 1.6% of the total number of experts in the sample. Foreigners who were interviewed were most frequently private individuals or government officials.

ROLE OF RACE IN THE ORDER OF ON-AIR SOURCES

Research question four asked what role race plays in the order of on-camera sources in network news stories. Whites appeared as the first source in the story significantly more often that minorities did, which is consistentwith the hypotheses is (see Table 6).

The mean number of sources used in a story was 3.3 with 36.7% of the news stories using one source, 28.2% using two sources, and 35.1% using four sources or more. According to Table 6, Whites outweighed all other racial groups in every position.   Whites

made up more than 74% of all first soundbites in a story. Foreign sources appeared as a first soundbite more often than all American racial minorities combined.

The percentage of Blacks interviewed remained relatively consistent, varying only slightly from position to position. The percentage of Blacks peaked in the third soundbite position, making up 9.4% of all third soundbites. There were no Black sources used in the sixth or seventh position.

On the other hand, the percentage of Hispanic sources increased in the later soundbite positions. Only 4.3% of first soundbites were Hispanics, but 7.1% of fifth soundbites were Hispanics, and 11.1% of sixth soundbites were Hispanics.

Asian-Americans were found most often as the second soundbite in stories (2.5%), as were Americans of Middle Eastern descent (1.6%). Interviews with foreigners were most likely to be positioned in the beginning of stories, making up 15% of first soundbites and 13% of second soundbites. The percentages became gradually smaller with each source position, and no foreign interviews were found after the fifth soundbite position.

REPORTER RACE AND SEGREGATED STORY ASSIGNMENTS

Research question five examined the role the race of the reporter plays in the topic of news stories on network news. The reporter's race, White or non-White, and the topic of the story were used to determine if story assignments were segregated. Nearly 88% of reporters were White, 8.1% were Black, 2.4% was Hispanic, 1.5% were Asian, and in 0.2% of cases the reporter's race could not be determined (see Table 7).

The small numbers of Hispanic, Asian American, and Native American reporters made it difficult to examine segregation in story assignments for these groups, therefore,

comparisons were made between White reporters and non-White reporters. Table 8 shows percentages calculated in two different ways: the percentage of story topic coverage within reporter race, and the percent coverage of story topics by reporter race.

The war/terrorism topic made up the largest percentage of stories covered by White reporters – the topic accounted for more than 20% of all White reporters' stories – followed by disaster/accident/weather event stories (15.3%) and foreign affairs stories (11.2%). The results stand to reason given the extensive coverage of the war in Iraq and Hurricane Katrina. More than half of all story topics were covered almost entirely by White reporters. All discrimination and science/technology stories were filed by White reporters. Ninety-five percent of court proceedings stories, 94.9% of economics/business stories, 94.7% of deaths/anniversaries/rituals stories, 92.7% of human interest stories, 92.3% of electoral politics stories, 92.1% of foreign affairs stories, 91.7% of religion stories, and 90.1% of health/medicine stories were filed by White reporters.

Disaster/accident/weather event was the story topic covered the most by minority reporters, accounting for nearly 30% of all minority reporters' stories, and 21% of all disaster/accident/weather event stories. In late August and September 2005, Hurricane Katrina swept through the Gulf Coast region, virtually wiping out many residential areas. In response to the storm, national networks sent out large teams of reporters to the affected areas. In order to control for minority reporter presence in accident/disaster/weather event stories from Hurricane Katrina, an independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the number of minority reporters assigned to accident/disaster/weather event stories in the full sample and the number of minority reporters assigned to accident/disaster/weather event

stories with the shows from August 29, 2005 through October 1, 2005 removed from the sample.

Results indicate that Hurricane Katrina coverage did not have a significant effect on the number of accident/disaster/weather event stories covered by minority reporters. There was no significant difference in the number of minority reporters' accident/disaster/weather event stories in the full sample ($\underline{M}$=.13, $\underline{SD}$=.34), and with the Hurricane Katrina dates removed ($\underline{M}$=1.5, $\underline{SD}$=.34; $t(23)$=.37, p=.71).

More than a quarter of all crime stories (25.6%) and sports/entertainment stories (31.6%) in the full sample were filed by non-Whites. The results fall in line with past research that found a larger Black presense in stories about crime and entertainment than in other story topics (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Campbell, 1995). Minority reportersalso covered a relatively large percentage of education stories (33.3%), but that amount represents two out of only six total stories in the topic. No minority reporters filed stories about science/technology or discrimination.

THE IMPACT OF REPORTER RACE ON SOURCE SELECTION

Research question six asked whether minority reporters are more likely to use minorities as on-camera sources than White network news reporters are. Results show that minority reporters are more likely to use minorities as on-camera sources. Table 9 reveals that about one in four White reporters' stories had minority sources, while nearly half of minority reporters' stories had minority sources.

A two-way contingency table analysis was conducted to evaluate whether minority sources were more likely to appear in stories reported by white reporters or non-white

50

reporters. The two variables were reporter race with two levels (white and non-white) and minority presence with two levels (minorities present and no minorities present). As hypothesized, reporter race and minority presence were found to be significantly related, Pearson X^2 (1, N = 544) = 12.21, p = .001. Minority reporters were about twice as likely as White reporters to use minority sources in their stories.

Research question seven addressed the role the race of the reporter plays in the types of on-camera sources used in network news stories. A series of independent-samples t-tests was conducted to compare the number of minority speaker types interviewed in white reporters' stories and non-white reporters' stories. Contrary to the hypothesis that minority reporters would interview significantly more minority source types, only one test showed a significant difference -- there was a significant difference in the number of minority private individuals interviewed in white reporters' stories ($\underline{M}$=.18, $\underline{SD}$=.55), and non-white reporters' stories ($\underline{M}$=.51, $\underline{SD}$=1.11; t(75.33)=-2.43, p<.02). Minority reporters used significantly more minority private individuals as sources in their stories than White reporters did. There were no significant differences in the number of minority experts, government officials, activists, public relations/spokespeople, law enforcement/emergency responders, troops, attorneys, athlete/celebrities, criminals, or victims/witnesses used as sources in stories by White and non-White reporters.

DIFFERENCES BY NETWORK

Although ABC, CBS, and NBC are competing networks, the content of their nightly news programs was strikingly similar. NBC aired 311 stories, and ABC and CBS both aired 273 stories. *NBC Nightly News* had the largest percentage of minority reporters (13.7%), followed by *CBS Evening News* (12.4%), and *ABC World News Tonight* (10.2%). *NBC*

Nightly News also had the largest percentage of stories with minority sources (20.3%), followed by *CBS Evening News* (17.9%), and *ABC World News Tonight* (16.1%).

A series of two-way contingency table analyses were conducted to evaluate whether there were significant differences between networks in thepresence of minorities as source types, and the presence of minority sources in story topics. Results indicated that there were no significant differences between the networks in any of the comparisons.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSION

The hypotheses in the study were developed based on findings from previous studies in the area of race, ethnicity and television news. The bulk of the existing research concluded that minorities were marginalized by mainstream news media – not only by a lack of representation, but misrepresentation as well.

The lack of minority representation is more apparent in this study's results than misrepresentation is. Whites dominated television news coverage, comprising more than three quarters of the 1530 sources coded. Only 13.8% of the on-air sources were American minorities. Eight percent were black, four percent were Hispanics, and Asians and American Indians were virtually invisible, collectively representing less than 2% of sources.

The relatively small percentage of non-Whites who did appear as on-air sources were framed differently than Whites. Whites made up the majority of all source types in stories of all topics. Elite sources, such as experts and spokespeople, were almost exclusively represented by Whites, as were authoritative sources such as government officials. The patterns of racial inclusion and exclusion could reinforce an image of minorities as a group whose identity, knowledge, and interests are both narrower and different from Whites, as Entman and Rojecki (2000) suggested.

Black sources in network news were most often private individuals, and they most frequently appeared in disaster/accidentstories and crime stories. Hispanics also appeared

most often as private individuals, and most frequently in stories on the topic of discrimination and the topic of sports/entertainment.

Stories about the war in the Middle East dominated network news coverage in 2005, but minorities were underrepresented as troops in network news coverage. About 21 percent of all soundbites from troops were from American minority troops. However, the most recent Department of Defense reports show that 36% of all enlisted men are minorities, and 51% of all enlisted women are minorities (DoD, 2004).

A major theme in television news research is racial minorities portrayed as deviants. African Americans were more likely to be newsworthy because they had committed a crime (Dixon, Azocar, & Casas, 2003; Poindexter, Smith & Heider, 2003). In the studies, the deviance of racial minorities was juxtaposed against the victimization of Whites.

Previous literature has lumped Blacks and Hispanics together, concluding that both groups appear in television news most often in deviant roles such as criminals. The results from this network news study, however, do not coincide with previous findings Black and Hispanic sources appeared most often as private individuals, but the two minority groups appeared in stories of different topics. Blacks were most often interviewed in stories about disasters/accidents (many because to coverage of Hurricane Katrina, which affected a large population of Blacks), and stories about crime. In the latter topic, however, only one source was a criminal. Hispanic sources appeared as private individuals in a number of discrimination stories, primarily dealing with the rights of illegal immigrants. Overall, minority sources in network news coverage did not appear frequently as victims of crimes (as they do in local news), but more as victims of social misfortune.

Unlike other minority groups, Asians appeared most often as experts, and appeared most frequently in stories about health and medicine. The portrayal of Asian-Americans is consistent with the stereotype of the group as the "model minority." Asian sources were repeatedly doctors and scientists interviewed for their expertise in highly-specialized fields.

Americans of Middle Eastern descent appeared most often as private individuals and experts, most frequently in stories about war and foreign affairs. These Americans often commented as private citizens or experts about their feelings regarding war and terrorism. The vast majority of Middle Eastern sources were foreigners interviewed in their native countries, usually citizens caught in the crossfire of war or experts commenting about the state of their governments. Only one American Indian source was identified, and she appeared as an activist in a story about the financial strife facing Indian reservations.

Story topic did appear to have some effect on the use of minority sources in network news. Stories about court proceedings were more than four times as likely to have minority sources as were stories about foreign affairs and electoral politics. Stories about sports/entertainment, disasters, economics, and health were nearly three times as likely to have minority sources as were stories about foreign affairs. And stories about crime were more than twice as likely to have minority sources as stories about foreign affairs were. Although previous research has not looked at minorities as sources specifically, minorities did appear more often in stories about crime and sports/entertainment than in any other story topics (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Poindexter, Smith, & Heider, 2003; Dixon and Linz, 2000; Dixon, Azocar, & Casas, 2003).

Accident/disaster/weather events, health, and economics stories were each about three times more likely to have minority sources as electoral politics stories were, and two times

more likely to include minorities as sources than stories about war/terrorism were. After controlling for Hurricane Katrina coverage, accident/disaster/weather event stories were still more than twice as likely to contain minority sources as were foreign affairs, electoral politics, and war/terrorism stories.

The number of minority reporters on network news was surprisingly small. The study's tally of minorities in on-air positions was quite similar to the 2003 RTNDA survey results that showed no consistent, meaningful change in the percentage of minorities on and off-air in television news since the early 1990s (Kerschbaumer, 2003). The RTNDA survey found 82% of on-air television news employees were white, 8.4% were black, 6.5% were Hispanic, 2.7% were Asian, and 0.5% were American Indian. In this study no American Indian reporters were identified. Black, Hispanic, and Asian reporters combined comprised only 12% of all reporters coded. This percentage is less than the results of research presented in the literature – some that criticized local television stations for having on-air staffs that were only 16% Black (Poindexter, Smith, and Heider, 2003). The numbers suggest very little progress in national networks' employing and promoting minority journalists, a goal set by the Kerner Commission more than three decades ago.

Some researchers have argued that racial diversity in the television newsroom could lead to a more diverse product. This study did find a relationship between the race of the reporter and minority sources interviewed. Non-White reporters were nearly twice as likely as White reporters to use minorities in their stories. Looking at specific source types, minority reporters interviewed significantly more minority private individuals than white reporters interviewed. However, contrary to the hypothesis, there were no significant differences in the number of other types of minority sources.

The explanations for minority reporters' more frequent use of minority interviews are largely speculative. The significantly larger number of minority private individuals in stories filed by minority reporters could be an indication of a familiarity and comfort level between minority journalist and minority interviewees. Private individuals appearing as sources in television news are often "man-on-the-street" impromptu interviews. Perhaps non-White reporters are subconsciously drawn to non-White citizens, and White reporters to White citizens.

Story assignments did appear to be somewhat segregated by reporter race. White reporters filed the majority of stories in every story topic, and in some cases, such as science and discrimination, they were the only reporters covering the topic. Political topics such as electoral politics and foreign affairs tended to be almost exclusively White, as were the technical topics such as science and economics. Non-White reporters filed more stories dealing with spot news, such as accident/disaster/weather events and crime, as well as sports/entertainment stories. Although the results are focused on the reporter's race, they are similar to Entman and Rojecki's (2000) findings in an examination of news soundbites which showed that only one Black person said anything in years' worth of economics stories, but Blacks were more prominently used in human interest features and sports and entertainment reports.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Framing theorists pose that news content supplies a context and suggests to the audience which aspects of the content are salient and which aspects are not. Frames invite the audience to think about social phenomena in a certain way, and can influence how viewers think about the people and issues seen on television. Habitual viewing of television can reinforce stereotypical thinking about minorities.

The results of this study suggest that network television news coverage in America remains largely White. Although the majority of Americans (nearly three-quarters) are White, an even larger percentage of national television news reporters and national television news sources were White in almost every condition. With such little minority representation it is arguable that the framing of racial minorities would have little impact on the audience as well. On the other hand, with so few minority appearances, each minority frame might carry more weight.

Based on the results of the study, viewers learn that minority reporters and minority sources are the exception rather than the rule in television network news. Elite sources such as experts and government officials are overwhelmingly White. Spokespeople for companies are almost always White, as are attorneys.

The most visible racial minorities are Blacks and Hispanics. Viewers learn that members of these minority groups are not interviewed for their knowledge or expertise on

subjects, but rather when they are private citizens reacting to events such as accidents/disasters, crimes, sports/entertainment, and deaths/rituals/anniversaries.

A quarter of the non-Whites on network news were not Americans, but foreign citizens, giving new life to the argument that television news feeds an understanding of minorities as different, as "other." The racial majority in America could be at risk of seeing all non-Whites as foreign.

The lack of commitment to racial diversity that many scholars commented on in their studies of local television news could also apply to national television news outlets as well. Heider (2000) found that minorities who watched local news complained that the people being covered on the news and the journalists in front of the camera did not look like them or represent their concerns. Racial minorities watching national evening news programs would likely feel the same way.

Local television news coverage tends to vary according to the racial makeup of each station's designated market area. The lines separating local news markets do not exist for the national television networks. The debate in a local newsroom about how much news coverage to give a town right on the edge of another television market does not take place in the national newsroom. The national news audience is all of America. Nevertheless, racial and socioeconomic lines are drawn in place of the market area lines. When life outside dominant culture parameters is ignored, the news coverage can contribute to a belief that minority cultures are less significant, or certainly less deserving of coverage, than is the majority.

Promoting racial diversity in the newsroom could positively affect the numbers of racial minorities covered in news content. Results showed minority reporters were more

likely to interview minorities in their stories; however, a qualitative investigation of news content would be needed to draw conclusions about how minorities are portrayed in the coverage. In addition, promoting diversity behind the camera is arguably just as important in the final television news product as promoting diversity in front of the camera. News directors, assignments managers, producers, and editors play a major role in the story topics and interviews that are gathered and ultimately make it on the air. Minority voices in these positions could potentially lead to news content that covers more minorities and is more representative of minority concerns.

One problem might be the size of the non-white applicant pool. Although news outlets would like to diversify, there might not be a substantial group of minorities from which to choose. To combat this problem, many universities are working to recruit minorities to the journalism profession, and incorporating diversity into their training (Mohl, 2003). In addition, some news organizations have instituted and maintained in-house training programs for aspiring minority journalists, but such efforts are few in number (Wilson & Gutierrez, 1995).

Overall, television journalists of all races and job titles should stay conscious of diversity in their content. News directors should strive for racially diverse newsrooms. Assignments editors should stay informed of issues affecting all communities, not just the majority. Reporters should make racially diverse contacts and maintain them. Producers should invite more minority experts to speak as "analysts" about various topics. In the fast-paced television news industry, journalists often choose the stories and sources that are the easiest to obtain; therefore, choosing a member of the majority is the fast track to finishing a story. By remaining aware of the increasingly racially diverse American population, perhaps

television journalists will put extra effort into covering stories in a manner that best

represents the broad spectrum of their audience.

CHAPTER XI

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Although this study's 857 television news stories and 1530 sources provide insight into the coverage of race in network news, future studies could strengthen the external validity of the results by increasing the number of shows coded beyond 2005. Mixed-methods research focusing on specific variables such as particular story types or source types could provide greater detail about race representation in television news. Qualitative description would add a new dimension to the largely qualitative body of work in the subject area.

Adding gender to race as a variable in the study of network news sources could also yield some interesting results. Although it is clear that Whites dominate as both journalists and sources, the role gender plays in addition to race and ethnicity should also be researched.

The coverage of American minorities versus foreign minorities should also be examined in the future. The study did find foreign minorities typically appeared in stories about war/terrorism and accidents/disasters/weather events. How the framing of foreigners affects American perception of not only race but also nationality is a topic overdue for examination.

Twenty-four hour television networks like CNN and Fox News Channel are news outlets largely left out of race and ethnicity research, perhaps because of their complicated

format and continually fluctuating audience. Despite the hurdles to research sampling and method, researchers should study the 24-hour news networks and their representation of race.

Finally, to gain insight into the reasons television news content is the way it is, researchers must go to the source – the journalists themselves. Most research of race and television news is conducted through content analysis of programming; however, scholars can only speculate as to why journalists made particular coverage decisions. A combination of in-depth interviews and surveys of on-air and off-air newsroom staff might fill in the holes left by quantitative content analysis research.

APPENDIX I:

Constructed Month Sample

Four composite weeks of network news programs as selected through stratified random sampling. For each of the dates below, complete programs of *NBC Nightly News*, *CBS Evening News*, and *ABC World News Tonight* were analyzed.

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1/16/05	1/10/05	3/29/05	4/6/05	8/11/05	2/18/05	9/24/05
1/30/05	2/21/05	7/05/05	5/25/05	9/8/05	3/4/05	5/14/05
6/26/05	8/15/05	7/26/05	6/22/05	10/6/05	4/15/05	3/5/05
7/24/05	10/10/05	11/22/05	7/27/05	12/1/05	8/26/05	4/3/05

APPENDIX II:

Network News Coding Form

Date_____
Network_____
Story Location_____   Story Topic_____   Story Type_____
                                     1. Sports/Entertainment   1. PKG
                                     2. Discrimination   2. VO/SOT
                                     3. Human Interest   3.VO/ SOT/VO
                                     4. Crime   4.SOT
                                      5. Deaths/Rituals/Anniversaries   5. Live interview
                                      6. Court Proceedings/Gov't Hearings   6. VO or Reader
                                      7. Science/Technology   (no sources)
                                      8. Disasters/Rescues and weather events 7. Other
                                     9. Economics
                                     10. Health/Smoking
                                     11. Foreign Affairs
                                     12. Electoral politics
                                     13. War/terrorism
                                     14. Education
                                      15. Religion
                                     16. Other

Speaker Type_____   Speaker Gender_____   Speaker Race _____
        1. Anchor   1. Male   1. White
        2. Reporter   2. Female   2. Black
        3. Analyst   3. Hispanic
        4. Other   4. Asian
                                                             5. American Indian
                                                             6. Middle Eastern
                                                            7. Other

Source Type_____   Source Gender_____   Source Race _____
        1. Private Individual   1. Male   1. White
        2. Public Official   2. Female   2. Black
        3. Political activist   3. Hispanic
        4. Troops   4. Asian
        5. Expert   5. American Indian
        6. Athlete/Celebrity   6. Middle Eastern
        7. Criminal   7. Other
        8. Victim/Witness   (add letter F if the person is foreigner)
        9. Law Enforcement/E.R.
        10. Spokesperson/P.R.
         11. Attorney
        12. Other

Source 2 Type _____   Source 2 Gender _____   Source 2 Race _____
Source 3 Type _____   Source 3 Gender _____   Source 3 Race _____
Source 4 Type _____   Source 3 Gender _____   Source 4 Race _____
Source 5 Type _____   Source 5 Gender _____   Source 5 Race _____
Source 6 Type _____   Source 6 Gender _____   Source 6 Race _____
Source 7 Type _____   Source 7 Gender _____   Source 7 Race _____

APPENDIX III:

Network News Coding Instructions

Use one coding sheet per story. A typical network newscast will require approximately 15 coding sheets.

Date: The date of the newscast being coded

Network: The network on which the newscast aired: ABC, CBS, or NBC

Story Location: The country where the story is being reported from

Story #: The story's placement within the newscast, represented by letter followed by a number. "A" stories are all stories that appear in the "A-block," or the first segment of the news broadcast, before the first commercial break. "B" stories are those that appear in the B-block segment after the first commercial break. "C" stories appear in the C-block segment after the second commercial break. The number following the letter is the story's placement within the block. For example, "A1" would be the very first story in the newscast. "B1" would be the first story after the first commercial break. "C1" would be first story after the second commercial break.

Story Topic: Write the number of the topic which best fits the story

1. Sports/Entertainment: coverage of sporting events, movies, music, actors, athletes

2. Discrimination: stories involving people or groups who are unjustly treated on a basis other than individual merit

3. Human Interest: profiles of ordinary people who do extraordinary things, unusual occurrences, humorous events

4. Crime stories that highlight criminals or criminal /lawbreaking activity

5. Deaths/Rituals/Anniversaries: coverage of funerals, holidays, national traditions

6. Court Proceedings/Government Hearings: coverage of lawsuits, government hearings

7. Science/Technology: coverage of technological advances, computers, new inventions, the space program

8. Disasters/Rescues and Weather Events: coverage of natural disasters like earthquakes, floods, and hurricanes, and the activities surrounding such disasters

9. Economics/Business: coverage of the economy, production, distribution, and consumption of goods

10. Health/Medicine: coverage of diseases, epidemics, new medicines, health hazards, smoking

11. Foreign Affairs: coverage of United States' relations with foreign countries, coverage of foreign governments

12. Electoral Politics: coverage of elections, campaigning, Presidential and Congressional activity that does not focus on any of the other topic categories

13. War/Terrorism: coverage of war, troops, homeland security, terrorist actions, terrorist threats

14. Education: coverage of teachers, students, schools, universities

15. Religion: coverage of religious issues, churches, spirituality

16. Other: If no category is appropriate, write a brief description of the story on the back of the coding sheet

Story Type: Write the number of the story type which best fits the story

1. PKG: A package, or television story filed by a reporter, which typically includes reporter narration, a stand-up, soundbites, and accompanying video

2. VO/SOT: A story read by an anchor over video, followed by a soundbite

3. VO/SOT/VO: A story read by an anchor over video, followed by a soundbite, and then followed by more video with the anchor's voice reading over it

4. SOT: A story read by an anchor on camera, followed by a soundbite

5. Live interview: An on-set or on-location live interview between the anchor and source or the reporter and source

6. VO/Reader/No sources: A story with no soundbites

7. Other

Speaker Type: Write the number of the speaker type which best fits the speaker

1. Anchor: the person who hosts a television newscast

2. Reporter: the journalist who goes out in the field and files a report. A reporter's story is typically introduced by the anchor

3. Analyst: an expert about a topic, usually used in live interviews

4. Other

Speaker Gender: Write "1" for a male speaker and "2" for a female speaker

Speaker Race: Write the number of the race that best fits the speaker

1. White: people of ethnic European descent

2. Black: African Americans

3. Hispanic: origins in Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America

4. Asian: origins in the Far East, Southeast Asia, or Indian Subcontinent; peoples of Guam, Hawaii, Samoa, or Pacific Islands

5. American Indian: people indigenous to the Americans prior to European colonization

6. Middle Eastern: origins in Arab countries, Israel, Iran, Turkey, and North Africa

7. Other

Source Type: Write the number of the source type that best fits the source (soundbite)

1. Private Individual: private citizens who are interviewed for their non-expert opinions or observations

2. Public Official: persons elected to public office and nonelected government employees who play major roles in the development of public policy; federal, city, and state legislators, school board members, judges

3. Activist: persons who are trying to make a change in legislation

4. Troops: persons serving in the armed forces

5. Expert: persons interviewed for their special knowledge on a particular issue

6. Athlete/Celebrity: possesses widespread fame or notoriety

7. Criminal: person accused of breaking the law

8. Victim/Witness: person affected by a crime or witnessed a crime

9. Law Enforcement/Emergency Responder: people called to the scene of an incident to assist citizens: police, firefighters, rescue workers, paramedics

10. Spokesperson/Public Relations Practitioner: people who are speaking for a company or institution

11. Attorney: lawyers who are interviewed regarding a case that they are participating in

12. Other: if no category is appropriate, write a description of the source on the back of the coding sheet

Source Gender: Write "1" for a male source and "2" for a female source

Source Race: Write the number of the race that best fits the speaker. Use the same race descriptions used for speaker race. Add the letter "F" next to the number if the source is a foreigner living in a foreign country. For example, if the source was a Chinese government official, you would write "4F."

TABLE 1: Percentage of Sources Used by Network TV Reporters, Categorized by Race

Source Race	% Sources
White	77.3% (1183)
Black	8.6% (132)
Hispanic	4.2% (65)
American Indian	0.1% (1)
Asian	2.6% (40)
Middle Eastern	6.3% (97)
Other	.8% (12)
Total	100% (1530)

Percentages rounded to the nearest tenth

TABLE 2: Percentage of Sources Used by Network TV Reporters, Categorized by Race and Country of Origin

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	American Indian	Middle Eastern	Other	Total
U.S.	73.1%	8%	4.2%	1.5%	.1%	.9%	.8%	88.6%
	(1118)	(122)	(65)	(23)	(1)	(14)	(12)	1355
Non-U.S.	4.2%	.6%	N/A	1.1%	N/A	5.4%	0%	11.3%
	(65)	(10)		(17)		(83)		175
Total	77.3%	8.6%	4.2%	2.6%	.1%	6.3%	.8%	100%
	(1183)	(132)	(65)	(40)	(1)	(97)	(12)	(1530)

Percentages rounded to the nearest tenth

TABLE 3: Percentage of Sources Used by Network TV Reporters, Categorized by Race and Story Topic

	White	Black	Hisp	Asn	A.I.	Mid. East.	For. White	For. Black	For. Asian	For. M.E.	N/D	Tot
Accident	64%	16.%	5.4%	0.7%	0%	0.7%	0.7%	1.4%	5.1%	2.9%	2.2%	100
	(177)	(46)	(15)	(2)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(4)	(14)	(8)	(6)	(276)
War/Ter.	69%	4.9%	2.2%	0%	0%	2.7%	6.3%	0.9%	0%	12.1%	1.8%	100
	(155)	(11)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(6)	(14)	(2)	(0)	(27)	(4)	(224)
Health	83.7%	7.8%	2.8%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	.7%	100
	(118)	(11)	(4)	(7)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(141)
Human Interest	89.8%	3.1%	4.7%	1.6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	.8%	0%	100
	(114)	(4)	(6)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(127)
Economic	82.4%	7.4%	6.6%	2.2%	0%	.7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	.7%	100
	(112)	(10)	(9)	(3)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(136)
Crime	83.6%	13.1%	2.5%	0%	0%	0%	.8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(102)	(16)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(122)
Electoral Politics	95.9%	1.4%	0%	1.4%	1.4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(71)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(74)
Deaths	58.6%	10.3%	3.4%	1.1%	0%	1.1%	25.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(51)	(9)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(22)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(87)
Foreign Affairs	37.6%	0%	2.3%	2.3%	0%	2.3%	15.8%	3%	1.5%	35.5%	0%	100
	(50)	(0)	(3)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(21)	(4)	(2)	(47)	(0)	(133)
Sports	73.7%	5.3%	8.8%	5.3%	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(42)	(3)	(5)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	57
Court Hearings	76.6%	12.8%	6.4%	2.1%	0%	2.1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(36)	(6)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(47)
Religion	94.7%	0%	5.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(36)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(38)
Science	96.4%	3.6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(27)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(28)
Education	81.8%	9%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(18)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(22)
Discrim.	52.9%	11.8%	29.4 %	0%	0%	0%	5.9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100
	(9)	(2)	(5)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(17)
TOTAL # Stories by Race	1118	122	65	23	1	14	65	10	17	83	12	

Percentages rounded to the nearest tenth

TABLE 4: Significant Results for Pairwise Comparisons of Story Topic and Minority Presence

Comparison	Pearson chi square	*p* value
Sports/Entertainment vs. Foreign Affairs	5.72	.017
Crime vs. Foreign Affairs	3.89	.049
Death/Rituals vs. Court Hearings/Proceedings	3.70	.054
Deaths/Rituals vs. Disasters/Accidents	4.25	.039
Deaths/Rituals vs. Economics/Business	4.68	.03
Court Hearings/Proceedings vs. Science/Tech.	3.71	.054
Court Hearings/Proceedings vs. Foreign Affairs	8.96	.003
Court Hearings/Proceedings vs. Electoral Politics	5.65	.017
Court Hearings/Proceedings vs. War/Terrorism	6.17	.013
Science/Technology vs. Economics/Business	3.86	.049
Disasters/Accidents vs. Foreign Affairs	12.6	.001
Disasters/Accidents vs. Electoral Politics	6.16	.013
Disasters/Accidents vs. War/Terrorism	10.62	.001
Economics/Business vs. Foreign Affairs	12.11	.001
Economics/Business vs. Electoral Politics	6.63	.01
Economics/Business vs. War/Terrorism	9.54	.002
Health vs. Foreign Affairs	8.28	.004
Health vs. Electoral Politics	4.39	.036
Health vs. War/Terrorism	5.66	.017

TABLE 5: Percentages of Source Race Used by Network TV Reporters, Categorized by Source Type

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Amer. Indian	Middle Eastern	Foreign	Other	Total
Private Individual	58.9%	11.3%	6.3%	1.4%	0%	1.1%	19.7%	1.4%	100%
	(329)	(63)	(35)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(110)	(8)	(559)
Expert	86.4%	3.5%	2.7%	2.7%	0%	1.6%	2.4%	0.8%	100%
	(324)	(13)	(10)	(10)	(0)	(6)	(9)	(3)	(375)
Gov't Official	76.3%	3.9%	2.3%	0.4%	0%	0.8%	16.3%	0%	100%
	(196)	(10)	(6)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(42)	(0)	(257)
Activist	84.8%	6.5%	6.5%	0%	1.1%	0%	0%	1.1%	100%
	(78)	(6)	(6)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(92)
P.R./Spokesperson	84.7%	6.9%	2.8%	2.8%	0%	0%	2.8%	0%	100%
	(61)	(5)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(72)
Law Enf'ment/ER	74.3%	11.4%	2.9%	2.9%	0%	0%	8.6%	0%	100%
	(52)	(8)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(6)	(0)	(70)
Troops	71.2%	15.4%	5.8%	0%	0%	0%	7.7%	0%	100%
	(37)	(8)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(4)	(0)	(52)
Attorney	85.7%	9.5%	4.8%	4.8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
	(18)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(21)
Athlete/Celebrity	73.9%	26.1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
	(17)	(6)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(23)
Criminal	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
	(3)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(4)
Victim/Witness	60%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	40%	0%	100%
	(3)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(5)
Total	(1118)	(122)	(65)	(23)	(1)	(14)	(175)	(12)	(1530)

Percentages rounded to the nearest tenth

TABLE 6: Order of Source Appearance, Categorized by Race

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	Total #
White	70.4%	70.6%	76.1%	81.3%	77.2%	75%	100%	1118
	(395)	(305)	(235)	(130)	(44)	(6)	(3)	
Black	7.5%	7.6%	9.4%	8.1%	8.8%	0%	0%	122
	(42)	(33)	(29)	(13)	(5)	(0)	(0)	
Hispanic	4.3%	3.9%	3.6%	5%	7%	12.5%	0%	65
	(24)	(17)	(11)	(8)	(4)	(1)	(0)	
Asian	1.4%	2.5%	.12%	.12%	0%	0%	0%	23
	(8)	(11)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	
Amer. Indian	0%	.2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1
	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	
Middle Eastern	1%	1.6%	.3%	0%	0%	12.5%	0%	14
	(5)	(7)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	
Other N/D	.5%	.5%	1%	1.3%	3.5%	0%	0%	12
	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	
Foreign	15%	13%	8.7%	3.8%	3.5%	0%	0%	175
	(84)	(56)	(27)	(6)	(2)	(0)	(0)	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	1530
	(561)	(432)	(309)	(160)	(56)	(9)	(3)	

Percentages rounded to the nearest tenth

TABLE 7: Percentage of Reporters, Categorized by Race

Race	Percentage
White Reporters	87.8% (518)
Black Reporters	8.1% (48)
Hispanic Reporters	2.4% (14)
Asian Reporters	1.5% (9)
Other	0.2% (1)
TOTAL	100% (590)

Percentages rounded to the nearest tenth

TABLE 8: Percent Coverage of Story Topics, Categorized by Reporter Race

Story Topic	Coverage by White Reporters	Coverage by non-White Reporters	Total Topic Coverage
War/Terrorism	88.8% (103)	11.2% (13)	100% (116)
Disaster/Accident	79% (79)	21% (21)	100% (100)
Foreign Affairs	92.1% (58)	7.9% (5)	100% (63)
Health/Medicine	90.1% (46)	9.8% (5)	100% (51)
Human Interest	92.7% (38)	7.3% (3)	100% (41)
Economics	94.9% (37)	5.1% (2)	100% (39)
Deaths/Anniversaries	94.7% (36)	5.3% (2)	100% (38)
Crime	74.4% (32)	25.6% (11)	100% (43)
Electoral Politics	92.3% (26)	3.7% (1)	100% (27)
Court Proceedings	95% (19)	5% (1)	100% (20)
Sports/Entertainment	68.4% (13)	31.6% (6)	100% (19)
Science/Technology	100% (11)	0% (0)	100% (11)
Religion	91.7% (11)	8.3% (1)	100% (12)
Discrimination	100% (5)	0% (0)	100% (5)

TABLE 9: Percentage of Non-Minority and Minority Sources Used, Categorized by Reporter Race

	White Reporters' Stories	Non-White Reporters' Stories
No Minority Sources Used	74.8%	54.9%
	(354)	(39)
Minority Sources Used	25.2%	45.1%
	(119)	(32)

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