

Media Effects

Advances in Theory and Research

Fourth Edition

Edited by Mary Beth Oliver

Arthur A. Raney

Jennings Bryant

16

Media Stereotypes

Content, Effects, and Theory

Travis L. Dixon

The effects of media stereotyping on both individuals and society has been a topic pursued by media scholars for decades. However, this area of inquiry often struggled to address widespread skepticism and a “step-child-like” attitude from both the media industry and its observers. Those skeptical of the area resisted viewing media as forming a significant part of the landscape influencing our personal, social, and political interactions. To address these critics, media stereotype scholars conducted numerous content analyses to provide strong evidence that the media regularly stereotype women and people of color. However, fewer studies addressed the effects of these images or advanced theory designed to explain the impact of such portrayals on audience members.

Since the last edition of this book, three new and significant factors require our attention. First, the U.S. elected a president who utilizes media stereotypes, particularly against Latinos, Muslims, and African Americans, as political mobilization tools (Gray, 2017; Parker & Costa, 2017; Vitali, Hunt, & Thorp, 2018). His successful utilization of media stereotypes remains a testament to their ability to influence both political and social interaction.

Second, scholars now devote significant time and resources to tease out media stereotype effects and advance theoretical constructs designed to further understand their influence on human behavior (Atwell Seate & Mastro, 2016; Dixon, 2017c). Scholars’ recognition of mediated stereotyping’s power has grown. Most early scholars took pains to identify how various depictions were commonplace within media. Now, many researchers work to understand the extent to which such depictions shape cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral outcomes, using theory to drive these investigations. The attention to effects studies and theorization reflects a maturing of this area of inquiry.

Third, the number of scholars studying media stereotyping effects grew substantially. This growth’s ramifications extend to the heart of media effects and intersect with many areas of study within communication including interpersonal relationships, intergroup relations, and new media (Abrams & Giles, 2007; Harwood & Giles, 2005). Moreover, the blossoming availability of digital media offerings present a fertile frontier for further investigation.

Therefore, this chapter devotes substantial time to stereotyped media content along with an increased focus on how the media influence perceptions of both Whites and people of color.

3s regarding media portrayals of five commonly
tinos, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and
three key theoretical perspectives utilized by media
t of media stereotypes. In order to illustrate each
studies that apply each theoretical approach. The
emerging media on various digital platforms may
as' influence.

Media Stereotypes

l effects, one must first determine the extent of
ent. Media effects scholars investigating stereotyp-
understand a particular group's depiction. Prior
mount of information regarding three groups:
nfortunately, scholars undertook fewer studies of
ons. Below, I describe the unique revelations illu-

esentation of women, followed by the extent to
edia. Given the intersections between gender and
ifferences relevant to African American, Latino, and
es.

antly more male than female characters depicted
Women remain underrepresented in comparison
k Parrott, 2015). Men dominate film appearances
rs and voice overs in G-rated films produced by
010).

and film depictions tend to overrepresent women
et al., 2010). In addition, women tend to be por-
r than men. Women also behave in a more sexu-
television. In fact, the sexual subordination and
nsistent research findings media scholars investi-
rpentier & Stevens, 2018; Lynch, Tompkins, van

women appears consistently in music videos
(012; Karsay, Matthes, Platzer, & Plinke, 2018).
men are more likely than men to display body
ively, engage in sexualized dance, and be sexually
ubrey, 2012; Turner, 2011).

us amount of attention on depictions of African
that drives discussions of race in the U.S. (e.g.,

Black versus White) may explain why African American depictions receive so much attention
(Entman & Rojecki, 2000). That said, research on African American portrayals continues to be
the most extensive in the media stereotyping literature.

African American Entertainment Television Portrayals

Multiple studies confirm that entertainment media contain numerous and proportional African
American representations, especially of Black professionals (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Signor-
ielli, 2009; Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yarchi, 2015). Multiple studies found that African Ameri-
cans tend to fall somewhere between 13% and 17% of the major characters featured in
entertainment television, including as major primetime characters. However, the actual number
of Black characters appearing fluctuates quite a bit, and many scholars speculate that this may
be tied to the popularity of situation comedies. Television producers tend to relegate African
Americans to situation comedies, including entire television shows dominated by African
American casts. In turn, their portrayal in both dramas and reality programming tends to occur
less frequently. When African Americans do appear on dramas and reality programs, they tend to
be depicted in smaller numbers as part of diverse casts, rather than majority Black casts. The
entire television landscape has seen situation comedies dip and reality programs increase. As
the number of situation comedies has declined, so has the number of African American
characters.

Entertainment television tends to be a mixed bag in terms of the quality of portrayals for
African Americans. On the one hand, many Black characters in entertainment often appear as
good rather than bad characters. Moreover, many Black characters hold high social positions,
though this trended downward in recent years (Tukachinsky et al., 2015). On the other hand,
African Americans still tend to appear immoral and more despicable compared to White char-
acters (Monk-Turner, Heiserman, Johnson, Cotton, & Jackson, 2010). This portrayal often per-
vades sports depictions. Sports news and commentary frequently depicts Blacks as unintelligent
or dumb, yet naturally talented athletes (Angelini, Billings, MacArthur, Bissell, & Smith, 2014;
Primm, DuBois, & Regoli, 2007; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). However, these same sports outlets
portray White athletes as intelligent while lacking in athleticism.

Advertising Images of African Americans

A number of studies also considered the African American depictions in advertising. Advertising
offers assorted images, with increasingly diverse representations, particularly of Black women in
fashion magazines (Baker, 2005; Covert & Dixon, 2008). However, many African American
women tend to exhibit Eurocentric rather than Afrocentric features when they appear in ads
targeted at both Black and mainstream audiences (Baker, 2005). Meanwhile Black men tend
to assume either unemployed or athletic roles (Bailey, 2006).

Music Depictions of African Americans

An increasing number of scholars have devoted their attention to stereotyped music video
effects. Much of this work focuses on the rap and R&B (rhythm and blues) genres of music.
This research finds that African Americans dominate as both performers and background dan-
cers. The music also features a variety of themes, some of which reinforce stereotypes. For

Below, I provide some key content findings for stereotyped groups: African Americans, Latinos, and women. Following this, the chapter outlines the impact of stereotype scholars to understand the impact of perspective's utility, I review specific effects and chapter concludes with a discussion of how they either enhance or weaken mediated stereotyping.

Content Representations and Prominent Media

To understand media stereotyping's potential impact on their prominence within the media environment, we begin by reviewing research by trying to understand how investigations have revealed a significant impact on women, African Americans, and Latinos. Using Asian American and Native American depictions, we are informed by this research.

Gender Portrayals

In this section, I discuss the numerical representations of which gender stereotypes proliferate in the media. Later in this chapter I discuss gender stereotypes for Native American, and Asian American identities.

Content analyses consistently found significant gender stereotypes in primetime television (Sink & Mastro, 2017). In their census population numbers (Parrott & Mastro, 2017), even more, with the vast majority of characters being males (Smith, Pieper, Granados, & Choueiri, 2017).

In terms of gender stereotypes, primetime television as homemakers (Sink & Mastro, 2017; Smith & Mastro, 2017) portrayed as more attractive, thinner, and younger. Additionally, a provocative manner compared to men on television. The objectification of women remain the most common finding in gender stereotypes report (Dillman-Cavanagh, Driel, & Fritz, 2016).

The objectification and subordination of women (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Frisby & Aubrey, 2011; Frisby & Frisby, 2011). Music video content analyses reveal that women are portrayed as more sexualized, dress more provocatively, and are more objectified (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Frisby & Aubrey, 2011).

African American Representations

Generally, media researchers focus a tremendous amount of research on African Americans in the media. The binary thinking

n emerge as common themes in hip hop music videos often sexualize Black women as the sexually promiscuous Black woman), presenting (2009; Turner, 2011; Zhang, Dixon, & Conrad, 2012). White female artists to wear provocative clothing (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012). Conversely, ed aggressive thugs,” especially within rap videos

ortrays African Americans. Although not in all news often associates Black people with criminal Americans as criminals compared to crime sympathetic roles such as crime victims (Dixon, 2000b). When exclusively considering family overrepresented as criminal suspects when white family members (Dixon, 2017a). News and an Americans as welfare recipients, especially 99; van Doorn, 2015). Finally, news tends to e strongly than White athletes’, resulting in less Blecha, & Atwell Seate, 2011).

t ways from African American portrayals. The numerous studies includes their underrepresentation. This underrepresentation can be found metime television (Signorielli, 2009), advertising nas (Hetsroni, 2009), and even gay male blogs

rely underrepresented within commercial English et al. (2015) found the percentage of s and then increased to more than 3% by the below the 18% of Latino people who live in the gnorielli (2009) found that the proportion of Latino characters on primetime TV differed by out 1% of models found in mainstream maga-

to be portrayed in several stereotypical man- achinsky et al. (2015) found that many Latino levision and occupied low professional status males than Latino males. Moreover, Spanish

language television reinforced “the harlot” stereotype, depicting rich Latina women who were sexualized, provocatively dressed, and sporting slim body types (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Ortiz, 2008). In addition, these programs depicted dark-complexion men as aggressive (e.g., “the criminal” stereotype), while portraying men with a fair complexion as intelligent and articulate.

Latinos in the News

The underrepresentation of Latinos continues within the news context, especially when we consider sympathetic roles (Sorenson, Manz, & Berk, 1998). For example, early studies by Dixon and Linz (2000a, 2000b) uncovered Latino underrepresentation as police officers, victims, and perpetrators. A replication of this study found Latinos to be correctly represented as perpetrators, although still underrepresented as officers and victims (Dixon, 2017b).

The issue of immigration and Latino immigrants as criminal or cultural threats manifests as the most recurring stereotype for Latinos in the context of news (Rendon & Johnson, 2015). For example, Chavez, Whiteford, and Hoewe (2010) found that the majority of news stories regarding Mexican immigration from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today* featured illegal immigration, with crime being the greatest aspect of these stories. Moreover, the news media, especially English-language outlets, concentrate on immigration in a negative light, focusing on crime and job competition (Branton & Dunaway, 2008; Dunaway, Goidel, Krzinger, & Wilkinson, 2011; Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullins, 2011). Similarly, Dixon and Williams (2015) found that news reporters identified immigrant criminals as overwhelmingly (and falsely) Latino. In addition, the news depicted virtually every illegal or undocumented immigrant as Latino, which significantly distorts social reality.

Asian Americans

Unfortunately, much of the work on Asian portrayals points to their extreme underrepresentation in the media (Graves, 1999; Grimm & Schwartz, 2017; Mastro, 2009; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). Media stereotype representation models put them squarely in a non-recognition stage, in which their appearance occurs so infrequently (less than 3% and often 1% or lower), their presence barely registers within a formal content study (Clark, 1973). For instance, Asians remain severely underrepresented in mainstream magazines and in various genres of television including crime dramas (Schug, Alt, Lu, Gosin, & Fay, 2017).

A few prior studies uncovered evidence that media frequently stereotype Asian Americans as “model minorities.” Primarily, they represent Asian American males as techno-nerds or geeks. For instance, on video games ads and covers, Asian models often interact with new technology (Burgess, Dill, Stermer, Burgess, & Brown, 2011). Meanwhile, sports news reinforces this stereotype by depicting Asian athletes as lacking composure (Angelini et al., 2014).

Native Americans

When compared to Asian Americans, researchers uncovered even fewer media representations of Native Americans. Content analyses commonly register fewer than 1% of onscreen characters as Native American, who tend to be relegated to “historical” depictions, such as plains Indians who fought cowboys (Heider, 2000; Lipsitz, 1998; Mastro, 2009). More recent 21st-century

‘savage’ imagery, commonly depicted in mid-20th and untrustworthy Native casino owners (Harris, images in news focus on their cultural festivals, ysterious” and overly spiritual (Heider, 2000). At :mploy the savage Native American Warrior trope

3

ove, our understanding of media stereotyping effects [his section describes the cognitive, attitudinal, and mediated stereotypes, focusing on relevant theory to :focus on the extent to which mediated stereotypes ceptions of people of color. I describe three primary including: priming/cognitive accessibility, cultiva- ation. Following an introduction to these theories ffer a discussion of how people of color might be elated to their own group. I conclude by providing duce stereotyping.

ecessibility

ue that media consumption creates mental short- out various issues and social groups (Shrum & 998; see also Chapter 6 in this volume). Social | that our minds rely on various cognitive associ- rious social categories (i.e., heuristic processing; uristic processing enhances social functionality, : individual choices in each social instance (e.g.,

reductionist stereotypical judgments that can be as scholars demonstrated that a single exposure itive linkage between a particular social group lyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996; Peffley, Shields, media prime, the link may then inform subse- itudinal, or behavioral decisions. Much of the yping domain relied on the priming/accessibility ntino, 1999).

g and accessibility revealed disturbing findings pes about people of color by White audience riminal” stereotype leads (mostly White audi- idgments of subsequent criminal suspects and ixon, 2006; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Hurley, found that priming “the Black female jezebel” ppothetical Black female job applicant or welfare an, Shtrulius, & Givens, 2005). Furthermore,

exposure to TV-mediated messages reinforcing the Asian American “model minority” stereotype resulted in more positive stereotyping of Asian Americans but more negative stereotyping of African Americans among White audience members (Dalisyay & Tan, 2009). Recent studies increasingly relied on implicit measures, such as recall tasks, to investigate priming effects (Burgess et al., 2011; Oliver, Jackson, Moses, & Dangerfield, 2004).

Cultivation, Long-Term Effects, and Chronic Accessibility

Whereas priming suggests short-term activation of a cognitive linkage used to make an immediate subsequent judgment, the repeated activation of such a link can increase its accessibility (Shrum, 1996, 2009). The chronic accessibility concept structures our current understanding of media cultivation. For example, if a news viewer encounters an individual cognitively related to a previously encountered mediated stereotype, he or she might make a judgment about them based on repeated exposure to this stereotypical depiction over time. As an illustration, a White news viewer repeatedly exposed to “the Muslim terrorist” stereotype may conclude that most Muslims must be terrorists. Reaching this conclusion repeatedly over time would lead to the chronic accessibility of the stereotype (e.g., automatic association of an individual with a stereotypical trait due to prior repeated activation; Bargh, Bond, Lombardi, & Tota, 1986; Price & Tewksbury, 1997). In other words, cultivation refers to the long-term shaping of social reality from repeated prior media exposure (see Chapter 5 in this volume). Many media effects studies rely on the cultivation/chronic accessibility perspective. For instance, Gilliam and Iyengar (2000) and Dixon (2008a, 2008b) found that long-term exposure to news programming led to increased support for conservative crime policies among mostly White news consumers. These policies included three-strikes legislation, the death penalty, decreased support for Black crime victims, and increased anti-Black sentiment (Dukes & Gaither, 2017). Other media stereotyping scholars found that daily television consumption among largely White samples cultivates anxiety towards Asians (Atwell Seate, Ma, Chien, & Mastro, 2018).

Social Identity Theory/Social Categorization Theory

A growing number of scholars note that group identity can determine both media consumption patterns and potential effects (Atwell Seate, Cohen, Fujioka, & Hoffner, 2012; Fujioka, 2005; Harwood, 1997; Mastro, 2003). Our personal identities can become tied to our perception of our own group in relation to other groups. Social categorization theory argues that the higher the salience (e.g., importance) of a particular category to an individual, the greater the ingroup favoritism he or she will demonstrate (Biernat & Dovidio, 2000; Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Media scholars have demonstrated that exposure to a mediated outgroup member can increase ingroup favoritism (Mastro, 2003). The higher the group identification, the more television choices and related effects might be influenced. As a result, television selections in which one’s ingroup fares worse than an outgroup may be avoided or explained away (Mastro, 2003). In other situations where outgroup members fare worse than ingroup members, one may use it to categorize these members as threats or as subordinate (Atwell Seate et al., 2012; Atwell Seate & Mastro, 2016). In the third situation where one’s ingroup may be positively or benignly portrayed, strong ethnic identification may mediate the potential effects of such a depiction.

media depictions replaced Native American “century Westerns, with images of alcoholism” (2013; Strong, 2004). Many Native American reinforcing the notion that this group is “militant” the same time, numerous U.S. team mascots emerged (Strong, 2004).

Theories and Effects of Mediated Stereotypes

Despite the problematic depictions described above, increased significantly in the last two decades. These behavioral effects that result from exposure to mediated drive the discussion. These theories primarily focus on reinforce White audience members’ negative perceptions theoretical perspectives that drive these studies. First, social identity theory/social categorization theory and their effects in reinforcing stereotypes, I offer an overview on how media might successfully reinforce

Priming, Short-Term Effects, and Cognitive Accessibility

Priming and cognitive accessibility theories argue that cuts utilized in making relevant judgments about O’Guinn, 1993; Shrum, Wyer, & O’Guinn, 1993). These psychologists have for some time demonstrated that variations that lead to quick judgments about various Slater, 2007; Wicks, 1992). In this sense, heuristics because it would be cognitively taxing to make a decision meeting a person for the first time).

However, heuristic processing also leads to a strengthened by media consumption. Numerous studies to a mediated stereotype can activate the cognitive and a stereotypical trait (Dixon, 2007; Gilliam, 1996; & Williams, 1996). When activated through a heuristic (and typically immediate) cognitive, attention early experimental research in the media stereotypes paradigm to investigate effects (Ford, 1997; Vale, 1997).

In several cases, studies relying on priming regarding the reinforcement of media stereotypes among members. For instance, exposure to “the Black members) to make harsher culpability judgments increases support for conservative policies (Dixon, Jensen, Weaver, & Dixon, 2015). Other studies have found that stereotype decreased support for a subsequent hyphenated recipient (Givens & Monahan, 2005; Monahan,

The Viewer Effects

I spearheaded by Mastro and her colleagues. For found that those with strong ingroup identification ed active (e.g., direct, perceivable) and passive (e.g., vior against immigrants. These authors used social nce the notion of intergroup emotions that might n states that group members with high group iden- otions. Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, and Kopacz (2008) ere exposed to either White or Latino characters White characters increased racial identification and acter. Similarly, Mastro (2003) found that White nals in a fictitious program reported higher self- or bad behavior when exposed to a White criminal.

iated Stereotype Resistance

e role of ethnic and social identity in how people of themselves (Abrams, 2010; Abrams & Giles, 2007, piah, & Alter, 2008). First, it should be noted that ns indicate high media usage levels (Nielsen and the 2013; Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). Blacks and the eas Whites consume only 8 hours. ngly influence audience members of color (Bleak- it Black television exposure lowers perceptions of : mainstream media lower Black children's overall a, 2011). However, a number of studies have con- especially ethnic identification.

music and found ethnic identity to be a crucial nce of rap on Black audiences (Dixon, Zhang, & Dixon, & Conrad, 2009). For instance, Black i., the belief that Black women are beautiful) atisfaction) after viewing thin models in music hnic identification. New media platforms such as ne's ethnic identification to drive music sharing thnic identification tend to share music contain- rather than negative themes (e.g., misogyny). atinos' views of their status in society positively hnic identity reinforcement.

uture exploration by scholars. Much of the prior video games, finding that many gender and race systems (Burgess et al., 2011; Waddell, Ivory, ins, Consalvo, & Ivory, 2009). At the same time, with poverty, emphasizing a connection between

Latinos and immigration policy (Josey, Hurley, Hefner, & Dixon, 2009). As traditional media migrate to digital platforms, emerging media will continue to be the focus of researchers' attention.

Social media might be particularly ripe for future investigations. Many users receive, consume, and share entertainment and news content via social media. Social media's unique characteristics may contribute to stereotype proliferation while preventing positive, social, personal, and public intergroup contact. For instance, social media algorithms that dictate what appears in one's newsfeed based on user preferences facilitate greater self-reinforcement of users' biased stereotypical perceptions (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2012; Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2008). Given what we know about social identity, this suggests new media may create significant barriers to stereotype reduction. In fact, such processes likely facilitate greater stereotyping of race and ethnic groups in the digital media environment compared to traditional media (Dixon, 2017c; Melican & Dixon, 2008).

Conversely, social and traditional media may also offer a kind of virtual intergroup contact that has the potential to reduce stereotyping under certain circumstances (Dixon, 2017c). As the world becomes transformed through emerging media, more of our social interactions will be mediated. Work on curbing traditional media stereotypes found that media-based strategies can serve to reduce stereotyping and prejudice (Ramasubramanian, 2007, 2011). Much more work needs to be undertaken to explore both of these possibilities.

References

- Abrams, J. R. (2010). Asian American television activity: Is it related to outgroup vitality? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34, 541–550. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.08.002
- Abrams, J. R., & Giles, H. (2007). Ethnic identity gratifications selection and avoidance by African Americans: A group vitality and social identity gratifications perspective. *Media Psychology*, 9, 115–134. doi:10.1080/15213260709336805
- Abrams, J. R., & Giles, H. (2009). Hispanic television activity: Is it related to vitality perceptions? *Communication Research Reports*, 26, 247–252. doi:10.1080/08824090903074456
- Angelini, J. R., Billings, A. C., MacArthur, P. J., Bissell, K., & Smith, L. R. (2014). Competing separately, medaling equally: Racial depictions of athletes in NBC's primetime broadcast of the 2012 London Olympic Games. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 25, 115–133. doi:10.1080/10646175.2014.888380
- Atwell Seate, A., Cohen, E. L., Fujioka, Y., & Hoffner, C. (2012). Exploring gun ownership as a social identity to understanding the perceived media influence of the Virginia Tech news coverage on attitudes toward gun control policy. *Communication Research Reports*, 29, 130–139. doi:10.1080/08824096.2012.667773
- Atwell Seate, A., Ma, R., Chien, H., & Mastro, D. (2018). Cultivating intergroup emotions: An intergroup threat theory approach. *Mass Communication and Society*, 21, 178–197. doi:10.1080/15205436.2017.1381262
- Atwell Seate, A., & Mastro, D. (2016). Media's influence on immigration attitudes: An intergroup threat theory approach. *Communication Monographs*, 83, 194–213. doi:10.1080/03637751.2015.1068433
- Atwell Seate, A., & Mastro, D. (2017). Exposure to immigration in the news: The impact of group-level emotions on intergroup behavior. *Communication Research*, 44, 817–840. doi:10.1177/0093650215570654
- Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual objectification in music videos: A content analysis comparing gender and genre. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14, 475–501. doi:10.1080/15205436.2010.513468

- : African-American male in advertising: A content analysis. *Journal of Advertising*, 33, 336-350. doi:10.1080/0091-3367.2004.10555106
- ality in advertisements: A content analysis of Black magazines. *Sex Roles*, 52, 13-27. doi:10.1007/s11199-004-0001-0
- Tota, M. E. (1986). The additive nature of chronic illness. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 50, 100-106.
- and stereotypes. In T. F. Heatherton, R. E. Kleck, & D. T. Miller (Eds.), *Stigma* (pp. 88-125). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- tion and similarity in intergroup behaviour. *Euro-Asian Journal of Psychology*, 2, 242-250. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2420030103
- Jamieson, P. E., Khurana, A., & Weitz, I. (2017). Identity among Black adolescents. *Social Science & Medicine*, 150, 102-110. doi:10.1016/j.sscimed.2017.10.024
- Spanish-language media coverage of immigration. *Quarterly*, 89, 1006-1022. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2017.00001.x
- . What's the score? A content analysis of mature television. *Journal of Communications*, 27, 347-366. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00376.x
- urgess, S. R., & Brown, B. P. (2011). Playing with stereotypes in video games. *Media Psychology*, 14, 467-480. doi:10.1080/15213759.2011.600001
- Reporting on immigration: A content analysis of news coverage. *Norteamérica: Revista Académica de la Comunicación*, 10, 100-110. doi:10.1007/s10000-010-0001-0
- Black psychology. In E. G. Epps (Ed.), *Race relations and psychology* (pp. 100-110). New York, NY: Springer.
- Controversial rap themes, gender portrayals and stereotypes in music videos. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 50, 100-110. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00376.x
- Representation and effects of women of color in media. *Research in Communication*, 35, 232-256. doi:10.1177/0891246606287995
- contrast effects in the priming of Asian American TV exposure. *Journal of Mass Communication Research*, 18, 100-110. doi:10.1177/1076464606287995
- Sex in the media, sex on the mind: Linking sexual concept accessibility in memory. *Sexuality & Gender Research*, 50, 100-110. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00376.x
- time news portrayals of Black criminals: Understanding and stereotype endorsement. *Communication Research*, 37, 100-110. doi:10.1177/0891246606287995
- Officers: The effects of racially misrepresenting law enforcement. *Media Psychology*, 10, 270-291. doi:10.1080/15213759.2011.600001
- Dixon, T. L. (2008a). Crime news and racialized beliefs: Understanding the relationship between local news viewing and perceptions of African Americans and crime. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 106-125. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00376.x
- Dixon, T. L. (2008b). Network news and racial beliefs: Exploring the connection between national television news exposure and stereotypical perceptions of African Americans. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 321-337. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00387.x
- Dixon, T. L. (2017a). A dangerous distortion of our families: Representations of families, by race, in news and opinion media. *Color of Change*. Retrieved from <https://colorofchange.org/dangerousdistortion/>
- Dixon, T. L. (2017b). Good guys are still always in White? Positive change and continued misrepresentation of race and crime on local television news. *Communication Research*, 44, 775-792. doi:10.1111/comres.12133
- Dixon, T. L. (2017c). How the internet and social media accelerate racial stereotyping and social division: The socially mediated stereotyping model. In R. A. Lind (Ed.), *Race and gender in electronic media: Challenges and opportunities* (pp. 161-178). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Dixon, T. L., Azocar, C., & Casas, M. (2003). The portrayal of race and crime on television network news. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 47, 495-520. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4704_2
- Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. G. (2000a). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 131-154. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02845.x
- Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. G. (2000b). Race and the misrepresentation of victimization on local television news. *Communication Research*, 27, 547-573. doi:10.1177/009365000027005001
- Dixon, T. L., & Williams, C. L. (2015). The changing misrepresentation of race and crime on network and cable news. *Journal of Communication*, 65, 24-39. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jcom.12133/full>. doi:10.1111/jcom.12133
- Dixon, T. L., Zhang, Y., & Conrad, K. (2009). Self-esteem, misogyny, and afrocentricity: An examination of the relationship between rap music consumption and African American perceptions. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 12, 345-360. doi:10.1177/1368430209102847
- Dukes, K. N., & Gaither, S. E. (2017). Black racial stereotypes and victim blaming: Implications for media coverage and criminal proceedings in cases of police violence against racial and ethnic minorities. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73, 789-807. doi:10.1111/josi.12248
- Dunaway, J., Goidel, R. K., Krizinger, A., & Wilkinson, B. C. (2011). Rebuilding or intruding? Media coverage and public opinion on latino immigration in post-Katrina Louisiana. *Social Science Quarterly*, 92, 917-937. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6237.2011.00797.x
- Entman, R., & Rojecki, A. (2000). *The Black image in the White mind: Media and race in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Epps, A. C., & Dixon, T. L. (2017). A comparative content analysis of anti- and prosocial rap lyrical themes found on traditional and new media outlets. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 61, 467-498. doi:10.1080/08838151.2017.1309411
- Ford, T. E. (1997). Effects of stereotypical television portrayals of African-Americans on person perception. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60, 266-275.
- Frisby, C. M., & Aubrey, J. S. (2012). Race and genre in the use of sexual objectification in female artists' music videos. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 23(1), 66-87. doi:10.1080/10646175.2012.641880
- Fujioka, Y. (2005). Black media images as a perceived threat to African American ethnic identity: Coping responses, perceived public perception, and attitudes towards affirmative action. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49, 450-467. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4904_6

- Bailey, A. A. (2006). A year in the life of the analysis. *Journal of Advertising*, 35, 83–104.
- Baker, C. N. (2005). Images of women's sexual and-White-oriented women's and men's m 005-1190-y
- Bargh, J. A., Bond, R. N., Lombardi, W. J., & and temporary sources of construct accessibility 869–878. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.50.5.869
- Biernat, M., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). Stigma a M. R. Hebl, & J. G. Hull (Eds.), *The social* The Guilford Press.
- Billig, M., & Tajfel, H. (1973). Social categorization *Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 27–52.
- Bleakley, A., Ellithorpe, M. E., Hennessy, M., Risky movies, risky behaviors, and ethnic i *Medicine*, 195, 131–137. doi:10.1016/j.socscir Branton, R., & Dunaway, J. (2008). English- ation: A comparative analysis. *Social Science* 6237.2008.00596.x
- Brooks, M. E., Richard, S., & Craig, C. (2016) adults in Super Bowl commercials. *How* doi:10.1080/10646175.2016.1206046
- Burgess, M. C. R., Dill, K. E., Stermer, S. P., B prejudice: The prevalence and consequences *ology*, 14, 289–311. doi:10.1080/15213269.201
- Chavez, M., Whiteford, S., & Hoewe, J. (2010). major U.S. newspapers' coverage of Mexican *Del CISAN-UNAM*, 5(2), 111–125. doi:ht 3550201000200005&script=sci_arttext&tlng
- Clark, C. (1973). The concept of legitimacy in l tions: *Current perspectives* (pp. 332–354). Can
- Conrad, K., Dixon, T. L., & Zhang, Y. (2009). skin tone distortion: A content analysis of r *tronic Media*, 53, 134–156. doi:10.1080/08838
- Covert, J., & Dixon, T. L. (2008). A changing vie in mainstream women's magazines. *Comm* 0093650207313166
- Dalissay, F., & Tan, A. (2009). Assimilation and c and African American stereotypes through *Quarterly*, 86, 7–22. doi:10.1177/1077699009008
- Dillman Carpentier, F. R., & Stevens, E. M. (20 television use, sexual permissiveness, and sexu *Culture*, 22, 22–38. doi:10.1007/s12119-017-94
- Dixon, T. L. (2006). Psychological reactions to c standing the moderating roles of prior news vi *tion Monographs*, 73, 162–187. doi:10.1080/036
- Dixon, T. L. (2007). Black criminals and White o breakers and law defenders on television new 15213260701375660

- Knobloch-Western, S., Appiah, O., & Alter, S. (2008). News selection patterns as a function of race: The discerning minority and the indiscriminating majority. *Media Psychology, 11*, 400–417. doi:10.1080/15213260802178542
- Lipsitz, G. (1998). *The possessive investment in whiteness: How White people profit from identity politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Lynch, T., Tompkins, J. E., van Driel, I. I., & Fritz, N. (2016). Sexy, strong, and secondary: A content analysis of female characters in video games across 31 years. *Journal of Communication, 66*, 564–584. doi:10.1111/jcom.12237
- Martins, N., & Harrison, K. (2011). Racial and gender differences in the relationship between children's television use and self-esteem. *Communication Research, 39*, 338–357. doi:10.1177/0093650211401376
- Mastro, D. (2003). A social identity approach to understanding the impact of television messages. *Communication Monographs, 70*, 98–113. doi:10.1080/0363775032000133764
- Mastro, D. (2009). Effects of racial and ethnic stereotyping in the media. In J. Bryant & M. B. Oliver (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (3rd ed., pp. 325–341). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mastro, D., & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005). Latino representation on primetime television. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 82*, 110–130. doi:10.1177/107769900508200108
- Mastro, D., Behm-Morawitz, E., & Kopacz, M. A. (2008). Exposure to television portrayals of Latinos: The implications of aversive racism and social identity theory. *Human Communication Research, 34*, 1–27. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.2007.00311.x
- Mastro, D., Blecha, E., & Atwell, Seate, A. (2011). Characterizations of criminal athletes: A systematic examination of sports news depictions of race and crime. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 55*, 526–542. doi:10.1080/08838151.2011.620664
- Mastro, D., & Greenberg, B. S. (2000). The portrayal of racial minorities on prime time television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 44*, 690–703. doi:10.1207/s15506878jebem4404_10
- Mastro, D., & Ortiz, M. (2008). A content analysis of social groups in prime-time Spanish-language television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 52*, 101–118. doi:10.1080/08838150701820916
- Melican, D. B., & Dixon, T. L. (2008). News on the net: Credibility, selective exposure, and racial prejudice. *Communication Research, 35*, 151–168. doi:10.1177/0093650207313157
- Monahan, J. L., Shtruliss, I., & Givens, S. B. (2005). Priming welfare queens and other stereotypes: The transference of media images into interpersonal contexts. *Communication Research Reports, 22*, 199–205. doi:10.1080/00036810500207014
- Monk-Turner, E., Heiserman, M., Johnson, C., Cotton, V., & Jackson, M. (2010). The portrayal of racial minorities on prime time television: A replication of the Mastro and Greenberg study a decade later. *Studies in Popular Culture, 32*, 101–114. doi:10.2307/23416158
- Nielsen and the National Newspapers Publishers Association. (2013). *Resilient, receptive, and relevant: The African American consumer*. Retrieved from www.niab.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Nielsen-African-American-Consumer-Report-Sept-2013.pdf
- Oliver, M. B., Jackson, R. L., Moses, N. N., & Dangerfield, C. L. (2004). The face of crime: Viewers' memory of race-related facial features of individuals pictured in the news. *Journal of Communication, 54*, 88–104. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2004.tb02615.x
- Parker, A., & Costa, A. (2017). "Everyone tunes in": Inside Trump's obsession with cable TV. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from www.washingtonpost.com/politics/everyone-tunes-in-inside-trumps-obsession-with-cable-tv/2017/04/23/3c52bd6c-25e3-11e7-a1b3-faff0034e2de_story.html?utm_term=.1baaac0edcb1c
- Parrott, S., & Parrott, C. T. (2015). US television's "mean world" for White women: The portrayal of gender and race on fictional crime dramas. *Sex Roles, 73*, 70–82. doi:10.1007/s11199-015-0505-x
- ;; *Race, media and the politics of antipoverty policy*.
- suspects: The influence of local television news
of Political Science, 44, 560–573. doi:10.2307/1
- O. (1996). Crime in Black and White: The violent,
ational Journal of Press/Politics, 1(3), 6–23.
- ; mammies, jezebels, and other controlling images
i stereotypes on perceptions of an African Ameri-
- edia influences on Black students' academic per-
rests. Journal of Black Psychology, 42, 195–220.
- reduction: When does television as a vicarious
al Issues, 55, 707–725.
- ationalist protesters: "Some very fine people
om www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/
- testers-some-very-fine-people-on-both-sides/
- id race on gay male-targeted blogs. Howard Jour-
080/10646175.2017.1300967
- mass communication (6th ed.). New York, NY:
- ntity and television viewing choices. Journal of
- tergroup communication: Multiple perspectives.
- ograms don't cover people of color. Mahwah, NJ:
- d, television is not the place: Diagnoses, survival
tients in TV hospital dramas. Communication
824090903293585
- . L. (2015). Viewer ethnicity matters: Black crime
arding public policy. Journal of Social Issues, 71,
- on, T. L. (2009). The portrayal of race online:
l stereotypes in a new media environment. In
iversity across audiences, content, and producers
Education.
- (2018). Adopting the objectifying gaze: Exposure
sequent gazing behavior. Media Psychology, 21,
- ins, A. M. (2011). The view of the border: News
ns to illegal immigration. Mass Communication
1003743679
- ure and reinforcement of attitudes and partisan-
Communication, 62, 628–642. doi:10.1111/j.1460-

- Gilens, M. (1999). *Why Americans hate welfare*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Gilliam, F. D., & Iyengar, S. (2000). Prime on the viewing public. *American Journal*, 2669264
- Gilliam, F. D., Iyengar, S., Simon, A., & Wright, S. (2002). The scary world of local news. *Harvard International Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 29(4), 687-707. doi:10.1177/1081180X96001003003
- Givens, S. B., & Monahan, J. L. (2005). Priming an examination of the influence of mediated can woman. *Media Psychology*, 7, 87-106.
- Gordon, M. K. (2016). Achievement scripts: M formance, self-perceptions, and career inte doi:10.1177/0095798414566510
- Graves, S. B. (1999). Television and prejudice experience make a difference? *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(4), 687-707.
- Gray, R. (2017). Trump defends White-nationalism on both sides." *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2017/08/trump-defends-white-nationalist-pride/537012/>
- Grimm, J., & Schwartz, J. (2017). Body image and the media. *Journal of Communication*, 47(1), 1-15. doi:10.1111/jcom.12102
- Harris, R. J. (2013). *A cognitive psychology of* Routledge.
- Harwood, J. (1997). Viewing age: Lifespan ide *Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 41, 203-213
- Harwood, J., & Giles, H. (Eds.). (2005). *Interpersonal communication*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Heider, D. (2000). *White news: Why local news fails*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hetsroni, A. (2009). If you must be hospitalized rates and demographic characteristics of patients. *Research Reports*, 26, 311-322. doi:10.1080/08832660802000000
- Hurley, R., Jensen, J. J., Weaver, A., & Dixon, T. (2012). The impact of TV news on decisions regarding health care. doi:10.1111/josi.12102
- Josey, C. L., Hurley, R. J., Hefner, V., & Dixon, T. (2012). A content analysis of the portrayal of racial and ethnic groups in TV news. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 38(4), 311-322.
- R. A. Lind, *Race/gender/media: Considering race and gender in the media* (2nd ed., pp. 135-142). Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Karsay, K., Matthes, J., Platzner, P., & Plinke, M. (2012). The impact of music videos on sexual behavior. doi:10.1080/15213269.2017.1378110
- Kim, S. H., Carvalho, J. P., Davis, A. G., & Muller, D. (2012). The framing of the definition, causes, and solutions of obesity. *Journal of Health Communication*, 37(4), 311-322. doi:10.1080/15205439.2012.700000
- Knobloch-Westerwick, S. (2012). Selective exposure to news before a presidential election. *Journal of Communication*, 42(4), 611-627. doi:10.1111/jcom.12102

- 16). The intersection of race and crime in television. *Political Communication*, 13, 309–327. doi:10.1080/10584609.2016.1199009
- values and public opinion: A theoretical account of news coverage. In J. J. Boster (Ed.), *Progress in the communication of public opinion*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016.
- Every picture tells a story: Racial representation on American television. *American Journal of Communication*, 30, 222–231. doi:10.1111/ajc.12007
- or coded: Racial descriptors in television coverage of the 2008 U.S. presidential election. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49, 65–85. doi:10.1207/s15327657jbe4901_5
- strategies to reduce racial stereotypes activated by news coverage. *Communication Quarterly*, 84, 249–264. doi:10.1177/0009365010384854
- of stereotypical versus counterstereotypical media representations, and support for affirmative action. *Communication Research*, 39, 1038–1054. doi:10.1177/0009365010384854
- age of Mexico in United States media: Phases of accommodation. *Communication Gazette*, 77, 735–752. doi:10.1177/0009365010384854
- F. (2010). *Generation M2: Media in the lives of 8-to 18-year-olds*. Retrieved from www.kff.org/other/report/generation-m2/
- ay, J. L. (2017). Gendered race in mass media: Invisibility of women of color in popular media. *Journal of Communication*, 47, 1038–1054. doi:10.1177/0009365010384854
- americans in U.S. magazine advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 36, 69–81. doi:10.1080/02653974.2017.1312243
- underlying cultivation effects: Further tests of cultivation theory. *Communication Research*, 22, 482–509. doi:10.1177/0009365010384854
- perceptions of social reality: Effects and underlying mechanisms. *Media Effects: Advances in theory and research*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- issues and effects in the construction of social reality: The case of the 2008 U.S. presidential election. *Communication Research*, 20, 436–471. doi:10.1177/0009365010384854
- C. (1998). The effects of television consumption on attitudes toward violence. *Journal of Communication*, 28, 1086–1095. doi:10.1177/0009365010384854
- gender on primetime television: A quantitative content analysis. *Journal of Communication*, 40, 3–22. doi:10.1080/15205436.2016.1212243
- ie mutual influence of media selectivity and media ownership on social identity. *Communication Theory*, 17, 96–110. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2825.2016.1212243.x
- smith, S. L., Pieper, K. M., Granados, A., & Choueiti, M. (2010). Assessing gender-related portrayals in top-grossing G-rated films. *Sex Roles*, 62, 774–786. doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9736-z
- sorenson, S. B., Manz, J. G., & Berk, R. A. (1998). News media coverage and the epidemiology of homicide. *American Journal of Public Health*, 88, 1510–1514. doi:10.2105/AJPH.88.10.1510
- strong, P. T. (2004). The mascot slot: Cultural citizenship, political correctness, and pseudo-Indian sports symbols. *Journal of Sports and Social Issues*, 28, 79–87. doi:10.1177/0193732503261672
- Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1, 149–178. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2420010202
- Tukachinsky, R., Mastro, D., & Yarchi, M. (2015). Documenting portrayals of race/ethnicity on primetime television over a 20-year span and their association with national-level racial/ethnic attitudes. *Journal of Social Issues*, 71, 17–38. doi:10.1111/josi.12094
- Turner, J. S. (2011). Sex and the spectacle of music videos: An examination of the portrayal of race and sexuality in music videos. *Sex Roles*, 64, 173–191. doi:10.1007/s11199-010-9766-6
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2018). *U.S. census bureau state and county quickfacts*. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/US/PST045217
- Valentino, N. A. (1999). Crime news and the priming of racial attitudes during evaluations of the president. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 63, 293–320. doi:10.1086/297722
- van Doorn, B. W. (2015). Pre- and post-welfare reform media portrayals of poverty in the United States: The continuing importance of race and ethnicity. *Politics & Policy*, 43, 142–162. doi:10.1111/polp.12107
- Vitali, A., Hunt, K. A., & Thorp, F. (2018). Trump referred to Haiti and African nations as “shit-hole” countries. *NBC News*. Retrieved from www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/trump-referred-haiti-african-countries-shit-hole-nations-n836946
- Waddell, T. F., Ivory, J. D., Conde, R., Long, C., & McDonnell, R. (2014). White man’s virtual world: A systematic content analysis of gender and race in massively multiplayer online games. *Journal for Virtual Worlds Research*, 7(2), 1–14. doi:10.4101/jvwr.v7i2.7096
- Wicks, R. H. (1992). Schema theory and measurement in mass communication research: Theoretical and methodological issues in news information processing. In S. A. Deetz (Ed.), *Communication yearbook* (Vol. 15, pp. 115–145). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Williams, D., Martins, N., Consalvo, M., & Ivory, J. D. (2009). The virtual census: Representations of gender, race and age in video games. *New Media & Society*, 11, 815–834. doi:10.1177/1461444809105354
- Zhang, Y., Dixon, T. L., & Conrad, K. (2009). Rap music videos and African American women’s body image: The moderating role of ethnic identity. *Journal of Communication*, 59, 262–278. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2009.01415.x
- Zhang, Y., Dixon, T. L., & Conrad, K. (2010). Female body image as a function of themes in rap music videos: A content analysis. *Sex Roles*, 62, 787–797. doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9656-y

- Peffley, M., Shields, T., & Williams, B. (1999). News stories: An experimental study. *Journal of Mass Communication Research*, 10, 10584609.1996.9963120
- Price, V., & Tewksbury, D. (1997). News values and media priming and framing. In G. A. Barnett & J. A. Grunberg (Eds.), *Journal of Mass Communication Sciences* (pp. 173–212). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Primm, E., DuBois, S., & Regoli, R. (2007). Sports Illustrated covers. *The Journal of Sport Management*, 21, 734X.2007.00511.x
- Rada, J. A., & Wulfmeyer, K. T. (2005). College students' perceptions of intercollegiate sports. *Journal of Broadcasting and Mass Communication*, 50, s15506878jobem4901_5
- Ramasubramanian, S. (2007). Media-based news stories. *Journalism and Mass Communication Research*, 10, 107769900708400204
- Ramasubramanian, S. (2011). The impact of media on racial attitudes, causal attributions, and stereotypes. *Journal of Mass Communication Research*, 38, 497–516. doi:10.1177/1058460910384609
- Rendon, H., & Johnson, M. A. (2015). Coverage of the 2015 World Cup: A review of the academic scholarship. *International Communication Research*, 17, 1748048515601575
- Rideout, V. J., Foehr, U. G., & Roberts, D. J. (2002). *Generation M: The lives of 8-to-18-year-olds*. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Schug, J., Alt, N. P., Lu, P. S., Gosin, M., & Fiske, S. T. (2010). The role of media in the perception of Asian men and Black women in the United States. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98, 222–236. doi:10.1037/a0019096
- Seelig, M. (2007). Stereotyping of Hispanic Americans in the media. *Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Societies*, 1, 9532/CGP/v07i04/39415
- Shrum, L. J. (1996). Psychological processes and media consumption: A construct accessibility approach. *Human Communication Research*, 22, 2958.1996.tb00376.x
- Shrum, L. J. (2009). Media consumption and social perception. In J. Bryant & M. B. Oliver (Eds.), *Handbook of media effects* (3rd ed., pp. 50–73). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Shrum, L. J., & O'Guinn, T. C. (1993). Process and content: Construct accessibility as an explanatory variable in media effects research. doi:10.1177/009365093020003005
- Shrum, L. J., Wyer, R. S. Jr., & O'Guinn, T. C. (1996). Social perceptions: The use of priming procedures. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 24, 447–458. doi:10.1086/jcr.24.4.1996.3855500
- Signorielli, N. (2009). Minorities representation in the media. *Research Reports*, 26, 323–336. doi:10.1080/10584609.2009.339415
- Sink, A., & Mastro, D. (2017). Depictions of women in the media: A content analysis. *Mass Communication and Society*, 20, 281–303. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2007.002