SEEING IS PERCEIVING: THE INFLUENCE OF RACE AS A PERIPHERAL CUE

ON THE STEREOTYPICAL PERCEPTION OF A SPOKESPERSON

IN AN ADVERTISEMENT

by

SIOBHAN D. FLOWERS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNICATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

May 2008

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

SEEING IS PERCEIVING: THE INFLUENCE OF RACE AS A PERIPHERAL CUE

ON THE STEREOTYPICAL PERCEPTION OF A SPOKESPERSON

IN AN ADVERTISEMENT

Siobhan D. Flowers, M.A.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2008

Supervising Professor: Dr. Lara G. Zwarun

Due to the vast amount of stimuli individuals come in contact with daily, people often tend to look for easy-to-process cues to help them make quick judgments about what they are seeing (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). While this can sometimes be helpful, it is not always so. For example, if someone makes a snap judgment about another person based on the color of their skin, it is possible they will fall prey to stereotypes. In the case of African-Americans, a number of negative stereotypes have been perpetuated through the years, contributing to prejudice (Devine, 1989). This study sought to answer the question of whether viewers of a print advertisement would use the race of the ad's spokesperson to reach stereotypical conclusions about the model more often when he was African-American than Caucasian. Findings from a quantitative analysis

suggest that African-American spokesperson's are generally viewed more stereotypically, although with more contemporary and in some cases, more socially acceptable stereotypes, than a Caucasian. This finding was not affected by the race of the viewer or how heavily they had been exposed to the media.

The implications of these findings, as well as study limitations and suggestions for further research, are also offered.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"All our knowledge has its origins in our perceptions."

- Leonardo da Vinci

In today's age, people are overloaded with stereotypical images and unrealistic depictions that have the power to shape and mold their thoughts and perceptions of the world (Stanford, 2000). The mass media is one of the primary ways in which images and stereotypes are dispersed amongst society, perpetuating inaccuracies of those who are stereotyped (Entman, 1992). The power that media have on individual consumers and the overall influence of media on society is becoming increasingly significant (Emmers-Sommers & Allen, 1999). Thus, the existence of stereotypes and the resulting judgments of minority groups, particularly African-Americans, is a reality that holds striking implications (Shavitt, Sanbonmatsu, Smittipatana, & Posavac, 1999).

Stereotypes are a set of beliefs and disbeliefs about a group of people (Ehrlich, 1973). The formation of stereotypes occurs when people begin to associate a collective set of traits or behaviors with a particular group of people over a period of time (Chaiken, 1980). As it relates to the assessment of information from mass media, stereotypes act as a heuristic, or shortcut, allowing people to navigate through vast amounts of information and make immediate judgments from that information with ease (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994).

1

In American society, research has shown that those with black or brown skin tones are labeled more negatively than those with light or white skin color (Brigham, 1971; Duncan, 1976). Because of this negative perception, African-Americans have been particularly burdened by the negative effects of stereotyping, often delivered by mass media (Entman & Rojecki, 2000). The images and messages contained in these deliveries are also referred to as semiotic systems. According to Barthes (1964), significant semiotic systems of a culture lock in the status quo. Most semiotic signs gain cultural prominence when broadcast through electronic and print media, thus creating layers of connotation that reaffirm the status quo (Barthes, 1964). Consequently, false depictions of African-Americans disseminated through media can perpetuate further inaccuracies of African-Americans to the general public.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to determine whether the race of an advertisement's spokesperson affects the judgments made about that spokesperson. More specifically, will an African-American spokesperson featured in a print advertisement be perceived more stereotypically by being judged as more athletic, more musical, more criminal and less intelligent when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson? Also, external factors such as race of the viewer and previous level of media exposure were measured to see if they have any affect on whether an African-American spokesperson will be perceived more stereotypically when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson

Chapter 2 begins with a review of literature on race of source as a peripheral cue per the Elaboration Likelihood Model in an advertising context and the resulting effects

on African-American stereotypes. The influences of mass media in perpetuating these stereotypes and the role that race of the viewer plays in stereotype attribution are also explored. Chapter 3 describes the quantitative method used in the collection of data for this study. The findings from the quantitative questionnaire are analyzed in Chapter 4. The last chapter discusses the implications of the findings and offers study limitations as well as suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Elaboration Likelihood Model

In viewing or listening to any type of communication, one cannot help but to notice who or what is delivering the message (White & Harkins, 1994). Characteristics such as the source's attractiveness (Chaiken, 1979) or fame (Petty, Cacioppo, & Schumann, 1983) have been found to influence the persuasiveness of a message. Perhaps one of the most visibly salient features of any source is the color of his or her skin, or the race of the source. Race of the source featured in a particular message has also been shown to affect the persuasiveness of that message (White & Harkins, 1994; Whittler & Spira, 2002).

Persuasion literature suggests that the variance of attitude change due to the race of source may be attributable to the Elaboration Likelihood Model, or ELM (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) states that people form attitudes in one of two ways - either centrally or peripherally (Petty, Cacioppo, & Schumann, 1983). Petty and Cacioppo (1986) posited that in the central route, careful and thoughtful attention is given to the subject matter presented in support of a message. The central route also occurs when one has the time, motivation and/or the ability to elaborate or focus on the content of a message. On the other hand, the peripheral route can occur when a person is limited by time, is not motivated or is unable to process a

message. In these instances, a salient cue in the message may allow one to form judgments without extensive elaboration on the content of the message presented (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). For example, a spokesperson's race, acting as a source characteristic in the ELM, can lead the viewer to make judgments, or stereotypical perceptions, about the spokesperson based on race alone. This occurs without further need for additional information, when race serves as a peripheral cue.

Research has demonstrated that a model's race can serve as a peripheral cue in an advertising context (White & Harkins, 1994; Whittler & DiMeo, 1991; Whittler & Spira, 2002; Whittler, 1989). For example, when examining viewers' processing of racial cues in advertising stimuli by showing an ad and then asking participants to answer questions about the products and the advertisement in general, Whittler and DiMeo (1991) found that whites have been negatively influenced by the use of African-American spokespersons in advertisements (Whittler & DiMeo, 1991) such that they were less likely to purchase the products and had less favorable attitudes toward the products and the advertisements overall when the ad featured a Black rather than White model. In this study, race of the spokesperson acted as a peripheral cue in the assessment of both the product and the advertisement in general.

Another study revealed that the model's race (Black versus White) significantly influenced Black participants' positive thoughts about the product. Because this occurred under both strong and weak argument conditions, this confirms that the model's race served as a peripheral cue, resulting in biased evaluations of the advertised product in the ELM (Whittler & Spira, 2002).

In this study, it is anticipated that the spokesperson's race may serve as a peripheral cue, leading to stereotypical beliefs in the evaluation of the African-American spokesperson.

2.2 Stereotypes

Using race as a peripheral cue can result in the formation and perpetuation of stereotypes (Hart & Morry, 1997). According to Rinehart (1963, p. 137), "stereotypes are sets of beliefs, usually stated as categorical generalizations, that people hold about the members of their own and other groups." Ehrlich (1973) thought of them as a set of beliefs and disbeliefs about any group of people. Lippmann (1922, p. 2) famously referred to stereotypes as "pictures in our heads". Sorting through these images involves the process of assigning a particular set of traits to members of social groups (Rinehart, 1963). It is important to note that stereotyping is not confined to racial groups; they are also commonly held about categories of people – for example, policemen, teachers and senior citizens (Rinehart, 1963).

Stereotypes do not always have a negative connotation (Rinehart, 1963). There are various cognitive benefits to stereotyping (Macrae et al., 1994). While people display an intuitive need for cognition, it is simply not practical for every person to analyze every situation in their lives from scratch, so when people have neither the time nor motivation to seek a central route to understanding, they use stereotypes as a heuristic, or shortcut, to facilitate understanding and peripherally process the world around them (Macrae et al., 1994). In a media context, consumers of media are saturated with influential images and messages (Stanford, 2000); as a result, people are actively

seeking ways to rationally sort through all of this information - and stereotypes, perpetuated by the media (Entman, 1992), help to serve in this function. The advantage of stereotyping, according to Macrae et al., "presumably lies in the fact that they free up limited cognitive resources for the performance of other necessary or desirable mental activities" (1994, p. 37).

While stereotypes may aid in the processing of information more peripherally, or quickly, this overgeneralization may also lead to some negative outcomes. Stereotypical beliefs are usually oversimplified and are rarely based on factual evidence (Rinehart, 1963). As Shavitt et al. (1999, p. 1) argue in more detail, stereotypes are the result of "an overestimation of the relative degree of association between an infrequent or distinctive category of behavior and a minority group." In other words, stereotypes can form when the belief is held that infrequent events occur more frequently amongst minority groups than what actually occurs in reality. As we live in a less than perfect world, this sort of stereotypical formation usually results in negative perceptions and judgments of those who are stereotyped (Jewell, 1993; Shavitt et al., 1999).

As previously mentioned, part of sorting through images, beliefs and information involves the process of assigning a particular set of traits to members of social groups (Rinehart, 1963). At the core of stereotyping are the assignments of traits which range in scope from physical appearance, behavior or personality traits (Rinehart, 1963), such as Jews having large noses, Blacks acting lazy and Japanese being sly (Allport, 1954). Throughout history, Americans have viewed the Irish most often as "quick tempered" and "religious," English as "conservative" and "reserved," Jews as "shrewd" and

"ambitious," Chinese as "tradition loving" and "loyal to family," and Blacks as "lazy" and "ignorant" (Karlins, Coffman and Walters, 1969).

Members of stereotyped groups are judged more similarly on "stereotype relevant" traits than on traits that are not specific to the stereotype of that group (Tajfel, Sheikh & Gardner, 1964). For example, a group of African-Americans are more likely to be perceived as all being "lazy" versus "ambitious" or "conservative" or some other non-relevant stereotypical trait. Furthermore, the type of stereotyping which occurs varies directly with the viewer's labeling of the source into a stereotyped group (Secord, Bevan & Katz, 1956; Secord, 1959). For example, the probability of a source being viewed as African-American increases the likelihood of the source being labeled according to the racial stereotypes ascribed toward African-Americans. Race of the stimulus person also determines a majority of the variance in the attribution of a racial stereotype, given that the race of the source implies the "racial stereotype" traits more strongly (Feldman, 1972). In a research context, this occurrence is accredited to the viewer's desire to fulfill the requirements of the experiment, which asks participants to describe personality or behavior traits of the stimulus source, which forces participants to use the only information available to them – the stimulus person's race (Secord, 1959).

The long-term effects of stereotyping in the form of trait attribution often leads to racial prejudice and discrimination (Rinehart, 1963). For example, negative consequences from harmful and enduring stereotypes include the enslavement of African-Americans, the imprisonment of Jews in Nazi concentration camps, the

Japanese-American internment camps during World War II, and racial minorities being denied the right to vote (Brigham, 1971).

In the context of print advertisements, images and text further influence the formation of stereotypes by often relying on hidden meanings that are frequently unrelated to the product being advertised (Barthes, 1977). Semiotics, the study of sign systems and how they produce meaning, is an important framework in understanding these different forms of meaning. In semiotic analysis, a sign includes the "signifier," or the literal meaning of an object as well as the "signified," or the connotative or "hidden" meaning. For example, a "signifier" would be a new pair of sneakers made to be worn on your feet. The "signified" would suggest that by wearing these shoes, you will be able to out perform the competition by running faster and longer than someone who is not wearing these shoes. Additionally, the influence of stereotypes in print advertisements may be more significant due to the lack of information about the spokesperson in the advertisement and the lack of attention often involved in viewing advertisements in general (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

<u>2.3 Stereotypes of African-Americans</u>

There is considerable research on the amount of stereotypes found in modern media and how these portrayals can perpetuate further inaccuracies, especially as they relate to African-Americans (Colfax & Sternberg, 1972; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Grossman, 2001; Oliver, 2003; Rome, 2004; Shavitt et al., 1999; Zinkhan, Qualls, and Biswas, 1990). Stereotypes of African-American males in particular tend to emphasize only certain characteristics while completely disregarding others. That which has been

highlighted has been mostly negative in scope (Hall, 2001). To fully comprehend the existing literature on *perceptions* of African-Americans, one must first examine the *portrayals* of African-Americans (and the stereotypes found therein) in the media and in society and the evolution of these portrayals over time.

The first studies of racial biases in advertising were published by Shuey, King and Griffith (1953), who found that only 0.6% of magazine advertisements from 1949 and 1950 contained African-Americans, and of these, 95.3% were portrayed as unskilled laborers. Subsequent decades have exhibited marked improvement over the way minorities are publicized in magazine advertisements. For example, the number of Blacks in ads portrayed as *skilled laborers* jumped from 6.1% of Blacks in 1949-1950 to 71.3% nearly twenty years later (Cox, 1970). Stereotyping of Blacks as maids, cooks, servants, waiters, porters, butlers, and chauffeurs decreased from occurring in about 75% of all general advertisements with Blacks from 1949-50 to approximately 8% in 1967-68 (Cox, 1970). Since this time, the decrease in Blacks being portrayed as unskilled laborers has continued with each passing decade, making it almost taboo to portray Blacks as manual laborers or personal service workers in general advertisements today (Thomas & Treiber, 2000).

Although negative media portrayals of African-Americans may have become less blatant over time (Stanford, 2000), the manipulative influence of these portrayals is evidenced by several studies which measured the perceptions of African-Americans as a whole. For example, Katz and Braley (1933) conducted the pioneer study of racial and ethnic stereotyping in the United States. The study found that Blacks were consistently

described as "superstitious," "happy-go-lucky," and "lazy," which is consistent with how they were portrayed in the media during that same time period. The respondents exhibited these beliefs even though they had little or no contact with Blacks.

This study was repeated again in 1951 (Gilbert, 1951) and the negative stereotyping of Blacks persisted. A third similar study (Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969), found yet again that negative views of Blacks were still widely held, although less so than in the past. These three studies, collectively referred to as the Princeton Trilogy, concluded that the consistency and negativity of stereotypes of Blacks had declined over the years since the first study was conducted in 1933.

In response to these findings, Devine and Elliot (1995) offered an enlightening critique of the Princeton Trilogy, claiming that even though the negative views may have declined over the years, the actual stereotypes of African-Americans have changed over time and persist in different forms now than they did in the past. The purpose of Devine and Elliot's investigation was to assess contemporary stereotypes of African-Americans and to examine the respondents' personal beliefs about African-Americans. Devine and Elliot's study included an updated adjective checklist to include more current descriptors of African-American stereotypes such as *athletic*, including the addition of traits from Dovidio and Gaertner (1986), consisting of *rhythmic, poor, low in intelligence, criminal, materialistic,* and *aggressive*.

Compared to the findings of the Princeton Trilogy, subsequent studies (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986) suggest that stereotypes of African-Americans have not necessarily weakened over time, but have actually shifted in their content. For

11

example, the most frequently selected character traits to describe African-Americans in the mid-1930s were *superstitious*, *lazy*, and *happy-go-lucky* (Katz & Braley, 1933). In the early 1950s the *superstitious* and *lazy* descriptors decreased in frequency, although they still remained in the top three along with the new descriptor of *musical* (Gilbert, 1951). Nearly twenty years later, the *musical* character trait increased in frequency, becoming the highest selected character trait to describe African-Americans, while the *superstitious* trait was no longer in the top five (Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969). In the mid 1980s, traits including *loyal to family* and *very religious* emerged although *musical* still remained among the top selected characteristics (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). It was also during this time period that more contemporary adjectives were used to assess perceptions of African-Americans, including *rhythmic*, *low in intelligence*, and *criminal* (Devine & Elliot, 1995). It is from this shift, occurring some twenty years ago, in which modern day perceptions of African-Americans began to surface. This emergence is evidenced by Devine and Elliot's study (1995) finding that *athletic* was the most frequently ascribed character trait of African-Americans, followed by *rhythmic*, *low in intelligence*, *poor*, and *criminal*.

Some of the more contemporary stereotypes are the result of more recent, contemporary portrayals of African-Americans (Zinkhan et al., 1990). The emergence of images that have influenced more modern day stereotypes of African-Americans include the likes of the "sassy overweight woman," the African-American male as the "super athlete" or the "criminal gangster," or African-American people being generally described as "musical" (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Peters, 2006; Zinkhan et al., 1990).

With the exception of the "criminal" stereotype, research indicates modern day depictions of African-Americans are no longer blatantly offensive, but are often the product of cautious efforts to avoid racist portrayals (Stanford, 2000; Thomas and Treiber, 2000). Still, these attempts carry inferred racial assumptions based on the supposed differences between African-Americans and Caucasians (Stanford, 2000).

2.3.1 African-American Athleticism & Musicality

In Devine and Elliot's (1995) study, the characteristics most often selected to describe African-American's were *athletic* and *rhythmic*. The stereotype of African-Americans, males in particular, as being athletically superior (and consequently, intellectually inferior), is one that is practically ingrained in the minds of modern day Americans (Harrison & Lawrence, 2004). This perception is largely due to contemporary media images which portray African-Americans as childlike, lazy and exceedingly physical (Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, & Darley, 1999). As these findings demonstrate, individuals not only gain these perceptions as a result of their cultural background, but also from their exposure to the media (Harrison & Lawrence, 2004). The prevalence of African-Americans in professional sports today may account for the media's overrepresentation of African-American males as brawny and quick – however, these excessive images also result in the lack of counter-images, such as portraying African-American males in an intellectual or academic setting. These persistent portrayals are largely responsible for the resulting negative stereotypes of African-Americans found in our society (Stone et al., 1999).

African-Americans portrayed as musical is another common stereotype (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Also described as rhythmic or entertaining, the notion of African-Americans as a form of "entertainment" is not necessarily a new phenomenon. Previous research suggests that this is perhaps the most long standing stereotype of African-Americans, first emerging in the early 1850s and still just as prevalent today. Lemons (1977) found that African-Americans have emerged as entertainment in popular culture dating as far back to the mid 1800s in the form of minstrel shows, our first national popular entertainment. Even after that, images of African-Americans as entertainers continued well into the late 1800s, prompting African-Americans to become "the most common figure in America's new popular entertainment – vaudeville and the musical revue" (Lemons, 1977, p. 104).

As it relates to more contemporary associations, there are many genres of music that are specifically ascribed toward African-Americans, most notably, rap music (Binder, 1993). This association has evolved into a negative connotation for rap music over time, with rap music being "blamed" for violence and criminal activity among today's youth (Johnson, Trawalter, & Dovidio, 2000). Because of this association with African-American culture, rap music may also evoke stereotypical images that are consistent with those of African-American people – including anger and disobedience (Clark & Pearson, 1982). Binder (1993) found that media depictions were at the center of rap music being associated with black audiences, more specifically, young, urban and black male audiences. Interestingly enough, the association of African-Americans and rap music may not only contribute to the stereotype of African-Americans as "musical,"

but due to the reputation of rap music itself, may inadvertently perpetuate the stereotype of the "criminal" Black male as well.

2.3.2 African-American Intelligence & Criminality

The stereotype of African-American inferior intelligence is also a prevalent one. Throughout history, African-Americans have been consistently thought to be "mentally inferior, physically and culturally unevolved, and apelike in appearance" (Plous & Williams, 1995, p.795). The association of African-Americans with intellectual inferiority was reinforced by society's practice of comparing African-Americans to apelike beings. For example, the New York Zoological Park featured an exhibit in 1906 with an African-American male and a chimpanzee. Years later, the Ringling Brothers Circus exhibited "the monkey man," a black man that was caged with a female chimpanzee that had been trained to wash clothes and hang them on a line (Plous & Williams, 1995). Suggestions that African-Americans were not capable of progressing and advancing at the same rate as Caucasians also appeared in print form. For example, the ninth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica published in 1884 stated authoritatively that "… the African race occupied the lowest position of the evolutionary scale" (Plous & Williams, 1995, p. 795).

In a historical context, Theodore Roosevelt publicly stated, "As a race and in the mass the Negroes are altogether inferior to whites" (Plous & Williams, 1995, p. 796). Several anatomical comparisons were also used as a rationale for intellectual inferiority under the guise of scientific research. For example, at one point in history, scientists

concluded that Blacks were inferior because the "Negro's brain size" was allegedly more than a gorilla's but less than a European's (Plous & Williams, 1995).

Current representations of African-Americans in modern media suggest that as a race, African-Americans on television networks are only worthy of appearing in crime, sports and entertainment stories and are rarely seen making important contributions to stories of any substantive value (Entman & Rojecki, 2000).

Hall (2001) examined the notion of the "dumb Black" as an indirect relationship between athletic talent and intellectual capability, finding the more athletic talent one displays, the more intellectually inferior that individual is perceived to be. This stereotype holds implications far beyond the realms of the athletic playing field. For example, Hall (2001, p. 115) states, "the educational system accepts that African-American students should have a markedly lower score on standardized tests." These low expectations thus become the standard of achievement, preventing African-Americans from reaching their full academic potential.

Perhaps one of the most damaging of African-American stereotypes is that of the African-American criminal male (Rome, 2004). Rome argues that mass media, especially television newscasts, reality crime shows and rap music, have perpetuated this stereotype by contributing to the following cognitive cycle: 1) Media report on crimes and show images which the viewer begins to associate with crime; 2) When media report on crimes without showing images, viewers recall the images in their mind that were previously shown; 3) When viewers think about crimes, they look for signs that support their conception of crime, which was formed by their exposure to media (Rome, 2004).

Mass media are shown to contribute to this stereotyping (Oliver, 2003). The media, especially the news media, consistently portray African-American males as disproportionately violent, and criminal in nature (Entman, 1992). Entman and Rojecki (2000) found that on local television news, a mug shot of the accused is four times more likely to appear if the defendant is African-American rather than Caucasian. An analysis of the highest grossing movies in 1996 revealed that African-American movie characters were shown being physically violent 56% of the time compared to Caucasian characters 11% (Entman & Rojecki, 2000). To this day, the violent, brutish African-American male remains one of the predominant modern stereotypes of African-Americans (Hurwitz, Peffley, & Sniderman, 1997).

2.4 Previous Level of Media Exposure & Race of Viewer Effects

The mass media is one of the primary ways in which images and stereotypes are dispersed amongst society, perpetuating inaccuracies of those who are stereotyped, including African-Americans (Colfax & Sternberg, 1972; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Grossman, 2001; Oliver, 2003; Rome, 2004; Shavitt et al., 1999; Zinkhan, Qualls, and Biswas, 1990). Due to this proliferation, continued exposure to media stereotypes can serve as cognitive heuristics, quickly and effortlessly activating the cultural stereotypes associated with a group (Ramasubramanian, 2007). As a result, research has shown that when given the opportunity, people are more likely to take the peripheral route by using activated stereotypes, permeated throughout the media, in forming impressions of others (Ramasubramanian, 2007). Given that mass media are shown to contribute to the stereotyping of African-Americans (Oliver, 2003), those who are exposed to higher

levels of media may be more inclined to believe in African-American stereotypes than those who are exposed to less media. For example, those who are exposed to more than three hours of TV a day in college were more likely to believe the stereotype of the African-American as a "natural" athlete than those who viewed less television (Harrison, Harrison, Lawrence, Proctor, & Love, in press). Additionally, those who watched three or more hours of TV in college were more likely to agree that in some high profile sports such as basketball, African-Americans dominate because they are physically better than their Caucasian counterparts. As a result, it is anticipated that previous level of media exposure will affect stereotype perception.

Not only can race of a spokesperson act as a peripheral cue in an advertising context, but race of the viewer (or consumer) can also make a difference in the evaluation of an advertisement (Whittler, 1989). For example, Black consumers have shown an increased likelihood of purchasing products (Whittler, 1989) and having positive thoughts about a product (Whittler & Spira, 2002) when promoted by a Black versus a White model. Conversely, Whites have been negatively influenced by the use of African-American spokespersons in advertisements (Whittler & DiMeo, 1991).

This occurrence can most likely be accredited to Tajifel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory, which refers to a group-based identity motivating people to perceive their own group favorably and distinctively from other "out-groups". This desire to hold a positive view of one's own group by holding an inferior view of another group may offer significant insight into the variation in perception of advertisements among different racial groups.

As it relates to this study, peripheral processing also plays a role in the race of the viewer effects on stereotypical perception. Favorable views of in-groups and inferior views of out-groups are formed as a result of people not taking the central route to persuasion with race of the spokesperson acting as a peripheral cue. Because of peripheral processing, it is possible that unflattering perceptions of minority groups can emerge even in the absence of any unfavorable information (Shavitt et al., 1999). For example, even if a Caucasian consumer were to see a positive portrayal of an African-American model in an advertisement, such as an African-American male dressed in a suit and tie, the Caucasian consumer may still hold a more stereotypical perception of the spokesperson compared to an African-American consumer as a way of positioning their own race in a more positive light. One of the drawbacks to this reality is that it leads to in-group partiality, where individuals are more likely to assess members of their own group, or the "in-group", more favorably than those of other groups, or the "out-group" (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

These findings suggest that even if a Caucasian consumer were to look at an advertisement that portrayed a positive image of an African-American, they may still exhibit a tendency to associate negative stereotypes to this racial group (Shavitt et al., 1999). Furthermore, African-Americans may respond more favorably to an African-American spokesperson, by not being influenced by the negative stereotypes ascribed toward African-Americans. As a result, it is anticipated that race of the viewer will affect stereotypical perception.

Much of the past research involving race in advertising has revolved mainly on Caucasians' perceptions of Caucasian and African-American spokespersons (Bush, Hair & Solomon, 1979). Fewer studies have examined African-American's reaction to a spokesperson's race (Whittler & Spira, 2002). Rarely have the perceptions of *all* races been taken into account as it relates to a sampling of the general population.

2.5 Research Questions

Because race plays such a prominent role in our society (White & Harkins, 1994) and because race has been shown to act as a peripheral cue per the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Whittler & DiMeo, 1991), this study sought to determine whether an African-American spokesperson featured in a print advertisement is perceived more stereotypically when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson. Furthermore, given the external influences of race of viewer and previous level of media exposure, to what degree do these contributing factors affect the perception of the spokesperson? This leads to the following research questions guiding this thesis:

RQ1a: Will an African-American spokesperson's race act as a peripheral cue in the perception of the African-American spokesperson as more athletic when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson?

RQ1b: Will an African-American spokesperson's race act as a peripheral cue in the perception of the African-American spokesperson as more musical when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson?

RQ1c: Will an African-American spokesperson's race act as a peripheral cue in the perception of the African-American spokesperson as less intelligent when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson?

RQ1d: Will an African-American spokesperson's race act as a peripheral cue in the perception of the African-American spokesperson as more criminal when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson?

RQ2: Does race of viewer affect whether an African-American spokesperson's race acts as a peripheral cue in the perceptions of an African-American spokesperson compared to a Caucasian spokesperson?

RQ3: Does previous level of media exposure affect whether an African-American spokesperson's race acts as a peripheral cue in the perceptions of an African-American spokesperson compared to a Caucasian spokesperson?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Based on the research questions, a questionnaire was designed and distributed to students at the University of Texas at Arlington. In this experiment, participants were randomly given one of two newsletters, each containing two short articles and one advertisement. The advertisement featured an African-American spokesperson in one version and a Caucasian spokesperson in the other version. After viewing the newsletter, participants were asked to complete a 28-item questionnaire. In keeping with assessing peripheral routes of persuasion per the Elaboration Likelihood Model, after reviewing the newsletter for a short period of time (approximately 5 minutes), the newsletter was collected so that participants could not refer back to the newsletter while they completed the questionnaire.

3.1 Participants

One hundred and seventy six (N=176) surveys were completed, 93 from the African-American spokesperson condition and 83 from the Caucasian spokesperson condition. Participants were undergraduate students recruited from Communication courses at the University of Texas at Arlington, who received extra credit for their participation. The primary researcher did not serve as professor for these classes. Of the participants who reported their gender (N=174), 38.1 % were male (n= 67) and 60.8% were female (n= 107). Of the participants who reported their age (N=173), ages ranged

from 18 years to 48 years old with 15.9% under 21 years (n=28), 64.7% between 21 years to 25 years (n=114), 12% between 26 years to 30 years (n=21), and 5.9% over 30 years of age (n=10). Of the participants who reported their major (N=173), over half (60.2%, n=106) were Communication majors, another 16.6% (n=29) were Business majors, while the remaining 21.6% (n=38) studied a discipline other than Communication or Business.

Due to the nature of this study, a diverse student population was necessary and responses from participants of all racial backgrounds were included. Of the participants who reported their ethnicity (N=174), 56.8% (n=100) identified themselves as being Caucasian, 17.6% (n=31) identified themselves as Black/African-American, 9.1% (n=16) identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino, 11.4% (n=20) identified themselves as Asian/Asian-American/Pacific-Islander/Indian/Pakistani, 3.4% of students (n=6) identified themselves as being of Mixed Heritage and .6% (n=1) were Native American.

Of those participants reporting their exposure to the media (N=175), nearly two thirds (61.3%, n=108) of the participants considered themselves heavy consumers of media. They reported spending 15 hours or more per week exposed to television, radio, the Internet, magazines, and/or newspapers, making them a relevant subject pool for the purposes of this study. Another 37.5% (n=66) of participants considered themselves light consumers of media, reporting spending less than 15 hours per week exposed to television, radio, the Internet, magazines, and/or newspapers. One participant (n=1, 0.6%) reported spending virtually no time exposed to media.

3.2 Stimuli

Each participant viewed the newsletter in a public classroom setting. Participants were randomly assigned to view one of two versions of a newsletter. These newsletters were identical for the most part--both were color, a full page in length, and contained two brief news articles and an advertisement. However, they differed in terms of the spokesperson - one ad featured an African-American spokesperson and the other, a Caucasian spokesperson.

The advertisement was for a technical professional organization which offers member benefits such as health insurance. The top half of the advertisement featured the following headline:

My Profession.
My Organization.
My IEEE.

The bottom half of the advertisement featured a white background with blue letters on the left side spelling out the following:

Discover the benefits
Of IEEE membership.

Join today
www.ieee.org/join

In between the copy was a picture of a model, presumably a member of this organization, dressed in casual business attire. In one version, this model was a Caucasian male and in the other, he was African-American. Other than skin color, the pictures were identical, showing a young male wearing a suit jacket, a dress shirt and tie,

and dress shoes. He is standing and smiling with his left hand in his pants pocket and his right hand holding the lapel of his jacket.

All other aspects of the newsletter, including background color, font formatting and page size, were identical across both conditions.

The ultimate layout and design of the newsletter was intended so that participants would view the advertisement similarly to how print advertisements are viewed in real life, in the context of being surrounded by written copy as opposed to studying the advertisement directly as a stand alone document.

Figure 3.1 Newsletter Featuring African-American Model

Tuesday, February 5th, 2008   Page 1

Risk-takers fascinate psychologists

By David Crary
The Associated Press

NEW YORK -- Steve Fossett's wealth made his epic adventures possible, but his relentless willingness to take risks is shared by other on-the-edge thrill-seekers whose exploits and setbacks have long fascinated psychologists as well as the public at large.
What prompts climbers to return to the mountains after losing toes to frostbite and partners to fatal falls? What prompts daredevil Alain Robert, the self-proclaimed "Spiderman," to scale scores of the world's tallest structures with bare hands and no safety net?
"When you get to the very bottom of people who take risks, it's the thrill of it," said Temple University psychologist Frank Farley. "It can be a physical thrill, it can be a mental thrill, or it can be both."
While the search for Fossett and his missing plane continues, friends and colleagues have described him as a careful planner who meticulously prepared his adventures to minimize danger. Some have insisted that

Risk Cont'd Page 6

Bicyclist struck, killed by Arlington police car

By Cynthia Neff
Staff Writer

A bicyclist died after an Arlington police patrol car struck his bicycle from behind in the 500 block of Cravens Park Drive at 11:16 p.m. Saturday, police said.
Ut Van Ly of Arlington was transported to Medical Center of Arlington by ambulance, then flown by helicopter ambulance to Harris Methodist Hospital in Fort Worth, police said. Ly was pronounced dead at 4:18 a.m. Sunday, police said.
One official report listed his age as 42 and another as 43.
The driver of the patrol car, officer Patrick Yeats, has been with the department for eight years. He was not on a call and was patrolling when the accident happened, said Lt. Blake Miller, a police spokesman.
"It appears that the officer did not see the pedalcyclist at the time of the wreck," Miller said in an e-mail.
"That road is not a very well-lit area," Miller added Sunday. "It's one of those unfortunate situations where the officer did not have time to react."
Miller did not know how fast Yeats was driving but said that the officer "doesn't appear to be in any violation of traffic laws."
Ly was not wearing a helmet, reflective gear or a light visible to the rear, Miller said. Ly's head was injured after he was knocked off his bicycle and into the roadway, the spokesman added.
Miller said the accident is under investigation. Yeats is on routine paid administrative leave for three days.

My profession.
My organization.
My IEEE.

Discover the benefits of IEEE membership.

Join a community of more than 365,000 innovators in over 160 countries. IEEE is the world's largest technical society, providing members with access to the latest technical information and research, global networking and career opportunities, and exclusive discounts on education and insurance products.

Join today
www.ieee.org/join

◆IEEE

Figure 3.2 Newsletter Featuring Caucasian Model

3.3 Procedure

All participants were randomly given a version of the newsletter while seated in their classroom. In order to conceal the true nature of this study, they were informed that the purpose of the study was to obtain reactions for print advertising and layout preferences from a diverse group. Participants were instructed to look at the newsletter as if they were reading a newspaper or magazine, and to move on to the questionnaire

when they were ready. In keeping with assessing the peripheral route to persuasion described in ELM, the newsletter was collected before the participant was allowed to answer the questionnaire.

Upon collection of the newsletter, participants were given a pen and paper questionnaire to complete. The data collection process took approximately 15 minutes for each class to complete the questionnaires. At the end of data collection, all data were entered into SPSS for analysis.

3.4 Measures

The first page of the questionnaire included a brief introduction of the study along with instructions requesting participants' opinions of the newsletter sample. The questionnaire contained a total of 28 items; 6 items were "foils" regarding article content and layout preferences. These foils were not directly related to the study, but were included to keep participants from guessing the true focus of the study.

Of the 22 remaining items, one item was used to determine which newsletter version was received, four items related to demographics (age, race, gender and major), 16 items were designed to measure perceptions of the spokesperson and one item was used to assess exposure to media.

3.5 Measurement of the Stereotypes Variable

The questionnaire was designed to assess the perceptions of several of the most frequently perceived stereotypes of African-Americans as found by Devine and Elliot (1995). These characteristics were: *athleticism*, *intelligence*, *criminal tendency* and *musicality*.

Of the 16 items designed to measure perception of model characteristics, participants indicated their level of agreement with five 5-point Likert scale items. Participants were asked to respond to the following questions on a 5-point Likert scale, "How likely is it that the person featured in the advertisement plays sports for fun?", "How likely do you think it is that the person featured in the advertisement enjoys music in their free time?", and "How likely are you to trust the person featured in the advertisement with your insurance needs?", with 1 representing "not at all likely" and 5 representing "very likely". Participants were also asked how much they agreed with the statements that, "The person featured in the advertisement obeys the law at all times:" and "I'm sure there is something from this person's past that would make me question their character:" with 1 representing "strongly disagree" and 5 representing "strongly agree".

The remaining 11 items measured perception of model characteristics using semantic differential scales. Participants were asked to choose where their position lies on a 7-point scale between the following lists of opposites: "couch potato"/"sporty," "great dancer"/"wall flower," "disobedient"/"law abiding," "aggressive"/"friendly," "simple minded"/"sophisticated," "slow"/"quick-witted," "intelligent"/"unintelligent," "reliable"/"undependable," "rhythmic"/"unmusical," "clueless"/"knowledgeable." Negatively worded items were recoded so that higher scores reflect a more positive perception of higher intelligence, more of a willingness to obey the law, enhanced athletic ability and a greater proclivity towards all things musical.

The advantages of using Likert and semantic differential scales are that they transfer nominal attributes into meaningful numerical values that allows for T-tests and other tests of relationships.

3.6 Measurement of the Media Exposure Variable

In previous research, exposure to the media was measured by using a general assessment that consisted of asking people to estimate the number of hours of television viewed or to self report the specific categories of television programs that were watched (Gerbner, Gross, & Signorielli, 1980; Potter, 1990). In this study, Potter and Gerbner's method was used by requesting that each participant self report the number of hours spent consuming mass media. For the purpose of this study, mass media consumption was not only limited to television but encompassed print and digital media exposure as well. This study attempted to determine the number of hours per week participants watched television, listened to the radio, read the newspaper and/or magazines and searched the internet - in other words, "how heavily participants consumed media" using a multiple choice item with different amounts of media usage as answer choices with 1 representing "not really at all" and 5 representing "22+ hours per week" in response to the statement, "Please indicate how heavily you consume media."

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1. Reduction to Essential Components

A principal components analysis with a varimax rotation was performed in SPSS on 16 of the 22 items on the questionnaire (the six items left out of the analysis were foils intended to keep subjects from guessing the true intent of the study.) At this initial stage, all factors were included in the factor analysis to establish the relationship among the items. The analysis revealed that these 16 items fell into a 5-factor solution that accounts for 63.06% of the variance. All five factors had eigenvalues greater than 1. However, only three factors appeared prior to the leveling of the screen plot.

Therefore, a second principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation was done, using only those items that loaded on the first three factors identified above and restricting the solution to three factors. This solution accounted for nearly half of the variance at 49.3%, and represented the best organization of the information in order to achieve meaning from the data. The resulting factors corresponded to the measures in this study's research questions: *evaluation of the spokesperson as especially coordinated*, *evaluation of the spokesperson as an upstanding citizen*, and *evaluation of the spokesperson's character*.

The items that loaded on the *evaluation of the spokesperson as especially coordinated* factor were comprised of items that assess how much a subject agrees that

the spokesperson "plays sports for fun," "enjoys music in their free time," "is more rhythmic vs. unmusical," "is more of a great dancer vs. a wallflower," and "is more sporty vs. a couch potato." These five items were evaluated for scale reliability, resulting in a Cronbach's alpha of .725.

The *evaluation of the spokesperson as an upstanding citizen* factor was comprised of items that assess how much a subject agrees that the spokesperson "can be trusted with their insurance needs," "obeys the law at all times," "is more sophisticated vs. simple minded," "is more quick-witted vs. slow," "is more intelligent vs. unintelligent," "is more reliable vs. undependable," "is more law abiding vs. disobedient," "is more knowledgeable vs. clueless," and "is more friendly vs. aggressive". These nine items were tested for scale reliability, resulting in a Cronbach's alpha of .794.

The third factor, the *evaluation of the spokespersons character*, was comprised of a single item that assess how much a subject agrees that "there is something from this person's past that would make me question their character".

The mean scores were calculated for all items across both conditions. Scales were then computed and used in an independent samples t-test.

<u>4.2 Coordination Factor</u>

In response to the first group of research questions, specifically parts (a) and (b), proposing whether the race of a spokesperson affects the judgments made about that spokesperson, an independent samples t-test showed that compared to the Caucasian model, the African-American model is significantly more likely to be perceived as

coordinated, the factor which encompasses the "athletic" and "musical" variables (M_{AA}=4.75; M_C=3.81; t=8.184; p=.000;). The attributes relating to athletics and musicality were seen as significantly more typical of the African-American spokesperson as opposed to the Caucasian spokesperson.

Although the analysis for this factor revealed an overall significant result, t-tests were run for each item independently to verify whether *all* five variables under this factor contributed to the significant finding.

Participants judged the African-American spokesperson as significantly more likely to participate in sports (M_{AA}=3.75) than the Caucasian model (M_C=3.23) (t=3.661; p=.000).

Participants judged the African-American spokesperson as significantly more "sporty" (M_{AA}=5.89) than the Caucasian model (M_C=5.22) (t=3.431; p=.001).

Participants judged the African-American spokesperson as significantly more likely to enjoy music in their free time (M_{AA}=4.03) than the Caucasian model (M_C=3.46) (t=4.434; p=.000).

Participants judged the African-American spokesperson as significantly more "rhythmic" (M_{AA}=5.02) than the Caucasian model (M_C=3.51) (t=7.327; p=000).

Participants judged the African-American spokesperson as a significantly better dancer (M_{AA}=5.08) than the Caucasian model (M_C=3.64) (t=6.732; p=000).

4.3 Upstanding Citizen Factor

In response to the first group of research questions, specifically parts (c) and (d), a t-test revealed no significant difference in the evaluation of the African-American

spokesperson when compared to that of the Caucasian spokesperson as an "*upstanding citizen*," the factor which encompasses the "intelligence" and "criminal tendency" variables (M_{AA}=4.36; M_C=4.53; t=-1.422; p=.157). The mean values suggest that the Caucasian spokesperson was in fact perceived as more "upstanding" than the African-American spokesperson, but not significantly so.

To further investigate this group of research questions, separate t-tests were run on each of the items that comprised the upstanding citizen factor to determine if any individual variables revealed significant results. None of the "intelligence" variables yielded significant results; however, a few "criminal tendency" variables did: *friendliness* and *law abiding*.

Participants judged the Caucasian spokesperson as significantly more "friendly" (M_C=5.46) than the African-American spokesperson (M_{AA}=4.83) (t=-2.773; p=.006) and significantly more "law abiding" (M_C=5.10) than the African-American spokesperson (M_{AA}=4.61) (t=-2.289; p=.023). In other words, the African-American spokesperson was judged to be significantly more aggressive and significantly more disobedient than the Caucasian spokesperson.

While none of the "intelligence" variables produced significant results, 4 of the 6 had higher mean scores when applied to the Caucasian spokesperson compared to the African-American spokesperson. For example, the mean score for the African-American spokesperson on the item "How likely are you to trust the person featured in the advertisement with your insurance needs?" was a 2.48, compared to a mean of 2.60 for the Caucasian spokesperson (t=-7.56; p=.451). In other words, the Caucasian

spokesperson was perceived as more intelligent in terms of managing insurance matters than the African-American spokesperson, though not significantly so.

In addressing the first group of research questions, parts (c) and (d), it was determined that based on the lack of significant difference found between the Caucasian spokesperson and the African-American spokesperson, race of the spokesperson does not act as a peripheral cue, influencing the judgments made about that spokesperson under the upstanding citizen factor overall. However, in addressing part (d) of the first group of research questions, detailed analysis of this factor determined that race of the spokesperson does act as a peripheral cue, carrying a significant amount of influence as it relates to the judgments made about the spokesperson's "criminal tendency."

4.4 Character Factor

In response to the research question regarding the effect of a spokesperson's race on perception under the third factor, an independent sample t-test revealed no significant difference in the evaluation of the African-American spokesperson compared to the Caucasian spokesperson being perceived as someone whose character would be in question (M_{AA}=3.11; M_C=2.86; t=1.55; p=.124). The mean values suggest that the African-American spokesperson was perceived as someone whose character is more likely to be in question compared to the Caucasian spokesperson, but not significantly so. It was therefore determined that the race of a spokesperson does not affect whether or not the spokesperson would be perceived as someone of questionable character.

4.5 Effect of Media Exposure & Race of Viewer on Perception of Spokesperson

The second and third research questions in this study addressed whether the covariants of *race of viewer* and previous level of *media exposure* had any effect on the perception of the spokespersons in this experiment.

An ANCOVA analysis revealed no significant relationship between the participants' race and the resulting perceptions of the African-American model compared to the Caucasian model. No one race of participants, whether they be Caucasians, African-Americans, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans or those of Mixed Heritage, was significantly more likely to perceive the African-American model as possessing more stereotypical attributes than any other race within the participant sample. Therefore, in response to the second research question, race of viewer had no effect on whether the African-American model was viewed more stereotypically than the Caucasian model.

An ANCOVA analysis revealed no significant relationship between the participants' level of media exposure and the resulting perceptions of the African-American model compared to the Caucasian model. Those who consume additional media were no more likely to view the African-American spokesperson in a stereotypical manner than those who consume less media. Therefore, in response to the third research question, previous level of media exposure had no effect on whether the African-American model was viewed more stereotypically than the Caucasian model.

The lack of any significant relationship between the race of consumer and previous level of media consumption on the perceptions of the African-American and

Caucasian spokespersons indicates that the second and third research question can be answered by concluding that in this particular study, neither *race of viewer* nor *exposure to media* had a significant influence on the perceptions of model characteristics.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Analysis of the questionnaire and the subsequent results revealed several interesting findings, some of which support previous research, while others unavoidably bring about more questions than answers. In this section, these findings and their implications will be discussed.

5.1 Reduction to Essential Factors

One of the more intriguing findings was the way in which SPSS grouped together the variables of athleticism, musicality, intelligence and criminal tendency.

Although the study was initially designed with athleticism and musicality as distinct concepts, interestingly, the factor analysis established a connection between these two sets of variables. As the performance of sports and dance both require the same skills such as dexterity, flexibility and endurance, this factor can be called coordination. On a surface level these items are sensibly interrelated because they both necessitate physical movement for execution.

The factor analysis also revealed a factor that was comprised of variables representing intelligence and variables regarding obeying the law, variables that could not reliably stand as factors on their own. The resulting "upstanding citizen" factor is a function of brains and honorability. Upon further reflection, this pairing makes logical sense when compared to how these attributes are coupled in society. Buikhuisen &

Mednick (1988) established a clear link between low intelligence and increased criminal behavior. To highlight further the indirect relationship between these two traits, some states even make use of current fourth grade reading scores in determining the quantity of future prison construction (Cushman, 1998).

5.2 Athleticism and Musicality

Perhaps one of the more meaningful findings in this study is the significant difference found in perception of "coordination" between the African-American spokesperson and the Caucasian spokesperson. What makes this result especially interesting is the fact the spokescharacters had the *exact same body* in both newsletter versions. In addressing traits concerning athletic ability and rhythmic coordination, a viewer would seemingly, and most logically, pay more attention to the size and stature of the model's body over any other visible feature. In this case, since the body was literally the exact same in both advertisements, one cannot argue that differences in stature between the two models accounted for the resulting significant difference.

This outcome is a prime example of the Elaboration Likelihood Model at work. Given the lack of differences in virtually all other exterior features between the two models with the exception of race, it is reasonable to presume that it was this difference that accounted for the differing perceptions of the two spokespersons. Viewers of the advertisement are therefore, using race of the spokesperson as a peripheral cue in assessing other characteristics about that spokesperson. In this instance, the process of using race as a peripheral cue acts as a springboard in the recall of African-American

38

stereotypes such as superior athleticism and exceptional rhythmic ability – which accounts for the resulting significant difference in perception of these variables.

As literature has established the frequency of these two stereotypes, athleticism and musical prowess, as associated with African Americans, it was intended for these two variables to be examined individually. However, the factor analysis viewed these two concepts as interrelated. One possible explanation for the factor analysis coupling these two traits together is that in a societal context, sports and music are fairly intertwined, especially in the African-American culture. It's understandable how people can associate African-Americans with music and sports, especially as it relates to the concept of African-Americans as being a primary source of entertainment for the masses.

The notion of African-Americans as a form of "entertainment" is not a new trend. African-Americans have emerged as entertainment in popular culture dating as far back to the mid 1800s in the form of minstrel shows, vaudeville and the musical revue (Lemons, 1977). Even today, African-Americans are still perceived for their entertainment value and are significantly viewed in terms of their musical and athletic qualities (Devine & Elliot, 1995). African-American musical artists and athletes alike have been able to acquire celebrity status across many aspects of the entertainment industry including films, television and fashion. In a societal context, professional sports and hip-hop music have been some of the few avenues where African-Americans can transcend the boundaries of race and find a level of success not readily ascertained in other fields. Professional athletes continue to moonlight as album producing hip-hop

artists, and rappers are steadily crossing over into the professional sports arena, all of which is captured and perpetuated by the media. For example, perhaps one of the most celebrated rappers to date, Jay-Z, owns a portion of the NBA's New Jersey Nets. Even rapper Nelly is part-owner of the new NBA expansion team, the Charlotte Bobcats (McCarthy, 2005). Rapper Lil' Romeo was recruited to play basketball for the University of Southern California in 2007 (Associated Press, 2007). Lil' Romeo is the son of legendary rapper, Master P, who was a member of the NBA's Charlotte Hornets during training camp of the 1998-99 season (Spears, 2002). Current NBA stars such as Shaquille O'Neal, Ron Artest and Allen Iverson have produced relatively successful rap albums; even basketball players Kobe Bryant, Chris Webber, Cedric Ceballos and Dana Barros have tried their hand in the rap industry, although not as successfully (Andrews, 2007).

One explanation for the significant difference in perception found in this study may be that these traits are innate abilities ascribed toward African-Americans which have evolved into this stereotype of African-Americans being physically skilled. A second explanation might suggest that perhaps this significant difference in perception is rooted in the fact that the African-American spokesperson is really being evaluated on where he will excel in terms of what society dictates are the normal roles as it relates to a potential career opportunity for African-Americans.

On the surface level, the stereotype of African-Americans excelling at music and sports might not seem damaging. In fact, some may even perceive this evaluation as something especially positive and uplifting. While this stereotype may not be

particularly hurtful, it is limiting in the sense that it places an "invisible boundary" on the scope of African-American achievement. For example, if African-American youth only see images before them of professional athletes and musical superstars, their motivation to excel academically wanes because in their adolescent minds, they may view music and sports as the only "way out" of poverty instead of a quality education.

Whether the perceptions of the African-American spokesperson are based on the stereotype of innate physical abilities in the areas of sports and music, or on what society has already predetermined as an "acceptable" career choice for African-Americans, remains a topic for future deliberation.

5.3 Intelligence and Criminality

Viewers did not judge the African-American spokesperson as significantly less intelligent or significantly more likely to engage in criminal activity overall.

Literature suggests that in a "politically correct" society such as ours, explicit portrayals of demeaning African-American stereotypes are sure to be met with scrutiny and disapproval. This has led to these sorts of blatantly offensive portrayals becoming more subtle in nature over time (Thomas & Treiber, 2000). This purposed decrease may explain the findings under this factor. Lack of a significant difference in the perception of the African-American spokesperson as being less intelligent may be an indication of more progressive portrayals of African-Americans as it relates to this variable. Perhaps it is more recently viewed as somewhat taboo to portray African-Americans as less intelligent than in the past. If this is the case, one could argue that the decrease in the

portrayals of African-Americans as less intelligent is also serving to decrease the perception of this stereotype and causing it to become progressively phased out.

Upon further analyses of all of the individual variables within the "upstanding citizen" factor, results revealed that viewers did judge the Caucasian spokesperson as significantly more friendly and significantly more law abiding than the African-American spokesperson.

These findings suggest that the stereotype of African-Americans as criminal or dangerous is alive and well. With this stereotype formation being the likely result of a combination of factors and variables, pinpointing exactly what factors are contributing to these damaging images being put forth and who is ultimately responsible remains a difficult task (Oliver, 2003). The media may not be the root cause of the existence of this stereotype, but perhaps it is the most influential factor in the perpetuation of this stereotype as evidenced by Russell (1995), who found that for those living in the United States, the main source of information about crime and criminals reportedly originates from the media. Previous research has established that the media, the news media in particular, repeatedly and disproportionately show African-Americans as criminals (Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b; Entman, 1992; Entman & Rojeck, 2000). A content analysis conducted by Dixon and Linz (2000a, 2000b) found that African-Americans were overexposed as suspects on television news by a ratio of 3:1 compared to Caucasian suspects, further reinforcing the cognitive link between African-Americans and criminal behavior among television viewers. These negative depictions featuring a

majority of African-Americans as perpetrators add weight to the findings of this current study.

When participants were asked to evaluate a spokesperson in which the race of the spokesperson was the most salient feature, the resulting findings confirm that race of the spokesperson acted as a peripheral cue in the stereotypical evaluation of the African-American spokesperson under these variables. The overrepresentation of African-Americans as criminals in the news media along with the race of the spokesperson serving as a peripheral cue led to the perception of the African-American spokesperson as significantly less friendly and law abiding than the Caucasian spokesperson.

More than just in the context of a research experiment, these media driven depictions of African-Americans as excessively violent and disobedient have several real world repercussions. If a person's race is deemed to be the most salient source characteristic in the recall of stereotypes, as the findings in this study suggest, these misrepresentations have the power to unfairly subject African-Americans to unnecessary mistreatment, unwarranted judgments and harsher punishments in relation to the current criminal justice system.

<u>5.4 Character</u>

In this study, the African-American spokesperson was not perceived as someone whose 'character' is significantly more likely to be questionable than the Caucasian spokesperson. One explanation for this may be attributed to the various definitions of the word 'character'. The manner in which this assessment was worded in the questionnaire may have led to more than one understanding of the word. Respondents

may have very well interpreted the label of 'character' as something to do with someone's temperament or personality, not necessarily their propensity to act in an immoral fashion. Therefore, when viewing the newsletter with the African-American spokesperson along with reading this item on the questionnaire, the recall of those stereotypes most closely associated with African-Americans may not have been activated enough to yield significant results under this variable.

5.5 Concluding Commentary on Research Questions

5.5.1 Influence of Race as a Peripheral Cue on the Perception of a Spokesperson

The results of this study answered research question number one which asked, does the race of a spokesperson affect the judgments made about that spokesperson? More specifically, this study sought to determine whether an African-American spokesperson would be perceived more stereotypically than a Caucasian spokesperson. With respect to being physically gifted, a significant difference was found in how the African-American spokesperson was perceived compared to the Caucasian spokesperson. These results tend to suggest that a definite stereotype of African-Americans excelling at music and sports exists in our society. Overall analysis of both the intelligence and criminal tendency variables show that, for the most part, a significant difference in perception did not exist. Although a deeper analysis revealed significant differences under certain criminal tendency variables.

As it relates to the advertisement that was used in this study, a Semiotic approach would suggest that there was no mistaking the fact that these spokespersons were wearing suits and presented themselves in a professional and business-like manner to

convey a specific meaning and to evoke a specific feeling relative to that which was being advertised. In fact, one could argue that it was the image of the suit itself that helped lend credence to the professional and business image of both the spokesperson and the company featured in the advertisement. Right down to the colors and font type, every image and message within an advertisement is carefully selected around both the denotative (literal) and connotative (figurative) meaning of how the producers want the advertisement to be perceived. In this same vein, even the race of a spokesperson can be chosen as a "sign" in this context. The race of a person featured in an advertisement is often the result of the implied connotative meanings that are attributed to that specific race as it relates to the product or service being advertised. These perceptions play an important role in the formation of stereotypes.

In the advertising industry, where time is of the essence, it is crucial for advertisement producers to convey the strongest possible meanings in the least amount of time. The creative use of cleverly crafted images and signs in conjunction with consumers having little time or motivation to decipher every possible message, can lead to heuristic and multiple interpretations of elaborate claims. Over time, this heuristic processing can lead to the formation of stereotypes, where the "advertisement's reality" slowly becomes the "viewer's reality", originating from simple messages containing reinforced, deeply engrained connotative meanings (Anastasio, Rose & Chapman, 1999). As a result, given both the limited time often involved in viewing advertisements along with the cognitive categorization of the human brain, it is to the advertiser's advantage to

present their products or services in such a way that artistically imply information without explicitly expressing information.

This study has also increased awareness in the perceptions of African-American stereotypes. Applying the Elaboration Likelihood Model to these findings, particularly in an advertising context, would support the idea that because participants did not have the newsletter to refer back to when answering questions regarding model characteristics, race of the source (in this case race of the spokesperson) was the most salient source characteristic via the peripheral route to persuasion in the recall of African-American stereotypes. This causes race of the spokesperson to act as the primary peripheral cue in assessing model characteristics in this study.

The essence of ELM in relation to race as a source characteristic has several implications in the context of the advertising industry. The spokespersons featured in this study were very professionally dressed, wearing a suit jacket, tie, slacks and dress shoes. Both spokespersons featured the same facial expression, both smiling brightly and displaying straight, white teeth. However, even with all of these other peripheral cues, the majority of participants in this study still perceived the African-American spokesperson with a clouded lens resulting in a more stereotypical perception. This study gives credence to the notion that, more than any other external feature, race of the spokesperson is the most prominent cue in the peripheral route of assessing spokesperson characteristics.

5.5.2 Influence of Race of Viewer on Stereotype Perception

The second research question asked if race of viewer had any affect on whether an African-American spokesperson will be perceived more stereotypically when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson. Overall analysis found no significance in respect to race of viewer on the perception of model characteristics.

In this study, it does not appear that race of the viewer had any determination in the acceptance of stereotypes as social identity theory would suggest. Although there is enough empirical evidence suggesting that social identity theory is both legitimate and applicable to this study, one might speculate that the ideologies behind social identity theory did not work in the context of this study because the use of an advertisement did not allow enough of an opportunity for the identity with the spokesperson to be formed. Perhaps the advertisement stimulus served as such a peripheral cue that a quick look at the spokesperson's race allowed for the stereotypes of that spokesperson to be triggered but was too quick for the identification with the spokesperson to be established. The use of an advertisement in this study may have proved to be too impersonal in the sense that not enough "direct contact" with the spokesperson took place for an identity to be recognized. If the participant sample had a more personal, face-to-face interaction with the spokesperson, the participants may have been more influenced by whether or not the spokesperson was more racially similar or dissimilar.

The disassociation from the spokesperson may have also been a result of the participant sample. It is possible that because the spokespersons were dressed in suits and didn't look like typical "college students" the participant sample wasn't able to

47

establish enough of a connection to perceive the spokespersons as someone who is similar to them.

In addition, these results signify that perhaps the images of African-Americans shown in the mass media are perceived by the general public in the same fashion, regardless of racial background. While the participant sample was relatively diverse, it is possible that different results might be obtained with a higher N value of racial minority groups.

5.5.3 Influence of Exposure to Media on Stereotype Perception

The third research question asked if exposure to media had any affect on whether an African-American spokesperson will be perceived more stereotypically when compared to a Caucasian spokesperson. Overall analysis found no significance in respect to exposure to media on the perception of model characteristics.

Even though it does not appear that those who consume more media are more apt to subscribe to stereotypes, to some extent, this may be a function of the sample population in this study. Nearly two-thirds (61.4%) of participants considered themselves heavy media consumers, meaning they are exposed to media at least 15 or more hours per week. Not surprisingly, this demographic was comprised of young adult college students who were very forthcoming about being heavy consumers of media, which makes this an ideal and appropriate group in which to conduct this study. As such, it merits asking whether the same significant results would have been revealed if the majority of the participant sample consisted of lighter media consumers. Perhaps the

significant results that were found would not have been obtained if a different demographic was sampled.

5.6 Shift in Perception of African-American Stereotypes

Given the historical context that race has played in American society, it is safe to say that race is simply not perceived as race alone. Along with race, come loads of preconceived notions and stereotypes that give newly weighted associations to different racial groups over a period of time. In this same vein, semiotics research would also offer insight into how these racial cues have evolved over time into newer connotations of meaning.

The current study supports the idea that a particular set of stereotypes do exist in relation to African-Americans. The stereotypical beliefs that were tested in this study produced overall findings which mirror previous research (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Devine and Elliot, 1995) asserting that new, more contemporary stereotypes of African-Americans are emerging in place of older, more outdated ones.

The findings suggest that the stereotype of African-Americans as "unintelligent" has been effectively reduced, whereas the stereotype of the African-American as "athletic" or "rhythmic" has not. As established in the literature review, it is almost taboo nowadays to portray African-Americans as less intelligent, but other portrayals (e.g. athletic and musical) are still considered socially acceptable in contemporary times. These findings also support Devine and Elliot's (1995) contention that stereotypes of African-Americans haven't lessened, but rather shifted in their content over time.

<div align="center">5.7 Limitations</div>

There are limitations and weaknesses in this study as it relates to participants, stimuli design, procedure and measurements as well as opportunities for further research.

5.7.1 Participants

The demographic make-up of the sample population in this study consisting of undergraduate college students is not reflective of the population at large. As it relates to age, gender, and educational experience, the perceptions gathered from this study may not adequately generalize to perceptions of society as a whole. In addition, the sample size obtained in this study was a limiting factor. Only 166 valid responses were included in the analyses. As the findings indicate, certain conditions yielded marginally significant results. Perhaps with a higher N value, significant difference could have resulted under those conditions. However, due to time constraints, for the purposes of this study, the sample size satisfied the requirements.

5.7.2 Stimulus

The African-American model featured in the advertisement was clearly perceived as African-American, with a rich, dark brown skin coloring and somewhat curly black hair. However there was a slight ambiguity with the Caucasian model. At first glance, the model appears visibly Caucasian in appearance with a light skin tone and straight hair. Yet after a more thorough review of the advertisement, the Caucasian model may also be perceived as having a nearly borderline Asian appearance. Using a Caucasian model with more European features in skin tone, hair color and contour of the eye would have removed all doubt as to the intended race of the model. In the context of

this study it is not particularly important that the model from the control group be Caucasian (so long as he is not African-American in appearance). However, having an "obviously" Caucasian model would provide the best contrary sample for the purposes of a comparative analysis in assessing the perceptions of racial stereotypes. In addition to the appearance of the models used, the name of the brand featured in the advertisement, My IEEE, is a nonspecific brand with no inherent meaning. Upon initial review, one would not be able to decipher exactly what the advertisement was attempting to advertise. Perhaps a more well-known brand, company, or even a clearer advertising message would have produced different results in this study.

5.7.3 Procedure

The environment in which this experiment was conducted occurred in various classroom settings. For sensitive measures such as perceptions of race, public settings are not the ideal surrounding. Distributing the questionnaire in a room with partitions between each participant would have been ideal. Also, conducting the sessions in a more private location with fewer participants during each session may have yielded more candid results as participants would be less conscious about the possibility of others seated around them being able to view their responses. In addition, certain classrooms had "stadium style" seating, positioned in such a way that a participant seated in the back row could glance at previous rows and possibly see that were two versions of the newsletter and thus, be able to speculate the true nature of the study before receiving the questionnaire. Ensuring that classrooms rows are on the same incline would eliminate this occurrence in future trials.

5.7.4 Measures

The task of wording the items on the questionnaire in such a way as to conceal the true nature of the study was a challenge. Inevitably some participants were able to determine that the questionnaire was actually designed to measure perceptions of stereotypical attributes instead of preferences for newspaper layout and advertisement design as they were initially told. As Dovidio and Gaertner's (1986) theory of modern adverse racism might suggest, if the true intent of a study of this nature is predetermined before answering a questionnaire, it may bias participants to respond with socially desirable responses rather than their true opinions. In addition, the questionnaire asked respondents to report their perceptions on a Likert-scale. This method may yield itself to inconsistent responses across the sample. For example, a person who rates the African-American spokesperson's athletic ability as a "6" may actually feel the African-American spokesperson is less talented than another person who rates the African-American spokesperson a "4". Furthermore, all items were rated on a 1-5 or 1-7 Likert-type scale, which may drive undecided respondents to select the middle value of 3 or 4, distorting the study results.

5.8 Further Research

Because this study focused specifically on the perceptions of both an African-American male and a Caucasian male spokesperson, additional research could seek to determine to what extent, if any, gender influences perceptions of stereotypical characteristics. This same experiment could be recreated with female spokespersons to see if the same stereotypes hold, or if others prevail.

To eliminate any doubts as to the racial background of the featured spokesperson, future studies could employ additional advertisements using models of various skin tones, hair colors and eye colors to evaluate perceptions of model characteristics across a wider ethnic spectrum.

Further research can also be conducted in the context of additional media. Research could be expanded to include not only print advertisements, but other media such as television commercials or internet advertising as well.

Since the formation (and shifts) of stereotypes occur over a period of time (Chaiken, 1980; Devine and Elliot 1995), it would be interesting to see if there is a generational difference in perceptions of stereotypical characteristics. A closer investigation in the sampling of different age cohorts would perhaps reveal some interesting findings.

As long as there are differences in people, there will be differences in the perceptions of people, furthering the need to evaluate these perceptions for increased understanding. As we are better able to understand how these perceptions are formed and under what circumstances, we will be better able to understand those around us.

Continuing interest in stereotypes research will help those responsible for perpetuating harmful inaccuracies to understand the implications behind their actions and cause the media to accept more responsibility in bringing about change. As Barthes (1964) effectively argues, when honest depictions aren't presented in the mass media, these truths can not be accepted by the general public, thus perpetuating the societal status quo. In an advertising context, the studies of perceptions of stereotypes are

relevant because when we gauge the perceptions of how minority groups are portrayed and perceived in the media, it gives us additional insight into how these same groups may be perceived in the real world, outside the pages of a newspaper or magazine.

The next challenge lies in consumers overcoming the negative views they may associate with certain minority groups despite the positive images they may see before them. This leads to the further charge of how advertisers that show positive minority portrayals may also seek to elicit an equally positive perception of those models featured in the advertisements they produce.

APPENDIX A

SURVEY

Research Study: Print Advertisement and Layout Preferences Survey

*(The purpose of this survey is to research print advertisement and layout preferences. Please read over the provided newsletter sample, paying attention to both articles and the ad, and answer the following questions – **both front and back**. It will take you about 10 minutes to complete. There are no right or wrong answers. Your answers are anonymous and your privacy will not be violated. Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. Please answer all questions honestly.)*

1. Write down the version number of the newsletter sample you are viewing below (the two digit version number is located in the upper right hand corner of the newsletter sample)

_____

2. Please indicate below how heavily you consume media. In other words, how much do you watch television, listen to the radio, read the newspaper and/or magazines, and surf the internet (do not count time spent on email) in an average week?

Not really at all	At least one and up to about 7 hours per wk	Approximately 8 – 14 hours per week	About 15 – 21 hours per week	22 + hours per week
1	2	3	4	5
Select this category if you spend virtually <u>no</u> time watching TV, listening to radio, reading magazines and newspapers, or surfing the Web.	Choose this category if you average less than an hour a day using media, meaning on most days you do no more than watch the news or one TV show, flip through a magazine or newspaper, listen to radio during a short commute, or quickly visit a few web sites.	This is your category if your daily TV watching, magazine and newspaper reading, radio listening, and web surfing usually amount to about an hour and a half or two hours a day.	This category is for people who average 2-3 hours of media consumption a day.	This is for people who spend more than 3 hours a day on average with the TV and/or radio on, surfing the internet, and/or reading magazines or newspapers.

FIRST, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE DESIGN

3. **How would you rate the layout of the newsletter sample?**

Easy to Read				Cluttered
1	2	3	4	5

4. **How would you rate the size of the advertisement in relation to the article? (1 represents "ad is too small" and 5 represents "ad is too big")**

Ad too small				Ad too big
1	2	3	4	5

NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FIRST ARTICLE

5. **How would you rate the content of the first newsletter article?**

Interesting				Boring
1	2	3	4	5

6. **The content of the first article is of personal relevance to me.**

Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SECOND ARTICLE

7. **At first glance, the second newsletter article appeared to be longer than the first article**

Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

8. How would you rate the content of the second newsletter article?

People Oriented				Event Oriented
1	2	3	4	5

NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ADVERTISEMENT

9. How likely are you to trust the person featured in the advertisement with your insurance needs?

Not at all likely				Very Likely
1	2	3	4	5

10. How likely is it that the person featured in the advertisement plays sports for fun?

Not at all likely				Very Likely
1	2	3	4	5

11. How would you rate the person featured in the advertisement on the following scale: (Please circle one point per line)

Simple Minded	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Sophisticated
Rhythmic	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Unmusical
Slow	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Quick-Witted
Star Athlete	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Benchwarmer
Intelligent	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Unintelligent
Disobedient	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Law Abiding
Reliable	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Undependable
Great Dancer	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Wall Flower
Clueless	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Knowledgeable
Aggressive	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Friendly
Couch Potato	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Sporty

INDICATE HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT

12. I'm sure there is something from this person's past that would make me question their character:

Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

13. How likely do you think it is that the person featured in the advertisement enjoys music in their free time?

Not at all likely				Very Likely
1	2	3	4	5

INDICATE HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT

14. The person featured in the advertisement obeys the law at all times:

Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

FOR CLASSIFICATION PURPOSES, PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BELOW

15. What is your major? (Please check one)
_____Business
_____Communication
_____Other (please specify_____)

16. What is your gender? (Please check one)   _____Male   _____Female

17. What is the ethnicity you most closely identify with? (Please check one)

_____ Caucasian   _____ Black / African American
_____ Hispanic / Latino _____ Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander/Indian/Pakistani
_____ Native American   _____ Mixed Heritage

18. What is your year of birth? _____

_____

*We appreciate your participation in this survey. Feel free to comment in the space below. For further information please contact: **Siobhan D. Flowers, UTA graduate student, Department of Communication,** SiobhanFlowers@gmail.com*

APPENDIX B

NEWSLETTER FEATURING AFRICAN-AMERICAN MODEL

Risk-takers fascinate psychologists

By David Crary
The Associated Press

NEW YORK -- Steve Fossett's wealth made his epic adventures possible, but his relentless willingness to take risks is shared by other on-the-edge thrill-seekers whose exploits and setbacks have long fascinated psychologists as well as the public at large.

What prompts climbers to return to the mountains after losing toes to frostbite and partners to fatal falls? What prompts daredevil Alain Robert, the self-proclaimed "Spiderman," to scale scores of the world's tallest structures with bare hands and no safety net?

"When you get to the very bottom of people who take risks, it's the thrill of it," said Temple University psychologist Frank Farley. "It can be a physical thrill, it can be a mental thrill, or it can be both."

While the search for Fossett and his missing plane continues, friends and colleagues have described him as a careful planner who meticulously prepared his adventures to minimize danger. Some have insisted that

Bicyclist struck, killed by Arlington police car

By Cynthia Neff
Staff Writer

A bicyclist died after an Arlington police patrol car struck his bicycle from behind in the 500 block of Cravens Park Drive at 11:16 p.m. Saturday, police said.

Ut Van Ly of Arlington was transported to Medical Center of Ar lington by ambulance, then flown by helicopter ambulance to Harris Methodist Hospital in Fort Worth, police said. Ly was pronounced dead at 4:18 a.m. Sunday, police said.

One official report listed his age as 42 and another as 43.

The driver of the patrol car, officer Patrick Yeats, has been with the department for eight years. He was not on a call and was patrolling when the accident happened, said Lt. Blake Miller, a police spokesman.

"It appears that the officer did not see the pedalcyclist at the time of the wreck," Miller said in an e-mail.

"That road is not a very well-lit area," Miller added Sunday. "It's one of those unfortunate situations where the officer did not have time to react."

Miller did not know how fast Yeats was driving but said that the officer "doesn't appear to be in any violation of traffic laws."

Ly was not wearing a helmet, reflective gear or a light visible to the rear, Miller said. Ly's head was injured after he was knocked off his bicycle and into the roadway, the spokesman added.

Miller said the accident is under investigation. Yeats is on routine paid administrative leave for three days.

62

APPENDIX C

NEWSLETTER FEATURING CAUCASIAN MODEL

Risk-takers fascinate psychologists

By David Crary
The Associated Press

NEW YORK -- Steve Fossett's wealth made his epic adventures possible, but his relentless willingness to take risks is shared by other on-the-edge thrill-seekers whose exploits and setbacks have long fascinated psychologists as well as the public at large.

What prompts climbers to return to the mountains after losing toes to frostbite and partners to fatal falls? What prompts daredevil Alain Robert, the self-proclaimed "Spiderman," to scale scores of the world's tallest structures with bare hands and no safety net?

"When you get to the very bottom of people who take risks, it's the thrill of it," said Temple University psychologist Frank Farley. "It can be a physical thrill, it can be a mental thrill, or it can be both."

While the search for Fossett and his missing plane continues, friends and colleagues have described him as a careful planner who meticulously prepared his adventures to minimize danger. Some have insisted that

Risk Cont'd Page 6

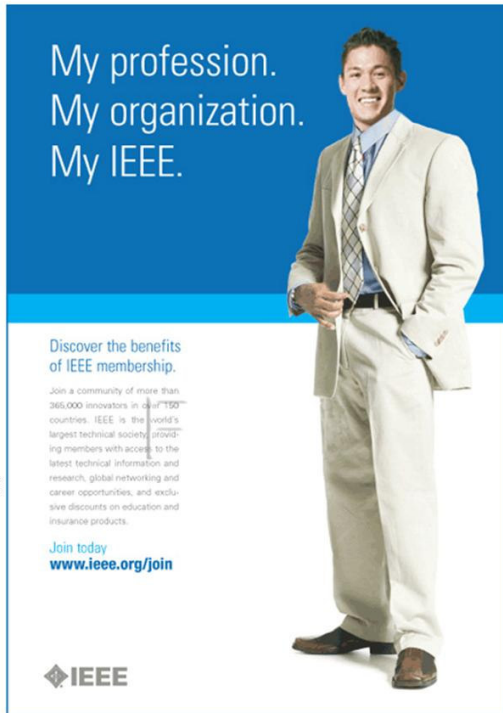## Bicyclist struck, killed by Arlington police car

By Cynthia Neff
Staff Writer

A bicyclist died after an Arlington police patrol car struck his bicycle from behind in the 500 block of Cravens Park Drive at 11:16 p.m. Saturday, police said.

Ut Van Ly of Arlington was transported to Medical Center of Ar lington by ambulance, then flown by helicopter ambulance to Harris Methodist Hospital in Fort Worth, police said. Ly was pronounced dead at 4:18 a.m. Sunday, police said.

One official report listed his age as 42 and another as 43.

The driver of the patrol car, officer Patrick Yeats, has been with the department for eight years. He was not on a call and was patrolling when the accident happened, said Lt. Blake Miller, a police spokesman.

"It appears that the officer did not see the pedalcyclist at the time of the wreck," Miller said in an e-mail.

"That road is not a very well-lit area," Miller added Sunday. "It's one of those unfortunate situations where the officer did not have time to react."

Miller did not know how fast Yeats was driving but said that the officer "doesn't appear to be in any violation of traffic laws." Ly was not wearing a helmet, reflective gear or a light visible to the rear, Miller said. Ly's head was injured after he was knocked off his bicycle and into the roadway, the spokesman added.

Miller said the accident is under investigation. Yeats is on routine paid administrative leave for three days.

64

APPENDIX D

**SURVEY RESULTS – PERCEPTIONS OF
AFRICAN-AMERICAN MODEL VS. CAUCASIAN MODEL**

	MEAN African-American Spokesperson	MEAN Caucasian Spokesperson
Sports For Fun*	3.75	3.23
Sophisticated	4.72	4.83
Rhythmic*	5.02	3.51
Quick-Witted	4.96	5.05
Intelligent	4.60	4.95
Law Abiding*	4.61	5.10
Reliable	4.81	4.63
Great Dancer*	5.08	3.64
Knowledgeable	5.16	5.04
Friendliness*	4.83	5.46
Sporty*	5.89	5.22
Musical*	4.03	3.46
Always Obeys the Law	3.01	3.06
Trustworthy	2.48	2.60
Questionable Character	3.11	2.86

* Denotes Significant Difference

REFERENCES

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. MA: Addison-Wesely.

Anastasio, P. A., Rose, K. C., & Chapman, J. (1999). Can the media create public opinion? A social-identity approach. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 8*(5), 152-155.

Andrews, Tae. (2007). *Fitted baseball caps, guns and urban Neanderthals: the damaging effects of media stereotyping and bias on young African-American males*. Retrieved March 29, 2008, from University of Norte Dame Web Site: http://www.nd.edu/~frswrite/current/documents/TaeAndrewsweb.doc

Associated Press. (2007, November 19). *Miller joins DeRozan, Smith in signing with Southern Cal*. Retrieved March 29, 2008, from http://sports.espn.go.com/ncaa/recruiting/news/story?id=3119581

Barthes, R. (1964). *Elements of Semiology*: Hill and Wang, 1968.

Barthes, R. (1977). *Image-Music-Text*. London: Fontana.

Binder, A. (1993). Constructing racial rhetoric: Media depiction of harm in heavy metal and rap music. *American Sociological Review, 58,*(753-768).

Bowen, L., & Schmid, J. (1997). Minority presence and portrayal in mainstream magazine advertising: An update. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 1,* 134-146.

Brigham, J. C. (1971). Ethnic stereotypes. *Psychological Bulliten, 76,* 15-38.

Buikhuisen, W., & Mednick, S. A. (1988). *Explaining Criminal Behavior: Interdisciplinary Approaches*. New York: E.J. Brill.

Bush, R., Hair, J. F., Jr., & Solomon, P. J. (1979). Consumers level of prejudice and
response to Black models in advertisements. *Journal of Marketing Research, 16,*
341-345.

Chaiken, S. (1979). Communicator physical attractiveness and persuasion. *Journal of
Personality and Social Psychology, 39,* 752-766.

Chaiken, S. (1980). Heuristic versus systematic information processing and the use of
source versus message cues in persuasion. *Journal of Personality and Social
Psychology, 39,* (752-766).

Clark, M. L., & Pearson, Jr., W. (1982). Racial stereotypes revisited. *International
Journal of Intercultural Relations, 6,* 381-393.

Colfax, D. J., & Sternberg, S. F. (1972). The perpetuation of racial stereotypes: Blacks in
mass circulation magazine advertisements. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36*(1), 8-
17.

Cox, K. K. (1970). Changes in stereotyping of negroes and whites in magazine
advertisements. *The Public Opinion Quarterly, 33*(4), 603-606.

Cushman, K. (1998). How schools can work better for the kids who need the most.
Journal of the Annenberg Challenge, 2(2), 1-4.

Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their automatic and controlled
components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56,* 5-18.

Devine, P. G., & Elliot, A. J. (1995). Are racial stereotypes really fading? The Princeton
Trilogy Revisited. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21,* 1139-1150.

Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000a). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication, 50*(2), 131-154.

Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000b). Race and the misrepresentation of victimization on local television news. *Communication Research, 27,* 547-573.

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1986). Prejudice, discrimination and racism: Historical trends and contemporary approaches. In J.F. Dovidio & S.L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination and racism* (pp. 1-34). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Duncan, B. L. (1976). Differential social perception and attribution of intergroup violence: Testing the lower limits of stereotyping of Blacks. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34,* 590-598.

Emmers-Sommers, T. M., & Allen, M. (1999). Surveying the effects of media effects: A meta-analytic summary of media effects research. *Human Communications Research, 25*(4), 478-497.

Entman, R. (1992). Blacks in the news: Television, modern racism, and cultural change. *Journalism Quarterly, 69,* 341-361.

Entman, R. M., & Rojecki, A. (2000). *The Black image in the White mind: Media and race in America.* Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Ehrlich, H. (1973). *The Sociology of Prejudice.* New York: Wiley.

Feldman, J. (1972). Stimulus characteristics and subject prejudice as determinants of stereotype attribution. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 21,* 333-340.

Fiske, S. T., & Neuberg, S. L. (1990). A Continuum Model of Impression Formation: From Category-Based to Individuating Process as a Function of Information, Motivation, and Attention. In M.P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (23 ed., pp. 1-108). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., & Signorielli, N. (1980b). Aging with television: Images on television drama and conceptions of social reality. *Journal of Communication, 30*(1), 37-47.

Gilbert, G. M. (1951). Stereotype persistence and change among college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46,* 245-254.

Grossman, L. (2001, July/August). From Bad to Worse: Black Images on "White" News. *Columbia Journalism Review,* 55.

Hall, R. (2001). The Ball Curve: Calculated Racism and the Stereotype of African American Men. *Journal of Black Studies, 32*(1), 104-119.

Harrison, C. K., Harrison, L. H., Lawrence, S. M., Proctor, L., & Love, Q. (in press). Racial knowledge about myths and stereotypes about African American male athleticism: a mixed method approach. *Journal of American and Comparative Culture*.

Harrison, C. K., & Lawrence, S. M. (2004). College Students' Perceptions, Myths, and

    Stereotypes about African American athleticism: A Qualitative Investigation.

    Sport, Education and Society, 9(1), 33-52.

Hart, A. J., & Morry, M. M. (1997). Trait inferences based on racial and behavioral cues.

    Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 19, 33-48.

Hurwitz, J., Peffley, M., & Sniderman, P. (1997). Racial stereotypes and whites' political

    views of blacks in the context of welfare and crime. *American Journal of*

    Political Science, 41, 30-60.

Jewell, S. K. (1993). *From mammy to Miss America and beyond: Cultural images and*

    the shaping of US policy. New York: Routledge.

Johnson, J. D., Trawalter, S., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). Converging interracial

    consequences of exposure to violent rap music on the attribution of blacks.

    Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 36, 233-251.

Karlins, M., Coffman, T. L., & Walters, G. (1969). On the fading of social stereotypes:

    Studies in three generations of college students. *Journal of Personality and*

    Social Psychology, 13, 1-16.

Katz, D., & Braley, K. (1933). Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students.

    Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28, 280-290.

Lemons, J. S. (1977). Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880-1920.

    Amreican Quarterly, 29(1), 102-116.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

McCarthy, M. (2005, July 4). *Rappers sample athletes' turf*. Retrieved March 29, 2008, fromhttp://www.usatoday.com/money/advertising/2005-07-04-rapendorsements_x.htm

Macrae, C. N., Milne, A. B., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (1994). Stereotypes as Energy-Saving Devices: A Peak Inside the Cognitive Toolbox. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66*(1), 37-47.

Oliver, M. B. (2003). African American Men as "Criminal and Dangerous": Implications of Media Portrayals of Crime on the "Criminalization" of African American Men. *Journal of African American Studies, 7*(2), 3-18.

Peters, J. W. (2006, August 1). An Image Popular in Films Raises Some Eyebrows in Ads. *New York Times.* Retrieved March 15, 2007 from http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/01/business/media/01adco.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1

Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). *Communication and persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Petty, R. E., Cacioppo, J. T., & Schumann, D. (1983). Central and peripheral routes to advertising effectiveness: the moderating role of involvement. *Journal of Consumer Research, 10,* 135-146.

Plous, S., & Williams, T. (1995). Racial stereotypes from the days of American slavery: a continuing legacy. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 25,* 795-817.

Potter, W. J. (1990). Adolescents' perception of the primary values of television programming. *Journalism Quarterly, 67*(4), 843-851.

Ramasubramanian, S. (2007). Media-based strategies to reduce racial stereotypes activated by news stories. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 84*(2), 249-264.

Rinehart, J. W. (1963). The Meaning of Stereotypes. *Theory into Practice, 2*(3), 136-143.

Rome, D. (2004). *Black Demons: Mass Media's Depiction of the African American Male Criminal Stereotype* (Rev. ed.). New York: Praeger Publisher.

Russell, C. (1995). True crime. *American Demographics, 17,* 22-31.

Secord, P. F., Bevan, W., & Katz, B. (1956). The Negro stereotype and perceptual accentuation. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 53,* 78-83.

Secord, P. R. (1959). Stereotyping and favorableness in the perception of Negro faces. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59,* 309-315.

Shavitt, S., Sanbonmatsu, D. M., Smittipatana, S., & Posavac, S. S. (1999). Broadening the Conditions for Illusory Correlation Formation: Implications for Judging Minority Groups. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 21*(4), 263-279.

Shuey, A. M., King, N., & Griffith, B. (1953). Stereotyping of Negroes and Whites: An Analysis of Magazine Pictures. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 17*(2), 281-287.

Spears, M. (2002, November 17). *Master P still clings to NBA dream.* Retrieved March 29, 2008, from http://espn.go.com/nba/columns/spears_marc/1462117.html

Stanford, C. (2000). Advertising in Black and White: How and Why Perceptions of Difference Shape Magazine Advertising. *Gender, Race and Ethnicity in Media Advertising, 20*(1), 250-261.

Stone, J., Lynch, C. I., Sjomeling, M., & Darley, J. M. (1999). Stereotype threat effects on Black and White athletic performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*(6), 1213-1227.

Tajifel, H., Sheikh, A. A., & Gardner, R. C. (1964). Content of stereotypes and the inference of similarity between members of stereotyped groups. *Acta Psychologica, 22,* 191-201.

Tajifel , H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed., pp.7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Thomas, M. E., & Treiber, L. A. (2000). Race, Gender and Status: A Content Analysis of Print Advertisement in Four Popular Magazines. *Sociological Spectrum, 44*(2), 184-199.

White, P. H., & Harkins, S. G. (1994). Race of Source Effects in the Elaboration Likelihood Model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67*(5), 790-807.

Whittler, T. E. (1989). The effects of actors' race in commercial advertising: Review and extension. *Journal of Advertising, 20,* 54-60.

Whittler, T. E., & DiMeo, J. (1991). Viewers reactions to racial cues in advertising stimuli. *Journal of Advertising Research, 31*(6), 37-46.

Whittler, T. E., & Spira, J. S. (2002). Model's Race: A Peripheral Cue in Advertising Messages? *Journal of Consumer Psychology, 12*(4), 291-301.

Zinkhan, G. M., Qualls, W. J., & Biswas, A. (1990). The use of Blacks in magazine and television advertising: 1946 to 1986. *Journalism Quarterly, 67,* 547-554.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Siobhan D. Flowers is a graduate student from the communication department at the University of Texas at Arlington. Prior to receiving a Master's degree in communication, she obtained a bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of North Texas in Denton, Texas.

Presently working as a secondary educator in Fort Worth, Texas, Flowers enjoys reading, writing, and traveling. Most importantly, she takes pleasure in educating young minds and serving as an envoy for marginalized groups within the education system.

Her research interests include stereotypes and media effects, and she plans to consult with corporations and professional organizations as a communication specialist. She currently resides in Fort Worth with her human-like Dachshund, Skittles.