

PORTRAYAL OF RACE BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE UNIVERSITY NEWSPAPERS

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This study investigated how two college newspapers cover race and how the papers employed racial stereotypes when describing sources. One of newspapers is a student-produced paper at a private university. The other is a student-produced newspaper at a public university. The study conducted content analyses of front-page news stories in both college newspapers. The sources in the story were analyzed for racial stereotypes. Stereotypes were identified based on frames used in modern racism research. A *t*-test and chi-square were used to compare the coverage of minorities to Whites. Once the quantitative content analysis was completed, I used textual analysis to identify what ways the news stories used stereotypical coverage of minorities. The study used critical media theory.

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## INTRODUCTION

The 2009 movie *Up in the Air* depicts a scene in which George Clooney's character shares his travel secrets with a new trainee. As they walk up to the security checkpoint, he scans the area and spots a pair of Asian business men. "Bingo, Asians," he says.

The camera shows a young White family and then an elderly White couple. Clooney continues explaining, "You never get behind people who are traveling with infants. I've never seen a stroller collapse in less than 20 minutes. Old people are worse. Their bodies are littered with hidden metal and they never seem to appreciate how little time they have left on earth. There you go," he says, pointing to a group of Middle Eastern men. "Five words: randomly selected for additional screening. Asians," he says, again pointing to the Asian men. "They pack light, travel efficiently and have a thing for slip-on shoes. God love 'em."

His coworker responds, shocked, "That's racist."

"I'm like my mother; I stereotype," he says. "It's faster" (Dubiecki, Clifford, Reitman & Reitman, 2009).

Stereotyping is pervasive in movies, television shows, music, daily conversation and news coverage. Stereotyping is more nuanced than explicit hate racism. Many Americans, specifically Whites, tend to contest that racism is no longer an issue and that they are not racist. However, racial inequality is still present in the media and in society. Today racism is not necessarily exemplified by segregation or the belief that Whites are superior to other races. Modern racism can be defined as a belief among some Whites that discrimination is no longer widespread. Many researchers argue that

modern racism is found in stereotypes and the way minorities are portrayed in the media and in society (Richardson, 2005).

This study will investigate how two college newspapers cover race and how the papers may use racial stereotypes. One is a student-produced newspaper at a private university. The other is a student-produced newspaper at a public university. The study will compare how the papers portray the demographic makeup and diversity of the schools in front-page news stories. For the purposes of this research, Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas, and the University of North Texas, in Denton, Texas, were used because of location and access. According to the Texas Christian University website, 15.3% of undergraduate students in the fall of 2008 were labeled as students of color. Approximately 5% were Black, 2.5% were Asian, almost 75% were White, 7% were Hispanic, 5% were international students, and the rest were unknown or of another race. According to the University of North Texas website, 64% of the student population in the fall of 2008 was White. The student population is almost 13% Black, 12% Hispanic, and 5% Asian.

This study is based on an earlier pilot study that compared the *TCU Daily Skiff*, the student-run newspaper at the homogenous and private Texas Christian University, and the *NT Daily*, the student-run newspaper at the more ethnically diverse and public University of North Texas. Like in the pilot study, it is expected that both newspapers will cover the ethnic diversity on campus in stereotypical terms. It is important to investigate the coverage of non-Whites at the college level, because news professionals expect journalism graduates to have already been trained by college journalism programs and by reporting for college newspapers. What journalism students do or



don't learn about diversity coverage affects how they cover minorities and diversity in their professional careers (Wickham, 2004). This research seeks to identify what types of racial stereotypes are being used by young journalists at the college level. This research is based in critical race theory, which challenges the status quo of how the media cover racial stereotypes. The theory suggests a change to the way institutions use rhetoric to create a more inclusive and diverse society.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Media, as opinion leaders, affect how media consumers see the world around them. This is prevalent regardless of the topic of coverage. George Gerbner once stated, "One of the more dominant issues in media research is the *cultivation hypothesis* which postulates that consumers of media will grow to have expectations of the real world similar to those found in the media they consume on both global and special social attitudes" (as cited in Josey, Dixon, Hurley, & Hefner, 2008).

There are numerous theories and variations of the same theory about how the media's coverage of race and their portrayal of racial stereotypes affect people's view of racism and minorities. Most researchers agree that although the traditional sense of hateful racism is no longer prevalent, minorities are not viewed as equal to Whites. Whites are portrayed in a positive light, while minorities are portrayed negatively, less educated and are more likely to be portrayed as criminals than Whites. Whites are seldom the recipient of racist beliefs, because they are the dominant social group. The theory of modern racism leads Whites to believe that minorities, specifically Hispanics and Blacks, fall into lower socioeconomic status because of their own shortcomings and failure. Research on modern racism shows that most Whites believe that racism is bad and racial discrimination is no longer widespread. However, they believe that any gains by minorities through affirmative action are undeserved. And, Whites also believe that current negative beliefs about minorities are fact and not baseless stereotypes (Josey, Dixon, Hurley, & Hefner, 2008; Richardson, 2005; Thomas & Treiber, 2000; Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Ehrlich, 2009). Busselle and Crandall (2002) state that most Whites don't believe racial segregation is right.

At the same time, however, White Americans justify their opposition to affirmative action and anti-poverty programs on the grounds that discrimination and racism are no longer problems and, therefore, any socioeconomic inequality that befalls Blacks is the result of personal failure rather than systematic injustice (Bussell, & Crandall, 2002).

### Modern Racism

Modern racism is exemplified by the use of racial stereotypes in news stories, whether in print or on television. Hurricane Katrina is an example of how Blacks can be portrayed negatively in the news media. Research found that Blacks were portrayed as lazy or lacking self-reliance in the news coverage of the hurricane and its aftereffects. Blacks were also shown to be criminals in the Katrina coverage. In both print visuals and television visuals, Blacks were depicted as violent, lazy, poor, participating in criminal behavior and unprepared for the hurricane, whereas Whites were portrayed as the ones preparing for evacuation and were the ones rescuing the Blacks. The Whites were typically shown in authoritative and powerful roles (Josey et al., 2008, Lacy & Haspel, 2006; Kahle, Yu, & Whiteside, 2007). In addition to the portrayal of Blacks as poorer in news coverage, Black women and men were less likely to be portrayed as affluent in magazine advertisements and more likely to be portrayed in an everyday status (Thomas & Treiber, 2000).

Cedric Clark broke down four stages in which the media represents minorities: non-recognition, ridicule, regulation and lastly, respect. Technically, the news media only represents minorities in the first three ways. Clark theorizes that though recognition is a part of being respected, respect only comes when the person or group is being

represented is done so fully, whether it be good or bad. He contends respect is necessary for legitimation. In 1972, when Clark first wrote his theory, he postulated that Asians were in the ridicule stage, only being represented by degrading stereotypes, including being known only for being martial arts experts. He also said most depictions of Blacks were in the regulation stage, in which they were just past the servant-master relationship with Whites but where still stereotyped (1972). Non-recognition means the media is largely ignoring a minority group, and when the media do cover that minority group, it is often novel and misrepresented. Coverage of Native Americans is an example of non-recognition. Ridiculed minority groups have more coverage than non-recognized groups, but they are not taken seriously by the news media. Early portrayals of African Americans demonstrate this, because they were viewed as unintelligent and the butt of jokes. Clark maintains that Spanish-speaking immigrants are in the ridicule stage. Regulation encompasses a much broader coverage of minorities than the previous two stages and that coverage is often much less negative. However, the coverage is likely to only portray minorities through stereotypes. An example of this would be the portrayal of Asians as the model minority (Josey et al., 2008; Clark, 1972). Clark states, "To be recognized is to be taken into account, to be made relevant, to matter, to be paid attention to. To be accorded respect means to have one's behavior defined, assessed, and accounted for in the same way one would define, assess, and account for it" (1972, p. 151).

Though many researchers accept Clark's four stages of minority representation as a solid theory, Giles (2003) takes it one stage further. He states that respect is a step in the right direction, the final step toward minorities becoming a legitimized part of

society is for them to gain power within the media. “The issue of how different groups are portrayed in different roles within the media may tell us something about how they are seen by the majority, but full respect can never be earned until those groups are pulling the strings and making the programming decisions themselves” (Giles, 2003. p. 176).

### Societal Views of Race

The modern racist attitude toward minorities in the United States is what Ehrlich (2009) calls a “culture of denial.” This attitude is propagated by social groups of family and friends and the mass media and government. Ehrlich points to national polls showing that almost half of White Americans believe Blacks have as many opportunities as Whites and are as well off. In contrast, less than 20% of Blacks believe they have the same opportunities. The “culture of denial” also includes the belief that minorities are outside the socially acceptable norm of White Christian America. As part of this culture, most people are unaware that they are prejudiced. For example, most people would probably no longer say, “Blacks are ignorant,” but if a manager were to look at a job applicant and say, “I’m not racist, but this person won’t work in our company.” Social class and the power structure within social groups dictate the norms in American society. Wealth can dictate an individual’s opportunities, and because of the gap in wealth between Whites and minorities, Whites often dominate the powerful upper classes.

Furthermore, those with more power and higher up on the social ladder have more influence. If a low-level employee is prejudiced against one group of people, that

employee's beliefs will likely have little effect on more than a few people within the company. But, if the president of the company is prejudiced against a group of people, the president's views will likely affect more people within the company, because of his or her power and influence. This is even more evident in the legal and legislative system. The people with power make the decisions and those decisions can affect groups against which they may be biased. White Americans often support the social class structure and resist changing the system. Essentially, the acceptance of the social class structure is the acceptance of the discrimination against minorities (Ehrlich, 2009; Anderson, 2010). Ehrlich argues that discriminating based on class and discriminating based on ethnicity "has the same underlying dynamic" (2009, p. 11).

The media are often blamed for the perpetuation of negative stereotypes of non-Whites and unfair and sparse coverage of minorities. This has a lot to do with who holds the power in newsrooms. As in society, White males tend to be in control of newsrooms. And though White males are quickly losing some of their dominance in society, they still maintain social and political power. Because of journalistic norms and practices, even minorities in newsrooms start to categorize stories about non-Whites as stories outside the norm. Often, minorities in the news business feel they have to act and think "white" in order to fit in. Though journalists may believe that the news happens, and they cover it, in reality, journalists dictate the news, because news is "socially constructed." Those same journalists and editors act as gatekeepers for newspapers, online news and television news broadcasts. Therefore, the news is shaped by the gatekeepers' identity. That identity has been found to shape how they report the news, and as such, they can

shape the public's understanding of certain issues and society as a whole (Cropp, Frisby, & Mills, 2003; Nimmo & Combs, 1985; O'Connell & Mills, 2003).

The stories journalists lend credence to reinforce social norms and the beliefs of the social ingroups. When coverage is given to one event and not the other, it reveals what should and should not be important to society. Ehrlich (2009) gives the example of a young Native American who was beaten to death by four White teenagers in South Dakota in 1999. The incident received minimal news coverage, and the incident was not labeled a hate crime. However, after a young White man was assaulted and injured by three Native American teenagers a few weeks later, the media labeled it a hate crime. The incident also garnered national publicity. The young White man was deemed a worthy victim by the media, whereas the young Native American who was killed was not given the same respect or attention. The difference in the coverage is often not noticed by White Americans. In fact, 76% of Whites believe that the media's coverage of minorities is fair and equal to that of Whites. However, only 30% of Blacks believe the same (Ehrlich, 2009).

### Representation of Minorities on Campus

Modern racism can be exacerbated by the source of the media coverage. According to Melican and Dixon (2008), the Internet could spread modern racism more quickly than traditional media. They evaluated modern racism on the Internet in two ways. First, they conducted an online survey to evaluate the link between news media credibility and scores on a modern racism scale. Second, they conducted a survey of Los Angeles County adult residents to see whether Internet news was linked to a fear of

crime committed by minorities. There was a direct correlation between Internet credibility and modern racism. The more credible readers found the Internet to be, the higher they scored on the modern racism scale. The theoretical implication of the findings is that the Internet is considered to be a safe haven for racist beliefs (2008). Even research on university websites has found misrepresentations of race. Because universities are trying to portray diversity when enticing students to apply, their websites have been found to overrepresent the diversity of the campus. Content analyses of university websites showed that African Americans were represented almost twice as much as their actual enrollment figures, whereas other minority groups such as Hispanics and Asians were underrepresented on the websites as compared to the actual campus numbers (Massie, 2007). Universities want to be presented as diverse, because many researchers are now suggesting that the more diverse the school or college, the better the education the students receive. This seems to be especially true of White students who stand to benefit the most from being exposed to different races and cultures. Moving in the same social circles as people of different races and discussing racial issues “contributes to the student’s academic development, satisfaction with college, level of cultural awareness, and commitment to promoting racial understanding” (Chang). Campus diversity also tends to lead to a commitment to multiculturalism, more courses offered on race and gender issues, and more student involvement in cultural activities. However, most of the research tends to speak to the positive effects the diversity has on White students and does not reference the positive effects for minorities beyond being presented with more opportunities for attending college (Chang). However, these results may be challenged by the higher



unemployment rate of Black college graduates than White college graduates. It seems that a college education has not evened the playing field for many Black men. “The unemployment rate for Black male college graduates 25 and older in 2009 has been nearly twice that of White male college graduates — 8.4 percent compared with 4.4 percent” (Luo, 2009).

### Institutional Racism

Educational systems could represent an example of institutional racism, which sociologists believe enters society through its institutions and habits. This means that such racism is more than individual prejudice; it is something that permeates society through a historical set of expectations, such as set by families, religion and educational organizations. This means these histories become habitual patterns. For examples, because institutional racism comes through organizations, college students can make it through graduation without ever having their assumptions about race challenged despite being presented with new ideas simply because it has become habitual in those organizations. The media, more specifically, the White-run media, represent indirect institutional racism in that the media do not intentionally try to harm the minority groups they stereotype. Indirect institutional racism is generally propelled by well-meaning White people, who are engaged in what Barbara Trepagnier calls “silent racism.” Silent racism is the rethinking of how discrimination is categorized. Racism can no longer fit into “not racist” and “racist.” It is more accurately described on the spectrum between “more racist” and “less racist.” The oppositional categories of “not” and “racist” prevent people from “seeing a form of racism built into the fabric of society, a form of racism that

maintains racial inequality” (Trepagnier, 2006). The spectrum of racism forces people into looking at the effects of their actions rather than whether they intended to be racist. Educational institutions often perpetuate racism, because the importance of learning about racism goes unnoticed by Whites because it does not affect them the way it does minorities. Schools have allowed for a continuation of a racist culture by creating an identity that is exclusionary. Trepagnier states:

All too often attempts to expand the curricula in U.S. schools have been limited to a fascination with differing cultural identities and a celebration of tolerance, a term that itself implies that minority groups deviate from the white norm and must be put up with as an act of charity. (2006, p. 29)

### Social Identity

Richardson (2005) used social identity theory to understand how certain social groups would understand their own representation in the media and understand the representation of other social groups. This theory not only helps interpret why members of minority groups might perceive their treatment differently than those outside of their social group, it also helps explain why Whites may consciously or unconsciously treat minority groups unequally. Social identity theory breaks people into two groups: ingroups and outgroups. Anyone within a social group is considered to be in the ingroup, while everyone else is in the outgroup. People in an ingroup discriminate against people in an outgroup, regardless of the group’s ethnicity. Research also supports that if people re-categorize into a super-ordinate group (their university) instead of just their individual social groups, they are more likely to adopt “organizational cohesion” (Richardson, 2005.) Ingroups can control their portrayal by using strategic language to enhance their group’s identity and to taint the outgroup’s identity. Ingroups

communicate about the members of the ingroup in abstract language. If a positive attribute is assigned to an ingroup member, the vague language implies that it is because the member is a part of the ingroup and that the positive behavior mirrors the behaviors of the ingroup as a whole. This use of language:

indicates that the behavior in question is not due to some situational fluctuations or factors outside of the person's control, but rather to his or her enduring positive qualities. This puts the ingroup members in a positive light in communication contexts. Similarly, negative outgroup behaviors are described with abstract language, thereby implying that such negative behaviors are due to some inherent and enduring qualities of these persons. (Kashima, Fiedler, & Freytag, 2008, pg. 18-19)

Some stereotypes appear positive, such as the portrayal of Asians as the model minority and the portrayal of Blacks as excellent athletes. Yet, stereotypes are harmful to the people who are their targets, partly because the stereotyping demands conformity into the ingroup. Even those in the ingroup: Whites in the case of racial stereotyping, are hurt by the perpetuation of prejudice. Benign bigotry, as Anderson (2010) writes, is never without a harmful result. Anderson notes, "Stereotyping nearly always involves the loss of ability to empathize. Racism is bad for Whites because they misperceive themselves as superior, thereby engaging in elaborate self-deception" (pg.19). And this deceit only propels further association with Whites as part of the ingroup and minorities as part of the outgroup.

The difference between the subtle biased communication used to describe members of the ingroup and members of the outgroup is called "the linguistic intergroup bias." Examples of the abstract description of positive ingroup behavior and of negative outgroup behavior are: "The in-group member is intelligent," and "The out-group member is stupid." When an in-group member exhibits negative behavior, it is described

in more definitive terms, such as, “The in-group member gave the wrong answer to the question.” And, when an out-group member exhibits positive behavior, it is described as, “The out-group member gave the right answer to the question” (Kashima, Fiedler, & Freytag, 2008). These examples show that when an in- or out-group member displays behavior outside the accepted norm, they are described in such an exact way as to show that it was a one-time occurrence or happened because of outside factors. Every time a communication or thought is transmitted, the communicator’s attitudes and beliefs are a part of the message. Also, the goals and objectives of the group can affect a message’s meaning. This form of communication is powerful, because the dominant groups can control how the outgroups are viewed. For example, when an African American man is convicted of murder, he is described in abstract terms that imply that he is representative of all African American men. However, if a White man is convicted of murder, his actions may be communicated in an exact way that attributes his action to bad circumstances. Linguistic intergroup bias can lead to dominant stereotypes such as “African American men are criminals” (Kashima, Fiedler, & Freytag, 2008; Anderson, 2010).

### Newspaper Stereotypes

Like educational institutions, newspapers have histories that are engrained in how they function. These histories are passed on from one group of editors to the next. Changes can be slow. Owens studied how network news stations selected sources and focused on more than how many African Americans were used as sources. American Indians, Hispanics and Asians were included. Journalists often follow the same daily

routine for getting news stories, and therefore interview the same types of sources. Because of the intense deadline structure and how close journalists are to their product, it is often difficult for them to take a look at how they as the media are covering racial diversity. "The news production process--which is ultimately affected by factors including individual socialization, newsroom values, and the intensity of deadline pressure--does not allow for careful examination of how the news coverage could affect public perception" (Owens, 2008, p. 356). Ultimately, Owens found that White sources dominated all stories and story topics. Minority sources were peppered throughout the stories sparingly. The minority groups were often stereotypically used as sources in certain types of stories. For example, Black sources were most prominently used in stories about crime and portrayed the role of criminal. Asian Americans were most prominently used as sources for health/medicine stories. People of Middle Eastern descent were used in stories about war and terrorism (2008).

Education is not only needed on college campuses but in newsrooms to reduce stereotypical coverage of minorities. The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications has made strides to ensure more diverse faculty in journalism education programs as part of the organization's requirements for accreditation. Its requirements also include more coursework on diversity. Though the number of minority and female journalism faculty has increased since 2001 on college campuses, the increase has been at a slower rate than the national growth in the minority population. While numbers of minority students also have increased in journalism programs, the numbers still fall behind the percentages of minority students on the college campuses as a whole (Jones Ross et al., 2007). Most researchers agree

that racial diversity is important in the newsroom, because American society is comprised of more than middle class White people. News professionals look to journalism programs and college newspapers to train future journalists. And though many college newsrooms are more racially diverse than professional newsrooms, they still lag behind the diversity of the college campus. For example, research on Southeast Journalism Conference non-daily college newspapers shows that more than 80% of the newspapers' staff was White. At the campus level, only 65% of the population was White. Though the numbers show the newspaper staff is less diverse than the total student population, the college newspapers were still more diverse than professional populations, which were nearly 88% White. The research also showed that only 10% of the schools examined in the study had written guidelines for diversity coverage (Wickham, 2004). Hardin and Sims conducted a similar study that determined the racial and gender diversity of 110 college dailies. The newsrooms were compiled from every United States region and included private and public universities. The researchers found that 82% of the college newspaper editors were White, which was 12% more than the number of White students on the college campuses. Blacks, Hispanics and Asians were underrepresented on the newspaper staff compared to the larger campus populations (Hardin, & Sims, 2008).

After requiring diversity coursework in journalism programs in 1992, AEJMC started softening the requirements in 1996. The courses most heavily focused on minority issues and diversity coverage are less likely to be required college coursework in journalism programs. However, some professors have been working diligently to increase the education on minority coverage in the media. And, studies show that the

universities with more diverse journalism courses are able to recruit more diverse faculty (Cropp, Frisby & Mills, 2003). Cropp, Frisby and Mills (2003) suggest newspaper editors and reporters who wish to increase and improve minority coverage should take college courses focused on minority history and issues. The best courses are the ones that require research. In addition to learning minority history, journalists should spend more time in the communities they cover so that people from diverse backgrounds don't seem as much like outsiders.

## THEORETICAL BASIS

The theoretical basis for this study is critical theory, which challenges the status quo of media coverage. Critical media theories suggest that media practitioners are limited within their own organizations to challenge the status quo or expand coverage of social movements (Baran & Davis, 2009). This reinforces the belief among some modern racism researchers that minorities must gain power within the media to gain respect (Giles, 2003). Without that power, it would be difficult to change the media's coverage of minority issues and stereotypes. Though news media seldom challenge the status quo on a daily basis, social movements are difficult for the media to ignore. For example, in 1989 students at Howard University, an historically Black university protested the appointment of Lee Atwater to the board of trustees, because they perceived him to be racist. At the time, Atwater was the Republican National Committee chairman and was known for making statements suggesting that Black Americans had a blind allegiance to the Democratic Party. The students' protest gained national coverage in the *Washington Post* and in its own student-run newspaper, *The Hilltop*. The managing editor of the campus newspaper and one of the protesters said it was easy to manipulate the protesters' actions to garner more media coverage. This brings up a dichotomy within the media: the media cover some protesters and social movements as heroes while they cover others as nuisances (D'Souza, 1991; Baran & Davis, 2009). "Media professionals are caught in the middle of the confrontation. Movement leaders ... stage demonstrations designed to draw public attention to their concerns. Elites want to minimize coverage..." (Baran, & Davis, 2009, pp. 203-204).



Though the influence the college media have on individuals on campus is important, this research aims to look at the effect the media have on the social groups and the school's society as a whole. In many ways, this is a macroscopic cultural study, which is attempting to understand how the media affect the colleges' social order. Critical theory, in this sense, is interested in social groups as more than a compilation of individuals, but a mass unto itself. The media as a whole and society as a whole operate with some independence from their individual members (Gonzalez, Moskowitz, & Castro-Gomez, 2001; Baran, & Davis, 2009). An offshoot of critical theory is critical legal studies, which then led to critical race theory. Critical race theory takes challenging the status quo one step further by challenging the social constructs and terms used to define race and racism. Critical race theorists also challenge the institutions that promote the continuation of racial definitions and racism, including educational systems (Rose, 2006; Rossing, 2008). Though this research seeks to understand how the media cover social groups on university campuses, it also seeks to understand the underlying racism of the status quo on each campus. Critical race theory not only disputes the stereotypical terminology used to define people of different races, it also challenges laws and other institutional barriers that propel those constructs. The theory notes that though segregation and other formidable legal barriers no longer contribute to racism, the surface issues of society contribute to the continuance of discrimination. Because the roots of racism burrow into the depths of legal, education and media histories, critical race theory suggests the tearing down of current institutions to rebuild a nondiscriminatory society (Rose, 2006; Rossing, 2008). Rossing argues that critical rhetoric must also be taken into consideration when expanding upon critical race theory.

Critical rhetoric looks at the use of language and symbols dealing with race to bolster critical race theory and move it past its legal roots. “A close engagement with rhetorical theory moves Critical Race Theory beyond its legal boundaries and bolsters its challenges to the language, symbols, attitudes, myths, and identities that maintain racial oppression” (2008, p. 5). Though the foundation of critical race theory challenges the current legal system and even the U.S. Constitution, the theory has evolved to suggest a more manageable social change without destroying and rebuilding the current institutions. For example, the theory suggests changing the way people define race to move away from the myths of Blacks and minorities as outsiders (Rose, 2006; Rossing, 2008).

This study uses critical race theory to understand and challenge the use of stereotypical frames used to define people of different races by the reporters at the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily*. The students who report the news and edit the news on the college campus are learning the stereotypical frames of race that they will carry with them into their professional careers in the news media. This study seeks to understand how the student reporters use rhetoric to organize individuals into social groups on campus. This is done by organizing people into ethnic groups. The study also uses critical theory to challenge the status quo of the newspaper coverage on the TCU and UNT campuses. The theory challenges the practice of doing things as they’ve always been done, and this study seeks to understand what the status quo of minority coverage is on the two college campuses. If a change is made at the college newspaper level, when young reporters enter the professional news media, they may refuse to define minorities as outsiders.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Because of the difference in diversity at Texas Christian University and The University of North Texas, the *TCU Daily Skiff* will likely portray its student population as less diverse than the *NT Daily*. However, based on Massie's research (2007), both universities are expected to over-represent diversity at the school by intentionally finding more diverse sources, because universities want to be perceived as ethnically diverse to prospective students. The newspapers are likely to mirror the same effort to portray the coverage as ethnically and socially diverse. If the university wants to be perceived as diverse, it is likely that the newspapers will follow suit.

Based on these research questions and previous research, it is predicted that the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily* will explicitly cover race differently. Based on Massie's research (2007) regarding the overrepresentation of Whites and Blacks on college campuses, it is logical to assume:

RQ1: How do the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily* differ in terms of minority coverage?

H1: Both papers will overrepresent Whites and Blacks while underrepresenting Asians and Hispanics.

Because of social identity theory, the coverage in the papers will likely mirror the racial makeup of the editorial and reporting staff. Though the ethnicity of the *NT Daily* and *TCU Daily Skiff* staffs are unknown, it is assumed they mirror college newspaper staffs across the country. Journalism students are still more than 70% White. The percentage of non-White students in journalism programs still falls behind as much as

8% when compared to the non-White general population of college campuses (Jones Ross et al., 2007).

RQ2: How will the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily* differ in how they identify the ethnicity of their sources?

H2: The *NT Daily* will explicitly mention race more than the *TCU Daily Skiff* because of its perceived high level of diversity.

Because media often portray Blacks and Hispanics as less affluent than Whites, it is likely that the same trend will follow at the school newspapers (Thomas & Treiber, 2000; Busselle & Crandall, 2002).

H3: Non-Whites will be portrayed as less affluent than Whites in both newspapers.

H4: TCU will likely portray the trend to a more significant level because of the expense of attending the school.

Full-time tuition at Texas Christian University for the fall 2010 and spring 2011 school year is \$30,090. The full-time tuition at the University of North Texas during the same time period is \$7,616.

RQ3: How will minority sources fit into stereotypical frames of race?

It is expected that the college newspapers will portray minority sources using stereotypical frames such as the national media do. Asians will likely be portrayed as the “model minority.” Hispanics and people of Middle Eastern descent will likely be portrayed as foreigners and immigrants. If Blacks are given a “positive” stereotype, it is likely to be that of athlete. But Blacks will not likely be given many authoritative roles.

H5: Explicitly identified non-Whites will reinforce negative stereotypes of their race.

The qualitative content will look at the articles in which race was explicitly identified to determine what types of subtle stereotypes, if any, were used in the portrayal of the non-White sources.

RQ4: How will the portrayal of explicitly identified minorities differ from the portrayal of minority sources who were not identified by their race?

## METHOD

A coding sheet was developed for a quantitative content analysis comparing a private university's and a public university's student-run newspapers and the coverage of race. Though articles were considered for the sake of coding, the sources were the unit of analysis. The Texas Christian University daily newspaper and the University of North Texas daily newspaper were compared from September 2008 to September 2010. The researcher chose to start the coding period in September 2008 because it was near the election of U.S. President Barack Obama. National media coverage emphasized Obama's mixed racial background. This national attention to race and ethnicity may have trickled down to the two schools' newspapers.

Dates were randomly selected to create 20 constructed weeks during the two year sample of the papers. The *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily* both print four days a week, but only share three printing days. Because of the papers' publication days, the researcher constructed weeks of Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. Therefore, articles from 20 Tuesdays, 20 Wednesdays, and 20 Thursdays were coded. Dates were randomly selected to reflect the constructed week. Randomly selected dates that fell during the summer or school holidays were thrown out. Two student-produced, front-page articles from each of those days were selected from each newspaper. The stories were selected based on importance on the front page and number of sources quoted in the story. Each article was read twice. The first read identified the theme of the article and the sources. The second read took a closer look at the meaning of the coverage and determined how the sources were portrayed.

Two sources were coded from each article. The selected sources were the first two people quoted in the article. Sources that did not provide direct quotes were not coded. Stories that did not contain two directly quoted sources were not used, and stories that had two sources but no direct quotes were not coded. Direct quotes were used to determine whether the sources were quoted using improper grammar or an accent. Without direct quotes, this question would not be answered. In many cases, this threw out the crime stories in which races were explicitly pointed out, because the subject was not quoted or there was only one quoted source. Sources' quotes and paraphrased statements were read to determine how the source was portrayed. However, the paraphrased statements and the description of the sources were used to better assess and code how the paper was portraying the source. Races were split into six categories: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Middle Eastern and unknown. In some cases, it was unclear whether the source could be an international student. All sources were coded by their ethnic origins. There were two ways the articles could have identified the race: explicitly or implied through organization or the source's name. A source's race may not be explicitly identified but implied through his or her association with an ethnic group or organization. Race could also be identified if the source had a Hispanic name and was noted for being involved in a Mexican-American group on campus. In both papers, many major sources were repeatedly used. These sources were often well-known figures on campus. Most readers would already know the ethnicity of those sources. For example, most students at TCU would recognize the chancellor as being White. Even if his race was not identified in the story, his race was known. Therefore, he was coded as White. The coder also used photos to identify race.

The coding sheet posed questions based on the types of frames used by the media to portray people of a certain race. The coder was asked to identify whether quotes portrayed an accent or incorrect grammar, if the quotes portrayed loudness or rudeness, if the sources were identified with technology, math or science, and if the source was identified with a fraternity or sorority, and whether it was an affluent or less affluent organization. Fraternities or sororities that are a part of Greek life on campus and require yearly or semester dues were coded as affluent. The less affluent fraternity and sororities included small honor fraternities or societies related to an educational major or minor that only require one-time dues or require low-cost dues. For example, the Panhellenic fraternity Sigma Phi Epsilon would be coded affluent. The Beta Alpha Psi accounting honor fraternity would be coded less affluent.

Then, the source's conspicuousness was identified. Sources either held a major, minor or background role. Sources with a major role would dominate the story. Minor sources provided one or two direct quotes. Background sources were rare but were often found in articles using only two sources. In those cases, the background source would only have one direct quote and may be paraphrased as well. The source was identified as a student, faculty member, campus employee, criminal, immigrant, athlete, and/or listed as other. Sources were rated from low to high on a 7-point scale. The scale rated whether the sources were portrayed as independent thinking, educated, violent, authoritative, passive, aggressive, lazy or sophisticated. If a source, for example, talked about rarely attending class, the source would be placed on the high end of the scale for laziness. If a source was quoted as saying he or she would vote for the most popular candidate for a student government association office, the source would put on the low



end of the scale for independent thinking. Each of the scales was based on frames noted in previous research studies. For example, previous literature suggested that Blacks would be portrayed as violent, lazy or passive (Kahle et al., 2007). Other common stereotypes portrayed people of Asian descent as the “model citizen” and were commonly considered well-educated but less aggressive in society. Hispanics were often less-educated and didn’t display as much sophistication as their White counterparts.

Since the primary focus of this research is to determine how both papers portray ethnicity, specifically minorities, the researcher also conducted a qualitative content analysis on all articles in which the reporter directly identified the race of the source. The researcher further examined the quotes and the source’s role and identity to understand why the race was explicitly identified. For example, in one story an art student was directly identified by his race. He was defined as an immigrant from a Muslim country. However, he was also described as a Christian. This description was analyzed to determine how the source was treated and whether it was important to identify these details to profile the artist. The qualitative content analysis seeks to better explain what the role of minorities is on both college campuses. The qualitative content analysis seeks to answer RQ4.

## RESULTS

A total of 448 sources were coded between the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily*. Of these sources, 360 were valid because their races were known. The valid sources were 76.4% White. The rest of the sources whose races were known were 6.9% Black, 9.4% Hispanic, 1.9% Asian, and 5.3% Middle Eastern. Of the sources, 22 were explicitly identified by their race.

In general, there weren't many major differences in the types of roles the sources occupied in both newspapers. For example, there was a nearly identical distribution in both papers among all sources who held major, minor and background roles in the articles. Though these findings weren't statistically significant, it does point out that both newspapers use similar structures when formatting news stories. Both papers employ the use of a major source, a minor source and occasionally supplementary background sources.

Also, it is important to compare the types of roles sources had in both newspapers to see the big picture of the type of coverage in both newspapers. Though not statistically significant, both papers quoted student sources at about the same rate. Of TCU's sources, 41.7% were students, and 36.8% of UNT's sources were students,  $\chi^2(1, N = 448) = 1.1, p = .33$ . The same was true for the percentage of sources that was identified as faculty. At TCU, 36.8% of sources were faculty, and at UNT 39.1% were faculty,  $\chi^2(1, N = 448) = .24, p = .63$ . The other roles were nearly equally used at both UNT and TCU, with the exception of sources identified as an athlete. UNT identified a significantly higher percentage of its sources as athletes. Only 2.6% of TCU's sources were athletes compared to 8.6% of UNT's sources,  $\chi^2(1, N = 448) = 7.66, p = .007$ . This

may be due to more minority coverage on UNT's campus and the association between non-Whites and athletics. This correlation is discussed further in response to RQ3.

RQ1: How do the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily* differ in terms of minority coverage?

About 30% of the sources in the *NT Daily* were identified as non-White, whereas only 17% of the sources in the *TCU Daily Skiff* were identified as a minority,  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 8.41, p = .004$ . Table 1 shows the ethnic breakdown of the sources in the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily*.

Table 1

*Ethnic Breakdown of the TCU Daily Skiff and the NT Daily*

	TCU	UNT	All sources
White	82.7%	69.7%	76.4%
Black	4.9%	9.1%	6.9%
Hispanic/Latino	5.9%	13.1%	9.4%
Asian	1.1%	2.9%	1.4%
Middle Eastern descent	5.4%	5.1%	5.3%

Note.  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 10.76, p = .03$

When compared to the ethnicity of the students on the TCU campus, the *TCU Daily Skiff* covered a higher percentage of White sources than there are White students on campus. The Black sources almost mirrored the percentage of Black students on campus. The newspaper fell behind when covering Hispanics and Asians. The number of Middle Eastern students on campus is unknown. Table 2 shows the comparison.

Table 2

*Ethnic Breakdown of the TCU Daily Skiff Sources vs. TCU Campus Ethnicity*

	<i>Daily Skiff sources</i>	<i>Campus ethnicity</i>
White	82.7%	72.1%
Black	4.9%	5.2%
Hispanic/Latino	5.9%	8.9%
Asian	1.1%	3.0%
Middle Eastern descent	5.4%	N/A*

*Note.* Campus ethnicity based on the 2009 TCU Fact Book. \*The TCU Fact Book did not offer data.

When compared to the ethnicity of the students on the UNT campus, the *NT Daily* covered a slightly higher percentage of White sources than there are White students on campus. The coverage of Hispanic students was on par with the percentage of Hispanic students on campus. The coverage of Black and Asian students lagged behind the percentage of Black and Asian students on campus. Table 3 shows the comparison.

Table 3

*Ethnic Breakdown of the NT Daily Sources vs. UNT Campus Ethnicity*

	<i>NT Daily sources</i>	<i>Campus ethnicity</i>
White	69.7%	62.2%
Black	9.1%	13.2%
Hispanic/Latino	13.1%	12.8%
Asian	2.9%	5.5%
Middle Eastern descent	5.1%	N/A*

*Note.* Campus ethnicity based on the 2009 UNT Fact Book. \*The UNT Fact Book did not offer data.

H1: Both papers will overrepresent Whites and Blacks while underrepresenting Asians and Hispanics.

Table 2 compares the ethnicity of the TCU Daily Skiff sources and the ethnicity of the campus. All races were underrepresented in the paper with the exception of Whites. Though at TCU, H1 is valid in reference to the overrepresentation of Whites. It does not prove true with Blacks, who were almost equally covered in the Skiff as compared to their numbers on campus. Table 3 shows the campus ethnic breakdown of UNT and the ethnic breakdown of the sources in the *NT Daily*. Like TCU, the UNT paper overrepresents Whites. The *Daily* slightly underrepresents Blacks and Asians. The Hispanic numbers were almost equivalent. In the *NT Daily*, 13.1% of the sources were Hispanic, and 12.8% of students on campus are Hispanic.

H1 had partial support. It does appear both schools covered a slightly higher percentage of Whites in the student-run newspapers than are actually on campus, but because the difference was hand calculated, it is unclear whether this trend is significant. It does, however, reveal levels of modern racism on both campuses, because minorities still do not garner a high percentage of coverage in the *NT Daily* and the *TCU Daily Skiff*. Sources at both papers were predominantly White.

RQ2: How will the TCU Daily Skiff and the NT Daily differ in how they identify the ethnicity of their sources?

The *TCU Daily Skiff* explicitly mentioned the race of 12 of its sources, and the *NT Daily* explicitly mentioned the race of 10 of its sources. There was no significant difference between the two,  $\chi^2(1, N = 448) = .12, p = .83$ .

There was no significant difference between the newspapers when suggesting or implying race,  $\chi^2(1, N = 448) = .31, p = .60$ . As a whole, both newspapers implied the race of the minority sources more than the White sources. The papers implied the race of 98.8% of the minority sources and 84.7% of the White sources. This was significant,  $\chi^2(1, N = 360) = 12.27, p < .001$ .

TCU alone did not imply the race of its minority sources significantly more than it did its White sources,  $\chi^2(1, N = 185) = 2.6, p = .13$ . However, UNT did imply the race of its minority sources significantly more than it did its White sources. All of its minority sources were identified by their race through their association with an organization, whereas 82% of the White sources were identified similarly,  $\chi^2(1, N = 175) = 10.93, p < .001$ . The *NT Daily* may be more likely to imply the race of its minority sources because it does not explicitly identify the race of its minority sources as much as the *TCU Daily Skiff*.

H2: The *NT Daily* will explicitly mention race more than the *TCU Daily Skiff* because of its perceived high level of diversity.

The *NT Daily* did not explicitly mention race more than the *TCU Daily Skiff*. In fact, there was no significant difference between both papers and their overall explicit mention of race among all sources. TCU explicitly identified race 5.3% of the time, whereas UNT mentioned it 4.5%,  $\chi^2(1, N = 448) = .12, p = .83$ . Therefore, H2 was not supported. However, both newspapers displayed a meaningful difference when explicitly identifying the race of a minority versus explicitly identifying the race a White. The *NT Daily* explicitly identified 9 minorities by their race compared to the *TCU Daily*

*Skiff* which identified 10 minorities by their race. Though only one source different, the percentage of minorities the papers explicitly identified was quite different. UNT explicitly stated the race of 17% of its minority sources, shown in Table 4. TCU, however, explicitly stated the race of 31% of its minority sources, shown in Table 5.

Table 4

*Percentage of Sources whose Race was Explicitly Mentioned in the NT Daily*

	White	Minority	All sources
Doesn't explicitly state race	99.2%	83%	94.3%
Explicitly states race	.8%	17%	5.7%

Note.  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 17.91, p < .001$

Table 5

*Percentage of Sources whose Race was Explicitly Mentioned in TCU Daily Skiff*

	White	Minority	All sources
Doesn't explicitly state race	98.7%	68.8%	93.5%
Explicitly states race	1.3%	31.3%	6.5%

Note.  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = 39.12, p < .001$

H3: Non-Whites will be portrayed as less affluent than Whites in both newspapers.

This hypothesis was answered by the question on the coding sheet asking whether the source was associated with a fraternal organization or sorority and whether that organization was affluent or less affluent. At UNT, no valid sources were associated with an affluent fraternity or sorority. And though valid sources were associated with an affluent fraternity or sorority at TCU, the data was not significant enough to prove H3

correct. Neither TCU nor UNT showed much difference between minority and White sources and their associations with fraternities and sororities, whether affluent or less so. Though still not significant, when comparing all races regardless of school, 3.6% of Whites were associated with an affluent fraternity or sorority compared to 1.2% of minorities. And, 17.6% of minorities were associated with a less affluent fraternity or sorority compared to 9.8% of Whites. Table 6 shows the comparison of the *NT Daily* and the *TCU Daily Skiff*. Though minorities were portrayed as slightly less affluent than Whites, the results were not significant enough to support H3.

Table 6

*Percentage of Sources that were Associated with a Sorority or Fraternity in the TCU Daily Skiff and the NT Daily*

	White	Minority	All sources
Not associated with a fraternity or sorority	86.5%	81.2%	85.3%
Associated with a less affluent fraternity or sorority	9.8%	17.6%	11.7%
Associated with an affluent fraternity or sorority	3.6%	1.2%	3.1%

Note.  $\chi^2(2, n = 360) = 4.92, p = .09$

H4: The *TCU Daily Skiff* will likely portray non-Whites as less affluent than Whites to a more significant level than in the *NT Daily* because of the expense of attending TCU.

Though the differences between the races were not significant, the difference between all sources from each school was significant. In general, the sources from TCU were more likely to be involved in a fraternity or sorority regardless of affluence. While



no coded sources from UNT were identified as being a part of an affluent organization, 4.8% of the sources from TCU were identified as being a part of an affluent organization. TCU also identified 12.3% of its sources as part of a less affluent organization, significantly more than UNT, which put 6.8% of its sources in less affluent organizations,  $\chi^2(2, N = 448) = 15.44, p < .001$ . The results were not significant enough to support H4. However, this finding does not reveal anything about the differences among the portrayals of race on either campus, it does show the social structure of TCU, in which students are classified to some extent by their social involvement on campus. This imitates the social class structure supported by many White Americans. By accepting these social classes, the discrimination of minorities who are assumed to be in the lower social classes continues (Ehrlich, 2009).

RQ3: How will minority sources fit into stereotypical frames of race?

Each paper treated its minority sources slightly differently, but to better understand how the *NT Daily* and the *TCU Daily Skiff* are different, the researcher compiled how both papers dealt with race as a whole. In this study, minorities were slightly more likely to be quoted using poor grammar than Whites, but these results were not significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 1.95, p = .16$ . And out of 360 valid sources, only two sources were rude in their quotes. Both were White. These results were also not significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = .62, p = .43$ . Minorities and Whites were almost equally likely to be associated with technology, math or science: 26.9% of Whites were, and 25.9% of minorities were. This was also not significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = .04, p = .85$ . Minorities were significantly more likely to be portrayed as family-oriented. Only 6.5% of Whites

were shown as family-oriented, whereas 21.2% of minorities were,  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 15.44, p < .001$ . Also significant were minorities' roles. They were more likely to be portrayed as students, and less likely to be portrayed as faculty or an employee. They were also more likely to be portrayed as an immigrant. The roles of minorities and Whites in both papers are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

*White and Minority Roles in the Study*

	White	Minority	All sources
Student	30.5%	67.1%	39.2%
Faculty	50.2%	17.6%	42.5%
Employee	9.8%	2.4%	8.1%
Immigrant	.4%	9.4%	2.5%
Athlete	4.7%	14.1%	6.9%

*Note.*  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 36.33, p < .001$  for student role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 28.125, p < .001$  for faculty role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 4.89, p = .03$  for employee role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 28.81, p < .001$  for immigrant role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 360) = 8.86, p = .003$  for athlete role.

The differences between the representations of these roles are important to understand how both papers view race as a whole and then to see how both papers are different. Minorities viewed as immigrants reinforces the fact that minorities are viewed as not a part of society as a whole. They are members of the outgroup. The role of athlete is also an interesting stereotype. Minorities are getting respect in sports, but sports only. Most important is the difference between minorities represented as faculty. This significant difference might explain why minorities were portrayed as less authoritative in the scale question on the coding sheet. Minorities are predominantly portrayed as students and are not portrayed as being a part of the power structure on campus. Half of all White sources were identified as faculty. This is a more authoritative

member of society on college campuses. Nearly 70% of minority sources were cast as students. In the campus hierarchy, students do not have the same authority and respect as faculty. If compared to a business, students would be employees and the faculty would be in management. This implies that minorities are not as respected, because they do not hold the more powerful roles on campus, or at least aren't portrayed as holding those roles.

When the minorities are broken down into their races, the stereotypes are more telling. For example, 44% of all Black sources were classified as athletes. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 59.75, p < .001$ . No Hispanics and no sources of Middle Eastern descent were classified as athletes. One Asian was classified as an athlete, which was 14.3% of all Asian sources. Only 4.7% of White sources occupied the athlete role. This fits into the stereotypes that Blacks are athletes and athletes are predominately Black. It also shows that to get coverage on campus, and therefore respect, Blacks must fit into the stereotypical role of athlete. The role of immigrant was primarily held by Hispanic sources and sources of Middle Eastern descent. Of the Hispanic sources, 14.7% were classified as immigrants, and 15.8% of sources of Middle Eastern descent were immigrants. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 40.52, p < .001$ . Again, these roles fall into stereotypes. All Hispanics must be immigrants. The same is true for people of Middle Eastern descent. These stereotypes reinforce minorities as outsiders in society, and more specifically, it shows that both college campuses still view Hispanics and Middle Easterners as foreigners. Table 8 shows the breakdown of roles among each ethnic group.

Table 8

*Ethnic Group Roles in the Study*

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Middle Eastern
Student	30.5%	68.0%	61.8%	71.4%	73.7%
Faculty	50.2%	16.0%	17.6%	28.6%	15.8%
Employee	9.8%	.0%	5.9%	.0%	.0%
Immigrant	.4%	.0%	14.7%	.0%	15.8%
Athlete	4.7%	44.0%	.0%	14.3%	.0%

Note.  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 37.15, p < .001$  for student role;  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 28.52, p < .001$  for faculty role;  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 5.84, p = .21$  for employee role;  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 40.52, p < .001$  for immigrant role;  $\chi^2(4, n = 360) = 59.75, p < .001$  for athlete role.

At the individual campus level, most of the results mirrored those of the combined papers. Both the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily* were slightly more likely to quote minorities as using poor grammar. TCU quoted 9.4% of its minority sources as using incorrect grammar, compared to 3.3% of its White sources,  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = 2.39, p = .12$ . UNT quoted 7.5% of its minority sources as using incorrect grammar, compared to 5.7% of its White sources,  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = .21, p = .65$ . Neither school had significant results, but the *TCU Daily Skiff* quoted a higher percentage of minorities as using incorrect grammar than the *NT Daily*. Like the combined results, both universities showed little difference between the percentage of minorities and Whites quoted who were associated with math, science and technology. At TCU, 21.9% of minority sources and 24.2% of White sources were associated with math and science. The results were not significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = .08, p = .78$ . At UNT, 28.3% of minority sources and 30.3% of White sources were associated with math and science. The results were not significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = .07, p = .79$ .

The *NT Daily* portrayed minorities as family-oriented at a more significant level than at TCU. At UNT, 22.6% of minority sources and 7.4% were associated with their family. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 8.12, p = .004$ . The *TCU Daily Skiff* portrayed 18.8% of its minority sources as associated with their family. Only 5.9% of the White sources were associated with their family. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = 5.88, p = .015$ . Both papers also mirrored the differences between minority and White sources and their roles on campus. Minorities, again, were more likely to be portrayed as students and less likely to be portrayed as faculty. However, at TCU there was not a significant difference between Whites and minorities when portrayed as athletes or employees. Table 9 shows the roles Whites and minorities occupy in the *TCU Daily Skiff*.

Table 9

*White and Minority Roles in the TCU Daily Skiff*

	White	Minority	All sources
Student	34.6%	68.8%	40.5%
Faculty	47.7%	9.4%	41.1%
Employee	11.8%	3.1%	10.3%
Immigrant	.7%	12.5%	2.7%
Athlete	3.3%	3.1%	3.2%

*Note.*  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = 12.77, p < .001$  for student role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = 16.07, p < .001$  for faculty role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = 2.14, p = .143$  for employee role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = 14.12, p < .001$  for immigrant role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 185) = .002, p = .97$  for athlete role.

Like at TCU, UNT also did not display a significant difference between the portrayal of Whites and minorities as employees. Only 1.9% of minorities and 7.4% of Whites were employees in the *NT Daily*. The results were not significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 2.07, p = .151$ . However, unlike at TCU, the *NT Daily* portrayed minorities as athletes

at a much higher rate than it portrayed Whites as athletes. Only 6.6% of White sources were classified as an athlete, and 20.8% of minority sources were athletes. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 7.70, p = .006$ . Table 10 shows the roles Whites and minorities occupy in the *NT Daily*.

Table 10

*White and Minority Roles in the NT Daily*

	White	Minority	All sources
Student	25.4%	66.0%	37.7%
Faculty	53.3%	22.6%	44.0%
Employee	7.4%	1.9%	5.7%
Immigrant	.0%	7.5%	2.3%
Athlete	6.6%	20.8%	10.9%

*Note.*  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 25.96, p < .001$  for student role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 14.08, p < .001$  for faculty role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 2.07, p = .151$  for employee role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 9.42, p = .002$  for immigrant role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 175) = 7.70, p = .006$  for athlete role.

A Likert-type scale was used to determine whether the source was independent thinking, educated, violent, authoritative, passive, aggressive, lazy or sophisticated. The lowest was 1. The highest was 7.

The scale of the combined sources from both papers revealed that Whites had a higher authoritative mean score than minority sources did ( $M = 5.63, SD = .78$  for Whites;  $M = 5.38, SD = .79$  for minorities). The difference is significant,  $t(358) = 2.65, p = .008$ . Minorities were revealed to have a higher aggressive mean score than Whites ( $M = 2.67, SD = 1.87$  for minorities;  $M = 2.27, SD = 1.69$  for Whites). Though not significant, it was close,  $t(358) = -1.79, p = .08$ . Table 11 shows the scaled portrayal of Whites and minorities in the *TCU Daily* and the *NT Daily*.

Table 11

*Portrayal of Whites and Minorities in Both Papers based on a Scale*

	Whites	Minorities	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Independent thinking	5.15(.68)	5.22(.68)	-.93	358	.36
Educatedness	5.55(.76)	5.55(.72)	-.04	358	.97
Violent	1.05(.39)	1.04(.33)	.26	358	.80
Authoritative	5.63(.78)	5.38(.79)	2.65	358	.008
Passivity	2.50(1.51)	2.27(1.49)	1.24	358	.22
Aggressive	2.27(1.69)	2.67(1.87)	-1.79	129.22	.08
Lazy	1.05(.43)	1.12(.63)	-.92	109.98	.36
Sophistication level	5.03(.99)	4.93(1.07)	.76	358	.47

Note. White *n* = 275; Minority *n* = 85.

There was no significant difference in the *NT Daily* between Whites and minorities on all of the scales. Though non-Whites were portrayed as slightly less authoritative than Whites ( $M = 5.52$ ,  $SD = .87$  for Whites;  $M = 5.34$ ,  $SD = .81$  for minorities), the results were not significant,  $t(173) = 1.26$ ,  $p = .21$ . Table 12 shows the scaled portrayal of Whites and non-Whites in the *NT Daily*.

Table 12

*Portrayal of Whites and Minorities in the NT Daily based on a Scale*

	Whites	Minorities	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Independent thinking	5.07(.71)	5.11(.70)	-.41	173	.68
Educatedness	5.38(.86)	5.43(.77)	-.42	173	.68
Violent	1.08(.52)	1.06(.41)	.31	173	.76
Authoritative	5.52(.87)	5.34(.81)	1.26	173	.21
Passivity	2.57(1.53)	2.25(1.54)	1.68	173	.09
Aggressive	2.32(1.71)	2.60(1.95)	-.92	88.21	.36
Lazy	1.05(.38)	1.19(.79)	-1.23	62.97	.22
Sophistication level	4.89(1.09)	4.81(1.15)	.45	173	.65

Note. White *n* = 122; Minority *n* = 53.

In the *TCU Daily Skiff*, White sources had a higher authoritative mean score than minority sources did ( $M = 5.73$ ,  $SD = .68$  for Whites;  $M = 5.44$ ,  $SD = .76$  for minorities). The difference is significant,  $t(183) = 2.13$ ,  $p = .03$ . Minority sources had a higher aggressive mean score than White sources did ( $M = 2.22$ ,  $SD = 1.67$  for Whites;  $M = 2.78$ ,  $SD = 1.74$  for minorities). The difference, though close, is not significant,  $t(183) = -1.71$ ,  $p = .09$ . Table 13 shows the scaled portrayal of Whites and non-Whites in the *TCU Daily Skiff*.

Table 13

*Portrayal of Whites and Minorities in the TCU Daily Skiff based on a Scale*

	Whites	Minorities	t	df	p
Independent thinking	5.21(.61)	5.41(.61)	-1.58	183	.12
Educatedness	5.69(.65)	5.75(.57)	-.51	183	.61
Violent	1.02(.24)	1.00(.00)	.46	183	.65
Authoritative	5.73(.68)	5.44(.76)	2.13	183	.03
Passivity	2.44(1.50)	2.47(1.41)	-.09	46.87	.93
Aggressive	2.22(1.67)	2.78(1.74)	-1.71	183	.09
Lazy	1.05(.47)	1.00(.00)	.63	183	.53
Sophistication level	5.13(.90)	5.13(.94)	.03	183	.97

Note. White  $n = 153$ ; Minority  $n = 32$ .

The *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily* portrayed minorities primarily as students. Minorities occupied the more important role of faculty at a much lower rate than did Whites. Though the results were not significant at UNT, both papers did portray minorities as less authoritative than Whites, which reinforces minorities' lack of power and influence on campus. Both papers also portrayed minorities as immigrants. The combined results revealed that nearly 10% of all minority sources were identified as immigrants. This again reinforces the belief that minorities are outsiders on campus and



aren't as respected. Both papers also defined minorities as more family-oriented than Whites.

H5: Explicitly identified non-Whites will reinforce negative racial stereotypes.

Explicitly identified minorities were more likely to be quoted using incorrect grammar. Only 4.5% of minorities who were not identified by their race were quoted using poor grammar. However, 21.1% of explicitly identified minorities were quoted using incorrect grammar. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 5.32, p = .021$ . These results showed that the explicitly identified minority sources were portrayed more negatively than minorities who weren't outright identified by their race. Because there was no significant difference between quoting minorities and Whites as using poor grammar in both papers, the difference between the explicitly identified minorities and the other minorities is important. The race is already being revealed, and negative stereotypes are reinforced by the portrayals. Table 14 shows the quoted grammar of the minority sources who were not identified by their race compared to those who were.

Table 14

*Grammatical Correctness of Minority Sources whose Race was and was not Explicitly Stated*

	Minorities not identified by race	Explicitly identified minorities	All minority sources
Correct grammar	95.5%	78.9%	91.8%
Incorrect grammar	4.5%	21.1%	8.2%

Note.  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 5.32, p = .021$ .

The minorities whose race was explicitly identified were not significantly less likely to be associated with math, science and technology,  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 1.3, p = .25$ .

Those whose race was stated made up 15.8% of minority sources who were associated with math and science. Those whose race was not explicitly stated made up 28.8% of minority sources who were associated with math and science. However, explicitly identified minorities were significantly more likely to be portrayed as family-oriented. Only 10.6% of minority sources whose race was not explicitly identified were associated with their family, and 57.9% of explicitly identified minorities were. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 19.76, p < .001$ . Explicitly identified minorities didn't differ much in the types of roles they held compared to minorities whose race was not identified. However, 31.6% of explicitly identified minorities were identified as immigrants. Only 3% of minorities whose race was not explicitly identified were identified as immigrants. The results were significant,  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 14.10, p < .001$ . Table 15 shows the roles explicitly identified and minorities who were not identified by race occupy.

Table 15

*Explicitly Identified Minorities and Other Minority Roles in Both Papers*

	Minorities not identified by race	Explicitly identified minorities	All minority sources
Student	66.7%	68.4%	67.1%
Faculty	19.7%	10.5%	17.6%
Employee	3.0%	.0%	2.4%
Immigrant	3.0%	31.6%	9.4%
Athlete	16.7%	5.3%	14.1%

*Note.*  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = .02, p = .89$  for student role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = .85, p = .36$  for faculty role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = .59, p = .44$  for employee role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 14.10, p < .001$  for immigrant role;  $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 1.58, p = .21$  for athlete role.

The scale questions did not reveal any significant differences between the portrayal of explicitly identified minorities and minorities who were not identified by their

race. Despite the portrayal of explicitly identified minorities as more likely to exhibit poor grammar, which may be the result of a language difference, the scale questions showed a more positive portrayal of explicitly identified minorities than other minorities. For example, explicitly identified minorities were portrayed as more sophisticated ( $M = 5.26$ ,  $SD = .73$  for explicitly identified minorities;  $M = 4.83$ ,  $SD = 1.14$  for minorities not identified by race). The results were not significant,  $t(83) = -1.54$ ,  $p = .13$ . Table 16 shows the scaled portrayal of explicitly identified minorities compared to minorities whose race was not identified.

Table 16

*Portrayal of Minorities and Explicitly Identified Minorities in Both Papers*

	Minorities not identified by race	Explicitly identified minorities	$t$	$df$	$p$
Independent thinking	5.20(.68)	5.32(.67)	-.67	83	.51
Educatedness	5.52(.71)	5.68(.75)	-.91	83	.37
Violent	1.05(.37)	1.00(.00)	.53	83	.60
Authoritative	5.36(.85)	5.42(.51)	-.28	83	.78
Passivity	2.15(1.47)	2.68(1.53)	-1.38	83	.17
Aggressive	2.77(1.92)	2.32(1.67)	.94	83	.35
Lazy	1.15(.71)	1.00(.00)	.93	83	.36
Sophistication level	4.83(1.14)	5.26(.73)	-1.54	83	.13

*Note.* Minorities  $n = 66$ ; Explicitly identified minorities  $n = 19$ .

The lack of significance may be due to the small sample size of minorities and explicitly identified minorities. Even if the explicitly identified minorities were portrayed more positively than the other minorities on the scale with significance, they are still portrayed as outsiders by being identified by their race, their immigration status and language differences. They have not commanded respect on campus. Historically,

Hispanics have fought to be legitimized in American society, and now Middle Easterners are joining those ranks. The continuous campaign against immigrants, outsiders and foreigners only stokes the fire of racial and ethnic unrest (Cropp, Frisby, & Mills, 2003). H5 was partially supported because of the percentage of explicitly identified minorities who were portrayed as immigrants.

### Textual Analysis

There were 22 sources whose race was explicitly identified between the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily*. TCU identified the race of 12 of its sources in the sample, and UNT identified the race of 10 of its sources.

In the *TCU Daily Skiff*, the articles that explicitly mentioned race often dealt directly with a minority overcoming his or her race. For example, in an April 2010 article, two Black sources are quoted saying they believe they will defy the odds against them when searching for a job after graduation. The lead immediately identifies being Black as a challenge: "Sophomore music education major Cameron Green has two years left before he graduates, but that has not stopped him from preparing for the challenges that Black men face once they begin their job hunt." The article then goes on to quote U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics as stating that 8.4% of Black male college graduates were unemployed versus 4.4% of White male college graduates in 2009. The headline of the story is "Racial gap a reality for college grads." Despite the mention of the numbers and the headline, the article contradicts the problem by quoting its Black sources as saying they will maintain a positive attitude and present themselves with "confidence and poise" as a means to defy the inequality they will likely face post-

graduation. The article also quotes a representative from the school's career service center. The source says he has yet to hear of discrimination during minority graduates' job hunts. This statement reinforces the idea within modern racism that White America no longer believes there is racial discrimination and that affirmative action and other efforts to increase equality are not needed. The article quotes one of the Black students saying, "Some people may get discouraged, but I'm not that kind of person. I want to establish the fact that I'm worth just as much as anyone else and that it's my mind power, not the color of my skin that makes me worth something." Though this student displays a positive attitude, the article never quotes a Black source or a source of any other race stating that the inequality in the unemployment numbers is a problem. The article continues to negate the struggles Black graduates are facing in the job market. The article describes one of the Black students' goals: "He said he wants to be an example for other Black men of what can be accomplished despite what statistics show." The article ends with, "Johnson said he is setting an example and wants young Black men to see that is possible to achieve their goals by getting an education" (Burton, 2010). This again supports the belief put forward in the definition of modern racism that White America believes that any inequality is based on minorities' lack of effort. This article is essentially saying that the Bureau of Labor Statistics wouldn't be true if more Black men would get an education. It negates the possibility that there is inherent prejudice in the job market.

Other TCU articles involving Black students displayed a similar slant: if Black students maintain a positive attitude and focus on their education, they will overcome their skin color. But these issues are not explicitly discussed in the stories. For example,

in a February 2009 article with the identifier “Black History Month” above the headline, the writer uses vague terms to discuss the race issue. The lead was murky: “The idea of building relationships and challenging social norms was reiterated at the African-American First Dinner on Wednesday night at the Kelly Alumni Center.” The article never discusses what “challenging social norms” means and what those social norms are. The reader is left to assume the social norms deal with race. Also, the use of the verb “reiterated” is unclear. When was the “idea of building relationships” discussed previously? The question is not answered in the article. The dinner honored “five Black TCU pioneers for their individual accomplishments, and celebrated Black History Month.” However, the article never fully explains who the people are, except to describe one as the university’s “first Black cheerleader” and another as the “first president of the African-American Alumni Association.” The article describes another source as “one of 14 Black students admitted to TCU in 1965,” but it never explains the historical significance of this. The reader is left to assume it was a desegregation measure and a part of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. The writer again dances around the racial inequalities the sources faced by saying, “All five honorees recalled hard times but said their stays at TCU were mostly positive.” An explanation of the “hard times” is never given (Burrhus-Clay, 2009). This example again shows that the TCU paper negates the inequalities minorities face.

Hispanics in an October 2008 *Skiff* article that explicitly stated the race of its sources were treated almost entirely in stereotypical terms. The article discussed how Latino college enrollment is low and most incoming Hispanic students are first-generation college students. The article starts out by identifying a senior at a local high

school as a Mexican American who will be the first in her family to go to college if she can find a school she is able to afford. However, the reader never gets a chance to hear the source's voice, because she is not quoted in the article. Instead, the first quote is given to the TCU dean of admission. He describes Latinos and Blacks as being "loan averse cultures," whereas he describes Whites and Asian Americans as a group who will take out loans to attend college (Young, 2008). Though the Hispanic students discussed in the article are not called immigrants, the repeated use of the term "first generation" can imply that they are first generation students or that they are first generation Americans. Furthermore, the only Hispanic who is directly quoted is talking about how Latinos are more likely to find a job instead of pursuing an education. This reinforces the stereotype that Latinos are uneducated laborers. Though the article acknowledges the challenges Hispanics face economically when looking to attend college, it does not give the racial group a voice with which they can tell their own story. It shows that Hispanics still have not reached the respect stage in the stages of modern racism.

The articles in the TCU Daily Skiff which explicitly identified the race of its Middle Eastern sources primarily discussed religion. For example, one article about an art student identified him as a Christian despite originally coming from a Muslim country. Though he is Middle Eastern, the student fits into the social norm in America because he is Christian and not Muslim. The distinction is made early in the article, though there does not appear to be any reason to discuss the student's race, nationality or religion, because a majority of the story is about his skills as an artist. The article does not mention that the student sells his artwork for as much as \$500 apiece until after the

jump from the first page. It also mentions that the source has reserved studio space on campus, a privilege only given to the “most promising and prolific undergraduate painters” (Tippin, 2010). Yet, the student’s success is overshadowed by his immigration and his religion toward the beginning of the story. Six of the first 11 paragraphs of the article focuses on the source’s immigration and his rejection from his birthplace because of his religion. This is all before the jump, after which, the writer promptly discusses the source’s artwork again. Because the student is a member of the outgroup, his positive behavior and successes are attributed in concrete ways. He is shown to be an exception because his religion is different than that of a majority of his people. And his success is also related to leaving his outgroup in another country and somewhat conforming to American social norms: Christian, well-educated, moderately successful.

At the University of North Texas, the *NT Daily* also similarly covered minorities as overcoming their race. In a March 2010 issue of the paper, an article detailed the increase in the Hispanic enrollment. The change in the Texas population is prompting the same change on campus, according to the article. And, the Latino population as a whole in Texas is growing at a faster rate than Whites and other minority groups. Many Hispanic students are transfer students from community colleges, but no number is assigned to show exactly how many in the Hispanic population came from community colleges. About 48% of all students at the university transferred from community college (Walker, 2010). But, targeting Hispanics as a group that primarily comes from community college identifies them as less affluent. They are less able to pay the full expense of a traditional four-year university when starting. It is unclear why this numerically unproven trend is important to the article.



The article continues with a university official discussing the positive influence of the increase in the Hispanic population on campus, saying, "I think diversity is an asset. The more people you meet who are different from you, the more you increase your learning." Though the article is lending credence to the growing Latino population by using the positive quote from the university official, it quickly identifies Hispanics as immigrants. In the next paragraph, the article introduces the reader to a student who is a Latino immigrant. The student, who is a senior, came to the university from Colombia 12 years earlier. The article never explains whether the student has been in school the whole time. The student is quoted as being family-oriented, because he discusses how he didn't want to leave his grandmother behind when he moved. The next Hispanic student who is quoted is a freshman who moved from Mexico because her father was concerned about their safety in Mexico. She is quoted as saying, "It was bad in Mexico at the time and there were kidnappings going on, so my dad said we need to get out of Mexico." This quote inadvertently casts minorities, and specifically Hispanics, as dangerous and criminal. And, it adds nothing to the story about increases in Latino enrollment. The story implies that all Hispanics are immigrants by quoting only these two students. After the quote about leaving the danger in Mexico, the student discusses being proud of watching other Latinos succeed. She says, "I just identified because I really want to succeed and do my best at everything I start, so when I see Latinos doing something good I feel so proud of them." The quote isn't completely clear, and its use again separates the Latina student from the White social norm. She is cast as an outsider. And to reinforce that point, the article then discusses her difficulty using both Spanish and English (Walker, 2010). This again identifies Hispanics as an outgroup on

campus. Not only are they foreign, they don't speak the language. If a reader only read the last half of the article, he or she would think it was about immigration and not about an increase in a group's enrollment on campus. The article did not discuss whether the students were happy to see an increase in Latino enrollment.

In another *NT Daily* edition, a young Asian woman is pictured playing a marimba. She is wearing a modest outfit and pearls. The photo accompanies the February 2010 *NT Daily* article written about her accomplishments as a musician. The student is identified as an immigrant from Japan in the first paragraph of the article. She is later quoted as enjoying playing the marimba in front of her family. The article chronicles the student's move from Japan to attend UNT and her rigorous practice schedule. The article portrays her as a hard-working, talented student. Her music teacher discusses her future career in music. The student is said to practice from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. "every day, breaking only to eat." But, when she gets tired, the article quotes her as saying she likes to hang out with her friends and bake. She is still an outsider, but she is slightly more respected because she practices her instrument 14 hours every day and has something to offer the school. Even her favorite pastimes are mild. Though she will return to Japan after graduation, her teacher is quoted as enjoying her presence, because she brings diversity to the school: "We've been very blessed to have her as well as our other international students because she helps give the program here cultural diversity" (Razo, 2010). The student almost fits into a pleasing role. She is a talented musician; people enjoy hearing her play; she adds to the university's diversity. The whole story focuses on how wonderful the student is. The portrayal is the epitome of the stereotype showing Asians as a model minority.

In another article from the same issue in February 2010, another minority is shown to be a model minority, except this minority is Hispanic. The primary source in the article was identified as the first Mexican-American school superintendent in San Antonio. He was also the first Mexican-American student to receive an athletic scholarship to the University of North Texas. He competed in track and field. The source was also a witness to a murder that led to the historic Supreme Court case *Hernandez v. Texas*. "The 1954 decision allowed Mexican Americans and other racial groups in the U.S. to have equal protection under the 14th Amendment," according to the article. The portrayal of the source is positive. He is shown to be historically important, and he is not identified as an immigrant, which is a break from the stereotypical norm of how Latinos are portrayed. The other sources quoted in the article show him respect, which shows that he is respected in the UNT community. Though it was not immediately stated at the beginning of the article, the source donated some personal and historical items to UNT to be a part of the library collection at the school. This also shows respect. But, the source seems aware in his quotes that he is the exception and not the rule for Latinos. he says, "I consider the collection important because it might very well persuade additional members of the Latino community to think 'if Dr. Rodriguez put his collection there, then may I can do the same'" (Walker, 2010, February 2). The portrayal, though positive, does show that he is an exception to his subordinate group.

In an April 2009 article in the *NT Daily*, student sources react to a speech made by U.S. President Barack Obama in which he said the United States was not at war with Islam. Though the article gives a full voice to Middle Eastern and Muslim students, the headline does not draw attention to what the story is about. The headline simply reads,

“NT responds to Obama speech.” The article is not about the student reaction to the speech; it’s about the Muslim and Middle Eastern community’s reaction to the speech. The headline implies that the entire campus community had a response or was asked for a response by the reporter. All of the sources were Middle Eastern and/or Muslim and were identified as such. This is not an accurate portrayal of what the headline implies. It is important that these sources get a voice when they are seldom portrayed by the media as more than immigrants, foreigners and radicals. But, for it to be truly equal and fair, other voices needed to be heard. The sources’ origins are important to understanding their viewpoints on the speech, but in a subtle way, the identification alerts the reader to the fact that the sources are outsiders. They are foreigners commenting on what the United States president said. One quote revealed an interesting dynamic among these students: “Upon election, ‘pretty much every international student was very happy because we kind of consider him one of us,’ Hassan said. ‘He looks like one of us’” (Daniels, 2009). A common stereotype of Middle Easterners is that they all look the same. White Americans often lump those who look different into one group. Middle Easterners appear to be terrorists. Black men all look angry and frightening (Anderson, 2010). So it’s interesting that these students would relate to the mixed-race U.S. president, because he looks like them. The president’s appearance is also a reason that many White Americans question his nationality.

Overall, both papers revealed nuanced language that simultaneously gave respect to the minorities they explicitly identified, but also reinforced the belief that the minorities were outsiders. Though subtle, it does appear that the explicitly identified non-Whites did reinforce negative stereotypes of their race. But those stereotypes aren’t

the explicitly racist stereotypes. They are the seemingly benign stereotypes that further propagate the belief that non-Whites are separate and outside of the societal norm of Whites (Anderson, 2010).

## CONCLUSION

Though nuanced, racial stereotyping was evident at both the *NT Daily* and the *TCU Daily Skiff*. Both newspapers consistently cast minorities as outsiders who don't belong to the White American ingroup. The less-diverse private university did appear to cover diversity less than the more diverse public university in the student-run newspaper. Nearly 83% of all the sources in the *TCU Daily Skiff* were White, which is more than the percentage of White students on campus. Though the campus is not as diverse as UNT, it does appear that symbolic racial annihilation occurred in the *TCU Daily Skiff*, because non-White sources were virtually nonexistent.

But most importantly, when minorities were covered, no matter how rarely, they were portrayed through stereotypical rhetoric. Critical race theory challenges the use of racial definitions in an effort to tear down the conventional system and create a nondiscriminatory society (Rose, 2006; Rossing, 2008). This research shows that changes need to be made at both the *TCU Daily Skiff* and the *NT Daily*.

Though it cannot be determined in this study, the TCU paper may only be mirroring the ethnicity of its reporters. Studies show that journalism students are less likely to be as racially diverse as the rest of the college campus (Jones Ross et al., 2007). This theory could be further analyzed in future studies. The race and diversity of the newspaper staff could be investigated to see if it has an effect on the coverage of race and diversity on campus. Research has shown that journalists and editors act as the gatekeepers of news, and their decisions are often based on and mirror the journalists' social class and status. Their personal beliefs can inadvertently show up in the news because of how they subconsciously and subtly describe and portray

minorities. As such, the media are able to affect how society thinks as a whole (Cropp, Frisby, & Mills, 2003; Nimmo & Combs, 1985; O'Connell & Mills, 2003). Because of this, the lack of minority coverage in the *TCU Daily Skiff* may be making the TCU campus less receptive to minorities. Furthermore, minorities don't reach a full level of acceptance and respect in spite of their race until they hold power positions, especially within the media. Minorities' being employed by a newspaper as reporters and editors isn't enough to overcome modern racism. They have to be in the top positions, and until then, they have not been fully afforded equal respect and coverage (Giles, 2003). Critical theory suggests breaking down the status quo of the newspaper to improve the coverage.

Though the *NT Daily* didn't cover Whites as extensively as the *Skiff* did, Whites made up nearly 70% of all sources at UNT. This, like at TCU, isn't fully representative of the campus. Also interesting at UNT was the representation of minorities as athletes to a much more significant level than was shown at TCU. And when broken down by race, it was revealed that most of those athletes were Black, and most of the Black sources were identified as athletes. Though this is one of those stereotypes that appear flattering, it consists of grouping these minorities into a frame White society has created for them (Anderson, 2010).

Both papers explicitly identified minorities at a significant rate. Whites were seldom, if ever, identified as White. And, those explicitly identified minorities were more likely to be quoted using poor grammar or grammar that implied they spoke with an accent. These sources were also highly likely to be identified as immigrants. This type of identification not only implies that they are outsiders, it almost outright says it. Modern

racism shows that most people now no longer believe that racism is an issue. And unless someone actually hates a certain racial group or believes in segregation, they are not racist. However, identifying minorities as separate from Whites is a more subtle form of racism.

Future research should look at stories from several sections of newspapers to get a more accurate read of the entire paper's attitude toward diverse racial coverage. Few sports stories were examined in this study because they weren't often featured on the front page. Also, arts and profiles stories with more emphasis on profiling students weren't frequently used because they also weren't featured on the front page. Future studies also should investigate the editorial and opinion page. This is often where most of the controversial issues are discussed and the writers tend to shy away from euphemisms. Also, private and public colleges in other states may reveal a different attitude toward minorities. Because this study was limited to Texas and the social attitudes in Texas, it might round out the data to compile coverage from other college newspapers in other states.

The coding sheet could also be modified to include public official, law enforcement officer and national expert into the role section to get a more detailed picture of who the sources are. A future study could also be conducted using the same coding sheet but analyzing more than just directly quoted sources. For example, crime stories may describe who was arrested or who the suspect of a crime is without directly quoting or paraphrasing that person. These types of sources can also reveal stereotypes used in the paper and could be coded based on how they are described without needing direct quotes.



Overall, both papers covered minorities in virtually the same manner, which was unexpected considering the racial and ethnic diversity of the University of North Texas. However, because White Americans are still predominantly seen as the dominant ingroup, it is understandable that both papers would cover the different campuses using those schema. Though the *NT Daily* was statistically significantly more diverse than the *TCU Daily Skiff*, minorities held similar roles in both. Minorities were more likely to be portrayed as students and less likely to be portrayed as faculty. They were more likely to be portrayed as family-oriented and were viewed as slightly less authoritative. Minorities at both papers weren't awarded full respect, according to the modern racism scale, because they were not only frequently identified as outsiders, they were seldom identified as people in a powerful position. Critical race theory also challenges these types of portrayals and would suggest an overhaul of the diversity coverage at both newspapers.

In the future, it is hoped that more research on college newspapers is conducted to identify what changes can be made to encourage more accurate and fair coverage of minorities. Because journalism students learn how to write and disseminate the news in college, it is important that they learn to identify and avoid racial stereotypes. It is also hoped that this research can encourage journalism faculty to incorporate more diversity training into the curriculum at the college level. Furthermore, this research seeks to encourage journalism programs to recruit more minority students, so that the status quo can be changed at the educational level. If more minorities enter the news profession and are able to make their way into more powerful roles within the media, racial stereotyping may become a thing of the past.

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