

Introduction

Many U.S. ethnic groups have agents solely dedicated to monitoring how they are portrayed in literature and the media. However, Black Americans have no agent solely dedicated to this purpose. The history of Black Americans provides good reasons to believe that they need an agent to monitor how they are portrayed in the media. This study, which was conducted in 1992-3, is designed to help determine whether such an agent needs to be established for this purpose. Chapter 4 will present the results of a comparable study, which was conducted in 2005. Combined, the two studies indicate whether there have been intertemporal improvements in the images of Black Americans on television in the U.S.

Analyzing how Black Americans are portrayed in literature and the media would be an arduous task for even a large and complex organization, but evaluating how they are portrayed just on television can be undertaken as a rather simplistic task. This is the approach taken in this study, which is designed to answer two questions. First, "In the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), how representative is television of Black Americans?" Second, "What is the probability that Black Americans portray stereotypical roles on television in the Washington, D.C. MSA?" As the questions emphasize, this study presents answers to these questions specifically for the Washington, D.C. MSA. There may be interest in conducting similar studies for other metropolitan areas in the U.S.

The research study design is presented in section one of this chapter. The second section includes definitions of two key terms, "representativeness" and "stereotype." The results of the study are presented in section three. Study data results are available from the author upon request.

Research Study Design

The study is based on two falsifiable hypotheses:

- H₀₁: Black Americans are more than proportionately represented on television in the Washington, D.C. MSA.
- H₀₂: There is a less than .5 probability that Black Americans portray stereotypical roles on television in the Washington, D.C. MSA.

The objective is to reject these hypotheses at the five percent level.

The obvious approach to test these hypotheses is to observe television in the Washington, D.C. MSA, and that is exactly what was done. The study was based on a series of "random" events. The design is based on the following concept: When the television is turned on, how much time elapses before a Black American is sighted. Also, when a Black American is sighted, how can the role portrayed by that Black American be characterized; that is,

is the role stereotypical or astereotypical? The first question is strictly a question of time, the answer to which indicates the degree of representativeness. The second question is a probability issue; i.e., the probability that roles portrayed by Black Americans are stereotypical or astereotypical.

The probability that the role portrayed by a Black American on television is stereotypical or astereotypical can best be captured with a logit regression model having a dichotomous (1—stereotypical, 0—astereotypical) dependent variable. The logit regression model developed for this study is presented in equation 1:

Equation 1

$$Z_i = \log \frac{P_i}{1 - P_i} = \sum_{i=1}^6 \beta_i X_i + \sum_{i=7}^{12} \gamma_i Y_i + \varepsilon_i$$

where Z_i represents the ratio of the odds that the role portrayed by a sighted Black American is stereotypical ($< .5-1.0 =$) or astereotypical ($= 0.0-0.5 <$), the β_i 's are the coefficients that are associated with the first six variables in the model, with i counting from 1 to 6: X_1 is the time of a sighting of a Black American after the television is turned on, X_2 is a binary variable representing the sex of the Black American sighted (1= male, 0=female), X_3 is a binary variable capturing the age of the Black American sighted (1=adult > 18 years old, 0=youth < 18 years old), X_4 is a binary variable representing the skin color of the Black American sighted (1=dark, 0=light), X_5 is a binary variable that identifies whether the sighting is associated with an advertisement (1) or is program-related (0), and X_6 is a binary variable that indicates whether the sighting is on a weekend day (1) or on a week day (0). The γ_i 's are the coefficients that are associated with the second set of variables in the model, with i counting from 7-12, and the Y 's are binary variables that identify the networks on which the sighting occurs. A random error term, ε , is assumed to take on the properties of a classic logistic curve regression model.

Television was observed via a random sample covering seven eighteen-hour periods from 6:00 a.m. until 12:00 p.m. The observation period began on Monday, December 28, 1992, and ended on Sunday, January 3, 1993. This period spanned five weekdays and both weekend days; including a holiday (New Years Day). This was an early winter period when networks were presumably airing new programming that was initiated as part of the 2002-fall season. Hence, television was observed under the most "favorable" conditions—from the points of view of the networks—and over a time period that made the sampling frame representative. Observations from the midnight until 6:00 a.m. period were excluded because it was assumed that the average viewer watches the most television

during the 6:00 a.m. until midnight period, and very little during the 12:00 midnight to 6:00 a.m. period.

Cable television did not reflect one hundred percent market penetration in the Washington, D.C. MSA.¹ Thus, to emulate television viewing possible by all residents of the area, only the six commercial television stations available in the market on a without-cable basis were selected for the study: WRC (NBC), WTTG (FOX), WJLA (ABC), WUSA (CBS), WDCB (Independent 1), and WFTY (Independent 2). The local public television networks were excluded because of their limited audience share and as part of an effort to simplify the study.²

Because no instrument suited for purposes of this study was available, one was developed (see Appendix A). The initial instrument was tested for validity and reliability. One reliability problem was determined; the accuracy with which the age of a sighted Black American could be determined was unreliable, and measures were taken to improve the reliability of this variable.³

The sample was drawn from a population of the total number of possible sightings of Black Americans that could occur during the seven-day observation period. The sightings were determined on a minute-by-minute basis; therefore, the total number of minutes during the observation period (7,560) constituted the population. In other words, there could be at least 7,560 sightings of Black Americans during the observation period. (Note: If more than one Black American appeared simultaneously during a sighting, the observation was treated as a single sighting, and the most prominent role was observed.) Sproul (1988) provided the formula for determining the sample size of 126 for this study, which ensured a five-percent level of significance—given that the population was known.⁴ A sequence of 126

¹Data on cable television penetration rates for the Washington, D.C. MSA are not readily available. However, in 1992, table 1134 of the *U.S. Statistical Abstract* (2006) reports that there were 54.3 million cable television subscribers in the nation, and the Census Bureau reports (see Table HH-1 at <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/hh1.xls>; retrieved from the Internet on November 23, 2006) that there were 95.7 million households. Combined, these statistics produce an estimated nationwide cable television penetration rate of about 56.7 percent.

²Again, data on networks' audience shares for the Washington, D.C. MSA are not readily available. However, Nielsen Media Research (2000, 17) reports that Public Television garnered a nation-wide 2.3 rating and a 4 audience share for the 1992-93 television season.

³The initial survey instrument was designed to place observed Black Americans into one of four age categories (0-12, 13-25, 25-45, and 46 and above). The instrument produced imprecise results on this question when piloted due to the difficulty in determining age with precision based on a brief observation alone. The instrument was redesigned to permit categorizing observed Black Americans into one of only two groups (<18 (youth) and > 18 (adult)). The redesigned instrument produced precise results when tested.

⁴On page 123, Sproul presents the following formula for calculating sample size:

computer-generated random observation locations (networks) were prepared for the six networks covered by the study. This random sequence of observation locations was matched with 126 computer-generated random observation times (see Appendix B).

Definitions

“Representativeness”

According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (1990), the 1990 Washington, D.C. MSA population was 3,923,574, there were 1,041,934 Black Americans in that population; i.e., Black Americans constituted 26.6 percent of the total population. Normally, proportional representation implies creating subgroups with proportional representation from the population. For example, if a "population" of balls are one-half black, and one-half are white, then a proportionally represented subgroup would be half black and half white. Using this logic, it stands to reason that if Black Americans are to be proportionately represented on television, they must be seen/sighted 26.6 percent of the time. Because time is measured in minutes in this study, Black Americans must be sighted at least every 3.76 minutes. This periodicity is determined by equation 2:

Equation 2

$$\frac{100\%T}{26.6T} = 3.76 \text{ Minutes} = \text{Periodicity of Black American Sightings}$$

where 100%T is the total time available, and the 26.6%T is the proportion of Black American representation in the population. This study determines the mean time of sighting Black Americans on television in the Washington, D.C. MSA; these results will provide a basis for rejecting or failing to reject H_{01} at the five-percent level.

Given that the periodicity of a Black American sighting on television was one of the study's objectives, a decision was made to simply turn the

$$n = \frac{\sigma^2}{\frac{e^2}{Z^2} + \frac{\sigma^2}{N}}$$

where n (126) is the sample size, σ is the standard deviation of the population (2183), e is the number of observations that were allowed to be missed based on a five-percent level of error [i.e., no more than five percent (378) of the possible sightings of Black Americans may be missed], Z (1.96) is the level of significance (five percent) in standard deviation terms that the sample size supports, and N is the population (7,560).

television on at the randomly selected time and at the randomly selected location, then determine the time required to sight the first Black American. There was no attempt to extend the observation after the first sighting in hopes of determining the time required to sight a second Black American because the mean time of the first sightings was a statistically valid technique for determining the average periodicity of Black American sightings on television.

“Stereotype”

In *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, Stangor and Schaller (1996) explain that individual stereotyping involves people, overtime, developing beliefs about the characteristics of key social groups within their environment. These beliefs ultimately influence those people’s responses toward members of those social groups. Stereotyping influences the information that individuals collect about social groups in their environment, what information is attended to, what information is remembered about members of social groups, and stereotypes influence social behavior. The authors add that the mass media are an important collective repository for groups’ stereotypes. They highlight many studies that have used qualitative data-analytic techniques to characterize the manifestations of stereotypes in diverse media; including television shows and advertising.

However, one can view stereotyping from a “collective” approach; how stereotypes are transmitted and reproduced across individuals and generations to produce social outcomes. Stangor and Schaller (1996) state:

When a common set of beliefs are internalized within a group, these beliefs begin to influence the group’s collective behavior. Indeed, it is the stereotype content, consensually shared across a culture that makes stereotypes particularly problematic. It *matters* that the stereotypes of Blacks include “lazy,” “athletic,” and “musical” rather than some other set of traits, both because these beliefs are involved in determining the social status of Blacks within a society and because these beliefs are determined *by* the social position of Blacks. (16-7)

Following Bar-Tal *et al* (1989, 5) “we will define stereotypes as a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people.” Bar-Tal *et al* goes further with this definition: “They [stereotypes] help group members to preserve or create positively valued differentiations of a group from other social groups (29).” These statements imply that White Americans develop stereotypes of Black Americans in order to clearly distinguish themselves from, and to justify their attitudes and behaviors toward, Black Americans.

For this study, the designation of a television role portrayed by Black Americans as stereotypical is based on the following factors:⁵

1. Black American characters display negative or anti-social behavior. This is a relevant criterion because one form of stereotyping is "delegitimization"; i.e., the in-group (Whites) attributes inhuman behavior to the out-group (Black Americans), making the out-group appear unfit to be included in society. (Bar-Tal *et al*, 1989, 178). This helps to distinguish the in-group from the out-group.
2. Black Americans engage in those "mundane" functions that are traditionally viewed as acceptable for the group. Many of these functions are viewed as unacceptable for Whites. When a Black American executes a mundane function, the stereotype is reinforced that Black Americans should be associated with these functions, not Whites. Thus, the stereotype further differentiates the two groups.
3. Black American characters are viewed as representing extraordinary or supernatural "gifts"; particularly in athletic and artistic activities. This form of stereotyping explains away the positively valued behavior of Black Americans and attributes it to the possession of special gifts; i.e., the only reason Black Americans are able to exhibit this behavior or fulfill this function at such a level is due to innate ability, as opposed to the notion that Black Americans have developed the ability to perform at such a level.

Examples of these stereotypical characterizations are listed in Appendix C. When a Black American was sighted during the observation period, the role was evaluated as stereotypical (1) if it was comparable to a characterization that is on the list in Appendix C, or as stereotypical (0) otherwise.

Results

The study's design called for 126 observations to produce results that could be viewed with certainty at the 5 percent level. However, only 116 observations were obtained. There were four cases where not enough time (NET) was allowed for sighting a Black Americans between the randomly selected observation times, so no data were collected for these observations.⁶ In six cases, observations were simply missed. The loss of 10

⁵See Bogle (1989) for additional information on classifying Black American portrayals on television.

⁶The mean value for the NET's was 4.50 minutes, well above the 3.76 minute proportional representativeness criterion.

observations reduced the level of certainty with which the result can be viewed from the 5 percent level to the 6.02 percent level—only a marginal reduction in the certainty with which the study's results can be viewed and well above the 10 percent level, which is used for many scientific studies.

Representativeness

Earlier, it was determined that Black Americans must be sighted every 3.76 minutes if they are to be considered proportionally represented on television. The study's 116 complete observations produced a mean sighting time of 3.15 minutes: There was a minimum sighting time of 2 seconds, and a maximum sighting time of 24.43 minutes. A priori, the 3.15 minutes is less than the 3.76 minutes required for proportional representation, implying that Black Americans are more than proportionally represented on television in the Washington, D.C. MSA. However, the 4.61 minute standard deviation of the observed times created a 95 percent confidence interval spanning from 2.30 to 4.00 minutes. Because the 95 percent confidence interval contains values greater than 3.76 minutes, H_{01} must be rejected at the five-percent level. The results imply that if the study was replicated many times under similar conditions, other researchers would conclude that Black Americans may not be more than proportionally represented on television in the Washington, D.C. MSA. In other words, when viewers turn on their televisions they can be 95 percent certain that they will experience instances where no Black American is sighted before 3.76 minutes elapse—implying that Black Americans are not proportionally represented on television.

Logit Results—Stereotypical/Astereotypical Roles

Preliminaries

The maximum likelihood estimation technique was used to estimate the parameters of the logit regression model outlined in Equation 1. The results of that regression revealed that four of the variables' coefficients were not statistically different from zero at the 5 percent level; i.e., they did not contribute significantly to the explanatory power of the model.⁷ The time, sex, and age variables were dropped from the model. The variable

⁷The t-statistic was used to determine that the coefficients were not statistically different from zero. The following likelihood ratio test was used to determine that the time (X_1), sex (X_2), and age (X_3) variables were not significantly contributing to the explanatory power of the model:

$$-2 [L(\beta_R) - L(\beta_{UR})] \sim \chi^2_{m,\alpha}$$

where L is the log likelihood function, β_R [-58.816] for the restricted model (variables X_1 , X_2 , and X_3 are excluded), β_{UR} [-56.591] for the unrestricted model (variables X_1 , X_2 , and X_3 are included), m is the number of restrictions (3), and α is the level of significance (five-percent).

representing Black American sightings on the sixth network (X_{12}) was the fourth insignificant variable. However, the need to include this network variable to complete the logic of the model (i.e., avoid under-identification) prevented its exclusion.

Excluded Variables

Before discussing the variables included in the revised model, the three excluded variables are discussed. First, it was assumed that, because networks are aware of how damaging stereotypical images of Black Americans might be, only those networks that do not actively seek to avoid portraying Black Americans in a stereotypical light would include such portrayals in their programming. This type of attitude by a network would be consistent with a tendency to portray Black Americans infrequently. Theoretically, infrequent and stereotypical portrayals of Black Americans on a network would achieve the maximum negative effect from Black Americans' perspective. Hence, it was hypothesized that the longer the time required to sight a Black American, the greater the likelihood that the Black American would portray a stereotypical role. However, the data did not support this hypothesis. The time required to sight a Black American was not a key contributor to explaining whether the role was stereotypical or astereotypical.⁸

Second, it was hypothesized that Black Americans males would be more closely associated with stereotypical roles than Black American females. The logic here was that, traditionally, the Black American males have experienced more degradation than Black American females.⁹ If, for the reasons explained by Bar-Tal *et al* (1989), there are stereotypical portrayals of Black Americans on network television, then Black American males are more likely to appear in such portrayals than Black American females. In this study, however, the data indicate that sex is not a significant contributing explanatory factor that determines whether Black American portrayals are stereotypical or astereotypical.

Third, it was hypothesized that older Black Americans would portray stereotypical roles most often on television because younger Black Americans would decline to portray such roles.¹⁰ However, again, the data did not support this hypothesis. Apparently, stereotypical portrayals may be associated equally with younger (less than 18 years old) and older (18 years or older) Black Americans.

⁸ See Chapter 8 for a discussion of a game theoretic framework for the decision-making process used by networks to determine the nature of Black American images that appear on television.

⁹ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the relationship between Black American arrests (predominantly Black males are devalued by such arrests) and television.

¹⁰ This hypothesis was muted somewhat by the fact that athletes are usually young and athletic portrayals are considered stereotypical.

The Revised Model

The important question concerning the revised model is whether the results are significant; that is, “What is the coefficient of determination?” and “Are the estimated coefficients statistically significant at the five-percent level?” The recommended coefficient of determination for logit models is the McFadden R-square. The McFadden R-square for the revised model is .2607 (.205 when adjusted for degrees of freedom).¹¹ Although the R-square may appear low, Pindyck and Rubinfeld (1991, 268) explain that even the best logit regression models do not produce high R-square values. Table 1 shows that eight of the nine explanatory variables were significant at the five-percent level.

Table 1.—Logit Regression Model Results

Variable Name	Estimated Coefficients	Standard Deviations
Skin color	2.372*	.762
Program type	-1.093*	.513
Day	1.705*	.524
NBC (Network 1)	-2.544*	.952
FOX (Network 2)	-2.059*	.810
ABC (Network 3)	-2.213*	.928
CBS (Network 4)	-2.485*	.926
WDCA (Network 5)	-3.328*	.957
WFTY (Network 6)	-1.234	.905

*--Significant at the five-percent level.

Another often-used measure to evaluate a logit model's goodness-of-fit is a “prediction success table,” which is provided in Table 2 below.

¹¹The McFadden R-square is defined by the following equation:

$$McFadden\ R - square = 1 - \frac{L(B^*)}{L(0)}$$

where L(B*) represents the value when the log-likelihood function has been maximized (-58.816), and L(0) represents the value of the log-likelihood function when all of the estimated parameters are equal to zero (-79.558).

Table 2.—Prediction Success Table for Logit Model

Predicted Observations		Actual Observations		
		0	1	Total
0	0	52	14	66
	1	13	37	50
	Total	65	51	116

The model accurately predicted 77 percent of the 116 observations.¹²

Now consider the variables that were included in the revised model. The skin color of Black Americans on television contributed significantly to the explanatory power of the model in determining whether a portrayal was stereotypical or astereotypical. The positive coefficient on this variable means the data supported the notion that the sighting of a dark skinned Black American increased the probability that the role portrayal was stereotypical. These results are emblematic of traditional outcomes where light-skinned Black Americans generally experience more success in landing astereotypical positions than do dark-skinned Black Americans.

It was hypothesized that advertisers would seek to make prospective customers (Black American, White, or both) comfortable, then use that sense of comfort to sell their products. However, advertisers could resort to stereotypical portrayals of Black Americans to make prospective White customers at ease (when Whites are viewed as being the most likely class of customers), because portraying Black Americans astereotypically might create discomfort. On the other hand, it was hypothesized that newly produced programs would tend to avoid stereotypical images of Black Americans because program producers comprehend the negative impact of using such roles. The data revealed that these hypotheses were inaccurate. The data showed an inverse relationship between stereotypical images of Black Americans on television and advertisements. That is, when a Black American is sighted in an advertisement, the likelihood is greater that the portrayal will be astereotypical not stereotypical. In other words, the data indicate that if a Black American portrays a stereotypical role on television, that role is more likely to be associated with a television program rather than with an advertisement.

It was hypothesized that stereotypical images of Black Americans would be more a part of weekend rather than weekday television programming. This was based on the notion that weekend days are often filled with reruns, old movies, and sports programs (all likely to contain stereotypical images of Black Americans), while weekdays are primarily used for newly produced programs, which may be less likely to include stereotypical images of Black Americans. The data show that this hypothesis

¹² The model successfully predicted 89 (52 “zero” valued and 37 “one” valued observations) of the 116 total observations, or 77 percent.

was correct. The positive coefficient on the day variable means that the probability that a Black American portrays a stereotypical role on television increases when the sighting occurs on a weekend day as opposed to a weekday.

Five of the six coefficients for the network variables were significant at the five-percent level. All six coefficients were negative implying an inverse relationship between the sighting of a Black American on the networks and the portrayal of a stereotypical role. That is, given the sighting of a Black American on one of the networks, if three criteria are not met with respect to the sighting (i.e., that the Black American is dark skinned, is sighted in a program, and is sighted on a weekend day), then the probability that the role portrayed by the Black American is stereotypical is reduced.

An interesting conjecture about the network variables build on the argument that stereotypical roles are the norm in American society, and that Americans feel comfortable with them—otherwise they would not be perpetuated. Hence, networks that include such roles in their programming the most may receive the highest audience share.¹³ The logical economic implication of the conjecture is that one might expect to find a significant positive relationship between network revenues and the frequency of stereotypical images of Black Americans. Table 3 presents data on Black American roles on the networks.

Table 3.—Black American Roles on Network Television

	NBC	FOX	ABC	CBS	WDCA	WFTY	TOTAL
Total Observations	14	28	19	19	20	16	116
Stereotypical Roles	8	10	11	10	3	10	52
Percent Stereotypical Roles	57%	36%	58%	53%	15%	63%	45%
Astereotypical Roles	6	18	8	9	17	6	64
Percent Astereotypical Roles	43%	64%	42%	47%	85%	37%	55%

¹³See the Ball-Rokeach *et al* (1981) discussion of how viewers choose what to view on television. The authors infer that viewers who are comfortable with stereotypical images will watch them, while viewers who are uncomfortable with stereotypical images will not watch them. The assumption here is that more Americans are comfortable than uncomfortable with stereotypical images of Black Americans on television.

Table 3 shows that four of the networks (NBC, ABC, CBS, and WFTY) reflected a proclivity to present more stereotypical than astereotypical images of Black Americans, while two networks (FOX and WDCA) reflected the reverse outcome.¹⁴

Evaluating H_{o2}

Two important statistics were developed from the revised regression model:

1. Index or Z statistics representing the transformation of the linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables ranging from 0 to 1 using the logistic function.
2. Predicted (P^*) probability statistics calculated by applying the coefficients from the regression to the actual variable values.

It appears logical to use the mean values of these two statistics since they capture the overall flavor of the model, along with their standard errors, to evaluate H_{o2} . The mean of the Z statistics was $-.3736$ with a standard error of 1.5470 , while the mean of the P^* (probability) statistics was $.43966$ with a standard error of $.2805$. The Z or P^* statistics can easily be translated into their respective probability (P) values using a simple calculation.¹⁵

The mean Z statistic translates into a probability (P) value of $.408$, meeting the less than $.5$ probability criterion set forth in H_{o2} . However, the 95 percent confidence interval around the probability value spans from $.341$ to $.522$. Clearly, the upper bound of the confidence interval allows for inclusion of values above $.5$, and H_{o2} must be rejected at the five-percent level. The decision to reject H_{o2} was supported by additional evidence obtained by evaluating the mean P^* statistic produced by the model. The mean P^* statistic translates into a probability value of $.608$ —well above the less than $.5$ probability criterion established in H_{o2} . Moreover, the full 95 percent confidence interval around this probability value does not include values less than $.5$. The confidence interval spans the range from $.596$ to $.620$. Therefore, the 95 percent confidence intervals constructed around the probability values calculated from the mean Z and P^* statistics permit rejection of H_{o2} . Based on these results, it is safe to conclude that other

¹⁴Nielsen Media Research (2000, 18) ranks the top four networks in the following order for the 1992-3 television season: CBS (13.3); NBC (12.3); ABC (12.2); and FOX (7.7).

¹⁵The calculation is as follows:

$$Z, P^* = \log \frac{P}{1-P}, e^{Z, P^*} = \frac{P}{1-P}, P = \frac{e^{Z, P^*}}{1 + e^{Z, P^*}}$$

researchers are likely to obtain similar results if efforts are made to replicate this study a sufficient number of times.

Conclusion

Hammer (1992, 3) reported that "not much progress has been made in eliminating stereotyped portrayals of Black-Americans." This study produced results that substantiate this finding. The results imply that not only may Black Americans be less than proportionally represented on television in the Washington, DC MSA, but that there may be a greater than .5 probability that when Black Americans are sighted on television, they are likely to appear in stereotypical roles.

This study focused on role evaluation. It goes without saying that some stereotypical roles are not negative—except in the sense that they perpetuate a way of thinking about a group. The objective is not to use these data, or others like them, to advocate for purely astereotypical portrayals of Black Americans on television, but to raise the level of consciousness about these portrayals and about the adverse effects caused by such portrayals. Based on the results of the study, it appears logical for Black Americans to seriously consider identifying and supporting an agent to monitor Black American images on television and to develop appropriate responses when those images are unfavorable.

The results of this study apply specifically to the Washington, D.C. MSA. No doubt, television in other areas of the nation reflect more or less representativeness of Black Americans than in Washington, D.C., and greater or lesser probabilities that the roles portrayed by Black Americans are stereotypical. It is hoped that this study will motivate direly-needed interest in the subject and will prompt research in as many geographical areas as possible. Such research will lead to a broader assessment of how Black Americans are portrayed on television, and will spur Americans to evaluate their willingness to accept the networks' power to shape attitudes and behaviors toward in-groups and out-groups.

If an area that is as cosmopolitan and as cloaked in the concepts of equality as Washington, D.C. can produce the results cited herein, it is cause for thought about the results that may be obtained when similar studies are performed in other less cosmopolitan, less equality-driven areas of the nation. But there is no need for speculation; there is a need for research. Television is a powerful tool and the broadcast of stereotypes on television—especially negative stereotypes—can enhance prospects that America retains its tendency toward segregation and discrimination. Relatedly, stereotypical images of Black Americans on television can create and exacerbate tensions in the nation. These tensions have the potential of contributing significantly to creating increasing conflicts between Whites, Black Americans, and other ethnic groups. It is important that Black Americans comprehend fully how they are portrayed on television, and what

effects these portrayals have on their current and future outcomes. Black Americans should use this knowledge to formulate a plan of action to counteract adverse stereotypical images on television.

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**APPENDIX A
SURVEY INSTRUMENT**

EVALUATION OF BLACK AMERICAN PORTRAYALS ON TELEVISION

DAY _____ DATE _____ TIME _____

NETWORK: NBC_ FOX_ ABC_ CBS_ WDCA_ WFTY

TIME OF SIGHTING A BLACK AMERICAN (IN MINUTES AND SECONDS)

____:_____

SEX: MALE ____ FEMALE ____

AGE: YOUTH [<0-18<] ____

ADULT [<18] ____

SKIN COLOR: DARK ____ FAIR ____

PROGRAM CATEGORY: PROGRAM ____ ADVERTISEMENT ____

ROLE EVALUATION

STEREOTYPICAL ____ ASTEREOTYPICAL ____

STATEMENT CONCERNING THE IMAGE PORTRAYED BY THE BLACK AMERICAN SIGHTED.

**APPENDIX B
OBSERVATION SCHEDULES**

Day 1

NUMBER	NETWORK	RANDOM TIME	OBSERVATION TIME
1	2	96	7.61
2	4	108	7.80
3	2	127	8.11
4	2	176	8.93
5	2	223	9.72
6	6	228	9.80
7	2	269	10.48
8	5	420	13.00
9	1	420	13.01
10	2	602	16.04
11	4	722	18.03
12	4	912	21.20
13	5	914	21.23
14	2	932	21.54
15	5	949	21.82
16	3	961	22.01
17	2	1025	23.08
18	2	1029	23.15
19	4	1051	23.51
20	2	1063	23.71

Day 2

NUMBER	NETWORK	RANDOM TIME	OBSERVATION TIME
21	4	1092	6.20
22	3	1112	6.54
23	3	1235	8.58
24	6	1354	10.57
25	1	1526	13.43
26	3	1609	14.82
27	2	1638	15.31
28	4	1685	16.09
29	6	1687	16.11
30	2	1721	16.68
31	4	1807	18.11
32	5	1822	18.36
33	2	1878	19.30
34	2	1995	21.25
35	6	2065	22.42
36	1	2129	23.49

Day 3

NUMBER	NETWORK	RANDOM TIME	OBSERVATION TIME
37	4	2582	13.03
38	2	2619	13.65
39	6	2659	14.32
40	5	2661	14.35
41	3	2866	17.77
42	3	3026	20.44
43	1	3065	21.09
44	6	3119	21.98

Day 4

NUMBER	NETWORK	RANDOM TIME	OBSERVATION TIME
45	2	3275	6.58
46	3	3342	7.70
47	3	3351	7.85
48	1	3412	8.87
49	6	3495	10.25
50	4	3505	10.41
51	5	3534	10.90
52	5	3579	11.65
53	1	3590	11.84
54	2	3664	13.06
55	2	3677	13.28
56	5	3700	13.67
57	5	3723	14.05
58	5	3778	14.97
59	3	3816	15.61
60	2	3841	16.02
61	6	3854	16.23
62	4	3863	16.39
63	5	4042	19.37
64	2	4071	19.85
65	3	4077	19.94
66	6	4219	22.32
67	4	4302	23.70
68	2	4303	23.72

Day 5

NUMBER	NETWORK	RANDOM TIME	OBSERVATION TIME
69	4	4342	6.37
70	2	4376	6.93
71	3	4397	7.29
72	3	4479	8.66
73	4	4481	8.69
74	3	4532	9.54
75	5	4564	10.06
76	6	4589	10.48
77	5	4636	11.27
78	6	4663	11.72
79	1	4726	12.76
80	5	4852	14.87
81	3	4940	16.33
82	5	4963	16.72
83	1	4990	17.17
84	6	4999	17.31
85	5	5035	17.92
86	4	5142	19.70
87	5	5298	22.30
88	4	5336	22.93
89	3	5395	23.92

Day 6

NUMBER	NETWORK	RANDOM TIME	OBSERVATION TIME
90	1	5402	6.03
91	1	5411	6.19
92	2	5416	6.27
93	5	5433	6.55
94	2	5447	6.78
95	1	5731	11.52
96	6	5784	12.40
97	3	5821	13.02
98	3	5845	13.42
99	1	5855	13.59
100	3	5865	13.75
101	3	5889	14.15
102	4	6043	16.72
103	3	6052	16.87
104	4	6061	17.01
105	2	6085	17.41
106	4	6096	17.60
107	2	6126	18.10
108	5	6140	18.33
109	6	6173	18.89
110	6	6183	19.05
111	2	6194	19.23
112	5	6468	23.79
113	6	6468	23.80

Day 7

NUMBER	NETWORK	RANDOM TIME	OBSERVATION TIME
114	5	6484	6.06
115	4	6552	7.21
116	1	6572	7.54
117	6	6614	8.24
118	1	6635	8.58
119	2	6652	8.87
120	6	6830	11.83
121	1	6851	12.18
122	4	6892	12.87
123	6	6921	13.35
124	4	7010	14.84
125	3	7187	17.78
126	2	7546	23.77

APPENDIX C
SOME STEREOTYPICAL CHARACTERIZATIONS OF BLACK AMERICANS

1. Anti-social roles:

Thief, drug addict, gambler, pimp, drug pusher, swindler, prostitute, rapist, murder, unemployed person, and homeless person.

2. Mundane roles:

Cleaner, landscaper, mover, truck driver, taxi driver, doorman, bellhop, housekeeper, store clerk, waiter, cook, shoe shiner, barber, garbage collector, field hand, soldier, policeman, factory worker.

3. Extraordinary roles:

Athletic: Football, basketball, baseball, track.

Entertainment/Artistic: Musician, singer, dancer, comedian.