This is to certify that the
dissertation entitled

PERCEPTIONS OF DEVIANCE AND DEVIANT GROUPS IN THE NEWS: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF ARAB AMERICANS PRE- AND POST-9/11

presented by

MIRON VAROUHAKIS

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Ph.D.	degree in	Communication Arts & Sciences - Media & Information Studies

Lucinda D. Davenport
Major Professor's Signature

July 29, 2009
Date

MSU is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer

PERCEPTIONS OF DEVIANCE AND DEVIANT GROUPS IN THE NEWS: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF ARAB AMERICANS PRE- AND POST-9/11

By

Miron Varouhakis

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Communication Arts & Sciences -
Media & Information Studies

2009

ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS OF DEVIANCE AND DEVIANT GROUPS IN THE NEWS: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF ARAB AMERICANS PRE- AND POST-9/11

By

Miron Varouhakis

The findings show that deviance does play some role in the news coverage of Arab-Americans, but the role is not as strong as theory would predict. Contrary to the prediction by the theories of influence on mass media content by Shoemaker and Reese, the study found that an increase in the U.S. public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans was not correlated with increased stereotyping of them by eight major metro newspapers in the five years that followed the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. The findings also provided only moderate support to the hypothesis that the more deviant the U.S. public perceives Arab-Americans the more coverage they will receive by the news media – also an argument of the Shoemaker and Reese theory. The study also found that although there was an increase in coverage of Arab-Americans after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 – as the Shoemaker and Reese theory predicted – that increase declined in the following years. The findings also show that the majority of the coverage of Arab-Americans remained balanced in tone in the five years after 9/11, while the use of local Arab community sources more than doubled in the years after 9/11.

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In publishing this dissertation I would like to take note of all those who helped me in making it a reality. I would like to specially thank Dr. Steve Lacy, my dissertation committee chair and adviser, for all his guidance and unparallel support throughout the process. Special thanks also go to the rest of the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Keith Adler, Dr. Lucinda Davenport, and Dr. Fred Fico. Their guidance and steadfast support were instrumental to the completion of the project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

The perceived deviance of minority groups by the American society and the news coverage of those minorities by U.S. news media is an issue that is fundamental to both sociology and communication scholarship. Sociologists have investigated the concept of deviance since 1895 when Durkheim published *The Rules of Sociological Method.*[1] In communication studies deviance is investigated both in terms of its effects on content as an external ideological influence[2] and within the context of media effects.[3]

The concept of deviance, although defined since the times of Durkheim, has evolved. Today, sociology scholars talk about negative deviance, rate busting, deviance admiration, and positive deviance.[4] In communication, Shoemaker and Reese define deviance not as an individual belief system but a societal-level phenomenon. The media, as agents of social control, do not screen out deviant ideas but rather portray them in a way calculated to underscore their deviance.[5] Thus, deviance in communication is defined negatively and describes underconformity, or nonconformity, by a minority group – or an individual – within society. Scholars have also argued that minority groups – political or otherwise – are by definition inherently deviant.[6] This of course doesn't mean that scholars define minorities negatively, but rather underline that by nature those in minorities have views that are not shared by the majority.

Minorities are an integral part of the American society, often called a 'melting pot' or 'salad bowl' as references to the coexistence of its many minorities. These minorities play an integral role in the social and cultural fabric of the United States and merit the attention of communication scholars. Keever et al. in 1997 examined the news coverage of Native, African, Hispanic and Asian Americans, as well as Pacific Islanders

from 1934 to 1996 and found that the minorities in the study had been subjected to biased and distorted representations in the news media.[7] The authors note that there were significant gaps in the coverage, which was defined as degrading and having reinforced racial attitudes and practices that existed in the U.S. society for decades.[8] In this case, according to the findings of the study, the public perceptions about specific minority groups were adopted by the news media, which in turn echoed those perceptions in its content – one of the core arguments in the Shoemaker and Reese *Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content*.[9]

This study comes as a continuation of that scholarship by investigating the news treatment of another important minority – that of Arab-Americans – through the deviance lens. Over 3 million Americans trace their ancestry to an Arab country,[10] a minority which after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001 has been the target of discrimination and hate crimes. The FBI recorded a seventeen-fold increase in anti-Muslim crimes nationwide during 2001, while Human Rights Watch in its 2002 annual report cited more than 2,000 September 11-related backlash incidents.[11]

In relation to deviance, the Arab-American community would be seen as deviant by the mainstream for three reasons: a) they are non-traditional immigrants because they are from the Middle East rather than Europe, Africa or Asia, which are the homelands for most U.S. immigrants in the earlier years, b) The group is perceived, whether rightly or wrongly, as being Muslim, which makes them "deviant," and c) the 9/11 attacks led some people to assume all Arabs are enemies of the U.S. In other words, the Arab-American community is likely to be seen as deviant for multiple reasons.

This study investigates the association between general perception of deviance and news media content by examining the news coverage of the two largest Arab-American communities – those in California and Michigan – by state and regional newspapers before and after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. The investigation is framed around the *Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content* by Shoemaker and Reese, and specifically the Influence of Ideology which includes deviance as a factor.[12]

JUSTIFICATION

Studying societal-level influences on news coverage about perceptions of deviance is important because it can advance our understanding of the influence society has on news media content. It will also expand our understanding about the role of the news media in the coverage of minorities and how they contribute to existing ideological perceptions with society about specific minorities that are deemed as deviant.

Shoemaker and Reese define ideology as a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive and integrated force in society, and they argue that media play a role in reinforcing this ideology.[13] Indeed the significance of the news media's role in society was highlighted in a strongly worded Hutchins Commission Report in 1947, in which a group of mostly academics called on American journalists to take on more responsibility to society. The Commission criticized the news media for coverage that was characterized by "meaninglessness, flatness, distortion, and the perpetuation of misunderstanding."[14] The Commission made five recommendations – branded as a code of social responsibility for the press in a free society – where it also calls for "the projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society."[15]

Keever showed that indeed American news coverage between 1934 and 1996 had subjected minorities to biased and distorted representations.[16] The literature by communication scholars on deviance and news has found that news coverage does play a role in the way audiences perceive deviant groups – political or otherwise – and that it serves as a predictor of newsworthiness.[17] Shoemaker and Reese note that communication is an essential part of defining deviance and argue that the media do not just convey the labels created by others. They also make their own decisions about tone, emphasis, placement, and portrayal.[18]

Thus, studying societal-level influences on news coverage about perceptions of deviance is important because it opens a path for communication scholars in explaining, controlling, and predicting ideological influences about deviance on news content at societal level, as well as the role of the press in perpetuating those ideological views about deviance or in creating new ones.

Investigating the correlation between the general perception of deviance between people in the American society and news content through the news coverage of the Arab-American community offers several advantages.

First, the Arab-American community has the unique position as having multiple deviance elements: Arab-Americans are non-traditional immigrants; they are all seen as Muslims in the eyes of the American public; and after 9/11 some Americans see them as a threat to the security of the U.S. Although Muslim Arab-Americans makeup only a small fraction of the entire Arab-American population[19] this study examines Arab-Americans as one group. This decision is backed by the fact that for the longest time the American public has been assuming that most, if not all, Arab-Americans are Muslims.[20]

Such misleading assumptions existed even among American journalists, who in their reporting have been using interchangeable the terms "Muslim," "Arab," and "Islam," perpetuating that way the misconceptions that have been harbored by the American public.[21] So widespread were these practices that the *Detroit Free Press* was prompted to publish a journalist's guide about Arab-Americans in which it explained among others that most Arab-Americans are not Muslim, but Christian.[22]

In terms of the views of the American public about Islam, several polls conducted after the Sept. 11 terror attacks showed that religion was a serious concern among the American people when it came to terrorism and conflict. A March 2002 poll conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life found that 65% of those polled said that religion plays "a great deal" or "a fair amount" in causing war and conflict.[23] A second poll by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life the following year found that 44% of Americans who were polled believe that Islam encourages violence, a sharp increase from the 25% a year earlier.[24] These views of the American public about religion, and particularly Islam, formed a "religious basis" of American responses to removing Saddam Hussein, invading Iraq, and perceiving Islam as a violent religion.[25] These views continued to grow well into 2006, when a poll by *Washington Post* and ABC News found that 46% of Americans view Islam negatively.[26] These views are also very important because religion remains as one of the core institutions in human culture. According to 2004 estimates, more than 2.1 billion people in the world identify themselves as Christians and more than 1.3 billion identify themselves as Muslims.[27]

Second, using the Arab-American community to investigate the relationship between the general perception of deviance among the American society and news

content is also advantageous because Arab-Americans are one of the largest ethnic communities in the United States – based on the 2000 U.S. Census figures they are ranked seventh among all ethnic minorities.[28] California and Michigan are home to the two largest Arab American communities in the country.[29] As such, this study also contributes to a rather slim body of communication literature that focuses on a specific ethnic group and its portrayal in newspapers operating in their communities. As national polls have shown, almost half of the American public has a negative view of Islam and this study wants to investigate the role of the media in the overall portrayal of Arab-Americans, Muslims, and Islam.

Finally, the decision to examine local newspapers instead of other news medium was based on existing scholarship that has demonstrated that local newspapers remain important to people as a source of local news.[30]

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to the *Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content* by Shoemaker and Reese,[31] there are five levels of influences on media content: a) individual media workers, b) media routines, c) organizational, d) actors and institutions outside of media organizations, and e) societal ideology. They present these influences in the form of a hierarchical model, with the "individual media workers" being that central layer – with the least influence on content – and societal "ideology" at the outer layer. The layer of ideological influences includes also influences of public perceptions of deviance on news media content. This study focuses mainly on the influences of the public's perceptions of deviance about individuals, groups and events on news media content. In doing so, it will

also explore the role of extramedia influences – included in the "outside of media organizations" influences – and particularly the targeted audience of a news media outlet, has on news content in the context of deviance. Shoemaker and Reese note that the layer of extramedia influences includes economically and politically powerful sources; government sources, interest groups and public relations firms, advertisers, and targeted audiences.

Ideology

The term ideology is said to have been coined by French enlightenment philosopher Destutt de Tracy in 1796[32] as a reference to his "science of ideas." Since then the concept has been evolving through the works of Marx, Freud, Nietzsche, Lukas, Gramsci, Adorno, Bourdieu, among others.[33] In 1977 Britain's leading post-war cultural historian and theorist, Raymond Williams defined ideology as a "relatively formal and articulated system of meanings, values and beliefs, of a kind that can be abstracted as a 'worldview' or a 'class outlook.'"[34]

Other definitions of ideology include those by Becker and Williams. Becker notes that ideology governs our perception of the world and ourselves, acting as an integrated set of references or frames.[35] According to Williams, ideology is somewhat formal and articulated system of values, meanings, and beliefs that can serve as a 'class outlook.'[36] In 1976 Gouldner noted that "ideology assumes special importance as a symbolic mechanism through which interests of these diverse social strata may be integrated; through the sharing of it the several dominant strata are enabled to make compatible responses to changing social conditions."[37]

In their theory, Shoemaker and Reese note that over the years the concept of ideology has been broadened to include feminist theory, deconstructionism, semiotics, and other post-modern approaches.[38] Instead Shoemaker and Reese try to provide some key concepts and reflect the kinds of questions that concern communication scholars that study media at the ideological level. Thus, Shoemaker and Reese define ideology as a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive and integrated force in society, and they argue that media play a role in propagating this ideology.[39]

In terms of the process, they say that ideology works through existing values and thus should not be viewed as an alien belief system that is simply being implanted on a culture.[40] Using the case of the United States as an example, Shoemaker and Reese note that there is a fundamental belief in the values of the capitalist economic system (e.g. private ownership, profit-driven entrepreneurship, free market, etc.). That system, they say, is intertwined with the Protestant ethic and the value of individual achievement and a set of political values that are centered around a liberal democracy.[41]

They also argue that ideology is not an individual belief system, but rather a societal-level phenomenon – keeping in line with the European tradition of media studies in which ideology is considered a total structure, as opposed to a system of individual attitudes and values.[42] As such, they say that process of influencing news media content is instigated not by an individual but as a class, transcending any one organization, industry, or place.[43] An example of such process could be a citizen-based boycott of a specific newspaper over its coverage of a specific issue or affair that they disapproved, where in turn the newspaper decides to apologize in order not to lose its readership.

Hall in 1989 argued that the media have the ability to 'define situations' and label groups and individuals as deviant by maintaining the ideological boundaries of society.[44] Shoemaker and Reese adopt this argument, noting that one of the key functions performed by media is to maintain boundaries in a culture, and that in order to integrate societal interests, some views and values must be defined as within the bounds of acceptability, whereas others area read out of legitimacy.[45] Deviance is one of those ideological constructs that society negotiates and communicates through the news media.

This approach to ideology by Shoemaker and Reese, though, is more of a critical studies one and its application to a social sciences model comes with some limitations – including an immeasurable level of vagueness. Social sciences traditionally deal with variance, but Shoemaker and Reese do not discuss ideology in terms of variance. They rather present it as a total structure, arguing that ideology does not vary much within a society. They argue that journalists will not use objective routines, such as balance, when subjects are outside the area of legitimate controversy and in the areas of consensus or deviance.[46] In other words they argue that ideology has a blanket effect on news media coverage and being more powerful of a factor than organization influences, such as the owners of media outlets, the editors, individual media workers (such as the reporters), etc. This proposed lack of variance in the Shoemaker and Reese model makes it difficult to test in a social sciences context. But societal-level perceptions of deviance – which according to Shoemaker and Reese exist within the outer circle of societal ideology – can be measured because it varies, and thus can be studied within a social sciences context.

Deviance

Like ideology, the concept of deviance has a long history and has been a long-standing interest to social scientists. The sociology of deviance grew to include different perspectives about deviance, including the structural-functionalist perspective and symbolic interactionism, as well as a constellation of theories, including the neautralization theory, anomie, labeling theory, control theory, and conflict theory. Structural functionalism, also known as "social systems theory," grew out of a notion introduced by Comte and Spencer, under which a social entity, such as an organization or a whole society, can be viewed as an organism.[47] Under this perspective, Durkheim's "anomie" theory suggests that crimes and their punishment provide an opportunity for institutions to reaffirm society's values, including those about deviance.[48] On the other hand, the symbolic interactionism perspective focuses on the micro level – whereas the structural functionalism perspective focuses on the macro level such as the institutions.[49] Under symbolic interactionism, most interactions revolve around the process of individuals reaching common understanding through the use of language and other such systems, including the media.[50] Thus, under this school of thought deviance is both learned and sidelined through communication.

In their theory Shoemaker and Reese adopt the symbolic interactionist perspective, and they view deviance not as an unchanging condition but as continually being defined and renegotiated as the participants interact with each other symbolically.[51] They note that the media are continually coping with new ideas, reaffirming social norms, and redrawing or defining boundaries, thus making communication an essential part of defining deviance.[52]

Communication scholars who have studied deviance have supported the position that news media content does influence audiences' perceptions about deviance, while several dimensions of deviance have been found to play a key role in the newsworthiness criteria of news media, including news values of controversy, sensationalism, prominence, and unusualness.[53] Shoemaker also found that those political groups perceived as deviant by newspaper editors were typically given less favorable treatment, and although they were not given less prominent attention, their legitimacy was more likely to be questioned. [54] Moreover, Shoemaker et al. in 1984 found that world events covered by the U.S. media were more deviant than those not covered, in the sense that those events (such as terrorism) threatened the status quo in the country in which they occurred.[55] Similarly, covered events often conveyed normative deviance – that is, they would have broken American norms had they occurred in the United States.[56]

As suggested by the Shoemaker research, the news media do not screen out deviant ideas but rather portray them in a way calculated to underscore their deviance.[57] In short, deviance is related to ideology as it involves people's perceptions of how individuals, groups and events vary from the accepted ideology. Thus, because deviance is based on perceptions, it can vary within a society and can be measured as a social sciences variable.

Wells argues that deviance has been defined in three ways: a) under the normative way, behavior is deviant when it breaks social rules or norms and it is the society that determines who is deviant, b) under the labeling perspective, a group is deviant when and because someone calls it deviant, and c) behavior is consciously deviant to the extent that a person or group is aware that his or her actions are in some sense wrong or socially

disapproved.[58] Shoemaker and Reese argue that in the context of deviance and social change, the media act as a key control mechanism in society, and that the normal is reaffirmed by being presented routinely and in juxtaposition to the deviant, which competes at the boundaries for attention.[59] They say that as agents of social control, the media reaffirm the ideological status quo by ridiculing deviant ideas, adding that political groups that have been shut out of the media spotlight may become even more shrill and radical and thus confirming the original deviant label.[60]

The idea of boundaries is based on a model developed by Hallin in 1986 by which he explained the ways in which news media reinforce ideological boundaries by dividing the journalistic world into three spheres: a) sphere of consensus, b) sphere of legitimate controversy, and c) sphere of deviance.[61] In the model, the three spheres are represented into three layers, with the sphere of consensus at the center and the sphere of deviance at the outer layer.[62] Hallin says that at the sphere of deviance the reporter's role is to expose, condemn, or exclude from the public agenda those who violate or challenge the political consensus.[63]

Minority Groups

Just like ideology and deviance, the term minority has also long historical roots. The term minority was originally emerged in the context of the rise of nationalism and the nation-state in the late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century Europe.[64] It was used to characterize national or ethnic groups that had become subordinate to the peoples of another national or ethnic group through the shifts in political boundaries.[65] The term was adopted in the United States after World War I, primarily in response to the publicity given to issues involving European minorities that were addressed in the

negotiations that ended the war.[66] However, in the United States the term developed a different meaning than in Europe, as the minority peoples of the United States were fighting for status within the larger society when the minorities of Europe were mainly fighting for independence from it.[67] Gleason contented that the way in which the social scientific concept of minority evolved in the United States reflected implicit American cultural and political assumptions about the nature of minorities – i.e., that minorities are the consequence of exclusion by majorities from the mainstream of American society and that, once tolerated and accepted as equals, minorities will ultimately disappear.[68]

American social scientists have generally used the terms majority and minority to refer to systems of structured social inequality in which racial and ethnic criteria play a critical role in the system's ranking system.[69] The term minority has been applied with greatest frequency to subordinate groups characterized by hereditary membership and endogamy – racial, caste, and ethnic groupings.[70] Thus a minority group can de defined as any group that is assigned an inferior status in society, that is, any group that has less than its proportionate share of wealth, power, or social status, and which are often discriminated against by those in the majority.[71] As Keever et al. found in their 1997 examination of the news coverage of Native, African, Hispanic, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders, from 1934 to 1996, minorities had been subjected to biased and distorted representations in the news media.[72]

Minorities in society are not only assigned an inferior status in society, but according to Moscovici a minority group is by definition deviant.[73]

This study connects the concepts of ideology, deviance, and minorities through the Shoemaker and Reese *Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content* and specifically

the Influence of Ideology. One of the main hypotheses in Influence of Ideology is that the more deviant people or events are, the more likely they are to be included in media content and the more likely they are to be stereotyped.[74] The hypotheses bring together the concepts of ideology (at the societal level), deviance (ideologically defined by society), and minority (by definition any minority group is deviant from the majority and it is the majority that ideologically defines what and who is deviant).

In this study, the Arab-American community represents the minority group, while a series of national surveys by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life that were conducted between 2001 and 2005 provide the perspective of the American public about the deviance of Arab-Americans and Islam. The term stereotype used in the hypothesis by Shoemaker and Reese will be explored in this study by using stereotypes relevant to Arab-Americans that have been identified in existing scholarship. For example, after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 the U.S. pubic may perceive that Islam is violent and that Muslims were anti-American. These stereotypes of deviant nature can be identified in the manifest content of newspaper coverage of Muslim-Americans, and they are also measurable because they vary.

In summary, Shoemaker and Reese contend that in their five layers of influence of content – where individual media workers are at the center and societal-level ideology is at the outer layer – the individual media worker has the least influence on media content. Specifically, they note that the ideological layer of influence is the most powerful one as all the processes taking place at the lower layers are thought to be working toward an ideologically related pattern of messages and on behalf of the higher power centers of society.[75] This may not always be the case, though. A 1955 study by Breed on social

control in newsrooms in the United States found five cases where staffers (or individual media workers) manage to bypass content policy that was instituted by the media organization.[76] The five cases highlighted by Breed were: a) Vagueness in policies gives flexibility and autonomy to staffers; b) On some issues staffers can have superior knowledge than their executives; c) Staffers can bypass executive orders of dropping a story by "planting" the story in another news outlet via a friendly colleague in that outlet; d) Staffer-initiated stories offer greater autonomy to the reporter; and e) Staffers with "star" status can transgress policy more easily.[77] Breed's study show that individual media workers may have a lot more influence on content than Shoemaker and Reese suggest.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Deviance and News

The body of communication literature that has examined deviance and news is lengthy[78] but the majority of the studies focus on the impact of news coverage on audience perceptions of deviance. Studies that investigate news media content effects on audience perceptions of deviance span a period of several decades, and they have shown that news coverage does play a role in the way audiences perceive deviant minority groups – political or otherwise. In 1982 Shoemaker conducted two experiments in which subjects were shown mock newspapers stories about non-mainstream political parties. The findings showed that subjects' evaluations of a party's legitimacy increased in favorability when they read a positive, serious story, while it declined when they read a negative ridiculing story.[79]

These earlier findings were reinforced later when McLeod in 1995 conducted an experiment that examined television news coverage's impact on audience's perceptions of social protests. Subjects were shown a television news story about a 1987 protest by an anarchist group in Minneapolis.[80] The findings showed that subjects who saw the one-sided news story – in which the opinions of the protesters were excluded - were significantly less critical of the police officers and more critical of the protesters, while they also tended to identify less with the protesters.[81] The findings from the early 1980s and mid-1990s were further buttressed in 2008 when Lee conducted an online experiment using different levels of deviance in news stories. During the experiment, some 111 participants browsed the Web with their behaviors recorded by a Web-tracking program. The findings showed that deviance was a strong predictor of story selection while personal involvement interfered with the influence of story deviance.[82]

Communication scholars have also investigated the newsworthiness factor of deviance and studies have shown that deviance serves as a predictor of newsworthiness. In 1984 a study by Shoemaker found that the news media report less favorably on deviant political groups but not less prominently.[83] This prominence, or newsworthiness, of deviance was also investigated by Weimann et al. in 1991, who examined the newsworthiness of international terrorism. The findings suggest that in the case of terrorism, deviance as newsworthiness can be regarded as the guiding principle of coverage.[84]

Six years later Pritchard et al. sought to develop a more sturdy theoretical explanation for journalists' decisions about which crimes (or deviant act) to highlight and which to ignore. The authors proposed that four forms of deviance (normative deviance,

statistical deviance, status deviance, and cultural deviance) account for much of the variation in decisions about crime news.[85] The deviance-based explanations for crime news were tested through a comprehensive content analysis of two Milwaukee newspapers and in-depth interviews with journalists at the two media outlets.[86] The findings showed that the newsworthiness of a homicide is enhanced when Whites are suspects or victims, males are suspects, and victims are females, children, or senior citizens.[87] They concluded that status deviance and cultural deviance are important components of newsworthiness and that statistical deviance (unusualness) may be much less important than commonly assumed.[88] That same year, Breen examined deviance as a trigger for intermedia agenda setting by investigating changes in trends of news media reports of deviant acts by members of the clergy after a negative triggering event of child sexual abuse between 1991 and 1995.[89] The findings of a content analysis of some 235 stories suggested strong media agenda-setting effects of the negative triggering events or the subsequent coverage of the clergy in general.[90]

One area where communication scholars have not focused their investigation enough is the ideological influence of society's perception of deviance about minorities on news content.

Murray et al. in 2008 investigated the extent to which protesters opposing the 2003 Iraq War were successful at securing positive coverage in the British press immediately before and during the invasion of Iraq.[91] Britain was selected because the war was highly controversial in the United Kingdom, generating domestic opposition and a widely supported anti-war movement.[92] The findings of a content analysis showed that, although anti-war protesters received more favourable than unfavourable coverage prior

to the war, once the war got under way, a 'support our boys' consensus led to the narrowing of the 'sphere of legitimate controversy' with the anti-war movement relegated to a 'sphere of deviance.'[93] The findings also showed that elite-led protest was more successful at influencing newspaper debate than grassroots protest.[94] Overall, the authors note that the findings highlight the problems protest movements have in securing positive media representation during war.[95] Shoemaker and Reese said that the normal is reaffirmed by being presented routinely and in juxtaposition, which competes at the boundaries for attention.[96]

News and Arab-Americans

The body of communication literature that investigates the news coverage of Arabs and Arab-Americans by U.S. news media is rather thin but growing in recent years. The earliest studies found that Arabs and Arab-Americans have been cast as deviant. One of the earliest and most notable studies on Arab images in the West was by Said in 1979.[97] In his book *Orientalism,* Said concluded that the Western world had created Arabs as a racial other, portrayed as dangerous, emotionally volatile, and backwards.[98] Studies that followed in the 1980s found that the prevalent stereotypical images of Arab Americans were those of terrorists, hijackers, and religious fundamentalists.[99]

More than a decade later, though, Gavrilos found that news features published in *The New York Times*, *USA TODAY*, and the *Washington Post* during the period of the 1991 Gulf War about Arab-American reactions to the war had sympathetic portrayals of Arab-Americans who feared the loss of Arab lives and the threat of racism while highlighting their steadfast loyalty to America.[100] But the study used one story per

newspaper, which placed serious limitations to the conclusions and to any inferences to the national media.[101]

The consequences of 9/11 on Arab-Americans have also become the focus of scholarly research. Domke et al. in 2003 examined 345 news stories from 26 national and statewide newspapers that were published five months prior and after the 9/11.[102] Focusing on the manner in which "racial profiling" was talked about by government and societal leaders, nongovernmental groups, and average citizens, the findings showed that Arab Americans spoke from a more favorable position of status than African Americans, and that racial minorities may face a situation in which they de facto "compete" with other minorities for space in news coverage.[103]

Another study by Weston that same year examined qualitatively 195 news stories published in the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Detroit Free Press* between June 1, 2001 and Oct. 11, 2001. He found that the two newspapers resisted stereotypes and discrimination, describing Arab-Americans as doubly victimized and loyal patriotic members of the community.[104] The study, though, was limited by the timeframe used in the investigation and the number and types of newspapers used in the sample.

Two years later, a study by Salaita contradicted those findings by examining the effects of 9/11 on the Arab-American community, with an emphasis on how notions of patriotism have altered both American and Arab-American life.[105] Offering analyses of pedagogy, ethnic studies, xenophobia, racism, and stereotype in order to highlight the complexities of the interaction between Americans of Arab origin and other domestic ethnic groups, Salaita concluded that 9/11 did not actually alter American attitudes toward Arab-Americans, but rather it reinforced attitudes both positive and negative that

had existed for decades.[106] Salaita noted that 9/11 simply offered racists and xenophobes a rhetorical trope that could legitimize their views, while it offered multiculturalists more reasons to promote inclusionary ideas.[107]

This study continues that scholarship but moves away from the approach that wants researchers examining content for presence or absence of specific characteristics and seeks to explore if characteristics that relate to deviance correlate with the prevalent perceptions in the American public.

Arab-Americans

Americans of Arab descent have been part of the country's unique multicultural tapestry for over a century.[108] The first significant wave of Arab immigrants began slowly in the 1870s, reached a zenith between 1900 and 1913, and continued at a reduced level until 1924.[109] Some historian estimate that more than 100,000 Arabs left their homelands for American by 1914, with 90% of them being Christians from what it was then the Ottoman Province of Greater Syria – a region that included present-day Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories.[110] Others place the number Arabs who came to American even higher at 250,000.[111] The influx of Arabs into the United States halted in the 1920s after the passing of the National Origins Act in 1924, which restricted immigration to 2% or about 150,000 per year.[112] The period between 1920 and 1950s Arab immigrants started to gradually become assimilated to the American culture, but that also meant a decline in spoken Arabic and the Arabic press.[113] The second wave of Arab immigrants to America came in the 1950s and 1960s, triggered by political and economic upheaval in many Arab countries, such as Egypt, Palestine,

Syria, Iraq, and Yemen.[114] This second wave of Arab immigrants was very different from the first because 60% of them were Muslim.[115] Between 1965 and 1992 it is estimated that more than 400,000 Arab immigrants came to America.[116] This second wave of Arab immigrants also became the catalyst in the reawakening of an ethnic consciousness among Arab-Americans, which also came to be known in the community as "Arab Renaissance."[117]

Today, at least 3.5 million Americans are of Arab descent, while more than 80% of them are U.S. citizens.[118] Lebanese-Americans constitute the greater part (39%) of the total Arab-Americans, while others include Egyptians (12%), Syrians (12%), and Palestinian (6%).[119] In terms of employment trends among Arab-Americans are very similar to the national average, with 65% of Arab-American adults in the labor force and a 5% unemployment rate.[120] Most Arab-Americans (88%) work in the private sector, while 73% of them are employed in managerial, professional, technical, sales, or administrative fields.[121] At the same time, the median income for Arab-American households in 1999 was $47,000, compared with $42,000 for all households in the U.S. at the time.[122] In terms of religion, 35% are Roman/Eastern Catholic, 24% Muslim, 18% Eastern Orthodox, 10% Protestant, and 13% Other Religion/No Affiliation.[123] A study by Kulczycki and Lobo in 2001 that examined the changing demographical characteristics and socioeconomic profile of Arab-Americans concluded that although still small in size relative to many other U.S. ethnic groups, the Arab-American population may gain more public recognition if current demographic trends hold and a positive assimilation path is maintained.[124]

Arab-Americans in California

The Arab population of California is the largest in the United States with more than 700,000 Arab-Americans living there.[125] The Arab community of California is one of the most vibrant in the country, having grown by more than 34% between 1990 and 2000.[126] At the same time the Arab/Chaldean ancestry population of California grew by an average of more than 57,000 in each decade.[127] The majority of California's Arab-American community is of Lebanese origin (24%).[128] Other large groups included those of Arab origin (17%), Egyptian origin (14%), Syrian (9%), and Palestinian (7%).[129] The Arabs of California have settled in 56 out of all 58 counties in the state, but some 66% of them live in the greater Los Angeles area, San Diego, and the seven northern counties around the San Francisco Bay.[130] Specifically, 32% of California's Arabs reside in the Los Angeles County, 12% in the San Diego County, another 12% in Orange County, 6% in Santa Clara County, and 4% in the San Bernardino County.[131] The remaining 44% is spread in smaller communities throughout California.[132]

In spite the fact that this is the largest Arab-American presence in a single state it is still statistically less significant when compared to other ethnic groups in the state.[133] For example, in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area where there is the largest presence of Arab-Americans in the state, the largest ethnic groups are Whites (55%), Asian (10%), African-American (8%), Native-American (1%), and Pacific Islanders (0.5%).[134] Thus, although some 34% of Arab-Americans of California reside in the Los Angles Metropolitan Area, they only account for 0.01% of the population.[135]

Arab-Americans in Michigan

Arab immigrants have had a presence in Michigan for more than a century, and the community's economic and cultural prominence – measured in thousands of businesses and hundreds of mosques, churches and social clubs – make it uniquely vibrant.[136] Michigan is home to the highest concentration of Arab-Americans in any U.S. state, but the size of the Arab-American community varies depending on the source, and can be anything from 115,000[137] to 200,000[138] and even 490,000.[139] The Arab-American community is represented in 82 out of 83 counties in Michigan, with more than 80% of the state's population residing in the three Detroit metro counties of Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne.[140] Roughly one third of the city of Dearborn claim some Arab heritage.[141] In terms of the countries of origin, 36% are Lebanese, 23% Assyrian/Chaldean/Syriac, 16% Arab/Arabic, 7% Iraqi, 6% Syrian, 3% Palestinian, 2% Egyptian, 2% Jordanian, and 6% Other.[142] In terms of religion, the Arab-American community of Detroit is divided into two religious groups, Muslim and Christian.[143] Similarly with the case of California, although this is the second largest Arab-American presence in a state, it is still statistically less significant when compared to other ethnic groups in the state.[144] For example, in the Detroit Metropolitan Areawhere the entire Arab-American community of the state is residing, the largest ethnic groups are Whites (73%), Blacks (21%), Hispanic (3%), and Asian (2.5%).[145] Thus, Arab-Americans, although 100% of them live in the area, they account for approximately 0.01% of the population – approximately an equal size with that of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area.[146]

But in spite the vagueness of its size, the Arab-American community of Michigan, and particularly that in the metro Detroit area, have demonstrated a high degree of

success in business and have proven to be influential in municipal and state politics.[147] Arabs have been coming to Detroit since the late nineteenth century, and they continue to arrive in thousands each year.[148] In the book "Arab Detroit: From Margin to Mainstream," Abraham and Shryock note that the first Arab immigrants arrived in Detroit even before the auto industry begun to boom:

"In 1900 the *Detroit Free Press*, February 6, ran a story on "Detroit's Colony of Syrians." The reporter describes a small, exotic community of 75-100 people, most of them Maronite Christians from Lebanon. These early immigrants were peddlers and shopkeepers, not industrial workers. By 1916, however, there were already 555 Syrian men employed in Henry Ford's factories alone, many of them newly-arrived Muslims. By 1930, there were nine thousand Arabic-speaking Detroiters: almost six thousand were Syrian, and the rest were a mix of Palestinians, Yemenis, and Iraqi Chaldeans."

Today's Arab-American community of Detroit evolved out of that existing and growing population, and gradually started to integrate into its gulfs that newly arriving immigrants who had come to America as refugees of war – Shia from Lebanon and Iraq, and victims of political oppression, economic hardship, and population displacement – Iraqi Catholics, Palestinians and Yemenis.[149] According to scholars, Arab-Americans today are one of Michigan's largest, fastest growing minority populations.[150]

HYPOTHESES & RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study addresses a total of four hypotheses and four research questions, with the majority of them aimed at testing the Shoemaker and Reese *Theories of Influence on*

Mass Media Content and specifically the societal-level influences on news content about deviance.[151]

One of the central arguments in the Shoemaker and Reese theory has been that the more deviant a group or events involving the group are the more coverage the group will receive from the news media.[152] The hypothesis contends that public views about perceived deviant events and groups- expressed in the public domain through collective ways such as national polls – influence the perceptions of journalists and editors about those events and groups and thus the news content that they produce about them. For example, the U.S. public may perceive that Mexicans who are trying to cross the border into the United States are deviant (seen as a threat to national security) and express their perception in national surveys. In turn, journalists and editors after reviewing those polls decide to increase coverage of Mexicans.

This argument is explored through the case of Arab-Americans. Specifically, with the use of data from a series of national surveys by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life that were conducted between 2001 and 2005, and three measures of deviance were used about Arab-Americans. After establishing the general perceptions of the American public about the deviance of Arab-Americans, the study carried out a quantitative content analysis of eight large U.S. daily newspapers in order to test the Shoemaker and Reese argument by exploring the first hypothesis:

H1: The more deviant Arab-Americans or events involving Arab-Americans are perceived to be by the American public, the more likely they are to be covered in the news by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*,

the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*.

Another central argument in the Shoemaker and Reese theory has been that the more deviant a group or an event involving that group is the more likely it is to be stereotyped by the press.[153] This argument is at the core of their theoretical argument that has news media content being influenced ideologically by society, particularly when it comes to deviance and deviant groups. Similarly with their previous hypothesis, this contends that public views about perceived deviance of a group - expressed in the public domain through collective ways such as national polls – will lead journalists and editors at news media outlets to deem that Arab-Americans are worthy of additional coverage. In this case, the journalists and editors fall back on stereotypes about the specific group that they have acquired though mediated and interpersonal communications. Again, the argument was explored through the case of Arab-Americans. The deviance of Arab-Americans was established with the Pew surveys, while a quantitative content analysis of eight large U.S. daily newspapers allows a test of the Shoemaker and Reese argument through the second hypothesis:

H2: The more deviant Arab-Americans or events involving Arab-Americans are perceived to be by the American public the more likely they are to be stereotyped in the news coverage of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*.

The Shoemaker and Reese proposition on "extramedia influences" argues that the more a media organization promotes itself within a target audience, the more its content

will reflect the interests of that audience.[154] This hypothesis contends that the marketplace (environment or audience) within which a news media outlet operates influences the news content that it produces. For example, if a newspaper operates within a community where the majority of the people are Jewish, the journalists and editors will be inclined to be more sensitive to issues related to Judaism so that they will not alienate their readers and even lose them. In this case, the marketplace's influence on news media content is stronger than the societal-level ideological influences. The study explores the assumption that the extramedia influences are stronger than ideological influences through the case of Arab-Americans, whose deviance was established with the Pew surveys. The assumption is tested by a content analysis of eight large U.S. daily newspapers – four of which are based in areas with large Arab-American communities and four in areas with insignificant or nonexistent Arab-American presence – and through the third hypothesis:

H3: The *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, and the *Detroit News* will be less likely to include stereotypes about Arab-Americans in their coverage with the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*.

The Shoemaker and Reese theory also argues that the more deviant an event is the more coverage it will generate.[155] Again, the study explores this argument through the case of Arab-Americans, whose deviance will be established with the Pew surveys, and by using the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as the case of the deviant event. The argument is tested by a content analysis of eight large U.S. daily newspapers – four of which are

based in areas with large Arab-American communities and four in areas with insignificant or nonexistent Arab-American presence – and through the fourth hypothesis:

H4: News coverage of Arab-Americans by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* will increase after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, an event that was deviant by nature.

The study also explores four research questions that sought to address issues related to the nature of coverage of a deviant group by offering detailed insights about the structure of the coverage. The study measures nature of coverage based on four indicators (sources, focus, type of story, and tone). Specifically, the research questions seek to address issues of depth of coverage, whether the focus of the stories was local, national, or international, the type of sources that appeared more often in those stories, and finally the tone of the stories. Data generated by these questions allows the study to offer the kind of detailed analysis that is not limited only to the volume of the coverage or differences between certain newspapers, but also explores different aspects that are related to the nature of the news coverage.

The questions that aimed at addressing those issues are the following:

RQ1: How many feature and in-depth stories did the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* carry about Arab-Americans pre- and post-9/11?

"Feature stories" and "in-depth stories" are measured by a single variable Type of Story that has three categories: hard news story; feature story; and in-depth story. It is

argued that feature stories are much lengthier and detailed in their analysis in comparison to hard news – published a newspaper. Features also require a lot more time and resources than hard news, an indication that the news medium is showing a stronger interest in an event or issue. In-depth stories differ from hard news and feature stories. For the purposes of the study they include news analysis and investigative stories. In-depth stories differ from hard news stories in that they go beyond pure facts about a timely event and offer expert analysis of what the event means for present time and the future. They also differ from features because they are not human interest stories. "In-depth" stories offer analysis and projection about current events through analysis from experts on the topic

RQ2: What was the focus of the Arab-related stories of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* pre- and post-9/11?

"Focus" is measured by two variables, Geographical Focus and Topical Focus. Geographical Focus has three dimensions: a) local community story, b) localization of national affairs, and c) localization of international affairs. The specific three categories of the "geographical focus" variable were selected because they allowed the study to identify if the stories about Arab-Americans were dealing with issues deriving from the local Arab-American community or at the national and international levels. The second variable, Topical Focus, has also three dimensions: a) local Arab community affairs, b) discrimination/attacks against Arabs, and c) religion. The specific three categories of the

"topical focus" were selected because they allowed the study to identify if some key topics were reflected in the coverage and how much.

RQ3: Which types of sources appeared most often in the stories about Arab-Americans or Arab affairs published in the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* pre- and post-9/11?

"Sources" is measured by a total of six variables: local Arab community members; national Arab community members; local government officials; federal government officials; law enforcement officials; and foreign government officials. The six "sources" variables were selected because they allowed the study to identify who were the most frequently used sources in the stories about Arab-Americans, as well as to see how much voice local Arab community members and national Arab community members had in the stories dealing with their communities compared to official government entities at the local, federal, and international level. A higher presence of local Arab community members in the stories would be an indicator that the newspapers made an effort to include local Arab views in the stories that were related about them or issues about them, while a higher use of government sources would indicate that the newspapers relied more heavily on official sources and not paying enough attention to the views of the local Arab community. Each variable was compared with the other five based on the frequency it appears in the stories.

RQ4: What was the tone toward the focus of the Arab-related stories published by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit*

News, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* pre- and post-9/11?

"Tone" will be measured by one variable: Tone toward Focus. The variable has four categories: positive toward focus; balanced toward focus; negative toward focus; and story is entirely neutral. This last variable – used in the "2006 News Availability Project" as part of a national study for the Project for Excellence in Journalism – was selected because it will allow the study to identify if the newspaper coverage of Arab-Americans was positive, balanced, negative, or neutral, and if there was a change in the coverage tone after 9/11.

METHODS

Newspapers

This study uses a quantitative content analysis of eight dailies – two from California, two from Michigan, one from Oregon, one from Wisconsin, one from Minnesota, and one from Colorado. Specifically, the newspapers selected for the content analysis are the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. The eight newspapers were selected for two primary reasons: a) their location in relation to the concentration, or lack off, of Arab-Americans in the six states, and b) their circulation figures.

A) Location. Specifically, in California the two dailies represent an area where more than 42% of the state's Arab-American population resides.[156] In Michigan the two dailies are published in Detroit Metropolitan Area that covers an area where more than

82% of the state's Arab population resides.[157] In both states, although the Arab-American presence is the highest in the country, statistically the Arab-Americans are far less vibrant in their presence than other ethnic groups.[158] Also, in the areas where the four dailies are located in the two states Arab-Americans are of similar size, about 0.01% of the metropolitan population.[159] The other four newspapers from Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin were selected because they don't have any significant presence of Arab-American communities,[160] thus allowing to test for differences in coverage with those dailies that serve areas with considerably highly concentrated Arab-American communities. Moreover, the four newspapers were selected for the geographic location, with the *Oregonian* and the *Denver Post* representing states in the greater West region with no significant Arab-American presence, and the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* and *Minneapolis Star Tribune* representing states in the greater Midwest region with no significant Arab-American community. The underlying mechanism is that newspapers that do not cater to large Arab-American communities will be more likely to treat them as deviant than newspapers that cater to large Arab-American communities. This relates to the Shoemaker and Reese hypothesis of "extramedia influences," which argues that the more a media organization promotes itself within a target audience, the more its content will reflect the interests of that audience.[161]

B. Circulation. Finally, the specific newspapers were selected because of their large audience. Specifically, their high circulation numbers are: the *Los Angeles Times* (775,766), the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* (358,887), the *Detroit Free Press* (345,861), the *Oregonian* (310,803), the *San Diego Union-Tribune* (304,334), the *Denver Post* (258,696), the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (230,781), and the *Detroit News* (201,482).[162]

These circulation figures place these eight dailies in the top 50 within the Top 100 U.S. dailies.[163] These newspapers not only have some of the highest circulation numbers in the country, but also in their state – thus reaching larger audiences than any other newspaper in their state.

Sampling

The archives of the eight dailies were accessed through Lexis/Nexis, NewsBank, Factiva, and online archives of newspapers.

The sample for the content analysis was drawn by using an electronic keyword search to find all news stories, about "Arab-Americans" that were published by the eight dailies between Jan. 1, 1996 and Dec. 31, 2006. For the purposes of the study "news" is defined as information about recent events as they are reported and published by the eight daily newspapers. The "news" can be in three different formats: a) Hard news, b) Features, and c) In-depth Stories.

"Hard news" involve stories that report on a specific timely event or series of events, with a focus on what, when, where, and why, and which commonly appear on the front page or any other pages in the news section. "Features" these are also known as human-interest stories because they usually focus on prominent or unusual events and individuals. They differ from hard news stories in that the topic is not necessarily timely and that they are much lengthier. In newspapers this type of stories usually appears in a "Features" section, but in some instances they don't have their own section and thus appear under the "Local" or "State" sections. "In-depth Stories," include news analysis and investigative stories. They differ from hard news stories in that they go beyond pure facts about a timely event and offer expert analysis of what the event means for present

time and the future. They also differ from features because they are not human interest stories. News analysis stories offer analysis and projection about current events through analysis from experts on the topic. They are commonly identified by a "News Analysis" logo either next to the headline or inside the story. Any news story, feature, and in-depth that mentions "Arab-American" were selected for the final sample. Of those, only stories with two or more mentions of "Arab-American" was included for the analysis in an effort to eliminate stories that just have a passing mention about Arab-Americans. Investigative stories also require a lot of resources and time from the part of the newspaper, and they can be either in the form of a single story or a series of stories. They can usually be identified by an acknowledgement within the story, such as "an investigation by [title of newspaper]," or even on the headline.

The years of the sampling starts on Jan. 1, 1996 and ends on Dec. 31, 2006. The time frame was selected based on the rationale that the five year period prior to 9/11 allows to record characteristics of the news coverage prior to the terrorist attacks, while the five year period after 9/11 allows to record any changes to the news coverage. In this case, the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001 act as the treatment in what is a quasi-experimental study.

The study used four different samples in order to best address the hypotheses and research questions.

"Full Census Sample": This first sample was a census and covered all of stories about Arab-Americans that were published by eight dailies between 1996 and 2006. The sample had an N=2,010 (*Los Angeles Times* 322; *San Diego Union Tribune* 186; *Oregonian* 85; *Detroit Free Press* 539; *Detroit News* 484; *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*

212; *Denver Post* 81; and *Minneapolis Star Tribune* 101). This sample was used to answer H4, which seeks to test if the amount of coverage of Arab-Americans by the eight dailies increased after 9/11, covering a period of over 10 years (Jan. 1, 1996 to Sept. 10, 2001 and Sept. 12, 2001 and Dec. 31, 2006). The day of September 11, 2001was intentionally excluded from the sample as any coverage of Arab-Americans that day would have been exclusively about that event.

"Partial Census Sample": This second sample was also a census and covered the total number of stories about Arab-Americans published by the eight newspapers during five three-month periods that followed each national Pew survey. The sample had an N=241 (*Los Angeles Times* 44; *San Diego Union Tribune* 43; *Oregonian* 15; *Detroit Free Press* 58; *Detroit News* 39; *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* 33; *Denver Post* 5; and *Minneapolis Star Tribune* 14). This sample was used to answer H1 and H2. H1 seeks to test if there is a correlation between the amount of coverage of Arab-Americans and their perceived deviance by the U.S. public. H2 seeks to test if there is a correlation between the presence of stereotypes in the coverage of Arab-Americans and their perceived deviance by the U.S. public.

"Main Random Sample": This third sample was random and was drawn from the census sample of N=2,010 stories that were published by the eight dailies during the 1996-2006 period. The sample had an N=500 (*Los Angeles Times* 85; *San Diego Union Tribune* 45; *Oregonian* 25; *Detroit Free Press* 130; *Detroit News* 114; *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* 50; *Denver Post* 26; and *Minneapolis Star Tribune* 25). This sample was used to answer H3, which seeks to test if all eight newspapers used stereotypes against Arab-Americans equally in their coverage from over a decade (Jan. 1, 1996 to Sept. 10,

2001 and Sept. 12, 2001 to Dec. 31, 2006). The sample was proportionate to the percentage of total stories about Arab-Americans published by the eight newspapers being studied between 1996 and 2006. The use of a random sample in this case was deemed appropriate as the sheer volume of stories in the census exceeded the 2,000 thus making a random sample more efficient.

"Large Random Sample": This fourth sample is also random and was drawn from the census sample of N=2,010 stories that were published by the eight newspapers during the 1996-2006 period. The sample had an N=554. The pre-9/11 sample had an N=161 and the post-9/11 sample had an N=393. The distribution of stories per newspaper in the pre-9/11 sample was: the *Los Angeles Times* (33), the *San Diego Union-Tribune* (10), the *Detroit Free Press* (54), the *Detroit News* (30), the *Oregonian* (10), the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (10), the *Denver Post* (9), and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* (5). The distribution of stories per newspaper in the post-9/11 sample was: the *Los Angeles Times* (53), the *San Diego Union-Tribune* (45), the *Detroit Free Press* (84), the *Detroit News* (85), the *Oregonian* (25), the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (50), the *Denver Post* (26), and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* (25).

The sample was used to answer all four research questions. All four research questions seek to investigate different variables during the entire 1996-2006 period. The use of a random sample in this case was deemed appropriate as the sheer volume of stories in the census exceeded the 2,000 thus making a random sample more efficient. Due to a very low volume of pre-9/11 stories in the census sample of N=2,010 by four dailies – the *Oregonian* (85), the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (212), the *Denver Post* (81), and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* (101) – oversampling of those dailies was deemed

necessary. Specifically, the *Oregonian* had only 22 of its 85 stories published prior to 2001. Random sampling based on its proportion in the census sample (85 stories out of 2,010) could not have produced a large enough random sample that would be needed for a valid analysis. Similarly, the *Denver Post* and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* had each published only 15 stories about Arab-Americans between 1996 and 2001, while the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* had published only 40 stories. The larger random samples from the four dailies (the *Oregonian*, 35 stories, or 41%; the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 60 stories, 28%; the *Denver Post*, 35 stories, or 43%, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 30 stories, or 30%) were deemed more appropriate as they allowed for greater validity in the analysis by raising the number of pre-9/11 stories by the four dailies in the random sample. For the two dailies (the *Denver Post* and the *Oregonian*) that had less than 100 stories in the census sample, a random sample of about 40% was deemed efficient, while for the other two dailies (the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*) that had over 100 stories in the census sample, a random sample of about 30% was deemed adequate.

Two coders were trained for the content analysis and a two-person coder reliability assessment were conducted using a random sample of 10% (50 stories of the total N=500 "Main Random Sample") and was tested based on a Scott's Pi statistical measurement. It was decided to use the Scott's Pi test because it corrects the coefficient of reliability for agreement due to chance, and achieves by measuring the percentages of both observed and expected agreements. Also, the decision to use a 10% of the sample of the intercoder reliability test as it has been accepted as the minimum percentage for a random sample in order to have a good approximation of the population, as well for

allowing for enough cases to test for chance.[164] An intercoder reliability of .80 and above will be required for all variables.

A two-person coder reliability assessment produced a Scott's Pi that ranged from .83 to 1.0. Specifically, Scott's Pi computations for the variable of "Local Arab Comm. Members" was .96; for "National Arab Comm. Members" .90; for "Local Government Officials" 1.0; for "Federal Government Officials" .91; for "Law Enforcement Officials" 1.0; for "Foreign Government Officials" 1.0; for "Geographical Focus" 1.0; for "Topical Focus" .92; for "Stereotypes" .87; and for "Tone Towards Focus" .83.

Variables and Measurements

The hypotheses were tested using two dependent variables: news coverage and stereotyping. The hypotheses had three independent variables: the deviance of Arab-Americans and Islam as rated by the American public in a series of national surveys by the Pew Foundation, the two types of newspapers (those with an Arab-American community and those without one), and 9/11. Finally, the hypotheses had a control variable: story origin. This last variable differentiates between staff-written stories and stories generated from news agencies and control for wire copy as news agencies tend to cover more conflict and breaking news stories than local community stories.[165]

The independent variables were selected in accordance with the premise of the study, which is to investigate if there is a correlation between the deviant nature of a group and the amount and type of news coverage it receives by newspapers. The Pew surveys were selected as it is a reliable source of American public opinion about Islam and Arab-Americans for a continuous period between 2001 and 2005. The Pew surveys

provided the necessary data that formed the independent variable, which is the deviance of Arab-Americans and of Islam as rated by the American public. The dependent variables were also chosen in accordance with the premise of study, with both of them – reflected in the newspaper content – being investigated for signs of causation with the independent variable.

"**Deviance**" was measured on three statements which are thought to be measure political and religious deviance. The surveys by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life were conducted in November 2001, March 2002, July 2003, July 2004, and July 2005. The measures of deviance are: 1) Islam's similarity to the religion of Most Americans, 2) Favorability of Muslims and Muslim Americans, and 3) Islam's inclination toward violence. These categories were selected because they reflect the views of the American public on two key areas that are part of study's premise, and that is how deviant is Islam as a religion and how deviant are Arab-Americans according to the American public. These three categories encompass precisely those two key areas. Studies on deviance have shown a connection between deviance and religion when religion encourages deviant behavior,[166] which in this case is the view of the American public about Islam. In extension of this perception of religion is deviant is the category about how dissimilar is Islam from the religion of most Americans, as well as about the unfavorable view of the American public about Arab-Americans who in their opinion are Muslims.[167]

1. Islam's similarity to the religion of most Americans: The survey question used was: "From what you know, do you think that the Muslim religion and your own religion have a lot in common, or do you think that the Muslim religion and your religion are very

different?" The question was included in the Pew surveys conducted in 2001 through 2005. In 2001 some 31% of the Americans surveyed said that Islam was similar to their own, while 52% said that are very different. In 2005, the percentage of those Americans who said that Islam was similar to their own religion dropped to 27% while the percentage of those who said that Islam was very different from their own religion rose to 59%.

2. Favorability of Muslim-Americans: The survey question used was: "Is your overall opinion of Muslim-Americans very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, very unfavorable?" The question was included in the Pew surveys conducted in 2001 through 2005. In 2001 some 59% of the Americans surveyed said they had a favorable view about Muslim-Americans, while 17% said that they had unfavorable views about Muslim-Americans. In 2005, the percentage of those Americans who said that they had favorable views about Muslim-Americans dropped to 55%, while the percentage of those who had unfavorable views about Muslim-Americans rose to 25%.

3. Islam's inclination toward violence: The survey question used was framed in two statements and the interviewee had to choose which one came closer to their own views even if neither is exactly right: "The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers" or "The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others." The question was included in the Pew surveys conducted in 2002 through 2005. In 2002, some 51% of the Americans surveyed said the Islam doesn't encourage violence, while 25% said that Islam is more likely to encourage violence. In 2005, the percentage of those Americans who said that Islam doesn't encourage violence

dropped to 47%, while the percentage of those who said that Islam is more likely to encourage violence rose to 36%.

A content analysis was used to test the dependent variables of the hypotheses and the variables for the research questions. The following variables where selected in accordance with the premise of the study, and specifically in addressing the four hypotheses and the four research questions.

"**News coverage**" was measured by the proportion of hard news, features, and in-depth stories published by the newspaper. This was achieved by counting the total number of stories published in each newspaper and dividing by number of days. This variable was used to answer H1 and H4 and the unit of analysis was the story.

"**Sources**" was measured by a total of six variables: local Arab community members; national Arab community members; local government officials; federal government officials; law enforcement officials; and foreign government officials. The six "sources" variables were selected because they allowed the study to identify who were the most frequently used sources in the stories about Arab-Americans, as well as to see how much voice local Arab community members and national Arab community members had in the stories dealing with their communities compared to official government entities at the local, federal, and international level. A higher presence of local Arab community members in the stories would be an indicator that the newspapers made an effort to include local Arab views in the stories that were related about them or issues about them, while a higher use of government sources would indicate that the newspapers relied more heavily on official sources and not paying enough attention to the views of the local Arab community. Each variable was compared with the other five

based on the frequency it appears in the stories. This variable was used to answer RQ3 and the unit of analysis was the attributed statement within a story.

"**Focus**" was measured by two variables, Geographical Focus and Topical Focus. Geographical Focus has three dimensions: a) local community story, b) localization of national affairs, and c) localization of international affairs. The specific three categories of the "geographical focus" variable were selected because they allowed the study to identify if the stories about Arab-Americans were dealing with issues deriving from the local Arab-American community or at the national and international levels. The second variable, Topical Focus, has also three dimensions: a) local Arab community affairs, b) discrimination/attacks against Arabs, and c) religion. The specific three categories of the "topical focus" were selected because they allowed the study to identify if some key topics were reflected in the coverage and how much. This variable was used to answer RQ2 and the unit of analysis was the news story.

"**Hard News, Feature Stories and In-depth Stories**" was measured by a single variable "type of story" that has three categories: hard news story; feature story; and in-depth story. This variable sought to identify how many hard news, feature, and in-depth stories where published by the eight dailies about Arab-Americans in comparison to other types of content. It is argued that feature stories are much lengthier and detailed in their analysis in comparison to hard news – published a newspaper. Features also require a lot more time and resources than hard news, an indication that the news medium is showing a stronger interest in an event or issue. In-depth stories differ from hard news and feature stories. For the purposes of the study they include news analysis and investigative stories. In-depth stories differ from hard news stories in that they go beyond pure facts about a

timely event and offer expert analysis of what the event means for present time and the future. They also differ from features because they are not human interest stories. "In-depth" stories offer analysis and projection about current events through analysis from experts on the topic. This variable was used to answer RQ 1 and the unit of analysis was the single hard news story, feature, and in-depth story.

"**Stereotyping**" was measured by a single variable – Stereotypes – which has two dimensions, presence or absence. Coders were instructed to observe for presence of eight of stereotypes: 1) backward, 2) devious, 3) dirty, 4) dishonest, 5) corrupt, 6) violent, 7) fanatic terrorists, and 8) anti-American. These stereotypes were selected from the extensive scholarship on stereotyping and on portrayals of racial and ethnic minorities in news media, and particularly of Arabs and Arab-Americans, as well as based on the questions from the Pew national surveys.[168] This variable was used to answer H2 and H3 and the unit of analysis was a single word within each news story.

"**Tone**" will be measured by one variable: "Tone toward Focus." The variable has four categories: positive toward focus; balanced toward focus; negative toward focus; and story is entirely neutral. This last variable – used in the "2006 News Availability Project" as part of a national study for the Project for Excellence in Journalism – was selected because it will allow the study to identify if the newspaper coverage of Arab-Americans was positive, balanced, negative, or neutral, and if there was a change in the coverage tone after 9/11. This variable will be used to answer RQ 4 and the unit of analysis is a single paragraph.

"**Story Origin**" was measured by one variable: "Story Origin." The variable has five categoriers: staff-written story; wire-written story; combo (staff-wire) story; other;

and no source. Staff-written stories are identified by either a byline, where the title of "staff writer" or "Detroit News Writer" appears under the name of the author, or by a simple identifier as "staff report" or "The Detroit News" that appears at the top or bottom of the story. Similarly, stories written by wire services are identified by a byline, where the title of "Associated Press Writer" appears under the name of the author, or by a simple identifier as "The Associated Press" or "AP" that appears at the top or bottom of the story. Stories that combine sources use simple identifiers such as "from Staff and Wire reports" or "(The Detroit News/AP)" either at the top or the bottom of the story).

Data Analysis

The study used three different statistical tests to analyze data from the four different samples. Specifically, for the "Full Census Sample," which was used to address H4, the analysis involved only the counting of news stories and comparing the total story volume published by each newspaper during that period. The analysis tested for Cramer's V as a level of association. This test was deemed appropriate as the sample was a census, meaning that any differences that were found in the sample exist in the population. Cramer's V test measures the strength of association – or dependency – between two nominal variables.

For the "Partial Census Sample," which was used to answer H1 and H2, two different methods of analysis were used. Data from H1was analyzed by comparing the percentage of stories published by each newspaper in the three months following each national survey by the Pew between 2001 and 2005. Data from H2 was analyzed by comparing the total number of stories during that specific period that included

stereotypes. The data analysis included means and a Spearman's correlation test and a Cramer's V as a level of association. The specific tests were chosen because it is as a non-parametric measure of correlation can assess how well an arbitrary monotonic function can describe the relationship between two variables ("deviance" of Islam and Arab-Americans and "news coverage" or "stereotyping") while not making any assumptions about the frequency distribution of the variables. Spearman's correlation test reflects the degree of linear relationship between two variables, while Cramer's V test measures the strength of association – or dependency – between two nominal variables.

Spearman's correlation varies from -1 (a perfect negative correlation) to +1 (a perfect positive correlation).[169] The .20 to .40 range usually indicates a low positive correlation – definite but small relationship. The .40 to .70 range usually indicates a moderate positive correlation and substantial relationship. Finally, the .70 to 1.0 usually indicates a strong positive correlation and an important relationship.[170] Cramer's V ranges from 0 to +1, with 0 indicating no relationship and +1 indicating a perfect relationship.[171] A Cramer's V of .2 or higher will be interpreted as being strong enough to suggest a relationship.

For the "Main Random Sample," which was used to address H3, the nominal data were tested for difference of proportions, while Chi-square test of significance and Cramer's V test for level of association were used to determine if differences in story distributions found in the sample exist in the population. Chi-square test is used to examine if distributions of categorical (nominal) variables differ from one another, while Cramer's V test measures the strength of association – or dependency – between two nominal variables.

Finally, for the "Large Random Sample," which was used to answer all four research questions, the nominal data were tested for difference of proportions, while Chi-square and Cramer's V statistical tests were used to determine if differences in story distributions found in the sample exist in the population. The two tests were deem appropriate because Chi-square test is used to examine if distributions of categorical (nominal) variables differ from one another, while Cramer's V test measures the strength of association – or dependency – between two nominal variables.

Chi-square is primarily a test of statistical significance, rather than a measure of strength of an association, because its value can range from very small to large depending upon the size of the table (the number of rows and columns) and the size of the sample.[172] Also, Chi-square test requires that the expected frequencies in each cell not to be too small – defiantly higher than zero. In general, for a two-by-two contingency table (two rows and two columns), the total number of cases should be greater than forty, and all expected sell frequencies should be five or more.[173] In these cases, Chi-square cannot be calculated. In the cases were Chi-square cannot be properly calculated, the variations in the percentages of cases in cells will be discussed.

RESULTS

H1 states that the more deviant Arab-Americans are according to the American Public, the more likely they are to be covered in the news by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. The hypothesis was tested by using the "Partial Census Sample."

The findings (See Table 1) show that the hypothesis was only moderately supported. The findings show that while U.S. public perceptions about the deviance of Arab-Americans (in this case indicate by the unfavorable view of the U.S. public towards then) increased by some 15% between 2001 and 2004, the coverage of Arab-Americans by the newspapers that have vibrant Arab-American communities (Michigan and California) showed a 5% decline in the coverage between 2002 and 2003 and otherwise marginally increases during the other time periods. The newspapers with no, or non-significant, Arab-Americans communities in their area (Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin) also showed marginal declines in their coverage, a 4% drop between 2001 and 2002 and another 4% decline between 2003 and 2004 and otherwise marginally increases during the other time periods.

The Shoemaker and Reese theory suggests a positive relationship between the society's ideologically perceived deviance of Arab-Americans and of the amount of coverage that the group received by the media.[174] That is the more deviant Arab-Americans are perceived by the U.S. public the more inclined the news media will be to cover them. As shown in Table 1 that relationship is not always positive and a Spearman's Correlation produced a $\rho = .35$ – a low correlation between the perceived deviance of Arab-Americans by the U.S. public (in this case the "unfavorable" view of the U.S. public towards Arab-Americans) and the amount of coverage they received by the media.

The findings suggest that locality (or marketplace) – that is the environment within a news medium operates, identified by Shoemaker and Reese as part of the

extramedia influences – does play a role and perhaps an intervening factor in this case against the ideological influences that derive from the greater society.

TABLE 1 Public Opinion about Deviance of Arab-Americans and News Coverage by Location of Newspapers

	Public Opinion			**Newspaper Coverage**	
Year	Islam Dissimilar to own Religion	Unfavorable of Muslims/ Arabs	Islam's Inclination to Violence	Percentage of Stories Published by dailies with large Arab-American Communities	Percentage of Stories Published by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities
2001	52%	17%	-*	72% (76)***	28% (29)
2002	57%	29%	25%	76% (42)	24% (13)
2003	60%	31%	44%	71% (27)	29% (11)
2004	-**	32%	46%	75% (27)	25% (9)
2005	59%	25%	36%	71% (12)	29% (5)
Total N=241				174	67

* Question was not asked in that year's survey.

** Question was not asked in that year's survey.

*** Number of stories about Arab-Americans published during that period.

Even when the newspapers are examined separately, the findings show that there is no clearly consistent pattern in the coverage. In the case of the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* the only time period that there is an important increase in coverage is between 2004 and 2005, when its coverage increased from .03% to 23%. During that period, though, the unfavorable view of the U.S. public about Arab-Americans declined by some 7%, from 32% to 25%. The findings also show inconsistencies in the coverage even among dailies that share similarities to locality. For example, the Michigan newspapers did not follow a similar pattern in their increases and decreases of coverage of Arab-Americans during the periods investigated, nor did the Californian newspapers. All four of those publications cater to the two largest Arab-American communities in the nation. The findings also show inconsistencies in the coverage among the four dailies that do not cater to localities that have any significant Arab-American communities.

H2 states that the more deviant Arab-Americans or events involving Arab-Americans are according to the American public the more likely they are to be stereotyped in the news coverage of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. The hypothesis was tested by using the "Partial Census Sample."

The findings (See Table 2) do not provide support to the hypothesis. Specifically, the four dailies with large Arab-American communities in the three-month period of 2001 had 5% (or four stories) out of their 76 stories with stereotypes. That figure in 2002 and 2003 dropped to 0%, only to increase in 2004 to 15% (or four stories out of 27) and to drop again to 8% (or one story out of 12) in 2005. A Cramer's V of .322 suggests that

there is a weak but notable relationship between type of community and presence of stereotyping. Still, there is no clear positive relationship between the public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans and stereotyping in the news coverage. Similarly, the four dailies with small Arab-American communities in 2001 had 21% (or six stories) out of 29 stories with stereotypes. That figure in 2002 dropped to 0%, only to rise in 2003 to 9% (or one story out of 11) and to drop again in 2004 and 2005 to 0%. Again, the trends in this specific type of dailies do not show a clear positive relationship between the public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans and stereotyping in the news coverage.

The percentage of stories with stereotypes about Arab-Americans that were published by newspapers with the two largest Arab-American communities in the nation (Michigan and California) ranged from 0% to 15%. The percentage of stories with stereotypes about Arab-Americans that were published by newspapers with small presences of Arab-American communities (Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin) also ranged from 0% to 21%. Moreover, the examination of the content showed that the presence of stereotypes in those stories was due to the nature of the stories and not generated by the newspapers. In other words, it was not the news media that was using stereotypes against Arab-Americans, but it was because they were stereotyped by others that it became news. The newspapers were simply reporting on the stereotypes and attributing them to sources in the stories.

The findings run contrary to the Shoemaker and Reese proposition that news media stereotype minority groups deemed as deviant by society. Shoemaker's research found that the news media do not screen out deviant ideas but rather portray them in a

way calculated to underscore their deviance.[175] The findings did not support this positive relationship.

Similarly with H1, it is unclear what intervening factors may have contributed to the variance of the findings. Locality, that is the environment within a newspaper operates, does not appear to be a factor in this hypothesis as both types of newspapers – those with large Arab-American communities and those with small Arab-American communities – had periods with no stereotypes in their stories and periods with increases and decreases in stereotypes.

TABLE 2 Public Opinion about the Deviance of Arab-Americans and Presence of Stereotypes in News Coverage by Location of Newspapers

	Public Opinion			**Newspaper Coverage**	
Year	Islam Dissimilar to own Religion	Unfavorable of Muslims/ Arabs	Islam's Inclination to Violence	Percentage of Stereotypes in Stories Published by dailies with large Arab-American Communities	Percentage of Stereotypes in Stories Published by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities
2001	52%	17%	-*	.05% (4/76)***	21% (6/29)
2002	57%	29%	25%	0% (0)	0% (0)
2003	60%	31%	44%	0% (0)	0.9% (1/11)
2004	-**	32%	46%	15% (4/27)	0% (0)
2005	59%	25%	36%	.08% (1/12)	0% (0)
Total N=241				174	67

* Question was not asked in that year's survey.

** Question was not asked in that year's survey.

*** Number of stories that were published about Arab-Americans and included stereotypes.

Cramer's V=.322

Even when examining the findings based on case-by-case of each newspaper the findings do not show any clear pattern. Two newspapers, the *Denver Post* and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* had no stories that included stereotypes in any of the five periods that were investigated. The newspaper with the highest percentage of stories with stereotypes was the *Detroit Free Press* with 33%.

H3 states that the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, and the *Detroit News* will be less likely to include stereotypes about Arab-Americans in their coverage with the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. The hypothesis was tested using the "Main Random Sample" and its N=500 covers the entire 1996-2006 period.

The findings (See Tables 3 & 4) do not support the hypothesis. Specifically, the findings show that there was only a 2% difference between the newspapers that have large Arab-American communities in their area (Michigan and California) and those that have non-significant Arab-American communities in their area (Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin) when it came to stories that included stereotypes about Arab-Americans. Those with large Arab-American communities had 15% (or 56 stories) of their stories with stereotypes while those with non-significant Arab-American communities had 13% (or 16 stories) of their stories with stereotypes. A Cramer's V of .234 suggests a weak relationship between type of community and percentage of stories with Arab-American stereotypes.

The Shoemaker and Reese proposition on "extramedia influences" argues that the more a media organization promotes itself within a target audience, the more its content will reflect the interests of that audience.[176] This hypothesis explored this assumption that

the extramedia influences are stronger than ideological influences but the findings did not support it.

Moreover, the examination of the content showed that the presence of stereotypes in those stories was due to the nature of the stories and not generated by the newspapers. In other words, it was not the news media that was using stereotypes against Arab-Americans, but it was because they were stereotyped by others that it became news.

TABLE 3 Percentage of Stories with Stereotypes in Coverage of Arab-Americans by Region from 1996 to 2006

Years	Percentage of Stories with Stereotypes in Coverage by Dailies with large Arab-American Communities	Percentage of Stories with Stereotypes in Coverage by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities
1996 – 2006	15% (56)*	13% (16)
Total N = 500	374	126

* Number of stories published about Arab-Americans that included stereotypes

Cramer's V=.234, p-.000

TABLE 4 Percentage of Stories with Stereotypes in Coverage of Arab-Americans By Each Newspaper from 1996 to 2006

	Newspapers							
Year	LA Times	San Diego U-T	Oregonian	Detroit Free Press	Detroit News	Milwaukee J.S.	Denver Post	Minneapolis Star Tribune
1996-2006	.08% (7)*	.02% (1)	28% (7)	25% (32)	14% (16)	.06% (3)	11% (3)	12% (3)
Total N=500	85	45	25	130	114	50	26	25

* Number of stories that were published about Arab-Americans and included stereotypes

Cramer's V=.234, p=.000

Even when examining findings based on case-by-case of each newspaper the findings do not show any clear correlation. The two Michigan newspapers had more stories with stereotypes than any other newspaper, except the *Oregonian* that had seven stories, or 28%, with stereotypes. Specifically, of the 130 stories of the *Detroit Free Press* that were examined, 25% (or 32 stories) included stereotypes, while of the 114 stories of the *Detroit News* that were examined, 14% (or 16 stories) included stereotypes. This runs contrary to the Shoemaker and Reese proposition of "extramedia influences" on media content. Examination of those stories, though, showed that the presence of stereotypes in those stories was due to the nature of the stories and not generated by the newspapers. In other words, it was not the news media that was using stereotypes against Arab-Americans, but it was because they were stereotyped by others that it became news.

The newspapers were simply reporting on the stereotypes and attributing them to sources in the stories.

H4 states that the news coverage of Arab-Americans by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* will increase after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. The hypothesis was tested using the "Full Census Sample."

The findings (See Table 5) support the hypothesis only partially. Specifically, the findings show that the four dailies with large Arab-American communities had a constant increase in the amount of coverage of Arab-Americans between 1996 and 2001, but then the amount started to decrease every year until 2006 when it rose again. A similar pattern of coverage was also found in the case of the four dailies with small Arab-American communities, with coverage of Arab-Americans increasing almost constantly between 1996 and 2001 – except 1999 when it decreased by 11% - while after 2001 it started to decrease every year until the end of 2006.

Even when examining each newspaper separately, the findings show that six of the eight newspapers (the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Detroit News*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *San Diego Union Tribune*, and the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*) increased their coverage of Arab-Americans between 1996 and 2006, and two newspapers (the *Oregonian* and the *Denver Post*) decreased their coverage after a temporary increase. Still, even those that increased their coverage of Arab-Americans between 1996 and 2006 had some decreases during the time period. For example, the *Detroit Free Press* had 18 stories about Arab-Americans in 1996 and steadily increased its coverage to reach 117

stories in 2001. But, following 2001 the coverage started to decrease: 2002, 74 stories; 2003, 55 stories; 2004, 46 stories; and 2005, 16 stories. In 2006 the *Detroit Free Press* increased its coverage once again to 61 stories. Similar were the patterns of all six newspapers that saw an increase of their coverage of Arab-Americans between 1996 and 2006.

The Shoemaker and Reese theory argues that the more deviant an event is the more coverage it will generate.[177] In this case the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001 served as the case of the deviant event. The findings show that in 2001 there was an increase in the coverage of Arab-Americans across all eight newspapers, supporting the hypothesis. But, five of the eight newspapers (the *San Diego Union Tribune*, the *Oregonian*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, and the *Denver Post*) saw a decrease in their coverage of Arab-Americans as early as the following year. Thus, the findings show that although there was a certainly an increase in the coverage of Arab-Americans following the deviant event of 9/11, that increase of coverage was not sustainable.

TABLE 5 Total Number of Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Region From 1996 To 2006

Year	Total Number of Stories Published by Dailies with large Arab-American Communities	Total Number of Stories Published by Dailies with Small Arab-American Communities
1996	34* (.09%)	11 (13%)
1997	35* (10%)	15 (16%)
1998	53* (15%)	27 (29%)
1999	104 (29%)	17 (18%)
2000	134 (37%)	22 (24%)
Total (1996-2000)	**N=360**	**N=92**
2001	309 (26%)	120 (31%)
2002	258 (22%)	98 (25%)
2003	235 (20%)	91 (24%)
2004	143 (12%)	36 (.09%)
2005	73 (.06%)	25 (.07%)
2006	153 (14%)	17 (.04%)
Total (2001-2006)	**N=1,171**	**N=387**
Total N=2,010	1,531	479

* Online archival database for Detroit Free Press did not years prior to 1999.

RQ1 asks about the number of feature and in-depth stories that the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* carried about Arab-Americans pre- and post-9/11. The research question was tested by using the "Large Random Sample."

The findings (See Tables 6, 7 & 8) show that the number of feature stories published by the four dailies with large Arab-American communities increased by 6% in the post-9/11 period, while the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw an increase of 5%. At the same time, in-depth stories published by the four dailies with large Arab-American communities saw a .02% rise in the post-9/11 period, while the same type of stories in the four dailies with small Arab-American communities had a 5% decrease. Hard news accounted for the majority of the stories (60% or more) of all eight dailies in both time periods. In both time periods the two Michigan newspapers carried more than 50% (21 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 60 stories in the post-9/11 period) of the number of feature stories that were published by the eight dailies. A Cramer's V of more than .24 in both time periods suggests that there is a marginal relationship between the type of community and the type of stories published by a newspaper.

TABLE 6 Type of Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Region Five Years Prior and Five Years after 9/11

	Type of Stories Published by Dailies with large Arab-American Communities		Type of Stories Published by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities	
Type of Story	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
Feature	30 (23%)	78 (29%)	7 (20%)	32 (25%)
In-depth	10 (.07%)	24 (.09%)	7 (20%)	19 (15%)
Hard News	89 (70%)	165 (62%)	20 (60%)	75 (60%)
Total N=554	127	267	34	126

Pre-9/11 Sample: X^2 (14, N=161) =21.97, p=.079, Cramer's V=.261, p=.079

Post-9/11 Sample: X^2 (14, N=393) =46.58, p=.000, Cramer's V=.243, p=.000

TABLE 7 Type of Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Each Newspaper Five Years Prior to 9/11

	Newspapers							
Type of Story	LA Times	San Diego U-T	Oregonian	Detroit Free Press	Detroit News	Milwaukee Journal Sentinel	Denver Post	Minneapolis Star Tribune
Feature	7 (21%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	10 (18%)	11 (37%)	1 (10%)	2 (22%)	2 (40%)
In-depth	5 (15%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	2 (.04)	1 (.03%)	3 (30%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)
Hard News	21 (64%)	8 (80%)	5 (50%)	42 (78%)	18 (60%)	6 (60%)	6 (67%)	3 (60%)
Total N=161	33	10	10	54	30	10	9	5

X^2 (14, N=161) =21.97, p=.079, Cramer's V=.261, p=.079

TABLE 8 Type of Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Each Newspaper Five Years after 9/11

	Newspapers							
Type of Story	LA Times	San Diego U-T	Oregonian	Detroit Free Press	Detroit News	Milwaukee Journal Sentinel	Denver Post	Minneapolis Star Tribune
Feature	10 (19%)	8 (18%)	7 (28%)	22 (26%)	38 (45%)	5 (10%)	11 (42%)	9 (36%)
In-depth	9 (17%)	8 (18%)	0 (0%)	4 (.05%)	3 (.03%)	9 (18%)	5 (19%)	5 (20%)
Hard News	34 (64%)	29 (64%)	18 (72%)	58 (69%)	44 (52%)	36 (72%)	10 (39%)	11 (44%)
Total N=393	53	45	25	84	85	50	26	25

Cramer's V=.243, p=.000

RQ2 asks about the focus of the Arab-related stories of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* pre- and post-9/11. The research question was tested by using the "Large Random Sample."

Story focus involved two variables, *Geographical Focus* and *Topical Focus* of a news story. Both variables required that in order for a story to be coded in a certain category (e.g. local community affairs) it should cover more than 50% of the entire story.

In terms of the *Geographical Focus* of stories the findings (See Table 9) show that local community stories published by the four dailies with large Arab-American

communities saw a 2% percent decline in the post-9/11 period, from 55% (or 70 stories) to 53% (or 142 stories). At the same time, the same type of stories saw an 18% rise in the four dailies with small Arab-American communities. At the same time, stories involving localized national affairs that were published by the four dailies with large Arab-American communities saw a marginal decline of 0.2%, from .09% (or 11 stories) to .07% (or 19 stories) in the post-9/11 period, while in the case of the four dailies with small Arab-American communities it remained steady at .09%. Finally, stories involving localization of international affairs that were published by the four dailies with large Arab-American communities saw a decline of 3% in the post-9/11 period, from 12% (or 15 stories) to .09% (or 25 stories). In the case of the four dailies with small Arab-American communities, the trend for that type of stories was identical, showing a 3% decline from 15% (or five stories) to 12% (or 15 stories). A Cramer's V of about .3 indicates that there is a weak but notable relationship between the type of community and the geographical focus of the stories published by a newspaper.

In examining each newspaper separately, local community stories accounted for 48% (or 77 and 190 stories respectively) published by the eight dailies in the pre- and post-9/11 period. The Michigan newspapers again accounted for the bulk of those stories (69%, or 53 stories, in the pre-9/11 period and 61%, or 117 stories, in the post-9/11 period). Localization of international affairs stories accounted for 12% (20 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 40 stories in the post-9/11 period) published by the eight dailies, while localization of national affairs accounted for less than 1% (14 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 31 stories in the post-9/11 period).

TABLE 9 Geographical Focus of Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Region Five Years Prior and Five Years after 9/11

	Geographical Focus of Stories Published by Dailies with large Arab-American Communities		Geographical Focus of Stories Published by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities	
Geographical Focus	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
Local Community Story	70 (55%)	142 (53%)	7 (20%)	48 (38%)
Localization of National Affairs	11 (.09%)	19 (.08%)	3 (.09%)	12 (10%)
Localization of Inter/nal Affairs	15 (12%)	25 (.09%)	5 (15%)	15 (12%)
Other/ Not Applicable	31 (24%)	81 (30%)	19 (56%)	51 (40%)
Total N=554	127	267	34	126

Pre-9/11 Sample: X^2 (28, N=161) =64.98, p=.000, Cramer's V=.318, p=.000

Post-9/11 Sample: X^2 (28, N=393) =2.14, p=.000, Cramer's V=.369, p=.000

In terms of the *Topical Focus* of stories the findings (See Table 10) show that stories about *Local Arab Community Affairs* that were published by the four dailies that have large Arab-American communities saw a 3% decline, from 42% (or 53 stories) to 3% (or 104 stories). At the same time, this type of stories in the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw an 18% increase, from zero to 18% (or 23 stories). Stories about *Discrimination & Attacks against Arabs* that were published by the four dailies with large Arab-American communities remained steady at 14% in the post-9/11 period, while the same type of stories in the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw a 4% increase, from 15% (or five stories) to 19% (or 24 stories). Stories about *Religion* that were published by the four dailies with large Arab-American communities remained steady at .02% in the post-9/11 period, and similarly the same type of stories in the four dailies with small Arab-American communities remained steady at .03%. Again, a Cramer's V of about .3 suggests that there is a weak but notable relationship between the type of community and the topical focus of the stories published by a newspaper.

In looking at each newspaper separately, stories about Local Arab Community Affairs accounted for 33% (or 53 stories) of the stories published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/11 period and for 32% (or 127 stories) in the post-9/11 period. Again, the two Michigan dailies accounted for the bulk of those stories (90%, or 48 stories, in the pre-9/11 period and 72%, or 92 stories, in the post-9/11 period). *Discrimination & Attacks against Arabs* accounted for 20% (or 23 stories) in the pre-9/11 period and for 15% (or 61 stories) in the post-9/11 period. The *Los Angeles Times* accounted for 43% (or 10 stories) of those stories in the pre-9/11 period, while the *Detroit Free Press* accounted for

23% (or 14 stories) of those stories. Finally, *Religion* accounted for less than 1% in both periods (4 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 10 stories in the post-9/11 period.

TABLE 10 Topical Focus of Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Region Five Years Prior and Five Years after 9/11

	Topical Focus of Stories Published by Dailies with large Arab-American Communities		Topical Focus of Stories Published by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities	
Topical Focus	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
Local Arab Community Affairs	53 (42%)	104 (39%)	0 (0%)	23 (18%)
Discrimination Attacks Against Arabs	18 (14%)	37 (14%)	5 (15%)	24 (19%)
Religion	3 (.02%)	6 (.02%)	1 (.03%)	4 (.03%)
Other/ Not Applicable	53 (42%)	120 (45%)	28 (82%)	75 (60%)
Total N=554	127	267	34	126

Pre-9/11 Sample: Cramer's V=.332, p=.000

Post-9/11 Sample: Cramer's V=.308, p=.000

RQ3 asks about the types of sources that appeared most often in the stories about Arab-Americans or Arab affairs published in the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* pre- and post-9/11. The research question was tested by using the "Large Random Sample."

The findings (See Table 11) show that there was a decline in *Local Arab Community Sources* in the post-9/11 coverage of both types of newspapers (those with large Arab-American communities and those with small Arab-American communities), while at the same time there was a large increase in *Law Enforcement Sources*. Specifically, stories citing *Local Arab Community Sources* that were published by the four dailies with large Arab-American populations saw a 4% decline in the post-9/11 period, from 70% (or 89 stories) to 66% (or 177 stories). At the same time, stories citing the same type of sources that were published by the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw a 2% decline, from 38% (or 13 stories) to 36% (or 45 stories). Meanwhile, stories citing *Law Enforcement Sources* that were published by the four dailies that were published by the four dailies with large Arab American communities saw a 10% increase in the post-9/11 period, from 11% (or 14 stories) to 21% (or 57 stories). At the same time, stories citing the same type of sources that were published by the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw a 30% increase in the post-9/11 period, from .06% (or two stories) to 36% (or 45 stories). Stories citing National Arab Community Members remained steady in both periods for the four dailies with large Arab-American communities, while a 10% increase was recorded for the four dailies with small Arab-American communities, from 35% (or 12 stories) to 45% (or 57

stories). The findings also show a 4% increase in the post-9/11 use of *Local Government Official* sources by four dailies with small Arab-American communities, from .03% (or one story) to .07% (or nine stories). In the case of pre-9/11 period Cramer's V is above .2, suggesting a weak relationship between the type of community and the type of sources appearing in the stories published by a newspaper, but in the case of post-9/11 period Cramer's V falls below .2, suggesting the relationship is not very strong between the type of community and the type of sources appearing in the stories published by a newspaper.

In examining each newspaper separately, the findings show that *Local Arab Community Sources* accounted for 63% (or 102 stories) in pre-9/11 stories published by the eight dailies, and 56% (or 222 stories) in the post-9/11 period - a decline of 7%. At the same time, *Law Enforcement Sources* saw a sharp increase. Stories that cited *Law Enforcement Sources* accounted for 1% (or 16 stories) in the pre-9/11 period, and 26% (or 102 stories) in the post-9/11 period.

The newspapers that had the most stories that cited *Local Arab Community Sources* were again the Michigan dailies, accounting for 71% (or 71 stories) out of 102 that cited *Local Arab Community Sources* in the pre-9/11 period and for 65% (or 144 stories) out of 222 that cited *Local Arab Community Sources* in the post 9/11 period. The newspaper that had the most stories that cited *Law Enforcement Sources* in the post-9/11 was the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, accounting for 22% (or 23 stories) out of the 102 that cited *Law Enforcement Sources*.

TABLE 11 Type of Sources in Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Region Five Years Prior and Five Years after 9/11

	Type of Sources in Stories Published by Dailies with large Arab-American Communities		Type of Sources in Stories Published by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities	
Types of Source*	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
Local Arab Community Members	89 (70%)	177 (66%)	13 (38%)	45 (36%)
National Arab Community Members	39 (31%)	82 (31%)	12 (35%)	57 (45%)
Local Government Officials	14 (11%)	34 (13%)	1 (.03%)	9 (.07%)
Federal Government Officials	39 (31%)	77 (29%)	14 (41%)	46 (36%)
Law Enforcement Officials	14 (11%)	57 (21%)	2 (.06%)	45 (36%)
Foreign Government Officials	10 (.08%)	16 (.06%)	5 (15%)	7 (.05%)
Total N=554	127	267	34	126

* One or more of the same source per story count as one unit.

Pre-9/11 sample: X^2 (35, N=161) =54.72, p=.018, Cramer's V=.261, p=.018

Post-9/11 sample: X^2 (28, N=393) =49.19, p=.008, Cramer's V=.177, p=.008

RQ4 asks about the tone toward the focus of the Arab-related stories published by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* pre- and post-9/11. The research question was tested by using the "Large Random Sample."

Tone toward focus was determined by counting the number of negative, positive and neutral paragraphs of the story that were related to its main focus. In order for a story to be coded positive or negative, the number of paragraphs (positive or negative) should amount to more than 66% of the story's main focus.

The findings (See Table 12) show that the tone of the coverage of Arab Americans by both types of newspapers (those with large Arab-American communities and those with small Arab-American communities) was mostly balanced during both periods. Specifically, the four dailies with large Arab-American communities saw a 1% increase in balanced stories in the post-9/11 period, from 54% (or 69 stories) to 55% (or 147 stories). At the same time, the same type of stories published by the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw a 16% decline, from 65% (or 22 stories) to 49% (or 62 stories). In terms of stories with positive tone, in the case of the four dailies with large Arab-American communities there was a 2% increase in the post-9/11 period, from 16% (or 20 stories) to 18% (or 47 stories), while in the case of the four dailies with small Arab-American communities there was a 6% increase, from .03% (or one story) to .09% (or 11 stories). In terms of the stories with negative tone, the four dailies with large Arab-American communities there was a 3% decline in the post-9/11 period, from 27% (or 34 stories) to 24% (or 65 stories), while in the case of the four dailies with small Arab-

American communities, there was a 14% increase, from 23% (or eight stories) to 37% (or 47 stories). In terms of entirely neutral stories, in the case of the four dailies with large Arab-American communities there was no change between the two periods, remaining steady at .03%, while in the case of the four dailies with small Arab-American communities there was a 2% increase, from .03% (or one story) to .05% (or six stories). In this case, Cramer's V is above .2 during both time periods, suggesting a weak relationship between the type of community and the tone of the stories published by a newspaper.

In examining each newspaper separately, the findings show that the eight dailies did not have any significant changes from the five years prior to 9/11 to the five years after the terrorist attacks. Specifically, stories with positive tone accounted for 13% (or 21 stories out of 161) of the stories published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/11 period, and for 15% (or 58 stories out of 393 stories) in the post-9/11 period – a 2% increase. Stories with balanced tone accounted for 56% (or 91 stories out of 161) of the stories published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/11 period, and for 53% (or 209 out of 393) in the post-9/11 period – a 3% decline. Stories with negative tone accounted for 26% (or 42 stories out of 161) of the stories published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/11 period, and for 28% (112 stories out of 393) in the post-9/11 period – a 2% increase. Finally, stories that were entirely neutral in tone accounted for .04% (or 7 stories out of 161) of the stories published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/1 period, and for .03% (or 14 stories out of 393) in the post-9/11 period – a .01% change.

Thus, the coverage not only remained the same in terms of tone – changes ranged between .01% and 3% - but also in its majority was balanced (56% pre-9/11 and 53%

post-9/11). The dailies with the most stories with positive tone in the pre- and post-9/11 periods was *The Detroit News*, accounting for 43% (or nine stories out of 21) of the stories that had positive tone and were published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/11 period, and for 41% (or 24 stories out of 58) in the post-9/11 period. At the same time, the daily that had the most stories with negative tone in the post-9/11 period was the *Detroit Free Press*, accounting for 33% (or 14 stories out of 42) of the stories that had negative tone and were published by the eight dailies during that period. Finally, the daily with the most stories with negative tone in the post-9/11 period was the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, accounting for 22% (or 25 stories out of 112) of the stories that had negative tone and were published by the eight dailies during that period.

TABLE 12 Tone toward Focus of Stories about Arab-Americans Published by Region Five Years Prior and Five Years after 9/11

	Tone in Stories Published by Dailies with large Arab-American Communities		Tone in Stories Published by Dailies with small Arab-American Communities	
Tone Toward Focus	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11	Pre-9/11	Post-9/11
Positive	20 (16%)	47 (18%)	1 (.03%)	11 (.09%)
Balanced	69 (54%)	147 (55%)	22 (65%)	62 (49%)
Negative	34 (27%)	65 (24%)	8 (23%)	47 (37%)
Entirely Neutral	4 (.03%)	8 (.03%)	3 (.09%)	6 (.05%)
Total N=554	127	267	34	126

Pre-9/11 sample: X^2 (21, N=161) =27.42, p=.157, Cramer's V=.223, p=.195

Post-9/11 sample: X^2 (21, N=393) =73.49, p=.000, Cramer's V=.250, p=.00

DISCUSSION

Overall, the results support the notion that deviance plays some role in the news coverage of Arab-Americans, but the role is not as strong as the theory would predict. The findings show that deviance is correlated with some types of coverage but not with others. The findings indicate that there may be at least three possible reasons for the lack of correlation in some instances: 1) the impact of deviance varies with topic, 2) the impact varies with individual newspapers because editors and reporters play an important role as gatekeepers in screening perceptions of deviance about events or groups, and 3) the relative influence of various factors that changed across time.

As such, the findings of the study failed to support or provided only partial and moderate support for the Shoemaker and Reese *Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content*, and particularly the influences of perceived deviance of a minority group by the public on media content.

Contrary to the prediction by the theories of influence on mass media content by Shoemaker and Reese, the study found that an increase in the U.S. public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans did not result in increased stereotyping of them by eight major metro newspapers in the five years that followed the deviant event of the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.

Specifically, the findings from H2 show that the four dailies with large Arab-American communities in the three-month period of 2001 had 5% (or four stories) out of their 76 stories with stereotypes. That figure in 2002 and 2003 dropped to 0%, only to increase in 2004 to 15% (or four stories out of 27) and to drop again to 8% (or one story

out of 12) in 2005. Still, there is no clear positive relationship between the public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans and stereotyping in the news coverage. Similarly, the four dailies with small Arab-American communities in 2001 had 21% (or six stories) out of 29 stories with stereotypes. That figure in 2002 dropped to 0%, only to rise in 2003 to 9% (or one story out of 11) and to drop again in 2004 and 2005 to 0%. Again, the trends in this specific type of dailies do not show a clear positive relationship between the public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans and stereotyping in the news coverage.

The percentage of stories with stereotypes about Arab-Americans that were published by newspapers with the two largest Arab-American communities in the nation (Michigan and California) ranged from 0% to 15%. The percentage of stories with stereotypes about Arab-Americans that were published by newspapers with small presences of Arab-American communities (Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin) also ranged from 0% to 21%. Moreover, the examination of the content showed that the presence of stereotypes in those stories was due to the nature of the stories and not generated by the newspapers. In other words, it was not the news media that was using stereotypes against Arab-Americans, but it was because they were stereotyped by others that it became news. The newspapers were simply reporting on the stereotypes and attributing them to sources in the stories.

As suggested by the Shoemaker research, the news media do not screen out deviant ideas but rather portray them in a way calculated to underscore their deviance.[178] In this case the findings do not support this argument. The findings indicate that other factors are interplaying in this case and contributing to the variance of the findings. Still,

the current data do not allow for further analysis as to which specific factors are intervening here.

The findings from H1 also provided only moderate support to the hypothesis that the more deviant the U.S. public perceives Arab-Americans the more coverage they will receive by the news media – also a hypothesis of the Shoemaker and Reese theory.

The findings show that while U.S. public perceptions about the deviance of Arab-Americans (in this case indicate by the unfavorable view of the U.S. public towards then) increased by some 15% between 2001 and 2004, the coverage of Arab-Americans by the newspapers that have vibrant Arab-American communities (Michigan and California) showed a 5% decline in the coverage between 2002 and 2003 and otherwise marginally increases during the other time periods. The newspapers with no, or small, Arab-Americans communities in their area (Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin) also showed marginal declines in their coverage, a 4% drop between 2001 and 2002 and another 4% decline between 2003 and 2004 and otherwise marginally increases in the other time periods.

The Shoemaker and Reese hypothesis indicates a positive relationship between the society's ideologically perceived deviance of Arab-Americans and of the amount of coverage that the group received by the media.[179] That is the more deviant Arab-Americans are perceived by the U.S. public the more inclined the news media will be to cover them. This study found a low correlation with a Spearman's Correlation produced a $\rho = .35$.

The findings indicate that deviance plays a role in affecting coverage, but other factors play a role as well. Still, the current data do not allow for further analysis as to

which specific factors are intervening here and contributing to the variance of the findings.

In investigating H4 the study also found that although there was an increase in coverage of Arab-Americans after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 – as the Shoemaker and Reese theory predicted – that increase was not present also in the following years. Thus, the hypothesis that the news coverage of Arab-Americans by the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* will increase after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, an event that was deviant by nature, was only partially supported.

Specifically, the findings show that there was only a 2% difference in the amount of coverage between the newspapers that have large Arab-American communities (Michigan and California) and those that have non-significant Arab-American communities (Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin) when it came to stories that included stereotypes about Arab-Americans. Those with large Arab-American communities had 15% (or 56 stories) of their stories with stereotypes while those with non-significant Arab-American communities had 13% (or 16 stories) of their stories with stereotypes. Shoemaker and Reese proposition on "extramedia influences" argues that the more a media organization promotes itself within a target audience, the more its content will reflect the interests of that audience.[180] This hypothesis explored this assumption that the extramedia influences are stronger than ideological influences but the findings did not support it.

Again, the findings indicate that other factors are interplaying in this case and contributing to the variance of the findings. Still, the current data do not allow for further analysis as to which specific factors are intervening here.

In investigating H3 the findings did not support the hypothesis that newspapers that have large Arab-American communities in their area (the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Detroit Free Press*, and the *Detroit News*) will be less likely to include stereotypes about Arab-Americans in their coverage than those with non-significant Arab-American communities in their area (the *Oregonian*, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune).*

Specifically, the findings show that there was only a 2% difference between the newspapers that have large Arab-American communities in their area (Michigan and California) and those that have small Arab-American communities in their area (Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin) when it came to stories that included stereotypes about Arab-Americans. Those with large Arab-American communities had 15% (or 56 stories) of their stories with stereotypes while those with non-significant Arab-American communities had 13% (or 16 stories) of their stories with stereotypes.

The Shoemaker and Reese proposition on "extramedia influences" argues that the more a media organization promotes itself within a target audience, the more its content will reflect the interests of that audience.[181] This hypothesis explored this proposition that the extramedia influences are stronger than ideological influences but the findings did not support it.

Moreover, the examination of the content showed that the presence of stereotypes in those stories was due to the nature of the stories and not generated by the newspapers.

In other words, it was not the news media that was using stereotypes against Arab-Americans, but it was because they were stereotyped by others that it became news. The newspapers simply reported the stereotypes and attributed them to sources in the stories.

Once again, the findings indicate that other factors are interplaying in this case and contributing to the variance of the findings. Still, the current data do not allow for further analysis as to which specific factors are intervening here.

The findings from the research questions provide additional insights into the specifics of the coverage. Perhaps one of the most interesting findings comes from RQ4 which asked about the tone of the coverage by the eight major metro dailies pre- and post-9/11.

The findings show that the tone of the coverage of Arab Americans by the eight dailies did not have any large changes from the five years prior to 9/11 to the five years after the terrorist attacks. The findings show that the tone of the coverage of Arab Americans by both types of newspapers (those with large Arab-American communities and those with small Arab-American communities) was mostly balanced during both periods. Both types of newspapers also saw a nearly equal amount of increase in their stories with positive tone in the post-9/11 period (between 2% and 6% respectively). In terms of the stories with negative tone, the four dailies with large Arab-American communities there was a 3% decline in the post-9/11 period, from 27% (or 34 stories) to 24% (or 65 stories), while in the case of the four dailies with small Arab-American communities, there was a 14% increase, from 23% (or eight stories) to 37% (or 47 stories).

Another finding was that the two Michigan dailies were not similar in the tone of the coverage of Arab-American. The *Detroit News* was the daily with the most stories with positive tone in the pre- and post-9/11 period, accounting for 43% (or nine stories out of 21) of the stories that had positive tone and were published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/11 period, and for 41% (or 24 stories out of 58) in the post-9/11 period. At the same time, the daily that had the most stories with negative tone in the post-9/11 period was the *Detroit Free Press*, accounting for 33% (or 14 stories out of 42) of the stories that had negative tone and were published by the eight dailies during that period.

Finally, the daily with the most stories with negative tone in the post-9/11 period was the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, accounting for 22% (or 25 stories out of 112) of the stories that had negative tone and were published by the eight dailies during that period.

Another finding from the data generated by the research questions was that both types of newspapers (those with large Arab-American communities and those with small Arab-American communities) saw a nearly identical amount of increase (between 6% and 5% respectively) in the number of feature stories published in the post-9/11 period. At the same time, in-depth stories published by the four dailies with large Arab-American communities saw a .02% rise in the post-9/11 period, while the same type of stories in the four dailies with small Arab-American communities had a 5% decrease. Hard news accounted for the majority of the stories (60% or more) of all eight dailies in both time periods.

In further examining the RQ1 by each newspaper separately, the findings show that the Michigan dailies had more than 50% of all the feature stories published by the eight dailies about Arab-Americans in the pre- and post-9/11 periods; had more than 60%

of all local community stories in the pre- and post-9/11 periods; had more than 70% of local Arab community affairs stories in the pre- and post-9/11 periods; and had more than 60% of stories with one or more local Arab community sources in the pre- and post-9/11 periods.

The findings also showed that the number of feature stories published by the eight newspapers increased by as much as 6% in the post-9/11 period (from 35 stories in the pre-9/11 period to 110 in the post-9/11 period), while the number of in-depth stories increased marginally, less than 1%. In both time periods the two Michigan newspapers carried more than 50% (21 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 60 stories in the post-9/11 period) of the number of feature stories that were published by the eight dailies.

RQ2 asked about the focus of the Arab-related stories published by the eight dailies pre- and post-9/11. In terms of the *Geographical Focus* of stories the findings show that while the four dailies with large Arab-American communities saw a 2% decline in local community stories in the post-9/11 period, the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw an 18% increase in the same type of stories. Stories involving localized national affairs saw only marginal changes in the post-9/11 period by both types of newspapers, while stories involving localization of international affairs saw a 3% decline by both types of dailies in the post-9/11 period.

In terms of the *Topical Focus* of stories the findings show that stories about *Local Arab Community Affairs* published by the four dailies that have large Arab-American communities saw a 3% decline in the post-9/11, while in the case of the four dailies with small Arab-American communities the same type of stories saw an 18% increase. Stories about *Discrimination & Attacks against Arabs* that were published by the four dailies

with large Arab-American communities remained steady at 14% in the post-9/11 period, while the same type of stories in the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw a 4% increase, from 15% (or five stories) to 19% (or 24 stories). In terms of stories about *Religion* both types of newspapers maintained their pre-9/11 levels of about 3%.

In examining each newspaper separately, in terms of the *Geographical Focus* of stories the findings show that local community stories accounted for 48% (or 77 and 190 stories respectively) published by the eight dailies in the pre- and post-9/11 period. The Michigan newspapers again accounted for the bulk of those stories (69%, or 53 stories, in the pre-9/11 period and 61%, or 117 stories, in the post-9/11 period). Localization of international affairs stories accounted for 12% (20 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 40 stories in the post-9/11 period) published by the eight dailies, while localization of national affairs accounted for less than 1% (14 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 31 stories in the post-9/11 period).

In terms of the *Topical Focus* of stories the findings show that stories about *Local Arab Community Affairs* accounted for 33% (or 53 stories) of the stories published by the eight dailies in the pre-9/11 period and for 32% (or 127 stories) in the post-9/11 period. Again, the two Michigan dailies accounted for the bulk of those stories (90%, or 48 stories, in the pre-9/11 period and 72%, or 92 stories, in the post-9/11 period). *Discrimination & Attacks against Arabs* accounted for 20% (or 23 stories) in the pre-9/11 period and for 15% (or 61 stories) in the post-9/11 period. The *Los Angeles Times* accounted for 43% (or 10 stories) of those stories in the pre-9/11 period, while the *Detroit Free Press* accounted for 23% (or 14 stories) of those stories. Finally, *Religion* accounted

for less than 1% in both periods (4 stories in the pre-9/11 period and 10 stories in the post-9/11 period.

RQ3 asked about the types of sources that appeared most often in the stories about Arab-Americans or Arab affairs published by the eight dailies pre- and post-9/11. The findings show that there was a decline in *Local Arab Community Sources* in the post-9/11 coverage of both types of newspapers (those with large Arab-American communities and those with small Arab-American communities), while at the same time there was a large increase in *Law Enforcement Sources*.

Specifically, stories citing *Local Arab Community Sources* that were published by the four dailies with large Arab-American populations saw a 4% decline in the post-9/11 period, from 70% (or 89 stories) to 66% (or 177 stories). At the same time, stories citing the same type of sources that were published by the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw a 2% decline, from 38% (or 13 stories) to 36% (or 45 stories).

Meanwhile, stories citing *Law Enforcement Sources* that were published by the four dailies that were published by the four dailies with large Arab American communities saw a 10% increase in the post-9/11 period, from 11% (or 14 stories) to 21% (or 57 stories). At the same time, stories citing the same type of sources that were published by the four dailies with small Arab-American communities saw a 30% increase in the post-9/11 period, from .06% (or two stories) to 36% (or 45 stories).

The newspapers that had the most stories that cited *Local Arab Community Sources* were again the Michigan dailies, accounting for 71% (or 71 stories) out of 102 that cited *Local Arab Community Sources* in the pre-9/11 period and for 65% (or 144

stories) out of 222 that cited *Local Arab Community Sources* in the post 9/11 period. The newspaper that had the most stories that cited Law Enforcement sources in the post-9/11 was the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, accounting for 22% (or 23 stories) out of the 102 that cited *Law Enforcement Sources*.

Once again, the findings indicate that other factors are interplaying in this case in influencing the news media content. Still, the current data do not allow for further analysis as to which specific factors are intervening here and contributing to the variance of the findings.

Finally, an analysis of story origin, who wrote a story, in relation to stereotypes and tone showed that staff-generated coverage of Arab-Americans had a higher percentage of stories with stereotypes (17%, or 70 stories out of 413) than those from wire services (4%, or three stories out of 79). When it came to tone, though, the findings were reversed, with the wire-generated coverage having a percentage of stories with negative tone (44%, or 35 stories out of 79) than those written by staffers at the eight dailies (25%, or 104 stories out of 413). Staff-generated coverage also had a higher percentage of stories with positive tone (16%, or 66 stories out of 413) than the wire-generated coverage (9%, or seven stories out of 79). These findings suggest that the influences on news content at the ideological level affected the two types of writers differently. This is inconsistent with the Shoemaker and Reese model, which says ideology should affect all journalists.

As with many studies, this one has limitations. A larger sample of dailies could have generated more data and insights but constraints in time and resources made a larger sample restrictive. There are also limitations in terms of generalizations, as this study

focused only in print media. Future studies can build on these findings by investigating the coverage of Arab-Americans by electronic media during the same time period and by examining an even larger sample of daily newspapers. In doing so, future studies can continue expanding our knowledge and understanding of the relationship between the perceived deviance of minority groups by society and the coverage of those groups.

CONCLUSIONS

As shown by the findings, the study provides only moderate support to the Shoemaker and Reese *Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content*, and particularly the influences of perceived deviance of a minority group by the public on media content.

Results showed that the more deviant the U.S. public perceives Arab-Americans the more coverage they will receive by the news media. However, contrary to the prediction by the theories of influence on mass media content, the study found that an increase in the U.S. public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans was not correlated with increased stereotyping of them by eight major metro newspapers in the five years that followed the Sept. 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.

Understanding the contradictory results requires a look at the theory. The Shoemaker and Reese theory contends that the ideological layer of influence is the most powerful one as all the processes taking place at the lower layers are thought to be working toward an ideologically related pattern of messages and on behalf of the higher power centers of society.[182] Under this model, society is said to have a direct ideological influence on news media content, with journalists and editors becoming aware of

society's beliefs through mediated (e.g. surveys) or interpersonal (e.g. face-to-face) communication, and adopting and transferring those views in the news content. This model contends that the individual media worker has the least influence on media content.

The Pew surveys clearly show that the U.S. public's perceived deviance of Arab-Americans was increasing steadily between 2001 and 2005. The fact that news coverage by the eight dailies did not result in any significant presence of stereotyping of Arab-Americans during that period shows that other factors were at play in the process and in a way disrupted the flow of influences on content. Specifically, there is an array of processes that take place from the time a journalist or editor is informed of society's views and the time that content is produced:

- One of the main considerations that journalists and editors have to take into consideration is ethics. Each news outlet has its own code of ethics that reflect the general industry-wide code of ethics. For example, the U.S.-based Society of Professional Journalists notes in its code of ethics that journalists should "avoid stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status."[183] Similarly, the *Associated Press* code of ethics notes that its journalists should "not use obscenities, racial epithets or other offensive slurs in stories unless they are part of direct quotations and there is a compelling reason for them."[184]
- Another significant consideration that journalists and editors have to take into account is their market (or audience). For instance, journalists and editors working at a newspaper that is published in an area that has a vibrant Jewish

community will be inclined to take into consideration the sensitivities of their audience on ethnic, political and religious issues that are relevant to their market before publishing a story about it.

- Societal-level influences are also "filtered" through the individual media workers. Breed (1955) found five cases where staffers (or individual media workers) manage to bypass content policy that was instituted by the media organization.[185] Breed's findings are equally relevant today as reporters continue to take on specialized beats that allow them to develop in-depth knowledge about specific topics, while some reporters continue to support the "star system," where their elevated status over other colleagues gives them greater autonomy over content-related decisions.

These processes take place at an individual level (by each journalist and editor) and at a collective level (editorial meetings). These processes are not mutually exclusive, meaning that a journalist can either adopt or reject those societal-level influences based on their professional code of ethics, while they can also discuss those influences at a daily editorial meeting where the editorial staff decides what will be published.

Based on the Pew survey results the amount of coverage about Arab-Americans should have increased annually after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, but the findings showed that it only increased in 2001 and then followed a downward trajectory.

The fact that news coverage of Arab-Americans by the eight dailies did not follow a upward trend after 9/11 indicates that other factors were at play in the process. Specifically, there are several reasons that could explain as to why the coverage of Arab-Americans did not continue to increase after 2001:

- Downsizing of newsrooms. In recent years newspapers across the country have been struggling financially, and as a result they have been cutting down the number of their employees. According to the American Society of News Editors census, 2,400 full-time professional newsroom jobs were lost at American dailies in 2007 and 5,900 more in 2008.[186] That amounts to daily newspapers losing about 17% of their news staffs since the start of 2001.[187] This means fewer journalists to cover news, thus less news coverage.
- Decrease in newspaper size and frequency of publication. Higher newsprint prices (up about 25%) caused newspapers to cut back space devoted to news.[188] Moreover, several papers already, and likely more in 2009, are taking the half-step of deleting the traditional paper several days a week to save on production and delivery costs, with the hope that it will not cost them much in advertising or alienate their print audiences. This means less space in the newspaper for stories and thus perhaps a change in coverage priorities.
- News values and specifically the timeliness events. After the events of 9/11 and the subsequent events related to those terrorist attacks, coverage of Arab-Americans was losing its timeliness because of a decline in major events surrounding them. As the timeliness of events involving Arab-American started to decline, other timely events started to take their position in the news coverage.

Any of these factors, individually or collective, could have played a role in the decline of coverage about Arab-Americans flowing 2001, indicating that previously assumed constants in news coverage are challenged by changes in the news media industry.

In conclusion, it is suggested that the Shoemaker and Reese's theory was only moderately supported by the findings of this study in part because of factors that were developed in the years following the publication of their theory. Industry-wide ethics have become more important as newspapers seek to establish or maintain their credibility among their audiences; newspapers are struggling financially and that has resulted in downsizing of newsrooms, fewer pages in a newspaper, and even fewer print days during a week. These changes are powerful enough to cause changes to the processes by which news media produce their content.

The research on which the theory was based took place over four decades. It seems likely that some of the relationships found in this research may have changed as journalism reacted to its environment.

Perhaps the Shoemaker and Reese theoretical model needs to be revisited based on the existing conditions in industry and society and newer research on news media, allowing it to be more aligned with current realities. Future research could revisit the theory by exploring how changes in the industry affect news production processes, and thus the theoretical model that was published by Shoemaker and Reese nearly 20 years ago. With newspapers moving from the traditional print format to an online-only format, space for stories will no longer be an issue; cost-reduction from the print production could allow for the hiring of more newsroom staff; and newsroom dynamics and ethics may be subject to change. Perhaps the nature of ideology and its influence have changed as well. These are issues that future research could explore and perhaps lead to an evolution of the Shoemaker and Reese theoretical model.

APPENDIX

Content Analysis Protocol

V01 – STORY SLUG

DEFINITION: Write up to three words that will give this story a unique story slug.

V02 – ID NUMBER

DEFINITION: Each story receives an ID number starting with 0001.

V03 – NEWSPAPER

DEFINITION: This variable identifies the news media outlet from which stories were taken. It designates, in 1 digit, the media genre and outlet.

Los Angeles Times	= 1
San Diego Union-Tribune	= 2
Oregonian	= 3
Detroit Free Press	= 4
Detroit News	= 5
Milwaukee Journal Sentinel	= 6
Denver Post	= 7
Minneapolis Star Tribune	= 8

V04 – NEWS SOURCE

DEFINITION: This variable identifies the source of the news story. Stories published in newspapers can come from their own staff, wire services, or can combine sources (i.e. wire and staff). Staff-written stories are identified by either a byline, where the title of "staff writer" or "Detroit News Writer" appears under the name of the author, or by a

simple identifier as "staff report" or "The Detroit News" that appears at the top or bottom of the story. Similarly, stories written by wire services are identified by a byline, where the title of "Associated Press Writer" appears under the name of the author, or by a simple identifier as "The Associated Press" or "AP" that appears at the top or bottom of the story. Stories that combine sources use simple identifiers such as "from Staff and Wire reports" or "(The Detroit News/AP)" either at the top or the bottom of the story). If the source of the story is other, then code 4. If the source of the story is unidentifiable, then code 0.

Staff-Written Story	= 1
Wire-Written Story	= 2
Combo (Staff-Wire) Story	= 3
Other	= 4
No source	= 0

V05 – TYPE OF STORY

DEFINITION: This variable indicates, in 1 digit, the type of story, which includes hard news, and features.

"Hard news" involve stories that report on a specific timely event or series of events, with a focus on what, when, where, and why, and which commonly appear on the front page or any other pages in the news section.

"Features" these are also known as human-interest stories because they usually focus on prominent or unusual events and individuals. They differ from hard news stories in that the topic is not necessarily timely and that they are much lengthier. In newspapers this type of stories usually appear in a "Features" section, but some newspapers don't have a

dedicated section for them. In some cases feature stories appear within specialized sections, such as "Local" or "State." Investigative stories are also included in "Features." "News Analysis" differs from hard news and feature stories. They differ from hard news stories in that they go beyond pure facts about a timely event and offer expert analysis of what the event means for present time and the future. They also differ from features because they are not human interest stories. "News Analysis" stories offer analysis and projection about current events through analysis from experts on the topic. They are commonly identified by a "News Analysis" logo either next to the headline or inside the story.

Hard News Story = 1

Features Story = 2

News Analysis = 3

IMPORTANT NOTE: The following six (6) variables – V5 though V10 – are story **source variables** and each one of them is concerned with a different type of sources. Please read carefully the description of each source variable before you start the coding for sources.

V06 – LOCAL ARAB COMMUNITY MEMBERS

DEFINITION: Local Arab Community members are any persons who are identified in the article as being of Arab descent and who reside in the Arab community in the city, county, or state where the newspaper is published. Common identifiers include "Arab-American," "Arab community member," "Arab community leader," "local Imam," "local

Arab religious leader," etc. Arab Community members include but are not limited ordinary citizens, businessmen, religious and community leaders, and any advocates.

One Local Arab Comm. Member	= 1
Two Local Arab Comm. Members	= 2
Three Local Arab Comm. Members	= 3
Four of more local Arab Comm. Members	= 4
No Local Arab Comm. Member	= 0

V07 – NATIONAL ARAB COMMUNITY MEMBERS

DEFINITION: National Arab Community members are any persons who are indentified in the story as being of Arab descent and who reside in an Arab community outside the state where the newspaper is published. Common identifiers include "Arab-American," "Arab community member," etc. National Arab Community members include but are not limited to ordinary citizens, businessmen, religious and community leaders, and any advocates.

One National Arab Comm. Member	= 1
Two National Arab Comm. Members	= 2
Three National Arab Comm. Members	= 3
Four of more National Arab Comm. Members	= 4
No National Arab Comm. Member	= 0

V08 – LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

DEFINITION: Local Government Officials include any city, county, and state officials from the area where the newspaper is published. These include but are not limited to mayors, city council members, county commissioners, county clerk, and governors. Law enforcement officials are NOT included here.

One Local Government Official	= 1
Two Local Government Officials	= 2
Three Local Government Officials	= 3
Four or more Local Government Officials	= 4
No Local Government Officials	= 0

V09 – FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

DEFINITION: Federal Government Officials include any elected or appointed official of the federal government. These include but are not limited to the president of the United States, any members of the administration (such as any spokesperson of various departments and the White House, and the secretaries of the departments, including Homeland Security), members of Congress and Senate, and any official of the federal government. Law enforcement officials are NOT included here.

One Federal Government Official	= 1
Two Federal Government Officials	= 2
Three Federal Government Officials	= 3
Four of more Federal Government Officials	= 4
No Federal Government Officials	= 0

V10 – LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

DEFINITION: Law Enforcement Officials include any city, county, state, or federal law enforcement officials. These include but are not limited to state police, sheriffs, and law enforcement agents of federal agencies such as the FBI and the Naturalization and Immigration Service. Former law enforcement officials who comment on a case they were involved in the past are also included here. This includes former law enforcement officials who comment on current events related to their work.

One Law Enforcement Official	= 1
Two Law Enforcement Officials	= 2
Three Law Enforcement Officials	= 3
Four of more Law Enforcement Officials	= 4
No Law Enforcement Officials	= 0

V11 – FOREIGN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

DEFINITION: Foreign Government Officials include any elected or appointed civilian or military official of a foreign government. These include but are not limited to presidents, prime ministers, ministers, military and law enforcement officials.

One Foreign Government Official	= 1
Two Foreign Government Officials	= 2
Three Foreign Government Officials	= 3
Four or more Foreign Government Officials	= 4
No Foreign Government Officials	= 0

IMPORTANT NOTE: The next two (2) variables – V11 through V12 – are story focus variables and each one of them is concerned with different dimensions of story focus. Please read all variable definitions carefully before starting the coding of story focus.

V12 – GEOGRAPHICAL FOCUS

DEFINITION: Stories can focus on three different entities: a) Local Community Story, b) Localization of National Affairs, and c) Localization of International Affairs.

In order to be coded here, the type of the focus must be more than 51% (type of focus/ story length) of the story. The percentage will be calculated based on the total number of paragraphs in the story (e.g. if the story has 10 paragraphs, then more than five (5) of them will have to be dealing with one of the three focuses). If the main focus of the story is other than the ones identified here then code five (5). If the story doesn't have a single focuses reaching or exceeding the 51% then code nine (9).The types of focus are defined as follow:

Local Community Story: This occurs when the majority of a story concentrates on an event or issue that is generated within the state where the newspaper is published. This type of story does not preclude local national or international affairs from being mentioned, but the emphasis is on the local affair.

Localization of National Affairs: This occurs when the majority of a story concentrates on a national event or issue, such as the passing of a bill by Congress, an act by the President or the administration and how the local Arab community reacts to those national events or issues. This type of story does not preclude local community issues or international affairs from being mentioned, but the emphasis is on the national affair.

Localization of International Affairs: This occurs when the majority of a story concentrates on an international event or issue, such as the conflict in the Middle East between Israelis and Palestinians or the Iraq War and how the local Arab community reacts to those events or issues. This type of story does not preclude local community issues or national affairs from being mentioned, but the emphasis is on the international affair.

Local Community Story	= 1
Localization of National Affairs	= 2
Localization of International Affairs	= 3
Other	= 5
Not applicable	= 9

V13 – TOPICAL FOCUS

DEFINITION: Stories can focus on three different entities: a) Local Arab community affairs, b) Discrimination/Attacks against Arabs, and c) Islamic Religion. In order to be coded here, the type of the focus must be more than 51% (type of focus/ story length) of the story. The percentage will be calculated based on the total number of paragraphs in the story (e.g. if the story has 10 paragraphs, then more than five (5) of them will have to be dealing with one of the three focuses). If the main focus of the story is other than the ones identified here then code five (5). If the story doesn't have a single focuses reaching or exceeding the 51% then code nine (9). The types of focus are defined as follow:

Local Arab Community Affairs: This occurs when the majority of a story concentrates on an event or issue that is generated within the local Arab-American community or within the state where the newspaper is published and has a direct impact on the local Arab-American community. This does not preclude discrimination/attacks against Arabs, national or religion being mentioned, but the emphasis is on an event or an issue that is generated from within the local Arab-American community.

Discrimination/Attacks against Arabs: This occurs when the majority of a story concentrates on discrimination or attacks against Arab-Americans locally or nationally. This does not preclude local Arab community affairs or religion from being mentioned, but the emphasis is on incidents of discrimination or attacks against Arab-Americans. This also includes stereotyping.

Islamic Religion: This occurs when the majority of a story concentrates on the Islamic religion, including issues about the Islamic religion, Islamic religious practices, and Islamic religious events. This type of story can be either local or national and it does not preclude local Arab community affairs or discrimination/attacks against Arabs from being mentioned, but the emphasis is on the Islamic religion.

Local Arab Community Affairs	= 1
Discrimination/Attacks against Arabs	= 2
Religion	= 3
Other	= 5
Not applicable	= 9

V14 – STEREOTYPES

DEFINITION: The variable measures the presence or absence of negative stereotypes about Arab-Americans. Coders should be examining each story closely for presence of the following stereotypes that are attributed to Arab-Americans: 1) backward, 2) devious, 3) dirty, 4) dishonest, 5) corrupt, 6) violent, 7) fanatic terrorists, and 8) anti-American. It is IMPORTANT that the stereotypes are attributed directly to Arab-Americans (e.g. "the anti-American sentiment among Arab communities in the United States is growing"). If in doubt, then code 0. If one of the stereotypes mentioned above is present in a story then code 1. If none of these stereotypes is present in a story then code 0.

Stereotypes absent = 0

Stereotypes present = 1

V15 – TONE TOWARD FOCUS

DEFINITION: The variable measures the positive, neutral or negative tone toward the focus of the story as identified in V13. Quotes and Assertions can come from the sources in the story, while assertions can also come from the journalist.

Steps:

1. Coders determine whether each paragraph is positive, neutral, or negative coverage toward the story's focus. Types of characterization include, but are not confined to: approve/disapprove; admire/criticize; acknowledge success/point out failure; exceed/fall short of expectations; veracity vindicated/contradicted; portrayed as object of respect/ridicule; optimism/pessimism for the future. For these characterizations to be considered, they must address the focus of the story.

2. Some stories may be entirely neutral in reporting. If no negative or positive statements are found in the story, code 9.
3. Coders then count the percentages of all positive and negative paragraphs and code the story according to the 2:1 Rule.

   The 2:1 Rule: This rule requires that "tone" coding decisions be reached by quantifying the positive and negative quotes, assertions, interpretations and innuendos made by the journalist or "others" within the news story; To be coded as positive or negative, the ratio must reach or exceed 2:1 (2/3) or (66%) in either direction. If not, 2/3, it is balanced.

Positive toward focus	=1
Balanced toward focus	=2
Negative toward focus	=3
Story is entirely neutral	=9

ENDNOTES

[1] Colin Summer, *The Sociology of Deviance: An Obituary.* (New York: Continuum, 1994); Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method.* (London, Macmillan, 1982 ,first published 1893).

[2] Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message; Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content.* (White Plains, NY: Longman Publishers, 1996).

[3] Pamela J. Shoemaker, "The Perceived Legitimacy of Deviant Political Groups: Two Experiments on Media Effects," *Communication Research,* 9 (1982): 249-286; Douglas M. McLeod, "Communicating Deviance: The Effects of Television News Coverage of Social Protests," Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 39 (1) (winter 1995): 4-20.

[4] Alex Heckert and Druann M. Heckert, "Using an Integrated Typology of Deviance to Analyze Ten Common Norms of the U.S. Middle Class," Sociological Quarterly, 45 (2) (spring 2004): 209-228.

[5] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[6] Serge Moscovici, "Toward a Theory of Conversion Behavior," in L. Berkowitz (ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, vol. 13 (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

[7] Bevery A. D. Keever, Carolyn Martindale, and Mary Ann Weston, *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities: A Sourcebook, 1934-1996.* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997).

[8] Keever, Martindale, and Weston, *U.S. News Coverage.*

[9] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[10] Joan Brodsky Schur, *Coming to America: The Arabs.* (Farmington Mills: Greenhaven
Press, 2005); The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics." Retrieved from: http://www.aaiusa.org/arab-americans/22/demographics (March 30, 2007); U.S. Census 2000 Special Reports: "We the People of Arab Ancestry in the United States," March 2005. Retrieved from: http://www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/censr-21.pdf (March 30, 2007); U.S. Census: "The Arab Population: 2000," December 2003. Retrieved from: http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/c2kbr-23.pdf (March 30, 2007).

[11] Michael Welch, *Scapegoats of September 11th: Hate Crimes & State Crimes in the War on Terror*. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

[12] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[13] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[14] University of Oregon. "Hutchins' Commission Report." Retrieved from: http://jcomm.uoregon.edu/~cbybee/j201/overheads/hutchins_sensational.htm (Nov. 16, 2008).

[15] University of Oregon. "Hutchins' Commission Recommendations." Retrieved from: http://jcomm.uoregon.edu/~cbybee/j201/overheads/hutchins_code.htm (Nov. 16, 2008).

[16] Keever, Martindale, and Weston, *U.S. News Coverage.*

[17] Pamela J. Shoemaker, Tsan-Kuo Change and Nancy Brendlinger, "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness: Coverage of International Events in U.S. Media," in *Communication Yearbook* 10, ed. M.L. McLaughlin (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987); Shoemaker, "The Perceived Legitimacy of Deviant Political Groups"; McLeod, "Communicating Deviance"; Shoemaker, "Media Treatment of Deviant Political Groups," *Journalism Quarterly*, 61 (spring 1984); 66-75; Pamela J. Shoemaker, Lucig Danielian and Nancy Brendlinger, "Deviant Acts, Risky Business, and U.S. Interests: The Newsworthiness of World Events," *Journalism Quarterly*, 69 (winter 1991): 781-95; Pamela Shoemaker, "The communication of deviance," in B. Dervin, ed., *Progress in Communication Science* (Norwood, NJ; Ablex, 1987): 172.

[18] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[19] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[20] Christianity Today (2003). "Are Most Arab Americans Christian?" Retrieved from: http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2003/marchweb-only/3-24-22.0.html (Non. 1, 2008); The Brookings Institute. "Arab and Muslim America: A Snapshot." Retrieved from: http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2002/winter_middleeast_telhami.aspx (Nov. 1, 2008); American-Arab Anti Discrimination Committee. "Facts About Islam." Retrieved from: http://www.adc.org/index.php?id=249 (Nov. 3, 2008); Encarta MSN. "Arab Americans." Retrieved from: http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761587469/arab_americans.html (Nov. 1, 2008).

[21] American-Arab Anti Discrimination Committee. "Facts About Islam"; The Detroit Free Press (2001). "100 Questions and Answers about Arab-Americans: A Journalist's Guide." Retrieved from: http://www.freep.com/jobspage/arabs/index.htm (Nov. 3, 2008).

[22] The Detroit Free Press. "100 Questions and Answers about Arab-Americans."

[23] Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2002). "Americans Struggle With Religion's
Role at Home and Abroad," March 2002. Retrieved from: http://peoplepress.org/reports/display.php3?PageID=387 (March 20, 2007).

[24] Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2003). "Religion and Politics: Contention and Consensus – Growing Number Says Islam Encourages Violence Among Followers." Retrieved from: http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=189 (March 20, 2007).

[25] Corwin E. Smidt, "Religion and American Attitudes Toward Islam and an Invasion of Iraq," *Sociology of Religion*, 66 (fall 2005): 243-262.

[26] Voice of America. "Negative View of Islam Growing in U.S." Retrieved from: http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2006-03/Negative-View-of-Islam-Growing-in-US.cfm?CFID=56780432&CFTOKEN=97394999 (March 30, 2007).

[27] Encyclopedia Britannica, *Book of the Year 2004* (London: The Encyclopedia Britannica Company, Ltd., 2004).

[28] U.S. Census 2000 Special Reports: "We the People of Arab Ancestry."

[29] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[30] Guido H. Stempel III, "Where People Really Get Most of Their News," Newspaper Research Journal, 12 (fall 1991): 2-9.

[31] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[32] Emmet Kennedy, "'Ideology' from Destutt De Tracy to Marx," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40 (3) (July 1979): 353-68; David M. Hart (2002). Destutt de Tracy: Annotated Bibliography. Retrieved from: http://www.econlib.org/library/Tracy/DestuttdeTracyBio.html (Nov. 21, 2008); John D. Cash, Identity, *Ideology and Conflict: The Structuration of Politics in Northern Ireland.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Jonathan Dancy and Ernest Sosa, *A Companion to Epistemology.* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1992); Michael Billig, *Ideology and Opinions: Studies in Rhetorical*

Psychology. (London : Sage Publications, 1991); Eliezer B. Rafael, *Sociology and Ideology*. (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003).

[33] Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction*. (Nee York: Verso, 1994).

[34] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[35] Samuel Becker, "Marxist Approaches to Media Studies: The British Experience," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 1 (1984): 66-80.

[36] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[37] Alvin Gouldner, The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology: The Origin of Grammar, and Future of Ideology. (New York: Seabury Press, 1976).

[38] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[39] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[40] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[41] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[42] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[43] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[44] Stuart Hall, "Ideology," in E. Barnouw (ed.), International Encyclopedia of Communication Vol. 2. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[45] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[46] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[47] Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, 10th Edition. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004).

[48] Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*.

[49] Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*.

[50] Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*.

[51] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[52] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[53] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[54] Shoemaker, "Media Treatment of Deviant Political Groups."

[55] Shoemaker, Chang, Brendlinger, "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness."

[56] Shoemaker, Chang, Brendlinger, "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness."

[57] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[58] Edward L. Wells, "Theories of Deviance and the Self-Concept," Social Psychology, 41 (1978): 197-197.

[59] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[60] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[61] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*.

[62] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*.

[63] Hallin, *The Uncensored War*.

[64] Norman R. Yetman, *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life*, 6th Edition. (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 1999).

[65] Yetman, *Majority and Minority*.

[66] Phillip Gleason, "Minorities (Almost) All: The Minority Concept in American Social Thought," American Quarterly, 43 (3) (September, 1991).

[67] Gunnar Myrdal, *An America Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1944).

[68] Yetman, *Majority and Minority;* Gleason, "Minorities (Almost) All."

[69] Yetman, *Majority and Minority*.

[70] Yetman, *Majority and Minority;* Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, *Minorities in the New World*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); Robin M.

Williams, Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1964).

[71] John E. Farley, *Majority-Minority Relations*, 5th Edition (Upper Saddle Rive, NJ: Pearson Education Inc., 2005).

[72] Keever, Martindale and Weston, *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities*.

[73] Serge Moscovici, "Toward a Theory of Conversion Behavior," in L. Berkowitz (ed.), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, vol. 13 (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

[74] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[75] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[76] Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," Social Forces, 33 (1), (May 1955).

[77] Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom."

[78] Shoemaker, Change and Brendlinger, "Deviance as a Predictor of Newsworthiness."; Shoemaker, "The Perceived Legitimacy of Deviant Political Groups"; McLeod, "Communicating Deviance"; Shoemaker, "Media Treatment of Deviant Political Groups"; Shoemaker, Danielian and Brendlinger, "Deviant Acts, Risky Business, and U.S. Interests";
Shoemaker, "The communication of deviance"; Craig Murray, Katy Parry, Piers Robinson, and Peter Goddard, "Reporting Dissent in Wartime: British Press, the Anti-War Movement and the 2003 Iraq War," *European Journal of Communication*, 23 (March 2008): 7- 27; Jong Hyuk Lee, "Effects of News Deviance and Personal Involvement on Audience Story Selection: A Web-Tracking Analysis," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 85 (spring 2008): 41-61; David Pritchard and Karen D. Hughes, "Patterns of Deviance in Crime News," *Journal of Communication*, 47 (3) (summer 1997): 49-67; Gabriel Weimann and Hans-Bernd Brosius, "The Newsworthiness of International Terrorism," Communication Research, 18 (3) (June 1991): 333- 54.

[79] Shoemaker, "The Perceived Legitimacy of Deviant Political Groups."

[80] McLeod, "Communicating Deviance."

[81] McLeod, "Communicating Deviance."

[82] Lee, "Effects of News Deviance."

[83] Shoemaker, "Media Treatment of Deviant Political Groups."

[84] Weimann and Brosius, "The Newsworthiness of International Terrorism."

[85] Pritchard and Hughes, "Patterns of Deviance in Crime News."

[86] Pritchard and Hughes, "Patterns of Deviance in Crime News."

[87] Pritchard and Hughes, "Patterns of Deviance in Crime News."

[88] Pritchard and Hughes, "Patterns of Deviance in Crime News."

[89] Michael J. Breen, "A Cook, a Cardinal, his Priests, and the Press: Deviance as a Trigger for Intermedia Agenda Setting," Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 74 (2) (summer 1997): 348-56.

[90] Breen, "A Cook, a Cardinal, his Priests, and the Press."

[91] Murray, Parry, Robinson, and Goddard, "Reporting Dissent in Wartime."

[92] Murray, Parry, Robinson, and Goddard, "Reporting Dissent in Wartime."

[93] Murray, Parry, Robinson, and Goddard, "Reporting Dissent in Wartime."

[94] Murray, Parry, Robinson, and Goddard, "Reporting Dissent in Wartime."

[95] Murray, Parry, Robinson, and Goddard, "Reporting Dissent in Wartime."

[96] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[97] Edward Said, *Orientalism.* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

[98] Said, *Orientalism.*

[99] Edmund Ghareeb (ed), *Split Vision: The Portrayal of Arabs in the American Media.* (Washington D.C.: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1983); Michael W. Suleiman, *The Arabs in the Mind of America.* (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1988); Janice J. Terry, *Mistaken Identity: Arab Stereotypes in Popular Writing.* (Washington DC: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1985).

[99] Dina Gavrilos, "Arab Americans in a Nation's Imagined Community: How News Constructed Arab American Reactions to the Gulf War," *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 26 (autumn 2002): 426-453.

[100] Gavrilos, "Arab Americans."

[101] Gavrilos, "Arab Americans."

[102] David Domke, Philip Garland, Andre Billeaudeaux, John Hutchenson, "Insights into U.S. Racial Hierarchy: Racial Profiling, News Sources, and September 11," *Journal of Communication*, 53 (winter 2003): 606-623.

[103] Domke, Garland, Billeaudeaux, Hutchenson, "Insights Into U.S. Racial Hierarchy."

[104] Mary A. Weston, "Post 9/11 Arab-American Coverage Avoids Stereotypes," Newspaper Research Journal, 24 (winter 2003): 92-106.

[105] Steven Salaita, "Ethnic Identity and Imperative Patriotism: Arab Americans Before
and After 9/11," *College Literature*, 32 (spring 2005): 146-169.

[106] Salaita, "Ethnic Identity."

[107] Salaita, "Ethnic Identity."

[108] Schur, *Coming to America.*

[109] Eric Hooglund (ed.), *Taking Root: Arab-American Studies.* (Washington D.C.: The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 1985.

[110] Schur, *Coming to America.*

[111] James Zogby (ed.), *Taking Root: Bearing Fruit.* (Washington D.C.: The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 1984).

[112] Zogby, *Taking Root.*

[113] Zogby, *Taking Root.*

[114] Zogby, *Taking Root.*

[115] Schur, *Coming to America.*

[116] Schur, *Coming to America.*

[117] Zogby, *Taking Root.*

[118] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[119] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[120] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[121] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[122] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[123] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[124] Andrej Kulczycki, Arun Peter Lobo, "Deepening the Melting Pot: Arab-Americans at
the Turn of the Century," *The Middle East Journal*, 3 (summer 2001): 459-473.

[125] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[126] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[127] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[128] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[129] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[130] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[131] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[132] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[133] U.S. Census: "Combined Statistical Area Population Estimates File for Internet Display," 2006. Retrieved from: http:
www.census.gov/population/estimates/metro_general/2006/CSA-EST2006-alldata.csv (January, 20, 2009)

[134] U.S. Census: "Combined Statistical Area Population Estimates."

[135] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics"; U.S. Census: "Combined Statistical Area Population Estimates."

[136] Nabeel Abraham and Andrew Shryock (ed.), *Arab Detroit: From Margin to Mainstream*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

[137] U.S. Census: "The Arab Population: 2000," December 2003. Retrieved from: http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/c2kbr-23.pdf (March 30, 2007).

[138] Abraham and Shryock, *Arab Detroit.*

[139] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[140] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[141] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[142] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[143] Abraham and Shryock, *Arab Detroit.*

[144] City Demographics: "Detroit Metropolitan Statistical Area," 2002. Retrieved from: http://www.cityrating.com/citystats.asp?city=Detroit&state=MI (January 20, 2009).

[145] City Demographics: "Detroit Metropolitan Statistical Area."

[146] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics"; City Demographics: "Detroit Metropolitan Statistical Area."

[147] Abraham and Shryock, *Arab Detroit.*

[148] Abraham and Shryock, *Arab Detroit.*

[149] Abraham and Shryock, *Arab Detroit.*

[150] Abraham and Shryock, *Arab Detroit.*

[151] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[152] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[153] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[154] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[155] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[156] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[157] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[158] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics"; City Demographics: "Detroit Metropolitan Statistical Area"; U.S. Census: "Combined Statistical Area Population Estimates."

[159] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics"; City Demographics: "Detroit Metropolitan Statistical Area"; U.S. Census: "Combined Statistical Area Population Estimates."

[160] The Arab-American Institute. "Demographics."

[161] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*.

[162] *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook*.

[163] *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook*.

[164] Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy and Frederick G. Fico, *Analyzing Media Messages; Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005).

[165] Cleveland G. Wilhoit and David Weaver, "Foreign News Coverage in Two U.S. Wire Services: An Update," *Journal of Communication*, 33 (2), (spring 1983): 132-149; Bob Franklin (eds.), *Local Journalism and Local Media*. (London: Routledge, 2006); K. M. Shrivastava, *News Agencies, from Pigeon to Internet*. (New Delhi: New Dawn Press, 2007).

[166] Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control*.(New York: Routledge, 1997); Helen Rose Fuchs Ebaugh, *Handbook of Religion and Social Institutions*. (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2005); Mike Hepworth, *Confession: Studies in Deviance and Religion*. (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982); Robin D. Perrin, "When Religion Becomes Deviance," Teaching Sociology, 29, (April 2001): 134-152.

[167] Paul C. Higgins and Richard R. Butler, *Understanding Deviance*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982); Allen E. Liska, *Perspectives on Deviance*. (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1987).

[168] Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922); Michael W. Suleiman, "American and the Arabs: Negative Images and the Feasibility of Dialogue," in *Arab Americans: Continuity and Change*, eds. Baha Abu-Laban and Michael W. Suleiman (Belmont, Mass: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., 1989); Said, *Orientalism*; Weston, "Post 9/11 Arab-American Coverage."

[169] Guido H. Stempel III and Bruce H. Westley (eds.), *Research Methods in Mass Communication.* 2nd Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989).

[170] Thomas W. MacFarland. "Spearman's Rank-Difference Coefficient of Correlation." Retrieved from: http://www.nyx.net/~tmacfarl/STAT_TUT/spearman.ssi (July 28, 2009).

[171] Stempel and Westley, *Research Methods in Communication.*

[172] Stempel and Westley, *Research Methods in Communication.*

[173] Stempel and Westley, *Research Methods in Communication.*

[174] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[175] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[176] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[177] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[178] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[179] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[180] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[181] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[182] Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message.*

[183] Society of Professional Journalists. "Code of Ethics." Retrieved from: http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp (July 27, 2009).

[184] The Associated Press. "The Associated Press Statements of News Values and Principles." Retrieved from: http://www.ap.org/newsvalues/index.html (July 27, 2009).

[185] Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom."

[186] Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism. "The State of the News Media 2009; An annual Report on American Journalism." Retrieved from: http://www.stateofthemedia.org/2009/narrative_newspapers_intro.php?media=4 (July 27, 2009).

[187] Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism. "The State of the News Media."

[188] Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism. "The State of the News Media."