

EXPOSURE TO VIDEOTAPED POLICE INTERACTIONS AND CULTURAL MISTRUST
AMONG BLACKS: EXPLORING TRUST IN NEWS MEDIA AND BLACK IDENTITY
CENTRALITY

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Exposure to Videotaped Police Interaction and Cultural Mistrust Among Blacks: Exploring Trust
in News Media and Black Identity Centrality

A majority of the information people receive about crime and criminals in the United States comes from the media (Russell, 1995). Lead stories in news media, where Blacks are the subject, frequently report them in connection with violence, suspicion, and/or criminal activity (Dixon, 2008; Entman 1990). Black Americans are significantly more likely than Whites to be portrayed as lawbreakers on television news (Dixon, Azocar, & Casas, 2003; Dixon & Linz, 2000). However, the media's reports do not accurately reflect the frequency at which Blacks commit crimes and Blacks are over-reported and stereotyped as criminals which is inconsistent with actual arrest records (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman, 1990; Johnstone, Hawkins, & Michener, 1994; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981; Thorson 2001). The overrepresentation of Black Americans as criminals on local television news positively correlated with the perceptions of Blacks as violent in a sample that consisted of 43 % White, 16% Black, and 26% Latino and 15% other racial identified participants (Dixon, 2008). However, the results of this study reported there was no significant positive correlation between the news exposure of Blacks as criminals and attitudes about Blacks, for Black or Latino participants. Another study suggested that though African Americans say that local TV news most regularly covers their community and issues, African Americans are three times more skeptical of the media's portrayal of their community than are Hispanics (Media Insight Project, 2014). In addition, both Blacks and Hispanics are more likely than Whites to say that they are rarely portrayed accurately by the news and entertainment (Dijulio et al., 2015). It is still unclear whether the above statements suggested by the Media Insight Project and Dijulio et al. (2015) can be explained by the lack of trust in news media or the underlying factors related to cultural mistrust, or both.

The media also shows images and videos of interactions between police and minorities. As the rate of media coverage of police interaction with minorities increase so do negative perceptions of police (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Peck, 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). However, there is no research that examines how these negative interactions between Blacks and police officers in the media affect Black viewers' psychological functioning. One goal of the present study is to explore the potential effects of exposure to media depicting interactions between Black Americans and police on Black participants. Research on the effects that experiences with racial discrimination have on Black Americans revealed two pathways, the adaptive development of cultural paranoia (subclinical paranoia) or the development of problems related to adverse health outcomes such as delinquency or problem behaviors (Simons, Chen, Stewart, & Brody, 2003), substance use (Fuller-Rowell et al., 2012), high blood pressure (Steffen, McNeilly, Anderson, & Sherwood 2003), depression and anxiety (Pascoe & Richman, 2009) and psychoticism (Cooper et al., 2008; Karlsen & Nazroo 2002; Kessler, Mickelson & Williams, 1999; Veling et al., 2007;). What is unknown is how exposure to depictions by the media, specifically of negative interactions and positive interactions between Blacks and police officers, affects Black individuals' cultural paranoia. As such, the aims of the current study are two-fold. First, I aim to examine the relationship between exposure to these forms of news media and the endorsement of cultural paranoia symptoms. Second, I aim to examine whether trust in news media and Black identity moderate the relationship between exposure to police interaction depicted in news media and endorsement of cultural paranoia symptoms.

Negative Media Portrayals

There is a growing number of studies concluding that local television news programs often over-represent Black Americans as criminal suspects (Dixon et al., 2003; Dixon & Linz,

2000). For example, in a one-week study of three local newscasts in Chicago, violent crimes committed by Blacks was the largest category of local news (Entman, 1990). Specifically, of the eight instances where Blacks were the subject of lead stories, six described violent crimes. Entman (1990) also demonstrated that Black Americans were more frequently reported in connection with violence and Black suspects and their defenders were substantially less likely to speak in stories than were their White counterparts. The way in which the news media reports crime of Black Americans or minorities, in general, is excessive and inaccurate relative to what goes on in the real world. For example, the percentage of Blacks portrayed as perpetrators of crime on TV news in Los Angeles (36%) was higher than the percentage of Blacks actually arrested (21%; Thorson, 2001). More recently, the literature is mixed on whether there is accurate and non-stereotypical representation of African Americans. For example, Dixon and Williams (2015) reported that in Los Angeles television news programming, Blacks were invisible on network news and underrepresented as both violent and criminals. However, Dixon (2017) stated Blacks were accurately predicted as perpetrators, victims, and officers. What remains consistent is that Whites were accurately represented as criminals and overrepresented as victims and officers. (Dixon, 2017; Dixon & Williams, 2015). Far less is known of the effects these changing portrayal (positive or negative) have on Black Americans. Research has shown that for White Americans the negative portrayals of Black in new stories about crimes heighten negative attitudes towards Blacks (Dixon, 2008; Gilliam & Iyenger, 2000; Oliver, 2003; Peffley, Shields, & Williams, 1996). There is a lack of research that explores Blacks' perceptions of these portrayals.

Media Exposure and Perceptions of Police

African Americans have been shown to consume more media than White, Mexican, and Puerto Rican students in a sample aged 5 to 15 years (Blosser, 1988) and more recently in a sample of children aged less than 5 (Dennison, Erb, & Jenkins, 2002). Previous research has also suggested that African American children are also more likely than Whites to look to TV for information and guidance (Greenberg, 1972) and that Black children may believe in the reality of TV more than children of other races (Greenberg and Atkins, 1982). Ninety percent of young adults in the United States use social media, and a majority of users visit social media sites at least once a day (Duggan et al., 2015). More recently, a Pew Research Center report (2016) found that 78% of adults under the age of 50 get their news from social media. African Americans rely more on local news stations, whether television or internet, for information about their communities than Whites and Hispanic and are more likely to own tablets, use new alerts, and find news about their own community through social media (Pin, 2014). Additionally, individuals with the higher frequency use of social media had a significant increase in the odds of developing depression (Lin et al., 2016). However, there is a lack of research on the relationship between viewing news coverage of police brutality and viewers' psychological well-being. It is also unknown how often people are exposed to news coverage of police misconduct, brutality, or corruption. What is known is that people who are heavy consumers of network news, particularly minority respondents, who viewed more media of police misconduct and discrimination increased their belief that police misconduct occurs frequently (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007). Also, news coverage of brutality incidents or corruption scandals has been documented to increase the negative views towards police during or immediately after these viewings (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Blacks Perceptions of Police

In addition to media coverage, other factors including: respondents' race, experience with police, and neighborhood conditions affect perceptions of police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Regarding experience, Blacks and Hispanics are more likely than Whites to report personal and vicarious experience with police misconduct (Weitzer & Tuch). In a recent study that surveyed 802 Black Americans, 50% of participants reported having personally experienced racial discrimination when interacting with police, of which men were more likely to report this type of discrimination (Demby, 2017). In a meta-analysis of minority perceptions of police, individuals who identify as Black, non-White, or minority were more likely to have negative perceptions and attitudes towards police than their White counterparts (Peck, 2015). More specifically, Blacks' negative perceptions and attitudes included disapproval of the use of force/violence, viewing police neighborhood service as poor, holding negative perceptions of harassment and misconduct, having more troubled relationships with police, possessing less confidence in police, believing that police are unfair, and experiencing discomfort when talking to police (Peck). Also, Dowler and Zawilsi (2007) found that minority respondents who frequently viewed network news believed that Whites received preferential treatment from police. Lastly, one study found that perceptions of a highly publicized videotaped arrest had a negative impact on citizens' perceptions of force used by police, which was greater among non-Whites than Whites (Jefferis et al., 1997).

Using Videos in Research Studies

Many experimental studies have used video footage to understand the effects of videography on participants' perceptions. For example, Peffley, Shields, and Williams (1996) used a video experiment where they only manipulated the visual image of the race of the suspect in a television news story of violent crime. They found that when the suspect was African

American, the video elicited racial stereotypes and heavily biased Whites' evaluations of the suspects along racial lines (Peffley, Shields, & Williams). In a similar experiment, Levin and Thomas (1997) used videotaped arrests to simulate a realistic arrest and measured perceptions of police brutality when the officers' racial identity differed. They found that for both White and Black participants, perceptions of violence and illegality increased when the arresting officers were White. Other studies have used video manipulation to measure race-related differences in perceptions (Freeman, Aquino, & McFerran, 2009; Krysan et al., 2009). For example, Krysan et al. (2009) used video vignettes to address whether and how race mattered in neighborhood preferences. Their findings suggest that race shapes how Whites and, to a lesser extent, Blacks view residential space. Both the racially mixed and all-Black neighborhoods were rated as significantly less desirable for White than all-White neighborhoods (Krysan et al.). Because of the increasing popularity and impact of video media relative to print media, this study used video footages to experimentally test whether exposure to media depicting interactions between police and Black Americans affect Black viewers' cultural paranoia.

Cultural Mistrust

Current conceptualizations of paranoia seem to suggest that its severity falls on a continuum. This continuum ranges from mild symptoms, characterized by self-consciousness, suspiciousness, and mistrust, to severe delusions involving hallucinatory experiences that can be seen in people with psychotic disorders (Whaley, 1998). Cultural paranoia (Grier & Cobb, 1968) or cultural mistrust describes the paranoia-like behaviors that African Americans develop toward Whites due to historical and current experiences with racism and discrimination (Whaley, 2001). I posit that theoretically, cultural paranoia can be framed within the Adaptive Systems model proposed by Harkness, Reynolds, and Lilienfeld (2014). This model incorporates five systems

evolved for adaptation to the external environment: reality modeling for action, short-term danger detection, long-term cost-benefit projection, resource acquisition, and agenda protection. Major adaptive systems have a general form of organization; sensory input, integration, and motor output. When individuals have an important agenda that is frustrated, energy and thinking are concentrated on overcoming the obstacle. Previous research has suggested cultural paranoia allows individuals to overcome social and environmental obstacles that inhibit them from reaching their goals (Newhill, 1990; Ridley, 1984), similar to what Harkness et al. proposed to be the purpose of the agenda protection system. Generally, the resistance to obstruction or protection of one's personal agenda is thought to be healthy. For example, Irving and Hudley (2005) found high cultural mistrust related to low educational outcome expectations and outcome values in African American male youth. The authors stated that in the face of perceived structural racism, students will not expect to have access to the opportunity structure, regardless of their academic efforts (i.e. high educational cultural mistrust). When confronted with pervasive failure an individual, regardless of race, will typically lower the value of a given goal to protect their self-worth (Covington, 1992). So, rather than feeling incompetent, students who perceive structural barriers between personal effort and achievement may discount the academic domain (Irving & Hudley, 2005) in favor of another that maybe more beneficial. As a result of either being exposed to racism or being treated unfairly by Whites, the tendency to be suspicious of Whites seems to manifest itself most often in four areas; educational and training settings, politics and law, business and work, and interpersonal relations (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). For example, in the political and legal system, Black Americans are often forgotten, ignored, or treated in a derogatory manner by Whites. According to Kitano (1974), the result is many Black Americans develop feelings of alienation and mistrust towards political and legal systems.

However, means used to protect one's agenda can become a problem when control systems are overtaxed and behaviors such as instrumental aggression arise, due to fatigue, mental distraction, or emotional over-arousal (Harkness et al., 2014). In the case of cultural paranoia, overtaxing of control systems may look like going from social evaluative concerns (i.e. thoughts and feelings of being vulnerable) to more extreme perceptions of threats from other individuals that the affected person believes are trying to cause distress (Freeman, 2007). There is a strong positive association between cultural mistrust and negative views and expectations of White counselors, as well as, dissatisfaction with and unwillingness to seek mental health services among African Americans (Ahluwalia, 1990; Grant-Thompson & Atkinson, 1997; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994). For instance, Nickerson et al. (1994) found that higher levels of cultural mistrust were associated with more negative general attitudes about seeking psychological help from a clinic staffed by Whites and expectations that services would be less relevant, impactful, and gratifying. Whaley (2001) found that, overall, Black individuals who were high in cultural mistrust expected less from counseling than those who scored lower. Also, higher mistrust scoring Black participants who were assigned White counselors expected less from counseling than those assigned to a Black counselor. Furthermore, higher mistrust scoring participants expected the counselor to be less accepting, less trustworthy, and had diminished expectations about the counselor's expertise (Whaley).

Additionally, cultural mistrust is associated with a number of negative outcomes including: poorer IQ test performance, lower occupational expectations, and antisocial behaviors (Biafora et al., 1993; Terrell, Terrell, & Miller, 1993; Terrell, Terrell, & Taylor, 1981; Terrell & Terrell, 1983). Participants with high cultural mistrust scored higher on IQ tests when the test administrator was Black compared to a White administrator (Terrell et al., 1981). Biafora et al.

(1993) suggested a strong relationship exists between higher scores on cultural mistrust and conventional forms of delinquency in African American, Haitian, and other Caribbean Island Black males. These results do not directly account for any differences in psychosocial outcomes. However, they do seem to indicate the combine effects of this specific coping strategy and perceived hostile environments on the well-being of Black Americans. Although there are many negative outcomes associated with cultural mistrust, there has been research exploring potential protective factors that may mitigate these effects.

Racial Identity

A number of studies have drawn attention to racial or ethnic identity and its importance to minority group members. High ethnic identity has been associated with better psychological functioning, academic achievement, and fewer externalizing behaviors, such as aggression and delinquent behavior (Kerpelman, Eryigit, & Stephens, 2008; Smith & Silva, 2011; Wakefield & Hudley, 2007; Yasui et al., 2004). Moreover, high ethnic identity among African Americans has been shown to significantly reduces the impact of discrimination on health outcomes (Bynum, Best, Barnes, & Burton, 2008; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI), developed by Sellers et al. (1998), defines racial identity in African Americans as the development of self-concepts through the significance and qualitative meaning they attribute to their Black racial group membership. The four dimensions of the MMRI include salience, racial centrality, racial ideology, and racial regard, and represent ways in which racial identity is presented. Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that some dimensions of racial identity (i.e. racial centrality, racial ideology, and racial regard) protect African Americans from the negative psychological effects of perceived discrimination. More specifically, racial ideology and public regard seems to protect individuals from the negative mental health effects of

perceived discrimination. Simons et al. (2002) also found that in communities with high racial identification, there was a low association between victimization and depressive symptoms in African American children. Research has yet to explore the effects of racial identity on the relationship between negative media exposure and cultural mistrust. For the purpose of this study only racial centrality and racial regard subscales were used. Racial centrality is defined as the extent to which a person defines him/herself with regard to race. Racial regard refers to an individual's affective and evaluative judgment of his/her race in terms of negative/positive valence (Sellers et al., 1998).

Current study

In summary, exposure to negative interactions between Black Americans and police has had significant effects on perceptions of police (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Peck, 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). However, research is needed to examine the effects of exposure to these interactions, depicted in the news, on Black Americans' cultural paranoia symptoms. The present study seeks to answer the question: Are Black individuals at risk of developing higher levels of cultural paranoia after exposure to videos of negative interactions between police and members of their own race? I hypothesized that:

1) Black participants who were exposed to negative videos of Black Americans interactions with police would have higher cultural mistrust scores compared to those exposed to positive interactions with Black and police or neutral videos of police.

2) Trust in news media and cultural identity would moderate cultural mistrust such that lower scores on trust in news media and lower scores on Black identity will predict greater cultural paranoia.

Method

Participants

This study was approved by and conducted in compliance with the institutional review board at the author's current institution. The current study included multiple forms of recruitment. On campus undergraduate students who were recruited from psychology and marketing 100-level classes through an online research tracking system called SONA completed the study online and received credit to fulfill their introductory psychology experiment requirements. All other students, staff and faculty were recruited via emails to the Ball State Communication center and/or Black organization meetings such as the NAACP, Black Graduate Student Association, Black Student Association, and African Student Association. These participants completed the study online. In-person recruitment occurred in the community of Muncie at the Whately and Industry neighborhood organization meetings, the NAACP Muncie Chapter meetings, and People's Choices Inc. These participants watched the video clips on a laptop provided by the author and completed a paper copy of the survey. Emails were also sent out to Black/African American faculty and staff on campus who forward the survey to their colleagues and students across the Midwest. Lastly, recruitment occurred through word-of-mouth. These participants emailed the author directly and were sent a recruitment email with a link to the survey. All participants were 18 years or older and all non-community (e.g. students, staff, and faculty) participants completed the online survey wherever they have access to a computer and Internet connection. All non-subject pool participants had the option to enter their contact information online for the opportunity to win one of ten \$20.00 gift cards or (for community members) to enter the same information on a sign in sheet. Because the present study focused on understanding how Black individuals process race-related information, the data analyses included only participants who identified as Black/African American and who

completed the survey. In addition, I excluded 86 participants due to missing data. The final sample comprised of 153 self-identified Black individuals, 68% of whom identify as female, 88.2 % attended/completed college and/or university, with a mean age of 28.72 years ($SD = 14.71$, age range: 18 to 76 years).

Procedure

After reading an informed consent page, participants agreed to participate by clicking “yes” to “Do you wish to participate in this study” or by signing a paper version of the consent form. The survey software (Qualtrics) randomly assigned participants to one of three conditions: negative interactions (experimental group 1), positive interactions (experimental group 2), or neutral interactions (control group). Participants in each group viewed a 5 minute video containing four clips of either positive, negative, or neutral interactions between Black Americans and police officers. The negative interactions condition included video clips of a young Black male pulled over for not stopping at a stop bar and getting into a fist fight with police, a Black male getting tazed and kicked in the face while in handcuffs, a Black male getting into a fist fight with a police officer for jaywalking, and a Black woman getting taken to the ground and arrested in front of her children. The positive interactions condition consisted of video clips of two Black individuals explaining peaceful encounters with the police, a Black couple being pulled over and given ice cream by two officers, and a police officer playing basketball with Black children. The neutral interactions condition consisted of video clips of police officers on bicycles, police cars using their sirens, a police academy graduation ceremony, and officers training police horses. To ensure that participants were attentive during the videos and to verify the effectiveness of the video manipulation, they were asked to evaluate the police officers depicted in the videos. The mean of the neutral group was 2.76 ($SD = .61$; 6-point scale),

indicating on average participants' response to the evaluations of police scale neither agreed or disagreed that the police were treating civilians in a positive manner. Thus, participants perceived that the interactions depicted in the videos for the neutral condition were neutral. To reflect the way in which the media depicts most police interactions, all police officers were White and all targets were Black. Next, all participants completed questionnaires that assessed their trust in news media, cultural paranoia, cultural identity, and demographic information. All items among each of these measures were randomized. Participants were then shown a debriefing page (See appendix I).

Measured Variables

Evaluations of police. To assess the effectiveness of the video manipulation for the three conditions, a modified version of the Process-based Policing scale (Gau, 2011) was used. The 12-item instrument measured procedural justice and legitimacy. However, only the procedural justice scale was used in this study. Participants rated each item using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *Strongly Agree*; See Appendix D). The procedural justice scale consisted of 5 statements, with sample items are, "Police in my community treat people with dignity and respect" and "police in my community explain their decisions to the people they deal with". The items were modified to reflect "police in the video" rather than "police in my community". I found that the procedural justice subscale had strong internal consistency in the current sample ($\alpha = .951$) and higher scores reflect more of the characteristic being assessed.

Trust in News Media. The Trust in News Media scale (Kohring & Metthes, 2007) is a 16-item instrument that assesses individuals' trust in the media along four dimensions: trust in the selectivity of topics, trust in the selectivity of facts, trust in the accuracy of depictions and trust in journalistic assessment. Each of the four dimensions consists of four items. Participants

used a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) to respond to each question (See Appendix E). The subject of the scale was modified, in that, the media topic was changed to police brutality rather than unemployment. Replicability of the dimensions from the original scale was assessed in this study. Higher scores represent greater trust in news media.

Cultural Paranoia. The Cultural Mistrust Inventory-Revised (CMI-R) is a 48-items instrument that measure cultural aspects of mild paranoia in the form of mistrust of Whites that exists in Black culture due to a history of racism and oppression (Grier & Cobb, 1968; Terrell & Terrell, 1996; Whaley, 2002). Participants used a 7-point Likert scale to indicate agreement (1 = *strongly agree* to 7 = *strongly disagree*) with the items given. Sample items are, “Whites are usually fair to all people regardless of race”, “White politicians will promise Blacks a lot but deliver little”, and “White teachers deliberately ask Black students questions which are difficult so they will fail”(See Appendix F). Higher mean scores indicate greater cultural mistrust. Internal consistency previously ranged from .82 to .89 in college samples (Nikerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Terrell, Terrell, & Taylor, 1981). In the current sample this scale demonstrated strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .935$).

Racial identity. The Revised Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1998) consists of 51-items assessing centrality, regard, and ideology operationalized by the MMRI. Participants used a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*) to rate each of the items (See Appendix G). The Centrality scale, the extent to which being a Black American is central to one’s definition of themselves, consists of 8 items. Sample items include, “Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself”. In their full sample, which included students from a predominantly White university and students from a predominantly African American university, internal reliability was acceptable (Cronbach $\alpha =$

.77; Sellers et al., 1998). The Regard scale consists of a private regard subscale and measures the way participants feel toward Black Americans. A sample item is “I feel good about Black people,” and Cronbach $\alpha = .60$ in a full sample (Sellers et al., 1998). The Ideology Scale consists of 36 items, measures ideologies (assimilation, humanist, nationalist, and oppressed Minority), and is associated with the way Black Americans view topics such as political-economic issues, cultural-social issues, intergroup relations, and attitudes toward the majority group. Each subscale consists of 9 items. A sample item from the assimilation subscale is “Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system”, and Cronbach $\alpha = .73$ (Sellers et al., 1998). A sample item from the Humanist subscale is “Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially,” and Cronbach $\alpha = .70$ (Sellers et al., 1998). A sample item from the oppressed minority subscale includes, “Blacks will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups,” and Cronbach $\alpha = .76$ (Sellers et al., 1998). A sample item from the nationalist subscale includes, “Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values,” and Cronbach $\alpha = .79$ (Sellers et al., 1998). Higher mean scores indicate higher racial identity in the respective dimensions. For the purpose of this study only items from the centrality and private regard subscales were administered to protect against participant burnout. I found the internal consistency to be moderate for both the centrality and regard subscales ($\alpha = .80, .68$, respectively).

Demographic Information. Participants completed demographic questions (11-items) that assessed their age, year in school, and gender (see Appendix H).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

The current study's sample consisted of 153 participant recruited from a Midwestern university ($N = 141$) and the surrounding community ($N = 12$). Participants in the university and community sample identify as female (70.9% and 58.3%, respectively). The mean age of participants in the university sample was 26 ($SD = 12.01$) while the mean age of the community sample was 55 ($SD = 17.43$). Additionally, the community sample reported using broadcast and network news as their primary source for journalist information (100%), while the university sample primarily use social media (55.3%) for journalist information. For statistics on sample distributions by video condition see Table 1.

Manipulation Check using the Evaluation of Police Scale

The manipulation check using the evaluations of *police in the videos* scale did find significant difference between all three video conditions [$F(2, 148) = 129.24, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .636$]. Participants perceived there to be less quality of treatment and decision making in the negative group ($M = 1.33, SD = .58$), followed by the neutral group ($M = 2.76, SD = .61$), and then the positive group ($M = 3.99, SD = 1.20$). See Table 2 for ANOVA statistics. The mean of the neutral group was 2.76 ($SD = .61$; 5-point scale), meaning on average participants response to the evaluations of police scale neither agreed or disagreed that the police were treating civilians in a positive manner (i.e. being treated with dignity, respect, fairly, etc.). Thus, here is evidence that the neutral group was truly neutral. The same is true for the positive and negative conditions. For the positive group the mean was 3.99, meaning participants somewhat agreed that the police in the video clips were treating targets positively. For the negative group the mean was 1.33, meaning participants strongly disagreed that civilians in the videos were being treated in a positive manner. The manipulation was effective in providing evidence that the videos

accurately depicted positive, negative, and neutral interactions between police and Black individuals.

Trust in New Media Scale Structure

Initially, the factor structure of the 18 trust in news media items was examined. First, it was observed that 17 of 18 items correlated at least .3 with at least one other item, suggesting reasonable factorability. Second, the Kaiser-Meyer-Oklm measure of sampling adequacy was .86, which is considered acceptable (Hutcheson & Sofronion, 1999), and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 (136) = 1144.5, p < .001$). The communalities for the 17 of the 18 correlated items were all above .30, further confirming that each item shared some common variable with other items. Given these overall indicators, a factor analysis was deemed suitable for the 18 items.

A maximum likelihood factor analysis was used because the primary purpose was to identify the proportion of variance that the factor solution explained. The decision to extract four variables was based on previously extracted factor during the development of the scale (Kohring & Matthes, 2007). The four factors explained a total of 51.63% of the variance for the entire set of variables. Factor 1 was labeled *selectivity of topics and fact* due to the high loadings items from the first two subscales of the original scale (see Appendix E) excluding item eight. The first factor explained 36.30% of the variance. The second factor derived was labeled *accuracy of depictions* after the original measurement subscale, excluding item nine. The variance explained by this factor was 7.90%. The third factor extracted was labeled *journalistic assessment* and was an exact replication of the subscale from the original scale. The variance explained by this factor was 4.06%. The last factor derived from the factor analysis was labeled *accuracy of reports*, which was a new extracted factor of the current study and was labeled as such due to the high

loadings by the following items; “the information in a report would be verifiable if examined”, and “Reporting includes different points of view”. This factor accounted for 3.37% of the variance. For factor loadings of the original factors, newly identified factor, and commonalities for the trust in news media scale review Table 3. Results from this analysis suggest the original structure of the trust in news media scale was not upheld in the present study, as such composite scores were used to represent *total trust in news media* using the factor structure found in the current study, which was calculated by summing item scores. Please see the limitations section for possible limits of using this method. The Trust in News Media scale, in the current study, demonstrated strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .89$).

Effects of Video Interactions on Cultural Mistrust

A one-way between subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to compare the effect of video interaction of police and Black individuals on cultural mistrust scores in positive, negative, and neutral conditions. There was not a significant effect of video interactions on cultural mistrust scores at the $p < .05$ level for the three conditions [$F(2, 149) = 2.99, p = .053, \eta_p^2 = .03$]. These results fail to support the first hypothesis and suggest that the type of video interaction between police and Black individuals did not have an effect on these participants’ endorsement of cultural mistrust. See Tables 4 and 5 for mean scores, standard deviations, and ANOVA statistics.

Explanatory Power of Trust in News Media and Black Identity on Cultural Mistrust

To evaluate the hypothesis that cultural mistrust scores are a function of five variables, gender, age, trust in news media, Black identity (MIBI; e.g. centrality and regard), and the experimental conditions (e.g. positive and negative), a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed. The variable were entered into blocks resulting in five regression models.

Gender was the first variable entered, followed by age, trust in news media, Black identity, video condition, and then interaction variables for video and black identity (e.g. positive x MIBI Regard, positive x MIBI Centrality, negative x MIBI Regard, and negative x MIBI Centrality). Gender and video condition were dummy coded and the Black identity and interaction variable were centered at their means. Gender and age were entered first as control variables and followed by the variables mentioned above in the order in which the researcher hypothesized and theory suggested would contribute the most variance. For intercorrelations between the multiple regression variables, see Table 6. Tests of multicollinearity indicated that a very low level of multicollinearity was present after centering (VIF = 1.01 for gender, 1.01 for age, 1.02 for trust in media, 1.75 and 1.49 for centrality and regard- related Black identity, respectively, and 1.39 for both positive and negative video conditions). Multicollinearity was also very low for the interaction variables after centering (VIF = 1.86 for negative x MIBI Centrality, 1.68 for negative x MIBI Regard, 1.66 for positive x MIBI Regard and 1.41 for positive x MIBI Centrality).

Results of the regression analysis provided did not provide support for the second hypothesis, however, trust in news media and Black Identity did predict cultural mistrust. The best fitting model for predicting endorsement of cultural mistrust was a linear combination of gender, age, trust in news media, and MIBI regard and centrality which uniquely explained 13.90% of the variation in cultural mistrust (Model 3; $R = .37$, $R^2 = .13$, $F(5,146) = 4.70$, $p = .001$). Beta coefficients for the four variables in Model 3 were gender, $\beta = .008$, $t = .10$, $p = .91$; age, $\beta = -.01$, $t = -.16$, $p = .86$; trust in news media, $\beta = .19$, $t = 2.44$, $p = .01$; MIBI Regard, $\beta = -.10$, $t = -1.02$, $p = .30$; MIBI Centrality, $\beta = .33$, $t = 3.56$, $p < .001$. In this model gender, age, and Black identity regard did not predict cultural mistrust scores. However, trust in news media and

Black identity centrality did predict cultural mistrust scores. Specifically, the higher participants' trust in news media and Black identity centrality the higher their cultural mistrust. Models 4 and 5 did not significantly increase the variance explained, meaning adding the video manipulations and/or the interactions did not significantly increase the variance explained. Thus, Black identity did not moderate the relationship between video condition and cultural mistrust. See Table 7 for all five models in the hierarchical regression.

Discussion

Summary of Current Study

Prior research has demonstrated perceptions and attitudes of violent crime, arrests, and environmental preferences can be influenced by race specific videography for White and Black participants (Freeman, Aquino, & McFerran, 2009; Krysan et al., 2009; Levin and Thomas, 1997; Peffley, Shields, & Williams, 1996). For White Americans negative portrayals of Blacks in television news about crimes heighten negative attitudes towards Blacks, elicit racial stereotypes, and heavily bias Whites' evaluation of the suspect along racial lines (Dixon, 2008; Gilliam & Iyenger, 2000; Oliver, 2003; Peffley, Shields, & Williams, 1996). For Black Americans the highly publicized arrests of Blacks have a negative impact on perceptions of use of force by police and have increased the perception that Whites receive preferential treatment from police (Dowler and Zawilsi, 2007; Jefferis et al., 1997). Because of the increasing popularity and impact of video media on perceptions and attitudes in the general population, the particular instances of highly publicized police interactions and their effects on Black individuals should be examined. However, there is a lack of research exploring this and the psychological effects of exposure to these media depictions. The purpose of this research was to address this gap in the literature and to explore the relationship between media depiction of interactions

between police and Blacks and endorsement of cultural mistrust, a scale that captures racial experience as it relates to trust. Additionally, the study aimed to identify if trust in news media and the protective factor of Black identity mitigated the effects of publicized police interaction on cultural mistrust.

Exploration of Current Findings and Future Directions

The first hypotheses that there would be significant differences between video conditions was not supported. There were no significant difference in cultural mistrust between the positive, negative, and neutral video groups. It appears that viewing video clips of negative interactions between police and Blacks does not generalize to a mistrust of White individuals. There are several potential explanation for these finding. First, the cultural mistrust measure may not have captured the psychological impact of news images of police interaction. Research suggest that increases in social media use are associated with increase in the odds of developing depression (Lin et al. 2006). Considering majority of the participants in the current study used social media as their primary news source, an assessment of depressive symptomology may better capture the effects of news media depictions of police interactions on Black viewers. Follow-up studies should explore other internalizing symptoms (i.e. depression) and other forms of media consumption and their relationship with news media depiction of interactions between police and Black individuals. Second, the majority of the participants in the current study were female (68%), but all of the targets in the video manipulations were male. A recent study suggested that Black men are more likely to report discriminatory interactions with police than Black women (Demby, 2017). Hence, the video manipulation presented may not have captured the experiences of the women in the current study. Also, all of the police officers were White men. Thus, the extent to which participant identified with the targets in the videos may have been limited by the

gender of the targets and the racial/ethnic group membership of the officers. Lastly, even if the result were significant the effect of news media clips of police interactions with Black on cultural mistrust is very minimal ($\eta_p^2 = .03$). The small effect size suggests that there are other factors besides viewing police interactions with Blacks that may contribute to cultural mistrust. Future research should re-examine the construct of cultural mistrust and explore other factors that may contribute to endorsement of cultural mistrust. Additionally, future studies should explore a more diverse range of targets/civilians and police officers to examine potential racial differences.

The finding that viewing different videos did not affect Black participants' cultural mistrust is important because even though African Americans view and document police violence, in recent years, more frequently (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015), exposure to these interactions does not seem to have an effect on their trust in White individuals in general. However, a follow-up study with a larger sample size, different types of clips, and participants from different geographical regions might yield different results. Future studies should also explore whether the mistrust from watching these videos would generalize to White individuals who hold positions of authority, similar to the authority held by police officers shown in the videos.

Before discussing the findings related to the second hypothesis, it should be noted that I modified the trust in news media scale (Kohring & Metthes, 2007) and found an additional factor (accuracy of reports) that was not present when Kohring and Metthes used the same scale to assess perceptions of news coverage of unemployment. In an attempt to mitigate the effect of the modification, I used composite scores to measure participants' trust in the way news media selects facts and topics of police brutality and how accurately they are depicted and reported by journalists. However, the use of composite scores with the trust in news media scale was inconsistent with the original scale validation. Kohring and Matthes (2007) suggested that a four-

factor model fits significantly better than a one dimensional model. Thus, conclusions made from these result are tentative and should be considered with caution because the trust in news media scale structure and use were not consistent with the original scale. In addition, the predictive power of both trust in news media and Black identity centrality was very small and the internal consistency of the Black identity scale was moderate to low.

I did not find support for the second aim/hypothesis, that trust in news media and Black identity moderate cultural mistrust such that lower scores on trust in news media and lower scores on Black identity predict greater cultural paranoia. However, regardless of participants' gender and age, there was explanatory power of trust in news media and Black identity-centrality on cultural mistrust. However, the direction of this relationships was not as expected. Results suggested that Blacks who trusted the news media and who had greater Black identity centrality reported feeling more rather than less cultural mistrust.

Prior research indicated that audiences' exposure to news media correlates with how much they trust and mistrust the media (Tsfati & Cappella, 2003). Tsfati and Cappella found that those who trust the mainstream media tend to watch and read more mainstream news. Those who were skeptical, defined as a subjective feeling of mistrust towards news media, tended to use nonmainstream sources, like the internet (Tsfati & Cappella, 2003). Recently, there has been an increase in use and availability of technologies with tools for documenting and streaming incidents of police misconduct, of which African Americans are particularly high users and consumers (Blosser, 1988; Bonilla & Rosa, 2015; Smith, 2013). Previous research suggested that exposure to media accounts of police misconduct is a powerful influencer on the belief that police misconduct occurs often among Blacks and Hispanics (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Additionally, frequent viewings of network news increased the belief that Whites received

preferential treatment from police among minority participants (Bowler & Zawilsi, 2007). The combined effects of trust in social media that leads to an increased likelihood of engagement and exposure to police misconduct that results from increased access from the internet and new technology may explain the relationship between trust in news media and cultural mistrust. Considering the rate at which African Americans consume and use social media it is important to understand the relationship between media use, trust in media, and cultural mistrust.

Additionally, the finding that greater trust in news media had a positive relationship with cultural mistrust supports the adaptive cultural mistrust pathway of the adaptive systems model. Given that viewing police violence against Black victims is associated with negative psychological effects (e.g. anger, outrage, fury, sadness, and fear; Reinka & Leach, 2017), the increase in cultural mistrust may be an alternative coping strategy rather than the individual experiencing these negative psychological effects. So, rather than feeling angry, outraged, and fearful individual may direct their feelings toward increases in mistrust of White individuals as the adaptive systems model would suggest.

Greater mistrust of Whites is associated with more negative attitudes about seeking help from clinics staffed by White mental health providers, which rendered their counseling unsatisfactory (Nickelson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994). Moreover, the underutilization of mental health services is predicted by cultural mistrust (Terrell & Terrell 1984; So, Gilbert, & Romero, 2005; Whaley, 2002). Considering the way in which trust in news media contributes to increases in cultural mistrust levels there may be an impact, clinically, on the therapeutic relationship. The current study contributes to the literature by providing evidence that trust in media may influence general trust in Whites by finding predictive power of trust in news media on cultural mistrust.

More research is needed to examine the effect of frequency of use of social media and its effects on trust in news media and cultural mistrust.

Although both Black identity regard and centrality were included in the regression model, only centrality significantly predicted cultural mistrust. This may be because the centrality subscale focused on the extent to which being a Black American is central to participants' definition of themselves whereas the regard subscale was concerned with the way participants felt toward Black Americans. Freeman (2007) proposed that social evaluative concerns (i.e. thoughts and feelings of oneself as being vulnerable, akin to Black identity centrality) are more closely related to experiences of subclinical/clinical paranoia and/or mistrust compared to global concerns about how one's race is reflected (akin to Black identity regard). Another explanation for the non-significant result of Black identity regard is that the subscale of regard did not have adequate reliability in this sample, which may have contributed to the non-significant results.

The explanatory power of centrality may be explained by the underlying internal processing related to both centrality and mistrust. Early theoretical stage models of Black identity suggest an internalization stage of development that was characterized by fulfilling a sense of self and cultural identity (Jackson, 1975), positive acceptance of Blackness rather than denigration of Whiteness (Milliones, 1980), and internalizing black culture and transcending racism (Cross, 1971). Parallels can be made between this stage of Black identity development and Black centrality highlighted by Sellers et al. (1998), Items from that centrality subscale summate Blackness as a part of one's self-image, a reflection of one's self, and a sense of belonging to Black people. Franklin-Jackson and Carter (2007) suggested that individuals with strong racial identity status attitudes might be more aware of racism and racial issues and that this awareness might influence their experience of higher levels of race-related stress (e.g.

general psychological distress, cultural mistrust, poor quality of life, and depression). Though this research may contribute to the explanation of the relationship seen in the current study, the current literature seems unclear as to how direct this relationship might be.

The effects of racial centrality has a variety of psychological impacts on African Americans. For example, Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that racial centrality was positively associated with perceived racial discrimination, while others have found that for individual with whom Black identity was more central, participants were more likely to report lower psychological distress (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman 2003). Fluctuation of the psychological impact of Black identity centrality might be attributed to more recent conceptualizations of centrality as a hierarchical ranking of different identities relative to an individual's core definition of the self (Seller, 1998). So rather than a successive stage model, a more fluid interchangeable continuous process seems to be at play. For example, some African American women identify with their gender first while others identify with their race first as a more important self-identifying characteristic. Thus, the moderating effect of centrality on psychological outcomes may vary depending on if an individual considers his/her Black identity a latter characteristic of himself/herself or a central component, which may pivot on experience and exposure. Making decisions about what constructs are relevant in the context of our lives is how people define the world and themselves (e.g. personal construct theory; Kelly, 1955). Cultural mistrust is also demarcated by the decision making process of assessing the construct of trust of others based on racial experience and exposure. Thus, the underlying process of internal assessment of constructs related to Blackness could contribute to the explanatory power of Black identity centrality on cultural mistrust.

Previous research has demonstrated the moderating effects of strong internalized Afrocentric attitude and higher cultural values (i.e. Afrocentric worldviews) on the relationship between preference for counselors, help-seeking behaviors, and cultural mistrust (Townes, Chavez-Korell, & Cunningham, 2009; Wallace & Constantine, 2005). Thus, the effects of Black identity impacts these behaviors and the current study suggests that there may need to be more consideration of Black identity centrality and its direct and indirect effects on cultural mistrust and mental health preferences. It is recommended that therapists assess for consumption and trust in news media in clients' who endorse symptomology related to cultural mistrust.

Additionally, the current study may have elicited high endorsement of black centrality by exposing participants to videos where race was particularly salient. Participants were exposed to videos where the targets were all Black and the police were all White. In these instances the racial difference between people in the interactions may have made the targets race more salient and may have brought focus to the participants own race. Making Blackness salient may have initiated the pivot towards Black identity being more central thus skewing the results towards higher Black identity centrality.

Previous experiences with police was not examined in the current study. Taking into consideration the preexisting negative attitudes towards police among African Americans (Peck, 2015) and the unexamined experiences with police among participants of the current study, the current findings may be skewed. Future research should include a measures of and control for experiences with polices and attitudes towards police to mitigate these potential effects. One strength of the currents study was the use of an experimental design, which allowed for random assignment and even distribution of prior experiences with police among participant in the three

conditions. Also, the current study included a community sample and thus increased the generalizability of the study's findings.

Limitations

A weakness of the methodology of the current study was that all self-report measures were administered online or by paper copy as opposed to an interview which was done in previous validation studies of the CMI (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Whaley, 2002). A limitation of this methodology is related to the number of cases excluded from the analysis for missing data on the cultural mistrust and Black identity scales ($N = 86$). Half of the excluded cases missed at least one item ($N = 20$), items of which were not consistent throughout the excluded sample; or dropped out after the manipulation check ($N = 21$; 49.3%). Also, 36% of participants dropped out after viewing videos in the neutral condition ($N = 15$) or after consent form ($N = 15$). The length of both the videos (five minutes) and the content of the videos may explain the dropout rate. For example, the neutral video included two minutes of police car sirens and emergency responding. Participant may have dropped out due to a loss of interest. Another limitation of the methodology was the use of the community sample in the data analyses. The community sample was very different from the university sample in terms of percentage of females in the group, age, and primary source of media use. Results from the analyses of the current study may have been different had the community sample been excluded. Future studies should consider shorter videos with more attentive content, in-person administration, and an incentive for online participation in order to increase both the sample size and completion of the survey. As well as, research focused on differences between university and community populations and their endorsement of cultural mistrust and how it is effected by news media consumption and use.

Additionally, results suggested that the modified version of the trust in news media subscales did not replicate the structure of the subscale from the original study (Kohring and Metthes, 2007). This may be a direct result of the modification and more research is needed to further investigate and improve the police brutality modified version trust in news media scale. This research should include further examination of the overall structure of the scale and its subscales established by Kohring and Metthes (2007) as well as an in-depth theoretical explanation for the dimension that items from the scale load onto.

Generalizability of the current study's findings are minimal because this study was primarily conducted at a Midwestern University and its surrounding community. Thus, there may be regional differences in regards to the experiences and exposure to police interactions and additional types of news media consumption. In addition, in accordance with the IRB at the institution of the researcher, extremely violent videos were not used, which may have affected the results of the study. Also, the temporal proximity and importance of these videos to the participants may have affected participants' reactions to them. Future studies should explore whether the amount of violence shown by police, the temporal proximity, and/or the importance of these videos affect participants' cultural mistrust.

Lastly, the current study included paper copies of the survey that were distributed to community members to increase the sample size and accessibility. Three participants from the community sample had to be excluded for a missing item in the Black identity scale. This was a direct result of the formatting with which I structured the paper surveys. To mitigate these effects future research should employ a well-structured format to paper surveys that includes proper spacing for both items and response scales to increase understanding and completion before distribution to study participants.

Implications

Recent research has stressed the importance of cultural mistrust as a psychological construct in the lives of African Americans (Whaley, 2001) because of its impact on help-seeking behavior (Ahluwalia, 1990) and trust in therapists/counselors (Grant-Thompson & Atkinson, 1997; Mickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Terrell & Terrell, 1984; Watkins & Terrell, 1988). Practically, the findings of the current study may help inform clinical practice by enhancing clinicians' understanding of the impact that situational factors (e.g. trust in news media) have on Black clients' presentation of symptoms related to cultural paranoia. It is recommended that clinicians assess their clients' consumption and trust on news media and its impact on psychological functioning. Theoretically, the finding of this study may help to establish a social factor (e.g. Black identity centrality) that may mitigate the effects of cultural mistrust on the outcomes mentioned above and attitudes and perceptions towards police.

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Table 1.
Descriptive Statistics of Participants by Recruitment Method

Sample (N)	Mean Age	Gender			Condition			Media Use			
		Male	Female	Other	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Broadcastcase	Network	Social Media	Other
Community (12)	55.25	41.7% (5)	58.3% (7)	0%	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	33.3% (4)	50% (6)	50% (6)	0%	0%
University (141)	26.42	28.4% (40)	70.9% (100)	0.7% (1)	30.5% (43)	36.9% (52)	31.9% (45)	20.6% (29)	13.5% (19)	55.3% (78)	10.6% (15)

Table 2.

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Evaluations of Police by Video Manipulation Group

Source	<i>DF</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Between groups	2	179.343	89.672	129.245	.000
Within groups	148	102.684	.694		
Total	150	282.027			

Table 3.
Factor Loadings and communalities based on a Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis with Oblimin rotation for the Trust in New Media Scale

	Selectivity of Topics and Fact	Accuracy of Depictions	Journalistic Assessment	Accuracy of Report	Communality
The frequency with which PB is covered is adequate.	.868	.090	-.124	.274	.731
The essential points are included.	.662	-.180	.089	-.198	.629
The topic is covered on the necessary regular basis.	.613	.079	.089	.163	.456
All important information regarding the topic of PB is provided	.606	-.137	.081	.015	.514
The topic of PB is assigned an adequate status.	.594	.029	.239	-.129	.531
The topic of police brutality (PB) received the necessary attention.	.567	-.044	.023	-.070	.338
The focus is on important facts.	.551	-.357	.027	-.085	.600
The reported information is true.	-.037	-.831	.032	-.019	.689
The reports recount the facts truthfully.	-.021	-.826	.073	.058	.771
The facts that I receive regarding PB are correct.	-.020	-.453	.225	.160	.443
What is your MAIN SOURCE of journalistic information (select one that most applies)?	.023	-.088	-.007	.012	.010
I feel that the journalistic assessments regarding the topic of police brutality are useful.	-.082	.037	.822	.086	.622
The journalists' opinions are well-founded.	.010	-.066	.666	.066	.536
Criticism is expressed in an adequate manner.	.143	-.019	.630	-.073	.504
The commentary regarding unemployment consists of well-reflected conclusions.	.159	-.119	.608	-.007	.605
The information in a report would be verifiable if examined.	-.008	-.267	.067	.556	.500
Reporting includes different points of view.	.115	-.051	.163	.402	.297
Eigenvalue	6.171	1.343	.690	.573	
% of Total Variance	36.297	7.902	4.059	3.372	
Total Variance				51.63%	

Note: **Dimensions from original scale** (Kohring & Methes, 2007)

Table 4.
Cultural Mistrust Means and Standard Deviation for Positive, Negative, and Neutral Video Conditions

<i>Groups</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>
Positive Interaction	47	4.107	.113
Negative Interaction	56	3.980	.104
Neutral Interaction	49	3.727	.111

Table 5.
One-Way Analysis of Variance of Cultural Mistrust Scores by Video Manipulation Group

Source	<i>DF</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Between groups	2	3.622	1.811	2.997	.053
Within groups	149	90.037	.604		
Total	151	93.659			

Table 6.
Intercorrelations Between Hierarchical Multiple Regression Variables

		Black Identity- Centrality	Black Identity- Regard	Trust in News Media	Positive Video Condition	Negative Video Condition
Cultural Mistrust Inventory	(.935)	.303**	.068	.229**	.136	.045
Black Identity- Centrality		(.806)	.533**	.108	.014	.026
Black Identity- Regard			(.684)	-.003	.066	-.018
Trust in News Media				(.896)	.096	.024
Positive Video Condition						-.514**

Note: **p < 0.01 level (2-tailed); *p < 0.05 level (2-tailed). Parentheses contain internal consistencies (Cronbach's Alpha) for each scale.

Table 7.

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Cultural Mistrust (N = 152)

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	SE B	β	SE B	β	SE B	β	SE B	β	SE B	β
Gender	.141	.074	.138	.068	.136	.008	.136	.002	.137	-.011
Age	.004	-.042	.004	-.008	.005	-.015	.005	-.032	.005	-.052
Trust in News										
Media			.003	.230*	.003	.192*	.003	.168*	.003	.157*
MIBI Regard					.078	-.105	.077	-.107	.148	.082
MIBI Centrality					.060	.334**	.059	.335**	.113	.312
Video Positive							.153	.196*	.156	.182*
Video Negative							.146	.125	.151	.100
Interactions										
1 versus 0 x									.157	-.123
MIBI Centrality									.181	-.145
1 versus 0 x									.181	-.125
MIBI Regard									.142	.120
2 versus 0 x									.142	.120
MIBI Centrality									.142	.120
2 versus 0 x									.142	.120
MIBI Regard									.142	.120
R ²	.007		.058		.139		.167		.207	
F for change in R ²	.496		8.121*		6.813**		2.433		1.779	

Note: Gender was dummy coded where 0 was the reference group (1 = Male), MIBI = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, Centrality and Regard subscales, MIBI Centrality and Regard were centered at their means, Video conditions was represented as two dummy variables with 1 = positive, 2 = negative, and zero as the reference group, one case excluded for identify as gender non-binary. *p < .05. **p < .001.

Appendix A

Participation Email

If you are Black American, please consider participating in a research study for my Master's thesis. Many studies have been done to examine the effects of media portrayal on social attitudes. But, we don't have much research that has focused on how Black Americans perceive these images. My study is intended to learn more about Black Americans' perceptions of the media and their social attitudes.

I am asking Black American students, age 18 or older, to participate. Participation would involve watching media clips and completing a series of questionnaires in one online survey.

If you have not already participated in this study for research credits (Department of Psychological Science and Department of Marketing subject pools), you will be eligible to receive one of ten \$20.00 gift cards. After completing the survey, you will be asked to enter your name and contact information to be entered in the drawing. Ten winners will be randomly selected at the end of the data collection period (by July 2018).

A link to the survey is shown below. The videos are 5 minutes long and the questionnaire will take approximately 25 minutes to complete, totaling a participation time of 30 minutes. For more information about the study or if you have any questions, please contact me, Marcy Beutlich, at mrbeutlich@bsu.edu. You may also contact my faculty Advisor, Dr. Linh Littleford at Lnlittleford@bsu.edu, or phone at (765) 285-1707.

Survey Link: https://bsu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_40jEnHIBt8sW0wB

Thank you for your time,

Marcy Beutlich
2st year Clinical Psychology Master's student
Department of Psychological Sciences
Ball State University

Appendix B

Informed content

Study Title

Examining the Effects of Media Exposure

Study Purpose and Rationale

This study is being conducted to examine Black Americans' perceptions of media portrayal. This study may give us more information about how Black Americans perceive media portrayal of various social issues. This information could address the lack of data on Black Americans' perceptions of and experiences with media portrayals.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

To be eligible to participate in this study, you must identify as a Black American who is 18 years or older.

Participation Procedures and Duration

Your participation will involve watching videos about media exposure to one social issue and then answering questionnaires to indicate your thoughts about medial portrayal and your views about yourself and about some social issues. You will also be asked to share some demographic information.

Data Confidentiality or Anonymity

All data will be maintained as anonymous. No one, including the researchers, will be able to link you to your responses on the survey. No identifying information such as names will appear in any publication or presentation of the data.

Storage of Data and Data Retention Period

Your answers will be stored on the researcher's password-protected Ball State University Box software (secure online storage) for seven years and then deleted.

Risks or Discomforts

The anticipated risk from participating in this study is that some of videos shown may cause you minor distress. For this reason, there will be a debriefing page with information and resources to help eliminate this distress and reduce discomfort you may have experienced. Another risk is that you may not feel comfortable answering some of the questions. Feel free to stop viewing anything that makes you uncomfortable and to not to answer any question that causes you discomfort. You may also stop participating in the study at any time without any penalty. You will still be eligible for course credit or to win one of 10 gift cards for \$20.00.

Who to Contact Should You Experience Any Negative Effects from Participating in this Study

Should you experience any feelings of discomfort as a result of participating in the study, there are counseling services available to you through the Ball State University Counseling Center in Lucina Hall 320, 285-1736. Also, the Counseling Practicum Clinic offers counseling services to

people in Muncie and the surrounding area. The Clinic is located in on the lower level of Teachers College, 765-285-8047.

Benefits

If you participate in the study, as an undergraduate you will be eligible to receive course credit and if you are a graduate student or a Muncie community member you will be eligible to receive one of ten (\$20.00) gift cards. An additional benefit is you may gain from your participation in this study may be a greater awareness of the effects media exposure have on your attitudes.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw your permission at any time for any reason without penalty or prejudice from the investigator. Please feel free to e-mail any questions of the investigator any time during the study.

IRB Contact Information

For one's rights as a research subject, you may contact the following: For questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the Director, Office of Research Integrity, Ball State University, Muncie, IN 47306, (765) 285-5070 or at irb@bsu.edu.

Study Title

Examining the Effects of Media Exposure

Principal Investigator:

Marcy Beutlich, Graduate Student
Clinical Psychology
Ball State University
Muncie, IN 47306
Email: mrbeutlich@bsu.edu

By answering the following question, I agree to participate in this research project entitled, Examining the Effects of Media Exposure. I am also indicating that to the best of my knowledge, I meet the inclusion/exclusion criteria for participation (described on the previous page) in this study.

Researcher Contact Information

Principal Investigator:

Marcy Beutlich, Graduate Student
Clinical Psychology
Ball State University
Muncie, IN 47306
Email: mrbeutlich@bsu.edu

Faculty Supervisor:

Dr. Linh Littleford
Associate Professor
Ball State University
Muncie, IN 47306
Telephone: (765) 285-1707
Email: lnlittleford@bsu.edu

Appendix C

Video Conditions

Negative Media Exposure of police officers and Black Americans (Experimental group one)

Please view the following video.

<https://youtu.be/a6JKGqHi6IE>

Positive Media Exposure of police officers and Black Americans (Experimental group two)

Please view the following video.

<https://youtu.be/ainyKhsLMPQ>

Neutral Media Exposure of police officers (Control group)

Please view the following video.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=43qIfvLgf34>

Appendix D

Evaluations of Police

Please respond to the following statements (modified; Gau, 2011).
6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*)

Procedural Justice (Manipulation check)

Quality of Treatment

1. Police in the video treat people with dignity and respect.
2. Police in the video treat people fairly
3. Police in the video take time to listen to people.

Quality of Decision Making

4. Police in the video explain their decisions to the people they deal with
5. Police in the video make decisions based on facts and the law and not on their own personal opinions.

Appendix E

Trust in the Media (modified; Kohring & Metthes, 2007)

7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*)

For this section of questions the topic will be police brutality in news media coverage. Because this study is interested in News media please respond to the following statements with your main source of journalistic information in mind.

What is your **MAIN SOURCE** of journalistic information (select one that most applies)?

Added item

- Broadcast TV news (ABC, CBS, FOX, NBC, local news stations)
- Cable News/online news (BET, CNN, FOX News, MSNBC, etc.)

- Social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.)
- Other (please specify):_____

Subscales

Selectivity of topics

1. The topic of police brutality (PB) received the necessary attention.
2. The topic of PB is assigned an adequate status.
3. The frequency with which PB is covered is adequate.
4. The topic is covered on the necessary regular basis.

Selectivity of facts

5. The essential points are included.
6. The focus is on important facts.
7. All important information regarding the topic of PB is provided
8. Reporting includes different points of view.

Accuracy of depictions

9. The information in a report would be verifiable if examined.
10. The reported information is true.
11. The reports recount the facts truthfully.
12. The facts that I receive regarding PB are correct.

Journalistic Assessment

13. Criticism is expressed in an adequate manner.
14. The journalists' opinions are well-founded.
15. The commentary regarding unemployment consists of well-reflected conclusions.
16. I feel that the journalistic assessments regarding the topic of police brutality are useful.

Appendix F

Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrell & Terrell, 1996)

7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly agree* to 7 = *strongly disagree*)

DIRECTIONS: Below are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes of Black people. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings about the belief or attitude expressed. Indicate the extent to which you agree with by circling the number from 1 to 7 that most closely matches your opinion of the statement. The higher the number you choose, the more you agree with the statement. There are no right or wrong answers, only what is right for you. If in doubt, circle the number that seems most nearly to express your present feelings about the statement.

Please answer all items

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Nether Disagree nor	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Whites are usually fair to all people regardless of race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. White teachers teach subjects so that they favor Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. White teachers are more likely to slant the subject matter to make Blacks look inferior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. White teachers deliberately ask Black students questions which are difficult so they will fail.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. There is no need for a Black person to work hard to get ahead financially because Whites will take what you earn anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Black citizens can rely on White lawyers to defend them to the best of his ability.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Black parents should teach their children not to trust White teachers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. White politicians will promise Blacks a lot but deliver little.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. White policemen will slant a story to make Blacks appear guilty.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. White politicians usually can be relied on to keep the promises they make to Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Blacks should be suspicious of a White person who tries to be friendly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Whether you should trust a person or not is not based on his race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. Probably the biggest reason Whites want to be friendly with Blacks is so they can take advantage of them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. A Black person can usually trust his or her White co-workers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. If a White person is honest in dealing with Blacks, it is because of fear of being caught.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. A Black person cannot trust a White judge to evaluate him or her fairly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. A Black person can feel comfortable making a deal with a White person simply by a handshake.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Whites deliberately pass laws designed to block the progress of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. There are some Whites who are trustworthy enough to have as close friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Blacks should not have anything to do with Whites since they cannot be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. It is best for Blacks to be on their guard when among Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Of all ethnic groups, Whites are really the Indian-givers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. White friends are least likely to break their promise.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Blacks should be cautious about what they say in the presence of Whites since Whites will try to use it against them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Whites can rarely be counted on to do what they say.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Whites are usually honest with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Whites are as trustworthy as members of any other ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Whites will say one thing and do another.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. White politicians will take advantage of Blacks every chance they get.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. When a White teacher asks a Black student a question, it is usually to get information that can be used against him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. White policemen can be relied on to exert an effort to apprehend those who commit crimes against Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

32. Black students can talk to a White teacher in confidence without fear that the teacher will use it against him or her later.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Whites will usually keep their word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. White policemen usually do not try to trick Blacks into admitting they committed a crime that they did not do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. There is no need for Blacks to be more cautious with White businessmen than with anyone else.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. Whites are honest in business transactions with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. White storeowners, salesmen, and other White businessmen tend to cheat Blacks whenever they can.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. Since Whites can't be trusted in business, the old saying "one in the hand is worth two in the bush" is a good policy to follow.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. Whites who establish businesses in Black communities do so only so that they can take advantage of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. White politicians have often deceived Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. White politicians are equally honest with Blacks and Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. Blacks should not confide in Whites because they will use it against you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. A Black person can loan money to a White person and feel confident it will be repaid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. White businessmen usually will not try to cheat Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. White business executives will steal the ideas of their Black employees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. A promise from a White is about as good as a three dollar bill.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. Blacks should be suspicious of advice given by White politicians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. If a Black student tries, he will get the grade he deserves from a White teacher.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix G

The Revised Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1998)

Note: Response scale ranges from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*).

Centrality Scale

1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself, (reverse scored)
2. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
4. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (reverse scored)
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
6. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
7. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships, (reverse scored)

Regard Scale: Private Regard Subscale

1. I feel good about Black people.
2. I am happy that I am Black.
3. I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.
4. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.
5. I often regret that I am Black.
6. Blacks contribute less to society than others.
7. Overall, I often feel that Blacks are not worthwhile.

Appendix H

Demographic Questionnaire

Please identify how old you are. _____ (in years)

Please indicate what your ethnicity:

- African American
- African
- Haitian
- Carribean
- Multiracial
- Other: _____

Please indicate you highest level of education: _____

Please Identify what gender you ascribe to :

- Male
- Female
- Other

Do you currently participate in extra curricular organizations?

Yes/No.

If yes, select all that apply:

- African Student Association
- Black Fraternity or Sorority
- Black Graduate Student Associaton (BGSA)
- Black Student Association (BSA)
- Church

- NAACP Ball State Chapter
- NAACP Muncie Chapter
- Other (please specify): _____

Do you currently participate in other organizations?

Yes/No

If yes, please specify: _____

Appendix I

Debriefing

The survey you just completed was designed to examine the relationship between news media depictions of interactions with police and individual who identify with a Black identity and its effects on police evaluations, cultural mistrust, and trust in media. There were different versions of the video you viewed and they varied by type of the interaction. This study will extend the existing research by providing data on the psychological effects that exposure to media depicting positive and negative Blacks and police interactions has on Black Americans. The findings may help inform clinical practice by enhancing clinician's understanding of the impact that situational factors have on Black clients' presentation of symptoms related to cultural paranoia. The results may also help clinicians be more aware of the need to consider race-related experiences when diagnosing and treating Black clients who present with cultural mistrust symptoms. Finally, the findings may provide empirical support for the need to have more positive race-related representations in the media.

IMPORTANT: To ensure that the results are valid, please do not discuss this study with people who have not yet completed it. Thank you.

Your eligibility for course credit (undergraduates) or for the opportunity to receive a \$20.00 gift card (graduates and community members) will be updated within 24 hours. You will be notified if you have won a giftcard once data collection is completed.

If you have questions or are interested in obtaining a copy of the results of this study once it is completed, please contact the principal investigator:

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Thank you for your help. Please click the arrow below to exit the survey.