Muslim American Youth and Media

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To my mom, who has have given me unconditional love, support, and resources. She never had the opportunity to pursue a college career; in fact, she always worked several jobs to support my brother and me. She has gone above and beyond to provide us with the best opportunities, even when it meant countless hours and much sacrifice. She has had many obstacles to overcome, yet her strength, courage, and faith have shined above all. I will never be able to express my thanks in words or in deeds to my mom, but I know there isn't anyone more proud of me, with or without a PhD.

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Muslim American Youth and Media

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This study combines empirical communication research, political, and psychology research to gain a better understanding of effects of the media on Muslim American Youth. The purpose of this research is to explore media consumption habits of Muslim American youth and interpersonal communication to determine if and how media consumption and conversation affects Muslim American youth identity and perceptions of media bias. In addition, this study tested the hostile media phenomenon, using both entertainment and news content. The experimental component (N=127) tested whether Muslim American youth perceive news and or entertainment media portrayals of Muslims as biased against Muslims. This tested indirect effects of media on Muslim Americans responses to questions regarding their socialization, media habits, ethnicity, religiosity, self esteem, perceived discrimination, and media perceptions. Participants ages 8 – 18, who attend an Islamic school, were randomly assigned to one of two conditions; they either saw a 4 minutes news clip or a 4 minute entertainment clip. Results from the post-test response indicated that there was no significant difference between participants who watched the news clip and those who watched the entertainment clip, neither group thought portrayal of Muslim was negative; however, participants who watched the entertainment clip were more emotionally aroused than those who saw the news clip, that is students were more upset watching an entertainment program than news about Muslims. And finally, there was no support for the hostile media phenomenon. Students did not think either entertainment or news was biased against Muslim nor did they think other students would think negatively of Muslim

after watching either clip. This study is the first of its kind to test the hostile media phenomenon in youth. This study has strong social implications in the advancement of understanding Muslim American youth identity, and media consumption.

Tables

## Introduction

Images from September 11, 2001 were haunting: planes crashing into the world trade center, destruction, despair, and death. People of all ages, race, ethnicity, religious backgrounds, and countries were affected by the tragedy. The events of 9/11 changed the way most people thought of Islam and/or Muslims. One cannot escape the fact that all 21 people involved in the attacks claimed to be followers of Islam; however, one must not think of an entire religion negatively based on the actions and media portrayals of Muslim extremists.

Ten years after September 11, Muslim American youth are exposed to media messages negatively portraying Islam, and Arabs. These youth have a much different world to navigate and make sense of since the attacks. Middle East and Arab experts such as Jack Shaheen and Edward Said have been writing about Arab and Muslim misrepresentation in movies and television programs since the 1970s. The term Arab is often simultaneously associated with the term Muslim. Both Arab and Muslims have been portrayed from an Orientalist perspective – drawing on cliques and stereotypes that depict Arabs or Muslims as characters from *The Arabian Night, or as* money-hungry, oil-rich, womanizing, and terrorists. Although Arabs and Muslims were not covered often in the media prior to 9/11 (Hussain, 2009), the images and rhetoric changed to terror and terror threats after the historical events. Although content analyses conducted post 9/11 show that the news coverage after the attacks mostly dealt with civil issues for Muslim American citizens (see Nacos, Torres – Reyna, 2007; Weston, 2003), Preconceptions of terror and war are pervasive and trump positive news coverage. Images of terror and war are most ingrained in people's minds.

Furthermore, continued under-representation and misrepresentation in the media have fueled misunderstanding, protests, hatred, and crimes. Muslim and Arab American adults feel

discriminated against, violated, and think the media is very biased against them (Zogby poll, 2010; Yenigun, 2002).

Scholars have examined minority portrayals in the media, and how these portrayals impact youths' attitudes and perception (see Bryant and Thompson, 2002; Greenberg, Mastro, and Brand, 2002). Children associate positive characteristics on television with white characters and negative characteristics with minority characters (see Dixon and Linz, 2000; Children Now, 1998). While most research studies focus on black/white differences, fewer have focused on Hispanics, Asians, and Arabs.

For example, Muedini (2009) asked Muslim university students how they thought Muslims were portrayed in the media. Most students reported that images were negative. A student said Muslims are portrayed like animals. Although this study was conducted with university aged students, it leads us to the overarching question for this current study. What do Muslim American youth think about media portrayals of Muslims? Does this impact their identity or is their identity partly shaped by media portrayals? This study will explore religion, ethnic identity, self-esteem, and perceived discrimination in the context of identity development and group identity and formation research

Moreover, group identity formation is examined as a potential predictor of the hostile media phenomenon. The hostile media phenomenon coined by Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985), is a communication theory according to which opposing partisans who see the same news coverage will both think it is negative or hostile to their own viewpoint. Several hostile media effects studies have established this perception for various issues, as well as some of the contingent conditions that exacerbate the effect including source, and partisanship. Yet, there has not been any study testing of the hostile media phenomenon with those under the age of 18.

This study will test the hostile media phenomenon extending the notion of "partisan" to one's religious and or ethnic identity (group identity). Research on Muslim American youth's religious identity and ethnic identity will be described in this study, and survey questions to measure student's ethnic identity and religious identity, will be employed since group membership plays an integral role in one's development (Phinney, 1990). Specifically, Muslims closely identify with their religion, especially when attending an Islamic school (Peek, 2005). Ethnic and religious identity is shaped by gender, religious teachings, and parental influence (Arjouch, 2004).

Namely, family, school, peers, and media are socializing agents that help shape children's views about the world around them. Studies have shown that communicating with others about political, current events, and news media, is the best predictor of civic participation and knowledge (see Shah, McLeod & Lee, 2009; Boyd Zaff, Phelps, Weiner & Lerner, 2011). However, less is known about the relationships between media consumption and Muslims. This is why determining the extent to which Muslim youth communicate with others about what is going on in the world around them is so important. An integral part of this study is whether students communicate with parents, teachers, and peers about Muslims Americans, in particular what they see on TV, media use habits of Muslim American youth, identity measures (including religious, ethnic, self esteem, and perceived discrimination), and finally the hostile media phenomenon. The general purpose of this study is to determine if Muslim American youth perceive American media portrayals of Muslims and/or Arabs as biased, and if so, what predicts this hostile media effect. Despite the evidence for negative portrayals of Muslims, no studies have tested the hostile media phenomenon with youth; although, studies have examined Muslim Americans in the US in terms of identity formation and behavior (see Leonard, 2005; Ajrouch,

2004; Peek, 2005). The majority of these studies have been exploratory and qualitative in nature, and while enlightening, they have not tapped hostile media measures.

This dissertation addresses this absence in the literature by assessing the hostile media phenomenon among Muslim American children. It is clear Muslims are inaccurately portrayed in the media (Shaheen, 2003; Said, 1979). Some people posses a lingering resentment and reservation about Arabs and Muslim American (Panagopoulos, 2006). For Muslim American youth it can be extremely difficult to navigate a hyphenated world betweens their religion and the dominant mainstream culture in the United States (Sirin and Fine, 2007). Religious identity over other forms of identity is a powerful base of self and collective wellbeing for young Muslims and can enhance group solidarity. Other forms of strong group identity, i.e. partisanship, are predictive of perceived hostile media biased. We want to determine if and when Muslim American youth begin to perceive media coverage of Muslim and Arabs as biased, if the notion of hostile media can be extended to entertainment media and to determine if there is a relationship between cognitive and identity development and perceptions of media portrayals. "Muslim American teens carry international crisis in their backpacks and in their souls (Sirin and Fine, 2007, p51).

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one presents a review of related literature dealing with Muslims and Arabs, media coverage of Muslims and Arabs, children's reactions to news, political socialization in children, youth media consumption habits (including minority youth and media consumption and how it relates to children's developmental stages, religious identity, ethnic identity, self esteem, perceived discrimination), and the hostile media phenomenon. Chapter two includes the hypotheses and research questions that will be examined in this research. Chapter three delineates the research design and methodology employed in this

study. Chapter four presents the data analysis and results. Chapter five provides a discussion of our results, conclusions and implications for future research.

# Chapter 1

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, Muslim youth living in the United States (Muslim American's) were seen as a threat to society. This chapter will introduce important background information on Muslims and Arabs, television coverage of Muslims and Arabs, and will address salient literature for each variable this study will explore and test. I will begin by exploring conceptualizations of Muslims and Arabs.

## Muslims and Arabs

Muslims are people who follow the religion of Islam, regardless of their ethnicity, race, or language. Arabs are indigenous people of one of the twenty-two Arab states, ranging from North Africa to the Middle East. Arab countries include Algeria, Bahrain, Comoro Islands, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. However, not everybody who comes from these countries is necessarily Arab or Muslim. Nevertheless, the terms "Arab" and "Muslim" are often used synonymously (Haddad & Smith, 1996).

The immigration pattern of Arabs (Muslim and Christians) to the United States has been divided into three waves: pre-World War II, post-World War II (after the 1960s), and the current influx of refugees. The pre-World War II Arab immigrants, who arrived in the late 1800s, consisted primarily of farmers and laborers who came to the United States. Post World War II Arab immigrants consisted primarily of educated, bilingual professionals (Naff, 1994).

Islam has come to the United States in a variety of ways, including immigration from Arab nations and from Africa and Asia. Furthermore, others have converted to the faith. Since Islam is one of the fastest growing religions in the United States and in the Western world, it is

estimated that, if immigration and conversion rates remain unchanged, Muslims will be the largest religious minority in the Western world (Masci, 2005). With the increasing Muslim population there is a concomitant increasing demand for Muslim schools.

There are an estimated 235 Islamic schools in the United States and Virgin Islands (Keyworth, 2009). Immigrant parents see Islamic schools as a way to preserve their culture, prevent total assimilation, and protect their children from drugs, violence, and racial and religious discrimination (Zine, 2009). An Islamic parochial school averages 100 students or fewer and the average age is six years and younger. Not only is there a demand for Islamic schools, but there are also several barriers to establishing, maintaining, and expanding Islamic schools. Islamic schools have lower enrollments because of a lack of physical space and of certified teachers. In fact, 36 percent of school teachers are not certified; moreover, 13 percent of schools do not have any certified teachers. This leads to a negative perception of the schools and faculty and, therefore, low enrollment. In spite of these problems, many parents and students find Islamic schools to be essential.

Zine (2009) interviewed children who said they felt a sense of family and community in Islamic schools and felt a faith-based cohesion. Muslim schools function like any other associations that make up the faith-based sector of American society (Cristillo, 2009). Muslim schools produce networks of social relations and provide the means for people to receive an education, give money, hold meetings, recruit members, learn about public issues, and take part in civic and political engagement. However, Islamic schools have an additional challenge that other religious schools do not have: Public Islam phobia has fueled misconceptions that Muslim schools isolate youth in an ethno – religious ghetto. The latest United States census estimates 1.7 million Arab-Americans live in the United States (Arab American Institute, 2009). Incidents of

discrimination have been going on for centuries; however, after September 11, 2001, incidents of racism against Arab- Americans have increased (Council of American Islamic Relations, 2006). Parents choose to send their children to an Islamic school to help shape a Muslim identity and protect them from discrimination (Douglas & Shaik, 2004). They want their children to be surrounded by good Muslim teachers and peers, and by positive media. Media images of Arabs and Muslims in the West shape and influence one's knowledge regarding race, ethnicity, religion, and gender. As a minority, Muslims are sensitive to the potential effects of negative representations of Islam.

**Media Representation of Minorities**

*"To be Arab in the America of the 1970's is to be continually ridiculed in novels, motion pictures, editorial cartoons, magazines, and school text books (Shaheen, 2003, p.39)."*

Jack Shaheen (2003) explains that prime time entertainment depicts Arabs as cruel cowards, sex-starved pimps, backstabbers, and rich oil men. He chronicles disparate examples of stereotyping in an attempt to counter the misinformation and combat its dissemination

Ghareeb's, *Split Vision* (1983), a very early written portrayal of Arabs, clearly reveals that the American media is partly to blame for negative stereotypes. While much of this tome focuses on the Palestinian Israeli conflict, it is not my intent to explain the coverage of the Middle East conflict, but to explicate how media coverage of Muslims and Arabs stems from how the media covers Muslims in the Middle East influences perception. "Most Americans picture Arabs as backward, scheming fanatic terrorists, who are dirty, dishonest, oversexed and corrupt. On the other hand, the Israelis are seen as tough, energetic, hard working, prosecuted and courageous people. They are modern pioneers who have made the desert bloom and democracy a reality in the midst of the backward Middle East (Ghareeb, 1983, p. 7)." These

negative stereotypes are exacerbated because of the dearth of favorable portrayals and the plethora of negative images of Arabs in popular fiction (Terry, 1983). There are no counter arguments to the negative stereotypes; therefore, the average person living in the West perceives Arabs and Muslims in terms of these distorted, racially and religiously biased images.

The images young children are exposed to are carried into their adulthood. Shrag and Javidi (1995) suggest that entertainment has the most significant impact on children. For example, in *Aladdin*, a Disney movie that depicts Arabs, Jafar an evil bearded man, is a static character. Aladdin, however, becomes more westernized throughout the movie; this subliminally suggests that western culture trumps Middle Eastern culture. Another character, Jasmine, wears a midriff that is stereotypical of a gypsy girl, not to be trusted. In addition, children are repeatedly exposed to negative and stereotypical images in cartoons. As children age, there continues to be an absence of positive depictions of Muslims and Arabs in the media. As children are increasingly exposed to media, images become more graphic and memorable and carry into adulthood (Ghareeb, 1983).

**"**For more than a century Hollywood too, has used repetition as a teaching tool, tutoring movie audiences by repeating over and over, in film after film, insidious images of the Arab people. I ask the reader to study in the persistence of this defamation, from earlier times to the present day, and to consider how these slanderous stereotypes have affected honest discourse and public policy" (Shaheen, 2003, p.172). Jack Shaheen's iconic book and subsequent film, *Reel Bad Arabs*, explore the American cinematic landscape and reveal- a strong pattern of Arab stereotyping, disturbingly similar to the anti-Semitic treatment of Jews and opprobrium for other racial characters throughout history. The cultural "others" are projected along racial and religious stereotypes – murderers, sleazy rapists, religious fanatics, oil-rich dimwits, and abusers of

women. Shaheen insists it is important for the average American to know and care about the Arab stereotype because antipathy for those perceived as the "others" leads to ethnic, racial, and religious tensions, often resulting in innocent people suffering. Although all minorities are portrayed in a stereotypical way, Morsy (1986) argues that, except for those of Arabs, other minority group portrayals are receiving more scrutiny in order to control racism and ethnocentric bias.

One of the first works analyzing the representation of the Arab world in the West was Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), in which he concludes that the West created Arabs as the racial "other" and portrayed them as dangerous and backwards. These images stereotyped Arabs and Arab-Americans as terrorists, hijackers and religious extremists. Said later published *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world (1997).* Said claims that Islam is discussed almost exclusively in the news media, and explains how the Middle East is an unknown conundrum to most Americans. Were it not for newsworthy events such as oil fluctuations or terrorist attacks, little if anything would be known. He argues that Muslims and Arabs are "covered" by the media instead of "revealed" by the media. They are portrayed as either oil suppliers or as potential terrorists. Said also explains that the events reported in the news are inordinately determined by large interests groups; for example, energy corporations and Zionists. He maintains that Muslims and Arabs are portrayed as aliens. These images are ubiquitous in the news and cartoons, seen nightly on television.

Current media portrayals of Muslims reflect stereotypes similar to those Shaheen and Said record in their works. Hussain (2009) analyzes portrayals of Muslims on North American television shows, including two seasons of *Sleeper Cell*, for a post 9/11 perspective, and the program *Oz* for portrayals of pre 9/11 coverage of Muslims. In addition, he compares two

television comedies: Aliens *in America* and *Little Mosque on the Prairie*. Results indicate that Muslims are not recognized in American TV shows as citizens of this country, but are portrayed as dangerous immigrants with a foreign and wicked religion. The religious people in the shows are violent and extreme in television dramas; however, in television comedy, Muslims are portrayed in everyday situations, with short primers of Muslims in all episodes.

A similar study (Park, Gabbadon & Chernin, 2006) examines racial stereotypes in comedy through an analysis of *Rush Hour 2*. In this study, most Asian, white, and black participants between the ages of eighteen and thirty-one found the film's racial jokes funny and inoffensive. Many Asians and black participants enjoyed the negative portrayals. Ostensibly, comedy encouraged them to naturalize racial differences rather than challenge racial stereotypes. Although this comedy may seem harmless, the author is quick to point out that even though many enjoyed this movie despite racial stereotypes, it was the white individuals who interpreted the characters strictly in stereotypical ways. The focus groups subsequently failed to engage in critical discourse, leading the authors to believe that comedy enables viewers to naturalize beliefs of racial stereotypes (Park, Gabbadon, & Chernin, 2006).

Predating all of the above studies on race and media, one of the first studies to examine stereotypes in television shows, looked at the character of Archie Bunker from *All in the Family*, which first aired in 1971. *All in the Family* was the first program of its kind to discuss racial and ethnic issues, and mix humor with bigotry. A study of participants ages fourteen and older demonstrated that many who saw the program as positive and funny were also those who scored higher on measures of prejudice, and those who scored higher in measures of prejudice, watched it more often. Vidmar & Rokeach (1974) suggest the show reinforced racism rather than combating it. The results were very similar between adolescents and adults, although high

prejudice adolescents indicated more often than low prejudice adolescents that their values would be similar to Archie Bunker's. This study, like the others referenced above, show that entertainment television has the ability to contribute to negative attitudes toward minorities. If comedy and drama can have such a negative impact, one might ask: What about news content? Even more research has examined news content and its presentation of minorities.

It is important to explore news coverage of Muslims and Arabs, because many children are exposed to news coverage. Later I will address how children are affected by news First, however, let's look at the portrayals of Muslims and Arabs before and after 9/11.

**News coverage of Muslims and Arabs**

Immediately before 9/11 media coverage of American Muslims reported on campaign donations from Muslims and criticized Hillary Clinton for receiving donations from those with terrorist ties. Prior to 9/11, coverage of Muslims was largely of religious observances, holidays, or customs. After 9/11, one third of four different newspapers combined total coverage concerned civil rights, civil-liberties issues and the ways they were violated, including discrimination and physical attacks on Muslims and Arabs (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2007).

September 11 brought Arabs and Muslims to the forefront of television reporting. Prior to 9/11, reporters rarely covered stories relating to Arabs and Muslims. After 9/11 news coverage began to focus on the patriotism of American Muslims and Arabs and to downplay negative images. News coverage also revealed the identity issues of Muslim Americans and the life challenges many face. Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2007) examine television news coverage one year prior to 9/11. The CBS Early Show and the CBS Evening News aired 7 stories mentioning either Muslims or Arab Americans; however, six months after 9/11 there were 51 stories. Significantly, Arab and Muslim-Americans provided information, primarily through interviews

after 9/11. Previously, Arabs and Muslims were not used as sources in stories about them. News coverage had been, for the most part, stereotypical; however, it became more, objective, comprehensive, and less stereotypically negative (see Parker 2001; McHale, 2008). One might wonder to what extent news coverage affected public opinion. According to public opinion polls (see Pew Research Center, 2002), immediately after 9/11, more people had positive views of Muslim-Americans; however, as the years passed, the positive opinions declined.

Weston (2003) analyzed news articles from June 1, 2001 to October 11, 2001, and found that pre-9/11 coverage included Arab-Americans resisting stereotypes, while post- 9/11coverage portrayed Arab-Americans sympathetically and victimized, loyal and patriotic to this country, targets of discrimination and government detention. In the weeks after 9/11, campaigns touting Arab-American patriotism began appearing on billboards, in magazines and newspapers, and on television. Corporations, civil rights groups, nonprofit organizations, and the government began demanding that Muslims should be treated the same as all other Americans (Alsultany, 2007). At the same time, the government launched an anti-terror campaign and passed the US Patriot Act, resulting in the detaining and deporting of many Arabs and Muslims. President George W. Bush hastened frame an "us vs. them" mentality, infamously claiming, "They hate us for our freedom." The main theme of the war on terror was "good vs. evil," which many equated with Americans vs. Muslims. Administration rhetoric, immediately after the attacks, created a backlash against Muslims and Arabs and even against anyone "who appeared Middle Eastern." Although the studies thus far cited indicate that general news coverage of Muslims and Arabs was not overtly negative after 9/11, this type of coverage quickly changed.

Lori Peek reports the backlash in a recent publication. Peek (2011) explores the social forces that contributed to the post 9/11 opprobrium unleashed on Muslim Americans. She

discusses the stereotyping, harassment, and ostracization that Muslim- Americans have experienced since September 11. She differentiates between Muslims and Arabs, however, even though many authors use the terms interchangeably as do many Americans. The six factors related to the backlash include the following: (1) The pre-9/11 anti-Muslim social and political climate, (2) the relative powerlessness of Muslims, (3) the intentional acts of mass violence, (4) the magnitude of losses endured, (5) the perception of Muslims as dangerous and threatening outsiders, (6) the identifiability of the Muslim population. She argues that, although America united after 9/11, Muslim-Americans' voices and images were, essentially non-existent. The fact is that, not all Americans were truly united, and that Muslims and Arabs experienced discrimination.

A study questioning Muslim-American college students about media portrayals of Muslims and Arabs resulted in negative findings. One of the few studies that queried Muslims about media found that most students believe the media negatively portray both Muslims and Islam; one student went as far to say Muslims are portrayed as "animals." This same student said the only way to address these concerns is to improve the way media portrays Muslims. These students also felt the media prevents Muslims from being included in American society. Another girl believed that Muslims will always be negatively portrayed in the media. Students think the media have unbridled control and manipulate American citizens. All of these students were studying at a university in the United States (Muedini, 2009).

Muslim parents are especially concerned of the potential negative impact of these media representations on their children. To maintain a fair, balanced, and accurate world view, children need to have adults who are aware, competent and, caring enough to help them interpret the disparate entertainment and news media to which they are exposed. Parents can play an

important role in shaping how the media impacts children and how the children react. The next section will cover media habits of youth and how children react to news.

**Children and Media Use**

This section will cover the media-consumption habits of Muslim-American youth and address the age, gender, and ethnic differences influencing the kinds and amount of their media consumption in order to draw a comparison with non-Muslim-American youth

The Kaiser Family foundation conducted media and youth studies in 1999, 2004, and 2012. The Generation M2 study examines media in the lives of 8 to 18-year -olds, with a 2,000 person national sample. Children 8 to 18 years old spend an average of more than 7.5 hours a day, 7 days a week with media. This media included television, video games, music, books, and websites. The Kaiser Family Foundation study noted how important it is to understand the role of the media in young people's lives to promote healthy development of adolescents (Rideout, Foehr, and Roberts, 2010). Over the past five years, media consumption has increased by one hour and seventeen minutes a day. Children have increased their use of all media, except for printed material. The amount of time young people spend reading magazines decreased from 14 to 9 minutes a day over the past five years, while the amount of time spent reading newspapers has decreased from six minutes a day to just three. The amount of time spent reading books has remained the same since the last survey in 2004 although reading online has increased over time. Seventy percent of youth go online in a typical day. Eighty-one percent of youth reported watching online videos. However it is increasingly difficult to determine exactly what youth are watching and listening to. Listening to music also increases with age. Moreover, girls report listening to music more than boys, and minority youth listen to an hour more than white youth. Boys play more video games than girls, (73 minutes to 25 minutes, respectively). Overall youth

spend 22 minutes a day using social networking, 17 minutes playing games, 15 minutes playing videos on websites, 11 minutes instant messaging, 5 minutes emailing, 4 minutes on graphics, 2 minutes reading magazines/newspaper and 2 minutes doing other things, for a total of one hour and 29 minutes a day. Hispanics spend more time in all categories. Total television use reveals that middle age youth watch the most TV (5:03), boys watch more television than girls (4:40), and blacks watch more television than whites and Hispanics (5:54). Youths are consuming more media because they increasingly own more personal electronic devices. Ownership has substantially increased since 2004. Personal ipod/mp3 players have increased from 18 percent in 2004 to 76 percent in 2009. Video game player ownership has increased from 55 percent to 59 percent. Twelve percent owned a laptop in 2004 and 29 percent in 2009.

Seventy-one percent of youths typically read commercial or school print publications at school and 54 percent at home. Sixty-one percent of students report reading newspapers once a week or less. When students read newspapers, 46 percent are most interested in sports, 43 percent in both world and local events and 34 percent in entertainment news.

Adolescents consume news primarily to monitor the world around them, identify their personal values for truth, and to have basic knowledge to refer to in conversations (Huang, 2009). Youth like to control what news to access and how to access it. For some, they do not just want to be passive news receivers; they also want to contribute content via participatory media, such as blogging and podcast. They are mostly not financially independent or stable; therefore, free access to news is important.

Ninety percent prefer to watch television entertainment programs, 65 percent prefer sports programs, 60 percent edutainment programs found on channels such as Discovery, A&E, DIY and History, 60 percent news, 55 percent news, and 47 percent weather.

Ninety-three percent have broadband internet connection at their residence. Sixty-eight percent go online daily to do schoolwork, 64 percent compose emails, 61 percent use social networking, 57 percent view entertainment, and 48 percent read news. Of those who visit a news site, 43 percent view CNN.com; 29 percent MSNBC.com, 25 percent a local newspaper website, and 14 percent Yahoo! News. Fifty-seven percent listen to radio. When they do 21 percent listen to music and 21 percent to news. Eighty-two percent get their news primarily from the internet, 54 percent from television, 7 percent from newspaper and 4 percent from radio. Turning to the news often provides a temporary escape. However, having short attention spans, young people crave short stories, written concisely. They also turn to multimedia visual presentations to bring them instant gratification.

Now that I have provided children's media consumption habits, including news I shall discuss the literature addressing children's reactions to news based on a the child's stage of cognitive development.

**Children's Reaction to News**

Significant research studies explore children's reactions to television news. This section will address not only children's exposure to news but also their reactions. The methodology is based on Piaget's three developmental stages: (1) pre-operational (ages two to seven), concrete operational (seven to twelve), and formal operational (ages twelve to eighteen). Smith and Wilson (2002) suggest there are at least three cognitive skills that assist in news processing. They are (1)the ability to decipher verbally presented information, (2) the ability to distinguish fantasy from reality, and (3)the skill to move from perceptual to conceptual processing.

Older children watch more news and have the ability to comprehend. This helps them make better sense of what is going on in the world than do younger children (Smith & Wilson,

2002; Smith & Moyer-Guse, 2006; Buijzen, Walma Van der Molen & Sondji, 2007). Cognitive abilities are discussed in these studies in regard to children's reaction to news. The Oklahoma City bombing, the Gulf war, the September 11 terrorist attacks, the Iraq war, kidnappings, and school shootings exemplify traumatic news to which children have been exposed. Children are subjected to images and reports through television, newspapers, radio, and the internet. Although children have access to many news outlets, the majority of media research studies focus on television news.

A significant number of young children watched the news, especially in the weeks following September 11, when 59.3 percent of kindergarten through second graders watched television news reports with their parents. Even if children do not seek out news content, they are still exposed to news coverage because their parents watch news. According to a Kaiser Family Foundation study (2003), children watched on average three hours of television news on September 11, 2001, more specifically, children age five to eight, watched one hour or less whereas teenagers watched five hours or more.

Elementary school children, ages –seven to twelve are better able to understand and process information, given their increased vocabulary and language skills. Children between these ages can better comprehend and make inferences regarding news stories than can younger children. Older children understand words such as "terrorism" and "nuclear war" even if there are no concrete images of these abstractions. In addition, if older children see blood they will know from experience that blood typically means someone has been injured and is in pain. Children can infer something terrible has happened without seeing the incident itself (Harrison &Cantor, 1999).

One of the most consequential developmental differences between those under seven and those in the concrete operation stage (age's seven to twelve) is their ability to distinguish fantasy from reality. As children develop, they are less affected by fantasy and more disturbed by actual fears; for example, a personal injury, the death of a loved one, and any event they know could harm someone close to them (Smith & Wilson, 2002). Because news stories are filled with actual events, older children respond more with fear to news than younger children. Children who see news about a carjacking and a suspect on the loose will be fearful, because they may think the suspect is nearby and they are susceptible to harm. This kind of incident is not only reported in television news, but also presented in reality-based programming, such as *America's Most Wanted*. Smith (1994) found that 64 percent of children eight to twelve indicated feeling scared or frightened by this show. Reality-based television shows include elements that are not as extensively used in news stories, such as dramatic music. These productions typically induce more fear in children during the concrete operational stage. The repetition of dramatic crime scenes tends to increase fear in this age group. Exposure to both traumatic news stories and dramatic presentations of these stories on reality-based television shows often has a lasting impact.

Notably, six months after the 9/11 attacks, children in grades four through twelve reported spending more time watching television, reading newspapers, and using the internet for information about the attacks (Saylor, Coward, Liposvsky, Jackson & Finch, 2003). Children were upset by images of planes dropping bombs and people dying. Older children were actually more upset about the potential for war. The more coverage children watched of these events, the more they were upset. Clearly, repetitive exposure has a lasting impact on children in the concrete operational and formal operational stage (older children).

Older children make the shift from perceptual to conceptual processing which affects the types of news stories that frighten children. As children grow older they become less egocentric and think about others. At this stage, children's reasoning becomes more logical. They understand directionality and cause and effect relationships. Youngsters become more inquisitive In particular, they become interested in why people die. They also become concerned regarding attitudes about and consequences of death (Monaco & Gaier, 1987).

The audio and visual components of television increase the likelihood that children are able to learn more and recall more information from television as opposed to print media. Walma van der Molen and Van der Voort (1998) studied children in grades four through six. They compared the children's ability to recall news presented by television and print; they found that children who watched news on television recalled stories better than did those children who read the reports in printed version. Interestingly, these findings were applicable regardless of one's reading level. It should also be noted that sixth graders remembered more of the news stories than did fourth graders. This is further evidence that when children receive information audibly and visually they will remember it more than if one of the components is absent. When both components are present, children also better comprehend news content (Vander Molen &Van der Voort, 1998; 2000).

Children in the concrete operational stage begin asking more questions as to why certain events happen. Children want to understand what is going on around them. Most importantly, they desire reassurance that they or those close to them will not be harmed (Monaco & Gaier, 1987). Age is a very important moderator. To help children in this stage cope, parents should use cognitive strategies to decrease negative effects of television news. Parents play an integral role in offsetting negative media effects in both younger and older children.

Piaget lists the final stage of cognitive development as the formal – operational stage (ages twelve to eighteen). Roughly one quarter of seventh to twelfth graders reported they watched the news frequently (Smith, Pieper, & Moyer-Guse, 2008). As children age, however, they begin to use more than one medium for news consumption (Klein, 2003). At this stage, adolescents are frequently exposed to a great deal more news than are younger children. Adolescents' ability to process language has developed, resulting in the ability to fully comprehend news stories. Children in the formal operational stage are able to understand complex issues and nuances. Adolescents understand the who, what, when or where of the report and the significance of who is reporting. They clearly understand when news coverage is factual and accurately conveys the reality of any situation (Smith & Wilson, 2002).

Adolescents develop the skill to shift from perceptual to conceptual processing. The ability to process information conceptually is what makes older children more likely to fear stories about random attacks (Cantor & Nathanson, 1996). Adolescents recognize "the bigger picture" and realize that anything can happen to anyone at anytime. Older children also think more about the future and implications of current events for the future. Monaco and Gaier's (1987) study examining children's responses to the explosion of the space shuttle challenger provides evidence of the developmental level of a child in the formal operational stage: Children of fourteen and fifteen insisted that time, energy, and money would have been wasted if the space program were suspended. Students also discussed having values and goals in life, along with making a difference in the world. Children in this stage are less egocentric; they were able to compare the space shuttle disaster to other tragedies and expressed concern for the families of those who perished.

Several studies have found that age is the most important moderator affecting children's response to news, in particular in regard to fear. Older children are more frightened by television news than are younger children (Cantor & Nathanson, 1996; Smith & Moyer –Guse, 2006) due to their ability to comprehend what happens in the real-world and their ability to grasp potential dangers and threats. Because older children increasingly watch news, they are more likely to see the same report multiple times. Repetition increases one's ability to recall images and events that will invariably continue to frighten or disturb adolescents.

News of national disasters frightens adolescents and concern adults. Smith, Moyer, Boyson, and Pieper (2008) conducted a study immediately following the 9/11 terrorist attacks comparing three age groups: five through eight, nine through twelve, and thirteen through seventeen. Children in the oldest age group watched significantly more coverage of the terrorist attacks. Older children also reported being upset over the news coverage, and the level of fear was more intense in older children than younger children. The investigators asked parents to report their own reactions to the terrorist attacks. About two-thirds of parents said they were "very" or "very very frightened" by coverage of the terrorist attacks. In addition, parents' fearful reactions to news correspond to the extent children are frightened. Parents reacted fearfully after the attacks and their children, who had watched and discussed the news with them, were aware of these reactions. Older children were more likely to watch news at home and at school than were younger children; however, there was no correlation between amount of exposure and fear response, meaning that older children's fear response is likely due to their understanding of the tragedy that occurred on September 11. According to cognitive developmental differences it should be of no surprise that children react differently to the same media content.

The developmental stage obviously determines how children interpret and react to news content. A child's stage of development plays an essential role in how he or she will view and react to media. Although this literature focused on news, children respond to other television content much as their parents do, regardless of the genre of the content. How children interpret what they see also depends greatly on their parents' perceptions and reactions. In the ensuing section, I shall cover socialization, focusing on how children communicate with their parents, peers, and teachers about what is occurring in the world around them.

**Socialization – Communicating with Parents, Teachers, and Peers**

I shall now examine how children discuss media with parents, teachers, and peers in the context of both parental, racial/ethnic socialization and political socialization research. Racial and ethnic socialization are terms used to describe the exchange of information from adults to children based on race and ethnicity. Hughes et al (2006), reminds us that racial socialization refers predominately to research regarding African-American youths. In addition, the term ethnic socialization is extremely broad, for, undoubtedly, adults talk to children about specific issues regarding one's race and ethnicity. Conversations often address cultural socialization, potential bias, occasional mistrust, and recognizing egalitarianism.

More specifically, parents often talk to their child about ethnic pride and appreciating diversity. In addition, Hughes et al, found that the parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices vary by the age and gender of the child. Parents increasingly talk to their children as children age. Moreover, parents prepare boys for potential bias than they do girls. Parental social economic status also plays a role; however this dissertation does not measure SES. It does, however, examine age and gender. Furthermore, this very dynamic and inclusive study also examines youthful outcomes of racial socialization. Although the findings are mixed because of

how they are measured, cultural socialization and self esteem both are positively related to racial and ethnic socialization. There are disparate findings for boys and girls, a fact indicating additional studies need to focus on gender differences among multiethnic groups. This study conducted by Hughes et al, is very comprehensive; however, it does not cover all socialization agents. The ensuing section addresses socialization in the contexts of political and civic engagement, with a focus on media.

Political socialization defined by Easton and Dennis (1969) is the "developmental process through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior" (pp.7). More specifically, it is the process by which adolescents obtain cognition, attitudes, and behaviors about their political world (Hess & Torney, 1967). This section will outline early political socialization research and discuss in detail the role of the four socialization agents, family, school, peers, and mass media. It will also address the importance of political socialization in adolescents and how new communication tools may impact the socialization process.

Family, school, peers, and the media help children learn about the world around them. Families communicate with one another; schools convey information in and outside of the classroom among peers. These agents' help children explore ideas, process information, and reflect their ideas about current events and public affairs, all of which are skills necessary for civic participation (Shah, McLeod & Lee, 2009). Most early studies of political socialization focused on parents and the role of family members in the socialization process. Early studies suggest that political knowledge follows a linear relationship from parent to child. Children learn from and emulate their parents' attitudes and develop beliefs based on their parents' attitudes and perceptions. Parents were once thought to be the most important societal agent (Easton &

Dennis, 1969); however, it is difficult to determine which agent is most important as all children are different. It seems intuitive that children would learn and develop political attitudes based on with whom they spend most of their time. To test the relationship between children and parents, Glass, Bengston, and Dunham (1986) conducted a study comparing three generations. Glass and colleagues found that parental attitudes influence children's attitudes throughout their lives; however, this influence diminishes eventually. Children, perhaps, somewhat surprisingly, also influence their parents' attitudes.

McDevitt (2005) has also found evidence that children can influence their parents. McDevitt examines media use and identity formation during the 2004 presidential election debacle in Florida. This election received substantial media coverage, leading children to talk to their parents about it. He suggests that children discussed with their parents in order to compare the information they received from the media. This process has helped to shape their political identity. It is an example of an indirect media effect. After children initiated political conversations with parents, the parents read newspapers and sought more information. This interchange led children to feel more confident, having seen their influence on their parents. Both aforementioned studies demonstrate that peers influence parents and vice versa.

Apart from a child's home, children spend most of their time at school. Some suggest that school and television are the most important sources of political information for children (Ehman, 1980). There is consensus that schooling plays an important role in political knowledge and awareness, but not necessarily a role in shaping or changing political attitudes or political participation. By reviewing empirical research, Ehman (1980) wanted to determine what school variables contribute to a child's political knowledge, attitudes and values, especially attitudes and values toward political participation. Ehman concluded that, compared to family and media,

schooling is indeed a primary socializing agent, in particular for racial minorities and youths of low social status. If teachers appear credible, they modestly influence political attitudes, and teachers play an important role in classroom climate. If the climate of the classroom is more open, more opinions are expressed and can shape students' attitudes.

Further support that the school system is an important agent is found in Lopes, Levine, Dautrich, and Yalof's (2009) study, which looks at students' knowledge and attitudes toward the first amendment. They found that the most important predictor of knowledge and attitudes toward the first amendment was discussion of current events in the class room, suggesting educational policies should include discussion of news in the classroom. As noted earlier, parents' discussing the presidential election results of 2004 also influenced children's political knowledge and attitudes. Therefore, communicating with others about news coverage is a significant predictor of knowledge and attitudes.

Another important component of schooling for adolescents is typically peer relationships. There are fewer studies looking at peer influence in shaping political attitudes and behaviors of adolescents. Cohen, Adoni, and Drori (1983) report that peer groups are not an important agent in discussing controversial issues. For example, during the Vietnam War, school events were discussed more than the war itself or the ensuing protests. When children discussed television programming with their peers, they talked about fictional rather than non-fictional programming. Engaging in conversation is an important component, in a separate study, Adoni (1979) examines the role of mass media and interaction with television. He found that adolescents with strong ties to peers go to the cinema and theatre more often. These media provide a social context for adolescents, who can reinforce social ties with friends and better use media to form a social identity. Although peer relationships are not a strong predictor of political knowledge and

attitudes, peers do play an important role in forming social identity. There are several indirect ways that peers accomplish this, especially in early adolescents when children want nothing more than to be accepted by the "in-group." The influence or presumed influence (IPI) is an indirect effects model (Gunther & Storey, 2003) suggesting that a person is exposed to the messages, assumes others are exposed to the message, thinks about how other persons are influenced by the messages, and forms attitudes and opinions based on how they think others will perceive the message. Although most studies involving the IPI model have looked at health behaviors such as smoking and health awareness campaigns aimed at adolescents, perceived social norms can influence political socialization in youths. Based on a study of the impact of perceived social norms in college students' voting habits, Glynn, Huge, and Lunney (2009) found that perceived social norms about voting was the biggest predictor of intention to vote. Glynn and colleagues suggest the best way to motivate students to take action is to emphasize social connections among family and friends. Social norms are important for children and young adults. Children learn via interaction with friends and through mass communication.

Only since the early 1970s have communication studies focused on the role of the mass media in political socialization. One of the first studies to examine television news and political socialization in elementary school discovered that more than half of the children who occasionally or frequently watched the news became more informed about political issues (Atkin & Gantz, 1978). Almost ten years later, Atkin published another study with Garramone (1986) stating, "Studies examining the role of mass communication in young people's learning about politics indicate that media contribute to political socialization, but research does little to unravel the process" (p.76). Garramone and Atkin studied television news, radio news, newspapers, and news magazines to determine their relationship to political behavior. Again, results indicated

attention to media increases political knowledge. Broadcast news is more effective than print media, and broadcast news better predicts current events knowledge. Broadcast news is also more integral to interpersonal discussion while print news is more to political participation; however, Pasek, Kenski, Romer, and Jamison (2006) found that reading newspapers is strongly related to political awareness, but not civic activity. Younger children learn more from watching television than they do from reading newspapers, because newspaper accounts tend to be more complex. Older children, who are typically more interested in news, also tend to read newspapers more, better comprehend the stories, and appreciate more details. Newspapers aid in shaping attitudes and opinions about the world.

Children begin forming attitudes and opinions at a young age; the four socializing agents play an important role throughout adolescence and continue into adulthood. If a child is intensely involved in politics during the formative years, he or she is inclined toward lifelong political participation, including voting (Jennings, 1987). More importantly, getting youths involved early in life appears to be an effective means of involving them throughout their lives. Generational studies have found three invariable patterns. Children develop attitudes about the political world at a young age from various agents that help shape process. The age of a child, the gender, the political knowledge, and the socio-economic status of the child all influence how children learn, form attitudes and opinions, and how they behave.

Boyd, Zaff, Phelps, Weiner and Lerner (2011) investigated positive development in youths by exploring their use of media and their subsequent communication with parents. News media use was predictive of interpersonal communication; interpersonal communication was predictive of civic engagement. There is an indirect connection between news media and civic participation.

The 2002 Life Style Study, which sampled 1,325 respondents from twelve to seventeen, revealed that all major socializing agents (family, school, news media, and peers) play a substantial role in the cultivation of civic activism among adolescents (Shah, McLeod & Lee, 2009). Communication competence accounted for 58.3% of explained variance in civic participation, 89.3% in political participation, and 77.1% in political consumerism. The authors concluded that impact is almost all indirect via communication.

As demonstrated by the complex relationships among the components of communication competence, the impact of family communication to boost civic engagement seems to depend on its impact on classroom deliberation and citizen communication. The positive effects attributed to friendship networks and to classroom deliberation are partially influenced through such things as following the news and discussing it offline and online. Research suggests that when parents and children communicate and schools provide the motivation and skills needed to obtain comprehensive political information, effective communicating occurs. In addition, children's racial and ethnic socialization is a complex multi-dimensional concept, which plays a palpable role in the development of adolescent identity.

**How Audience Members Interpret Representations of Race and Media.**

With improved technology, children now have round-the-clock access to media. It is to be expected that the time children devote to entertainment media has increased. However, among minority youths media consumption has increased the most (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2010).

Purveyors of television programming target specific ages, races, and genders. Producers assume that viewers will choose programs based on characters similar to them involved in situations with which they can identify. Adolescents will choose media that creates a sense of self (Mayer, 2003; Brown & Pardun, 2004). For example, both male and female African-

American teens prefer shows with black characters, while white teens choose shows with white characters. The authors concluded that race and gender do play a role in selecting media content, specifically for black teens, who pick what they watch on television shows based on who they identify with more (Brown & Pardun, 2004).

There is less research examining what programs Latinos prefer. Greenberg, Mastro, and Brand (2002) suggest this is due to the lack of Latino representation on television. Media plays an important role in constructing knowledge about race, ethnicity, and religion. All minorities are sensitive to the effects of negative representations, especially Muslims and Arabs (Shaheen, 2001).

Since the 1960s, depictions of minority characters on television and film have increased, reflecting societal changes. Significant communication research examines portrayals of minorities and the concomitant effects on audience attitudes, values, and behaviors (Bryant & Thompson, 2002). The three methods used to study minority portrayals on television include quantitative and qualitative analysis. This requires counting the number of characters of disparate races, comparing the roles played by characters of different races, and noting similarities and differences in the interactions among the various characters of different races. There has been a marked increase in African-American characters opposed to other minority characters (Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002). The majority of race and media research focus on the effects of negative portrayals on the audience. Youths constitute the most racially diverse population: however, the media does not reflect this diversity.

A national survey polled 1,200 boys and girls in March, 1998, to determine the children's perceptions of race and class media depicted on television. The results indicate that children associate positive characteristics (wealth, education, intelligence) with white characters and

negative characteristics (breaking law, having financial difficulties, being lazy and irresponsible) with minority characters (Children Now, 1998). This study demonstrates that children, too, think the media portrays African-American and Latino people more negatively than they do white and Asian people. What children watch on television shapes their attitudes about the real world. Children also look for role models on television, in addition to acquiring information to make sense of the world.

Another study conducted for the Children Now Organization (2004) found that during the 2003-2004 television season there was an increase in Latino son television; however, they were more likely to appear on shows like *Cops and America's Most Wanted* as criminals. Children also saw that Latinos were more likely to have low status jobs than other racial groups, resulting in children of color believing that white families have more money than their own families. It is clear from these two surveys that children see minority characters portrayed on television less favorably than white characters, and, therefore, foster negative perceptions of minorities. Muslims and Arabs, however, are not technically considered as a minority category on the census, and often they are perceived as "white." I shall now examine how media affects youths of a religious minority.

Muslim-Americans' identity is predominately influenced by their religion: This is especially true of youngsters who attend Islamic Schools. Moll (2009) explores media created for Muslim-American children. One challenge Muslim-American youths have is negotiating between competing and conflicting identities. Some youths have completely ignored "Western" values, while others have completely assimilated. Some compromise by considering what it means to be "Western" and to be Muslim. "Islamic media" has played a significant role in this process. Moll (2009) believes that one way to construct identity is through the stories, the

highlights, and their repetition to form a dominate discourse, which runs counter to the mainstream American ethos. Muslim parents want their children to watch Muslim television as an entertainment and educational alternative. Muslim parents want their children to watch Islamic media to counter the way Muslims have been depicted in mainstream American pop culture. Although parents want their children exposed to positive images, positive depictions are not in prevalent in American media; therefore; parents and children seek out Arab channels.

I shall next explain the research results addressing the effects these portrayals have on children and young adults

**The Developmental Course of Ethnic Identity and Group Membership**

Tajfel (1982) defines ethnic identity as "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to membership" (p.255). Both personal identity and group identity are important in a child's development. Children become aware of people around them. They see people who are like them and identify with people most similar to themselves. Furthermore, once a child forms an individual identity, he or she tends, also, to identify with a group.

Before one can develop group relationships, a child must realize that he or she is one person among many others (Cross & Cross, 2008). Group identity is derived from experiences beginning in infancy and running throughout one's childhood. Cross and Cross (2008) suggests that personal and group identity are crucial in the study of identity development within the dialogue of self concept and development. One of the most favored models used to explain identity development is that of Jean Phinney's (1993), ethnic identity development model, which builds upon the work of Erick Erikson and J. E. Marcia.

Phinney combines the work of Erickson and Marcia. Phinny's ethnic identity developmental model looks at whether a person's general identity dynamics match the characteristics of four identity statuses: (1) Ethnic diffusion – confusion about ethnicity, (2) ethnic foreclosure– acceptance of ethnic identity by others, (3)ethnic moratorium – self-examination of one's ethnic identity after criticizism, and (4) ethnic achievement – self-acceptance of ethnic identity.

Twenty-two percent of people with achieved status at one point moved to diffusion or foreclosure status at later (Seatgon, Scottham, & Sellars 2006; peek, 2007). Once a person has reached identity achievement, it is not permanent. Life events can cause one to move back and forth through stages of identity development. Not all people who have achievement status see it as positive. Some who have developed achievement identity have a negative self-concept. To address these inconsistencies, Cross and Cross (2008) propose a model consisting of six sectors developed by Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001). I shall focus only on the first three stages, for the latter three addresses early to late adulthood

Sector1 includes infancy through middle childhood. Infants are affected by parents, siblings, neighbors, and teachers, as well as by political and historical trends. As a child ages, cognitive abilities mature. The child's cognitive ability at ages two and three is considered concrete. Children use labels to identify people based on visible physical characteristics. In Sector 2 children age's six to ten, cognitive abilities mature as their environments expand. Parents play an important role in developing identity. What parents make salient influences that with which children identify. Emphasis could be placed on school, sports, gender, sexual orientation, political affiliation, or culture it is during this stage that minority parents often make race and ethnicity salient. At this stage, friendships are focus on members of the same race.

Sector 3, adolescents, explains the developmental process during adolescents when "identity contestation and clarification become central" (Cross and Cross, 2008, p.168). The role of peers is much more important at this age. Children are exposed to more people and opinions other than their parents and are forming political beliefs and religious beliefs. Cognitive development and age plays a fundamental role in how children understand racial and ethnic groups.

An additional racial and ethnic identity model was developed by Quintana (1998). This section will briefly describe the important concepts of Quintana's (1998) four levels of ethnic understanding to help determine what factors influence the development of knowledge about ethnic group membership. Children rely on physical features when describing different groups (Quintana, Castaneda-English, & Ybarra 1999). As previously mentioned, several studies have shown that children of all races prefer white pictures over dark pictures. According to Quintana (1998) at level 0 (also in stage one) children develop early attitudes that are pro-white. Children prefer white people over dark people regardless of one's own race. Children are less influenced by abstract, more discrete factors because children have a limited cognitive ability to make sense of the world. By middle childhood or early adolescent's children develop identity schemas in part, from their parents (Quintana Castaneda-English, P, & Ybarra. 1999).

Children are also now able to base their ethnic understanding on using more mature cognitive skills related to social preferences instead of physical preferences (Nesdale, Maas, Griffths, and Durkin, 2003; Quintana, Castaneda-English, & Ybarra, 1999). For instance, children notice that people from Mexico speak Spanish, eats a certain kind of food, and come from a different country. They are able to base group membership on traits, ethnicity, and culture. Quintana (1998) notes that the ability to hold many and variable attitudes toward a

single person or object is important. Children are now able to think of individuals as a part of a group depending on what categories are salient.

According to Quintana (1998), children in level 2 understand a social perspective of groups. Children are aware of different social classes, such as various houses, neighborhoods, jobs, and income levels. Children have different friendship patterns based on groups, which often is based on race and ethnicity. White children have predominately white friends and Hispanic adolescents tend to have more Hispanic than non-Hispanic friends. When children are younger this is usually due to how close one child lives to another; however, as children grow age they select friends based on likes and dislikes, not necessarily based on proximity to one's home. In addition, children start noticing ethnic discrimination and prejudice at this stage. They realize that some groups are treated differently than others. In particular, minority children often feel teachers expect them to do poorly in school because of their racial group, or Asian kids feel pressured to do very well in school because of a commonly held belief that all Asian kids are smart. Level three is congruent with sector 3. Quintana's model stops at level three as he focuses primarily on adolescence. At this stage "youth are searching for consistency, themes and self identities that are generalizations of the self across, time, situations and conflicting characteristics" (p.39). This is a time when adolescents are trying to figure out who they are based on their environments, which have expanded along with their cognitive abilities. They are actively exploring their ethnic and group identity.

Parents or guardians hold views that are placed upon a child from conception, due the nature of the relationship, children are exposed to these viewpoints throughout their childhood. As children grow they go off to school which in turn exposes them to attitudes and opinions of others around them, teachers and peers. Based on Quintana's work, an important factor in

developing ethnic identity and group membership is one's cognitive abilities, which increase with age. The role of cognitive maturation is more strongly related to the developmental level during childhood than it is during adolescents (Quintana, Castaneda –English and Ybarra, 1999). Parents and peers do not simply determine one's ethnic or group identity (Aboud and Doyle, 1996). Based on the literature, developing ethnic identity and group membership is a dynamic and continuous process based on personal characteristics, parental and peer influences, and environmental characteristics. In addition develop and social factors influence ethnic and group identity formation.

The next section will discuss adolescence ethnic group membership. This is important literature to review, given that Muslim Americans are considered the "other".

**Ethnic Group Membership and Inter – Group Relationships During Childhood and Adolescence**

Research has consistently demonstrated that children prefer to be members of the in-group rather than the out-group (Nesdale, Maass, Griffiths & Durkin, 2003; Bellmore, Nishina, Wikow, Grahm & Juvonen, 2007; Bigler, Jones & Lobliner, 1997). "Children's ethnic attitudes are a reflection of their developing perceptual cognitive processes (Nesdale, Maass, Griffiths & Durkin, p.178)". Aboud's social cognitive theory (2003) explains that children show preference for others based on physical features. Children (aged 6-7) that have similar attributes are considered the in-group and those who do not would be considered the out-group. As children age they are able to see individuals instead of just group attributes; however, they still prefer the in-group. Nesdale (1999) has proposed the Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT), which posits that ethnic prejudice is the end point of a process that involves four phases which include the following: undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference, and ethnic prejudice. As early as 4-5 years, children are in the ethnic preference phase. Children are already aware that

they are a member of an ethnic group and understand some are better off than others (Aboud, 1988). It isn't so much that they don't like the out-group; they just have a greater preference for their own group, or the in - group. Nesdale, Griffiths and Durkin (2003) suggest that ethnic prejudice emerges around 7 years of age onward. This model is based more on social motivational skills rather than perceptual cognitive abilities. Several intergroup studies have supported the SIDT. Bigler, Jones, and Lobliner (1997) randomly assigned 6-11 year old children to groups based on t-shirt color, which led to in-group favoritism in children of both groups regardless of age and gender. Children in the experimental condition (group differentiation) did not want to change groups, rated their own group as most likely to win a series of contests and chose more members of the in group vs. the out group to take part in a field trip. In addition, children with higher levels of self-esteem showed higher levels of intergroup stereotyping. Children in the control group showed little evidence of negative intergroup attitudes and considered both colored groups to be very similar. These results support the notion that the functional use of social category appears to be important facilitator of the development of intergroup stereotypes (Bem, 1983). Although these groups were not based on race and ethnicity, the implications of this study show identifying with an in-group (one's own color group) is very powerful.

Youth develop a sense of self, and group identity, this become the basis for thinking, and acting. In-group preference and bias are important to understand how youth develop and shape their attitudes about others. Bellmore, Nishina, Witkow, and Juvonen (2007) examined middle school students with varying ethnic groups to determine how peers nominated people with same ethnicity, majority and minority status, and the relationship between same- ethnicity preferences and social standing. Latina/o, Asian, White, and African American Student's were involved in

this study. Results indicated that children from all ethnic groups favored same ethnicity peers in their classroom. Similarly in rating coolness, students also gave same ethnicity nominations for; however, this was related to the percentage of same-ethnicity peers in each classroom. Results suggest that there is positive same ethnicity bias and that children in the majority group tend to have higher levels of self-esteem and prefer other members of the majority group.

These studies demonstrate how group membership plays a role in inter-group relationships. The studies suggest that regardless of race children favor the in-group, whether one's in-group is based on color of t-shirt or race and ethnicity. More importantly, group salience and group size are most prominent in determining positive intergroup attitudes. The developmental process of ethnic group membership is important because it shapes children's attitudes and behaviors. Cognitive and social factors influence the development and knowledge about ethnic group membership. In particular Quintana's Ethnic Perspective Taking Ability Model and Cross and Fhagen-Smith's Racial Identity Life Span Model help us better understand developmental processes. There are emotional/cognitive stages of development and internal motivational influences that play a role in status and identity. The stage in which youths begin to gain a sense of self, specifically ethnic and or religious identity is a poignant time in adolescent life. In addition, they are beginning to gain a better understanding of the world and forming attitudes and opinions about others. Adolescence is one of the most complex periods of human development. Religious identity, ethnic identity, and self-esteem can serve as protective factors from perceived discrimination.

The above studies focus mostly on Black, White and Latino difference, in addition to non racial/ethnic differences; however, the literature has not covered Arab or Muslim in/out group

differences. The next section will cover the topic most researchers emphasize when studying Muslim American youths, Identity formation.

## Muslim American Identity Formation

This section will cover the latest research in Muslim American identity formation, and the challenges Muslim American youths face as a minority group in the United States.

### Religious Identification

Muslim identification is positively and highly related to feelings toward ones religious in group and the endorsement of Islamic group rights. That is, Muslim children identify positively with other Muslims. According to Phinney (1992), some people are more apt to see themselves as members of a group and put value in group membership over others. Group membership is important because those who feel strongly committed to a group act in that manner. In Europe and the West, Islamic groups face threats and are less welcomed than other groups such as Christian or Jewish groups (Haddad, Senzai, Smith, 2009). This sense of "them against us" leads to a strong group identity (Verkuyten & Zaremb, 2005). Once a person identifies with a group, it becomes the basis for thinking, feeling, and acting (Verkuyten, 2007).

A large number of Muslim youths today are second generation according to the US Department of State, 2004. Muslims are seen as a threat to Western society in particular via images in the media. Hermansen (1991) explained that American Muslim youths were taught to turn their back on US culture and embrace the cultures in which their parents were born into own cultures. Some Muslim teenagers have an identity dilemma. When Muedini (2009) asked Muslim students if the Muslims in America felt or considered themselves American, many did indeed consider themselves American; however, they felt others around them did not. Some

students noted different identities of Islam within the US, in particular between African American Muslim, Arab, south Asian, "white' Muslims, and converts. Although students mentioned there were differences, they noted the commonality that made them one group. Even though Muslims see themselves as American, they do not feel others do. Muslims perceive more discrimination post 9/11, which actually has brought many Muslims together in solidarity (Peek, 2005).

Muslims also have a strong bond with other Muslims. Elashi, Mill & Grants (2010) examined 60, 5-8 year olds in an Islamic school, attribution and preference tasks showed that children made more positive attributions for Muslims than non-Muslims; however, it was young children who gave more negative evaluations' to non-Muslims than older children. This finding is in line with Aboud's (1988) study, which found that Caucasian American children's prejudices toward the out group began to decline between the ages of 7-12, but increase afterwards. Elashi, Mill and Grants (2010) also found that and all children preferred Muslims as potential neighbors, teachers, and friends. These children have positive in-group attitudes, because many have had positive interactions with members of their own group. Secondly, it's also possible that they have limited contact with non-Muslims because this study was conducted with a sample that attended an Islamic school.

Furthermore, Sirin and Fine (2007), explained that successful integration of one's own culture and dominant culture leads to successful identity development in adolescents; however, as above studies have shown, identify formation is progressive and can change, especially during times of crisis (Peek, 2007). Members of devalued groups can cope with identity threats by adopting group-based strategies, such as increased in-group identification. Sirin and Fine (2007) used surveys, focus groups interviews and identity maps to explore Muslim American youth's

identity. Students aged 12 – 18 years old participated in this study. Overall, these students perceived Muslim and American as very different parts of their identities, a phenomenon the author described by coining the term "hyphenated – self". Both male and female felt discriminated against; however, girls were able to use positive coping mechanisms, whereas boys felt somewhat hopeless. Women also showed greater desire to empower and educate other women. Most importantly this study found that as girls and boys get older their perceptions of discrimination significantly increased.

Similarly, another mixed method study explored Muslim – American identification, discrimination, acculturation, and religion and if it varied by gender (Sirin, Bikmen, Mir, Fine, Zaal & Katsiaficas, 2007). People ages 18 – 25 years old completed surveys, identity maps, and pictorial representations. Participants identified with their Muslim group more than they did with American society; however, they were able to include both identities. Religiosity was the main variable that contributed to strong Muslim identification, discrimination related stress; however, unlike Verkuyten and Yildiz, (2007), Sirin and Fine (2007) did not find that participants changed their behavior with mainstream culture orientation toward members of the majority group, therefore, greater perceptions of discrimination did not lead youths to more strongly associate with their minority status.

The following section will cover another important identify variable, self esteem.

**Self- Esteem**

In pre and early adolescence, collective self-esteem influences intergroup attitudes regardless of age. Intergroup biases are formed in early childhood. Children who have higher levels of collective self-esteem attribute positive traits to in-group, more negative traits to out groups, and more negative feelings toward the out-group. They express biases in order to

improve self worth (Teichman, Bar-Tal & Abdolrazeq, 2007). As cognitive development advances and secure identity begins to emerge, there is not as much need for self-enhancement; therefore less intergroup biases are expressed; Luhatanen and Crocker (1992) suggest that collective self-esteem may be an important moderator of in-group bias. People who are active in causes related to their social groups, have a higher in-group bias and collective self esteem than those who are not as active group members. People who have a high in-group value that see others that don't value their group, try harder to improve group status.

Self-esteem is related to other identity measures. Swenson and Prelow (2004) examined the relationship between parenting, ethnic identity, self-esteem, perceived efficacy and psychological adjustment amongst African American and European American teenagers. Perceived efficacy fully mediated the relationship between ethnic identity and depressive symptoms for African Americans; however, for European Americans self esteem fully mediated the relationship between supportive parenting and perceived efficacy. These findings show the importance of examining developmental models individually for different racial and ethnic backgrounds. For example, a sample of 100 male and females of different race/ethnicities aged 11 – 13 was examined to look at the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity. Researchers found that self-esteem and ethnic identity are related; they both contribute to youth's perception of their academic prospects and to value pro-social achievement (Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins & Seay, 1999).

**Perceived Discrimination**

What is the relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity? Shammas (2009) explored whether Arab and Muslim students who perceived discrimination on campus were more likely to have a higher percentage of same ethnic/same faith friends and whether a

strong ethnic or religious identity made a student engage in a higher percentage of same ethnic/faith campus friendships. In fact, there was no support for perceived discrimination and friendship, nor did a stronger ethnic identity make them more or less likely to have same ethnic friendship. The author suggests there is a different climate in a community college opposed to a 4-year college. In addition, college aged students may not report discrimination.

Negative effects associated with perceiving discrimination could be offset with adequate socialization to deal with experience. Harris-Brit, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, and Rowley (2010) examined perceived discrimination and racial socialization on self-esteem in African American adolescents. Children who were exposed to race pride messages did not have lower self-esteem; those who perceived discrimination had lower levels of self-esteem. Race pride messages serve as a buffer. Discrimination was not a predictive factor for children who were told they would experience discrimination; however, children who were repeatedly told they would experience discrimination, perceived more discrimination, which in turn made children feel helpless and lacking control over the situation.

Unfortunately, all adolescents will likely experience discrimination at some point; however, those who are members of a marginalized or stigmatized group will experience it more. Perceptions will be different from non-minorities as well as the consequences of discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2005). This is important to examine because perceived discrimination can play a role in identity formation, self-esteem, peer relations, and overall well-being. The most common form of exclusion of others is due to social group differences (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Brown, 2007).

Awareness of discrimination occurs early on in life. Over half of African American and Latino children ages 5 -11 explained that discrimination by whites was the reason for mainly

white presidents (Hughes, Patterson, Arthur & Bigler, 2006), although this study did not include Muslims. Muslims are a minority group, and it is plausible that Muslims too would be aware of discrimination at an early age. Perceptions of discrimination begin early, and increase through adolescents.

Perceptions of discrimination certainly impact people of all ages; however, adolescents are especially susceptible during a time of identity formation and development. Awad (2010) examined the impact of acculturation, ethnic identity, and religious affiliation on perceived discrimination of Arabs and those from the Middle East. He collected data from people aged 14 – 65. Half of the participants reported they were Christian and half reported they were Muslim. One's religious affiliation was highly correlated with perceived discrimination. In particular, Muslims reported more discrimination than Christians and reported higher levels of ethnic society immersion opposed to dominant society immersion than Christians. Along similar lines, Muslims also reported higher level of ethnic identity affirmation and belonging than Christians. Lastly, those higher in ethnic identity attitudes were more likely to perceive higher levels of discrimination. Overall, the study found Arab American/Middle Eastern Americans report perceived discrimination as a result of their ethnicity. Do Muslim American youths who attend an Islamic school perceive high levels of discrimination, and if so, does perceived discrimination impact ones identity status or perceive media biased? These questions will be addressed in this study.

**Muslim American Youths Identity**

Current models of ethnic identity are based on criteria that were not developed specifically for Arab Muslims and therefore most likely fall short in making sense of what it means to be an Arab and/or Muslim adolescent in the United States (Britto, 2008). Although

Arab Americans are not considered a legal minority group in the United States, they distinguish themselves from white Americans. In particular studies focus on Muslim American girls, mostly comparing Muslim Arab American girls to white girls. Based on focus group discussions, gender relations shaped identity formation in young Arab American adolescents (Ajrouch, 2004). The author argues that although these young people are labeled "white" by racial ethnic classification in the U.S., they most certainly consider themselves different and especially, with events post 9/11, they are seen as cultural "others".

Although not all Muslims identify themselves first by their religion, non Muslims do make this identification. Leonard (2005) suggests that Muslims have multiple identities. She explains that identity is based on "interactions, perceptions that one is the same or not the same as others, and elements of one's personal or collective identity, including, but not only religion, gender, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, and generation" (p. 473). People identify with themselves based on differing categories and different situations, and identity can be based on many factors and place in time. Subsequently, Peek (2005) demonstrated three stages of religious identity development - religion as an ascribed identity, chosen identity, and declared identity. This model is based on three assumptions: 1) identity is acquired through a social and developmental process; 2) the length of time taken to go through the stages differs from each person; and 3) his model applies to a specific group of people in a particular social and historical context and does not serve as a model for all Muslim Americans during all time periods. Religious identity development is not static; it changes and emerges in social and historical contexts. What Peek discusses in greater detail, is the impact of September 11 and how a crisis can propel a particular identity, specifically religion, to become more important for individuals.

Peek's study (2005) began shortly after 9/11. She recruited students through the Muslim

student associations on university campuses aged 18 – 33. Most students were highly religious and identified with over 30 national and or cultural backgrounds, above all, most adolescents were more likely to define oneself by race, nationality or ethnicity rather than religion. It isn't surprising that students did not report being self-reflective when they were younger. Most young children do not think about their identities, as children grow older they begin to face more pressure to "be cool" at this time, children begin to think more about their identity as they develop a concrete, cognitive understanding of their religion and how it defines them (Johnston, 2001). Students in Peek's study discussed becoming more aware of their religious identity as they went off to college and got more involved in student groups when they had more peers who were like them, which made it easier to identify as Muslim. Although the participants in this study were all a part of a Muslim student organization, it is clear that most participants did not attend an Islamic school prior to college. Therefore, perhaps adolescents who attend an Islamic school in their formative years develop a religious identity sooner.

In the final stage of Peek's model, religion as a declared identity occurred in the wake of September 11, due to discrimination and Islamophopic rhetoric. Students in this study described becoming more religious post 9/11 due to negative portrayals of Islam and perceptions of how non-Muslims viewed them and their religion (see Haddad, 1994). Students became aware that they were labeled as the "other" once the twin towers collapsed. This study demonstrated that forming religious identity is a process and varies between persons, and post 9/11 people reached ascribed identity. This study was conducted post the biggest national crisis in these people's lives. Since then, many more Muslims have been born in this country and have come to this country. September 11 forever changed people's perceptions of Muslims for better or worse, what we know is that those born post 9/11 don't know what pre 9/11 was like. Therefore it is

possible that adolescents are identifying themselves by their religion earlier on in life because the talk of terror and terrorism and the images of Muslims and Islam, along with discrimination is still prevalent ten years post-9/11.

Another study that shines light on the relationship between religion and identity involves Muslim American women in an Islamic community center in a Midwestern city with a large Arab population who attended a high school afterschool program that was developed to help young women develop positive self esteem, religious values, and leadership skills. When Vyas (2008) conducted this ethnographic study she discovered three themes in the identity formation of young Muslim American women: 1) Strengthening an Islamic Identity 2) What is permitted 3) Typical adolescent concerns. Children are wearing headscarves and younger Muslim American women are putting the hijab on earlier than before (Vyas, 2008), and there has also been an increase in attendance at mosques and Islamic educational programs. All of these relate to cultural pride and help shapes one identity. The second theme uncovered that these young women had a strong desire to know what was permitted (Halal) and what was forbidden (Haram), in order to succeed in their academic studies and social life while simultaneously adhering to their beliefs. The final theme that emerged was young woman's usual female matters like peer pressure, interest in boys, etc, especially for students who attend non-Muslim schools. This study noted the struggle with identity trying to negotiate two cultures. Adolescents of all religion have similar issues to deal with. The foundation of identity is not simply ascribed status, but emerges based on multiple factors" This depends on how people perceive their own group and others in society (Ajrouch & Jamal 2007).

The following section will cover a media perception phenomenon that this study will test in children.

**Hostile Media Effect (HME)**

Many people think the news media is biased, and many do not trust the news (Lee, 2011). Experts have examined what may lead to lack of trust in the media and perceptions of media bias in the communication field. Several factors have been explored including the following: source (see Bucy, 2003; Gunther 1992), partisanship (see Lord, Ross, & Lepper 1979; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005; Ariyanto, Hornsey & Gallois, 2007; Coe, Tewksbury, Bond, Drogos, Porter, Yahn & Zhang, 2008), content (See Arceneau, Johnson, Murphy, 2012) and demographics (See Beudoin & Thorson, 2006; Golan & Day, 2010; Golan & Kiosus, 2010). This study will focus on a more specific line of research, known as the hostile media phenomenon or hostile media effect. The first study in which the hostile media phenomenon was coined Vallone, Ross, and Lepper's (1985) study.

Two people read a news article or watch broadcast news; both people think the article or video favors an opinion other than their own. What is it that makes two people read or see the same article or coverage, but have quite opposite opinions of it? It's all about perception. Vallone et al. (1985) showed Stanford undergraduates who were either in a pro – Israeli or pro-Arab organization, the same news coverage of the Beirut massacre, both groups of supporters rated the coverage as biased against their own side. Both groups thought the article favored the other side more than their own, perceived the program more negatively against their side, and both groups thought neutral others would side with a viewpoint other than their own.

In this first study of the hostile media phenomenon, the authors did not examine what viewers thought of the source nor did they give reasons for why and how this phenomenon occurred. Was it that partisans process information differently, are less willing to pay attention to a viewpoint they think opposes their own, or do they think the news itself is bias? Since the

perennial study, experts have examined what may lead to lack of trust in the media and perceptions of media bias in the communication field.

Proceeding studies have found that the hostile media phenomenon occurs with other topics such as genetically modified organisms (see Gunther & Liebhart, 2006), animal laboratory research (see Gunther & Chia, 2001), genetically modified foods (see Gunter and Schmitt, 2004), government regulated press (see Chia, Yong, Wong & Koh, 2007), and sports news (see Arpan & Raney, 2003). The effect size of the phenomenon varies depending on the conditions of each study. The method of each study is also a possible moderator in determining effect size. The HME studies have been conducted with an either an experimental or survey component. Experiments, compared to surveys, have shown the tendency to increase the likelihood of finding significant results (Paul, Salwen, & Dupagne, 2000); this study will use both approaches.

A meta-analysis of 19 hostile media effects studies found that the HME is moderated by the subjects' involvement level even though the HME manifests among both partisans and non-partisans. It was found that the average effect size of the studies with the samples of partisans was significantly higher than the overall effect size of the studies with non-partisan samples. Thus, it can be concluded that the HME exists whether the subjects are partisans or not, but the strength of one's partisanship affects the manifestation of the HME. That is, when the participants were not strongly involved with the topic used in the study the HME might have been too weak to exhibit itself in those studies (Kim & Hansen, 2009). An additional component that may be a moderating factor for HME is emotion.

Vallone et al. (1985) raised the issue of affective or emotional involvement in their seminal study; yet, hardly any research has tried to disentangle the role of cognitive and affective involvement when explaining biased perceptions. Based on this shortcoming, the purpose of

Matthes (2011) study was to clarify whether the HME is also triggered by affective involvement. Data from three survey studies demonstrated that affective involvement—measured as emotional arousal or as the experience of concrete emotions—explained the HME over and beyond several types of cognitive involvement. Vallone et al. (1985) had speculated that involvement might have an affective component, and that this component may be, in part, responsible for the HME. Furthermore, Matthes (2011) tested this notion with an online survey controlling for various state and trait notions of involvement. Study 2 replicated the findings of study 1 using representative survey data and controlling for processing involvement. Finally, study 3 combined a panel survey with an extensive content analysis of the news media.

Contrary to most HME studies, HME can be erased when the same article is presented in a non-media context – in Gunther and Schmitt's (2004) study, the HME went away when the news article was attributed to a student; however, it appeared when participants thought the source of the article was a news journalist. Gunther and Liebhart (2006) argue that the expected reach of a medium and the characterization of the source as a journalist are fundamental preconditions of the HME. Scholars have worked with fair, objective and balanced news stories. For example, Gunther, Christen, Liebhart and Chia (2001) exposed animal-rights activists and primate researchers to strongly slanted news articles. They found that both groups saw the slant as relatively more unfavorable to their own position. Even with the story being slanted, both still thought the article was biased; therefore, even if the experimental condition is slanted one would still think it is biased.

Additionally, Goldman and Mutz (2011) conducted a study titled friendly media phenomenon. These authors argue that studies examining HME ask respondents general questions about newspaper coverage or television coverage of some issue (not noting source),

about coverage in their "most frequently read" newspaper (see Gunther, 1992). And this is problematic because it is not known what content they are judging nor is it likely to be the same media for all respondents. Goldman and Mutz (2011) suggests it is possible for people to judge content to be neutral or like-minded, but still believe that it is *less favorable* toward their own side than the other, opposing political group might think. Furthermore, Goldman and Mutz (2011) argue that there are multitudes of channels to watch that people selectively expose themselves to media based on their attitudes, beliefs and opinions; therefore it is a friendly media phenomenon. The authors also noted the declining confidence and trust in media. The General Social Survey suggests a loss in confidence in media in recent years. People perceive television programs and newspapers that they use most often as supportive rather than hostile toward their views.

What does research suggest about racial and ethnic differences in media credibility? Beaudoin and Thorson (2005) examined the role of race and news use played in predicting media credibility of coverage of ethnic groups. A telephone survey was conducted in the Minneapolis St Paul area. One's race played a stronger role in predicting credibility perceptions of news coverage of blacks and credibility perceptions of news coverage of whites. Blacks viewed news coverage of blacks as being less credible than did non-blacks, and blacks viewed news coverage of whites as being more credible than did non-blacks.

Golan and Day (2010) examined the role of religion and media credibility. Data analysis revealed mixed evidence for an association between religiosity and perceived media credibility. Survey data was collected from two midsize universities. All participants were sophomores. Ninety – Two percent were white students, and over 50 percent were Roman Catholic. Media use, levels of religiosity, and media credibility questions were asked, but were all very general,

therefore this study is different from other studies who typically ask about a particular issue/topic such as animal rights or biofuels, etc. This study did not find consistent or overwhelming evidence for a significant relationship between ones religion and media credibility; however, Golan and Kiousis (2010) found a significant relationship between personal religiosity and media credibility for both domestic and foreign media. This study is different than the one mentioned above because data was collected abroad. This study examined the interrelationships among perceptions of religiosity, media credibility, with a sample of 1,882 Arab youth from Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The data were collected via face-to-face interviews in three major cities of each country. Participants were between the ages of 18 and 25. This leads me to raise the question that if one strongly identifies with his or her religion, this partisanship can serve as a moderator for the hostile media phenomenon. My study will test this notion.

Age is another variable that has been shown to predict media credibility. Bucy (2003) found that younger people thought both TV and network news to be more credible overall than older people. Students regarded both forms of news as more informative than adults and adults thought both forms of news were less fair than younger participants did.

Many people are skeptical of the media, in particular television news. News channels in particular try to brand themselves as fair and balanced. So is it a biased press or biased public? Gunther (1992) tested this question with a random telephone survey of 18 and older followed by a mailed questionnaire asking about media credibility, specifically newspaper coverage of certain groups and institutions. Gunther (1992) concluded that group membership did play a role in people's perceptions of media credibility This finding is congruent with other hostile media studies, as people who are highly involved in an issue tend to scrutinize media more, in fact media credibility was found to be a function of involvement more than any other variable such as

newspaper characteristics, education, gender, and personal character. People's perceptions of newspapers and TV news coverage of social groups was measured and one's own group identification was the strongest predictor of hostile media effect. Gunther's (1992) study was the first to look at social group comparisons; however, the groups were not specified and one does not know what media people watched; therefore media comparison is a bit of a stretch. Again the population sampled was 18 years and older and there was no experimental component.

Two other hostile media effects studies examined group allegiance. The first after Gunther's (1992) study also looked at group identity and discovered that in-group and out-group motivated perceptions of bias. Matheson and Durson (2001) asked Bosnian Serbs and Muslim partisans along with a non-partisan group ranging from 23 – 52 years old about print media coverage of the 1994 Sarajevo market bombing. Results showed that both partisan groups thought the same news article was biased against one's own side. The third person perception was also evident in the results; which suggest that partisans thought non-partisans would be swayed in favor of the opposing group. This phenomenon occurred in Vallone et al's (1985) study as well as Gunther (1992).

Group identity was carefully analyzed as a moderating variable of the hostile media effect, unlike in previous studies Matheson & Dursun (2001). This was measured by cognitive differentiation; a person's perceived similarity of members of their own nationality or group to another. Both groups thought the other was responsible for the bombing; this perception of who is the victim and who is the perpetrator leads one to distinguish between in group and out group to reinforce a positive in group identity. It is important to note that identity was measured prior to reading the news article, in that it wasn't an after-fact that one identified with his or her own

group. Not surprisingly, if a person perceived the source to be more pro-Muslim and they were not Muslim, they thought it was biased, and vice, versa.

This study demonstrates that the hostile media effect reflects in-group bias; meaning the more one identifies with a group, it is likely they will perceive media as biased. If a person does not identify strongly with a group, it is more probable there will be less hostile media perception. Similarly, Ariyanto, Hornsey, and Gallois (2007) assessed the role of group membership and hostile media perception; however, this study asked Christian and Muslim university students in Indonesia questions about newspaper articles about the Muslim-Christian conflict in Indonesia. In this case there were no non-partisans involved in this study. This study confirmed that the hostile media phenomenon is cross-cultured. Conversely, there was a non-significant trend for Muslim perceptions of bias. Christians in this study perceived media to be biased against Christians significantly more than Muslims perceived the media as biased against Muslims.

This finding is very intriguing, given that the majority of hostile media phenomenon studies find significant hostile media effects with strong partisans. It was suggested that because in Indonesia Christians are the minority they felt more strongly motivated to defend their group, and felt less confident the media would accurately portray their group. Does this mean that the minority group is more likely to perceive the media as bias? Or it could be that more Christians had a higher religious identity than Muslims? This is one important question I want to explore; whether or not religious identity plays a moderating role in the hostile media phenomenon.

There are several factors that predict why partisans see media as biased. The most prominent of these include, level of involvement, partisanship, source, and reach. Media bias is in part shaped by interaction with others, and in particular others who agree with one's own point of view. One could say that in fact that discussion among people in the same group whether it is

a partisan, racial, ethnic, or religious group tends to discuss amongst one another more than perceive media as more biased against them. Or that discussion itself leads one to identify more with in-group members, and then perceive media as more biased.

The role of involvement in an issue was observed by Choi, Yang, and Chang (2009). They asked college students in South Korea about coverage of National Security Laws and found that subjects with high relevant involvement was an important predictor of the hostile media effect and the hostile media effect was a predictor of presumed media influence, which effected public opinion perceptions. Gunther and Chia (2001) also found similar results; with a completely different topic - the use of primates in laboratory research. Adults 18 and older were randomly samples and responded to telephone interviews, in particular asking about media bias and public opinion. Hostile media effect was evident, and people overestimated public opposition to the use of primates in research, meaning that public opinion was misjudged.

So why does it matter if people think news media is biased? It not only affects personal opinion, but also effects perceptions of public opinion. As we can see from national security to primate research, the hostile media effect plays a role in perceptions of public opinion. This study will explore whether Muslim American youths perceive media has biased against Muslim and Arabs and what if anything predicts HME in Muslim American students.

## Chapter 2

### Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study investigates students' socialization agents; media use habits, self esteem, ethnic identity, religious identity, perceived discrimination, and perceptions of media portrayals of Muslims/Arabs. In addition, there is an experimental component in which students are randomly assigned to watch one of two video clips, an entertainment clip or news clip. This portion of the survey was to determine how students perceive media coverage of Muslims, namely if the hostile media effect is apparent in people under the age of 18. In the following section each research question and hypothesis is stated, following a brief rationale that stems from the review of the literature.

Teachers, peers, parents, and the media are all socializing agents. As previously discussed socialization agents are important predictors of political participation and civic engagement. Students who engage in conversation with others tend to be more politically active, more likely to vote, more informed, and more likely to engage in religious activities (see, Shah, McLeod, Lee, Nam Jiin, 2009; Ehman, 1980; Jamal, 2005). In addition, we learned when parents and or adults talk children about what they see on television they are less likely to be negatively affected or afraid by what they see on television (Buijzen, Walma van der Molen and Sondij, 2007; Cantor & Nathanson, 1996). We know that communicating with others about political, racial, and religious topics has positive effects on children; therefore it is important to determine if Muslim American youth engage in conversation about television coverage of Muslim and or Arabs to potentially offset any negative effects of portrayals of Muslims and or Arabs in the media; therefore we post this first Research question.

**RQ: 1 Do students engage in conversations of television coverage of Muslim and or Arabs with teachers, peers, and or parents?**

Adolescents experience with social conflict is either direct, or most often mediated through socialization agents. Any study pertaining to adolescents and perceptions must take into account cognitive development. Older children, those more cognitively developed watch more television news than younger, less cognitively developed children (Smith, Pieper, Moyer-Guse, 2009; Kaiser Family Foundation, 2010). If older students watch more television news, we can predict that they are more likely to engage in conversation with others about what they see on television, in particular, if it is a topic that resonated with them, specifically related to their religion or ethnicity. In addition, Studies suggest that parent's socialization messages vary pending on the child's cognitive abilities (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes and Johnson, 2001), therefore youths will watch more television news and discuss more about what they see on TV as they get older. Furthermore, Cohen, Adoni, Droni (1983) found that older adolescents can differentiate between social conflicts in the 'real" world and in TV news more than younger adolescents, therefore this first hypothesis is put forth.

**H1: Older students will engage in conversation about television coverage of Muslim and or Arabs with teachers, peers, and parent's more than younger students**.

Hughes et al (2006) found that parental communication, specifically discussing discrimination, occurs more with boys because they experience more discrimination; however, several other studies have yet to examine gender differences. This second research question is posed because we do know that boys report watching more television than girls; therefore it is possible there may be a gender difference in the amount of conversation students have with teachers, peers, and or parents.

**RQ 2: Is there a gender difference in the amount of conversation students engage in with teachers, peers, and or parents?**

We know from the Kaiser family foundation studies that youth are consuming more media than ever before. Use of every type of media has increased, except reading. The most commonly used medium is television followed by music, computer, video games. The Kaiser media study also reported on race and media; however, it did not examine religious minority youth consumption habits. When applied to the mass media, secularization argues that the mainstream media serve agents of secularization that may undermine religious values, faith, and commitment over time (Maguire & Weatherby, 1998). Therefore this third research question is posed.

**RQ 3: What are the media consumption habits of Muslim American students?**

Several studies have shown that older students consume more news media than younger students. The Kaiser family foundation study shows that those ages 11 – 14 consume more media than those ages 8 -10. In addition, we know children more cognitively developed or older are exposed to more news than younger students. Thus, a second hypothesis is posed:

**H2: Older students will consume more media than younger students.**

There appears to be minor gender difference in media consumption habits. Kaiser Family Foundation study found that boys watch more television than girls, girls listen to more music than boys, and girls use the computer more than boys, boys play more video game than girls, watch more movies than girls, and finally, girls read more than boys. Again this was a nationally representative sample of 2,000 adolescents; therefore the four research question is posed.

**RQ 4: Is there a gender difference in the amount of media consumption?**

Most parental communication amongst minorities concerns ones racial and ethnic group, specifically parents talk to their children about discrimination. Research shows there is a fine line in preparing ones child for discrimination and making sure not to talk too much about

discrimination. According to parents, messages of ethnic pride are very important (Hughes & Chen, 1997). In addition scholars have shown that a child's interest and questions play an important role in communicating with teachers and parents about their questions, in particular this relationship has been studied with television news and political socialization. Therefore a fifth research questions is posed:

**RQ 5: What factors predict communicating with parents, teachers, and peers?**

Chapter one examined how youth develop an in-group identity, based on Phinny's identity development model and Quintana's ethnic perspective taking ability. Although, religion is different from ethnicity, a group identity can be a team, gender, ethnicity, religion, etc. Religious identity, in particular in youths is looked over. Religion is often important in preserving cultural and ethnic traditions, and important for those who strongly identity with ones religion (Peek, 2007). Religious identity is an ongoing process, therefore it is important to determine what predicts religious identity status.

**RQ 6: What factors predict Religious identity among Muslim American Students?**

Children understand ethnicity based on explanations and the role of ethnicity in their own lives (Quintana, 1998). Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination have also been linked to ones ethnic identity. We learned in chapter one there are several factors that contribute to ones development of an ethnic identity, including parents, peers, teachers, and media; therefore research question seven is posed.

**RQ 7: What factors predict ethnic identity among Muslim American students?**

Individuals who are active in causes involving their social group are likely to have higher self esteem (Luthanen & Crocker (1992). Furthermore there are contradictory findings between ethnic identity and self esteem (Phinny, 1990), there is relationship between high levels of ethnic

identity and self esteem (Rosenberg, 1979). In addition parents, peers, and media may play a role in students self esteem.

**RQ8: What factors predict self-esteem among Muslim American students?**

Youth's social cognition, which increases with age, is directly related to their developing their ethnic understanding and identity. As children get older they begin to understand they are a part of a group, in particular, minority youth learn they are in fact an ethnic or religious minority, and often recognize they are treated differently than the majority. Specifically, Muslims have been identified as terrorists, and a threat to society. Therefore this third hypothesis is posed.

**H3: Older students will have higher levels of overall perceived discrimination than younger students.**

It is predicted that older students will perceive more discrimination than younger students. Other factors that may play a role in perceived discrimination include ethnic identity, and religious identity. Those with higher ethnic and religious identity are more likely to form a strong in- group preference, therefore perceive discrimination as they may have an increase out-group bias. Sirin et al (2008) found that 88% of students reported at least one act of discrimination because of their religion; therefore it is important to pose research question 9:

**RQ 9: What factors predict perceived discrimination in Muslim American Students?**

Religiosity is a main variable that contributes to Muslim identification, while religious identity is related to ethnic identity. Stronger religious identification may enhance in-group attitudes and self esteem, in addition, strong religious identification may invoke hostility or discrimination; therefore research question 10 is posed.

**RQ 10: Is there a relationship between Muslim American student's ethnic identity, religious identity, self-esteem and perceived discrimination?**

As previously mentioned Muslim American girls have better coping mechanisms for perceived discrimination (Sirin & Fine, 2007). Luthanen & Crocker (1992) found that Hispanic girls scored higher on ethnic identity measures than Hispanic boys. There is mixed results with gender differences and identity measures as well as perceived discrimination and self esteem. In Particular Sirin et al (2008) conducted a mixed method study with Muslim American youth, and found there were no significant gender differences in any of the survey measures, which included identity measures.

**R11: Is there a gender difference in levels of ethnic identity, religious identity, self esteem, and, perceived discrimination?**

Age is a key predictor of media credibility. Younger students think the media is more credible than older students, if students do not trust the news; they are more likely to think it is biased against their views. Education is also a predictor of media credibility; age and education are directly related, as is age and cognitive development. As a child ages they are more likely to understand television, in particular news. Hostile media perception suggest that if a partisan watches a program they will think it is biased against their own side, therefore hypothesis four is posed:

**H4: Older students will perceive media as hostile against their own group more than younger students.**

Eveland and Shah (2003) found that men thought media was more biased than women, while other hostile media studies did not find gender differences in media perceptions. Although, there has not been a hostile media effect study with Muslim American youth, men and women are portrayed differently in the media, therefore research questions 12 is posed:

**RQ12: Is there a gender difference in perceptions of Muslim American television portrayals?**

Age, education, race, gender, partisanship, media consumption, have all been predictors of the hostile media phenomenon, but with each study, findings vary, therefore research question 13 is posed.

**RQ 13: What factors predict how Muslim American students perceive media portrayals of Muslim and or Arabs in the media?**

Race and ethnicity is also a predictive factor in media perceptions. Blacks view media portrayals of blacks and less credible than whites who view blacks on television (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2006). Race was the strongest predictor of media credibility. Therefore, it is highly plausible that Muslim American youth who have strong ethnic identity too will perceive media about Muslims and Arabs as more negative and less credible. In particular, research from chapter one showed that Young Muslim adults do perceive media about Muslims and Arabs as negative and bias; therefore hypothesis 5 is posed:

**H5: Students who score higher on ethnic identity measures will perceive media as more biased than those who score lower on levels of ethnic identity.**

A study of Christians and Muslims in Indonesia found an interaction between strong religious identity and depiction of media bias. (Ariyanto, Hornsey, and Gallois (2007). In addition, those who have higher levels of religious identity, also have strong in-group preferences. The hostile media research shows that individuals more involved with a group, organization, political party are more likely to think media portrayals of one's group is biased against their own side.

**H6: Students who score higher on religious identity measures will perceive media as more biased than those who score lower score on religious identity measures.**

In conflict situations, intergroup bias is very prevalent. Muslim adults perceive media portrayals of Arabs and Muslims as negative, and biased. In addition, Muslim American college

students reveal that they believe that Islam's image is misrepresented and very negative (Muedini, 2009). Asian American youth are also effected by negative portrayals of Asians in the media; some Asian youth desire blond hair and blue eyes, and want to look less Asian. Therefore I pose research question 14.

**RQ14: Do Muslim American youth think Muslim and or Arab portrayals in entertainment are more negative than in news?**

When studying entertainment television shows, Park, Gabbadon, and Chernin (2006) showed Rush hour 2, many Asians and Blacks enjoyed watching this comedy, even though it negatively portrayed their own race. Participants thought the show was funny, and harmless. Apart from comedy shows, Hispanic youth are very aware that Hispanics are usually portrayed as a maid or janitor and it upsets them. In addition, if minority think media portrays minorities as negative, and if they see few portrayals, it is likely youth may be emotionally aroused, therefore I pose research question 15.

**RQ 15: Does news content or entertainment content about Muslim and or Arabs make Muslim American youth react with more negative or positive emotions?**

In a recent study with non-Muslim youth ages 14 – 18, there is a relationship between media as a primary source of information and negative perceptions of Muslims (Brockett & Baird, 2008). Additionally, college Muslim American students thinks the media strongly affects the way Americans view Islam (Muedini, 2009), and these youth think non Muslims blame them for what happened on 9/11, therefore research question 16 is posed.

**RQ16: Do Muslim American youth think non-Muslims would think that news portrayals are more negative than entertainment portrayals?**

# Chapter 3:

## Study Design and Methodology

### Research Design

An online web-based survey and an embedded experimental component were used to determine minority youth media use habits and to determine if youth perceive media as biased or hostile. Purposive sampling method was used. The target population was Muslim American youth at an Islamic school in Milwaukee, WI, Salam. Students took an online survey measuring, political socialization, media use, identity measures, including, self-esteem, ethnic identity, religious identity, perceived discrimination and hostile media perceptions. In addition multiple open-ended questions were asked to gain a better understanding of what children watch on television and to capture their emotions and feelings about the video clips that a multiple choice question cannot capture. The experimental component was two video clips. One video clip was intended for entertainment, while the other video contained news. Each participant either saw an entertainment clip from *Little Mosque on the Prairie* (a Canadian entertainment program) or a four-minute video of three television news stories about Muslim/Arab Americans. This design was implemented to test perceptions of media content of Muslims and Arabs in news and or entertainment television.

The first portion of the survey was identical for all participants. Then students were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions. Following the clips, all participants answered the same questions about the clip they saw in order to measure the hostile media perception and emotions about the clip.

### Population

A Google search was used to identify Islamic schools in this Midwest region. The primary group of interest was Muslim American students; it was most logical to contact an

Islamic school to aid in a larger sample size of Muslims. Salam school is an Islamic school that dedicates itself to academic education in an Islamic environment. Their mission is to help shape children's ideas about themselves, their religion, country, culture, and the world. In addition the school helps preserve their American Muslim identity, gives structure, substance, and meaning to knowledge, while encouraging a love for learning. The principals were contacted to discuss the study. Upon approval from the principal, the principal distributed an online consent form to the parents via email. Once the principal received consent, the principal gave the link to the online survey to the students who were given parental consent to participate. The students were given an opportunity to complete the online survey during computer class. Students had to read a consent page and click on a box to give consent before proceeding.

The principal confirmed that although students do not have to be Muslim to attend the school, all students presently in the school are Muslim. In order to participate in the study, students had to be able to read English and be in grades 3 – 12. Students had the opportunity to take the web-based survey during class. Data collection began in the middle of May, 2011 and ended June 1, 2011. Respondents were assured their survey would be anonymous. The participants consisted of 127 students in grades 3 – 12 (40% of students were in the $8^{th}$ grade); there was a possible of 455 students. The enrollment in this school is majority elementary and middle school aged children, with high school having the least number of students. This helps explain why a majority of participants were younger.

## DEMOGRAPHICS

### Age

Students ranged from 8 years old to 18; however, the majority of students were between the ages of 9 and 14. The mean age was 12 (*SD* = 2.1).The age range was chosen because students around the age of 8 begin to understand and articulate ethnic group membership beyond simply skin color (Quintana, 1998). This is related to cognitive development, as youth advance in social cognition they too development their ethnic understandings (Quintana, Castaneda – English, and Ybarra, 1999).

### Grade

The majority of Salam students are in elementary school. Of the 715 students, 433 students are in kindergarten through 5$^{th}$ grade. Middle school students, grades 6 – 8 make up a total of 166, while high school students, grade 9 – 12 comprise of 122 students. The majority of students for this study were in 7$^{th}$ and 8th grade (64%). In addition there are more girls than boys, which in congruent with the sample for this study. Girls made up 63% of the sample, while boys made up 47%.

### Birth Country

Students were asked if they were born in the United States, if they were not born in the US, they were given the option to write which country they were born in. Sixty-six students responded they were born in the United States. Thirty – four percent responded to the open ended option, which asked participants to write the country they were born in. The countries listed included the following: Pakistan (2), Jordan (2), Egypt (1), Palestine (3), Syria (1), and Puerto Rico (1).

**Ethnicity**

Students were asked what group they belong to. The majority of students responded they were Arab (62%) followed by South Eastern Asian (16%).

| **Ethnicity** | **Percentage** |
|---|---|
| African | 4% |
| African American | 3% |
| **Arab** | 62% |
| South Eastern Asian | 16% |
| Latino/Latina | 1% |
| White/European American | 2% |
| Other | 13% |

**MEASUREMENT**

Several scales were modified due to length of the survey. Survey fatigue was a concern; therefore some of the instruments had to be shortened while trying to maintaining validity and reliability. The survey was pre-tested on several students ranging from second grade through 8th.

**Communicating with others (peers and teachers)**

Talking with others was measured with three items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "very often". Participants were asked "how often do you …talk with your teacher about news coverage of Muslim Americans, talk with your friends about news coverage of Muslim Americans or Arab Americans, talk with your teacher about news coverage of

Muslims or Arabs living in other countries, talk with your friends about Muslims or Arabs living in other countries" ($\alpha$ = .92 *M*= 2.1 *SD* =.95).

**Parental socialization**

Socialization was measured using a scale based on Hughes and Chen (1997) racial socialization scale. This was measured on a five point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "very often". Participants were asked the following: "my parents talk to me about…" being Muslim American, being treated differently by other people because I'm Muslim American, being proud to be Muslim American, explain things I see on television about Muslim Americans." ($\alpha$ = .74, *M* =3 *SD*=1.38.

**News Use**

News use was measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "very often". Students were asked how often they did the following: "watch news on Television, watch/read news online, read news in newspaper, watch/read news in Arabic" ($\alpha$= .6, *M*=2.24 *SD* = .74).

**Overall Media Use**

Overall Media use was measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "very often". Participants were asked how often they use each of the following: Social networking sites, chat rooms, online videos, books, TV, magazine, radio, ipod, video games ($\alpha$ =.853, *M* = 3.02, *SD* = 2.2).

**Religious Identity**

Religious identity was measured using Verkuyten, (2007) instrument. A five item scale ranging from "not at all" to "very important" was used to measure religiosity. The 7 items

include the following: How important is …… attending Friday prayers, praying daily, fasting, wearing a religious symbol, telling others about your faith ($\alpha$ = *.72, M*=4.4, *SD* =.59).

**Self-Esteem**

Self-esteem was measured using six items from the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965). The original scale is made up of ten items. Due to the length of the survey and the participant's age, six items were used. Three positively worded items and three negatively worded items measured perceived self-esteem. A six item scale ranging from "strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) was used to measure self esteem. The six questions include the following: "On a whole I am satisfied with myself. At times I think that I'm no good at all (reversed). I am able to do things as well as most other people. I feel I do not have much to be proud of (reversed). I feel useless at times (reversed). I have a positive attitude toward myself" ($\alpha$ =.68, *M* = 3.9, *SD* = .76).

**Ethnic Identity**

Ethnic Identity was measured using six survey items taken from Phinney's (1996) multi group ethnic identity measure; the original scale includes 14 questions. A six item scale ranging from "strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) was used to measure ethnic identity. The six questions include the following: "I spend time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, history, traditions. I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group. I understand what my ethnic group membership means to me, I often do things that will help me understand my ethnic background better, I often talk to people in order to learn more about my ethnic group, I have a strong attachment towards my ethnic group" ($\alpha$= .93, *M* =3.6, *SD* =1.1).

**Perceived Discrimination**

Perceived discrimination was measured using a shorter version of a 10-item measure of ethnic and religious discrimination (Krieger & Sidney, 1996). A three item scale ranging from "never "(1) "very often" (5) was used to measure ethnic identity. The three questions include the following: "How often have you felt people have been mean to you because of your religion in the following places …Shopping mall, on the street, in public (bus, grocery store etc)" ($\alpha$ .91, $M$ = 2.1, $SD$ =1.2 ).

**Media Perception of Arabs/Muslims**

Media perception of Arabs/Muslims was measured using a slider ranging from "bad guys" (0) to "good guys" (100). The 50 percent mark indicated "neutral" This scale was created with 4 items which include the following: "Are Arabs or Muslim characters shown as usually good guys or bad guys…. in TV comedy shows, TV drama shows movies, news" ($\alpha$= .861, $M$ = 51.3, $SD$ =29).

**Hostile Media Perception**

Hostile Media Perception was measured using a slider ranging from 0 "unfair" to 100 "fair". The 50 percent mark indicated "neutral". Participants were asked "what do you think about the following things…The four items include the following: News coverage of religion or religious people, news coverage of Islam and Muslim in the US, News coverage of Arab Americans, Muslims/Arabs in TV/drama shows ($\alpha$ = 81, $M$ = 51, $SD$ =32).

**Experimental Component**

After answering the initial survey, students were shown one of two video clips: entertainment or news clip.

**Video Clips**

**"Prayer Inside the U.S. Capitol"**

This ABC news clip discusses controversy over mosques in America. The video includes pictures of Muslim Americans at Friday prayers at the capitol. The Muslim Americans at the capitol invite guest speakers and discuss the need to continue to promote democracy despite some extremist agendas. There are 100 members in this group giving voice and that have been praying at the capitol for over 10 years. Muslim Americans discuss giving voice to growing minority explain that they want to stand up for Muslims rights. The first clip is 1:53 and there are no depictions of violence or inappropriate language.

The second portion of the news clip is titled "Muslim Youth in America". This is a CBS news clip with Heba Kanso, who takes a closer look at young Muslim Americans fighting for their identity and explaining what they really stand for. This is an interview with a Muslim American teen wearing a hijab. She discusses how she and most Muslims do not agree with extremists and it isn't fair for others to think of all Muslims as the same. The clip ends with an Imam discussing peaceful Islam. The clip is 30 seconds. There is no inappropriate language or violent depictions. There is nothing inappropriate for children. Both clips were shown on regular television news during the daytime hours.

**The Entertainment Clip**

This clip from a television series titled, *Little Mosque on the Prairie*.

The CBC Television's hit sitcom *Little Mosque on the Prairie* is an internationally acclaimed comedy about Muslims and Christians attempting to live in harmony with each other in the small town of Mercy. The particular portion of an episode I showed is titled "Little Mosque." It is the first episode of the first series about a small Muslim community in the prairies that finally gets its own mosque–the problem is it's in a church. Reverend Magee, made a deal with the scheming Yasir, and suddenly becomes very unpopular with his parishioners. The mosque's new Imam,

Amaar Rashid, arrives from the big city to smooth things over, but his easy charm and progressive ways do little to convince the locals that Muslims aren't simply a bunch of terrorists. A handshake deal between the new Imam and Reverend Magee ensures that Mercy's Muslims are here to stay. The clip introduces all the characters and what their typical role will be throughout the series. This show is similar to a Bill Cosby show. It is intended for humor and makes fun of some stereotypes. There is no inappropriate language or any violent scenes. There is nothing in the clip that would raise parental concern. More information about the program can be found at: http://www.cbc.ca/littlemosque/episodes.php?sid=1&eid=101.

**Hostile Media Effect**

After students viewed the news or entertainment clip that they were randomly assigned to, students were asked the following questions: What clip did you see? "news (57%)" or "entertainment (43%)", How they felt after the clip? "Very happy" to "very sad". How the clip made them feel? "Very calm" to "very angry". Whether they thought the clip was true to life, "untrue" to "true" and whether they thought the clip portrayed Muslims as positive, negative or neutral, using a slider from 0 – 100. They were also asked if they liked the clip. These questions were tailored for younger children's understanding, and are similar to hostile media effects scales that examined social groups' hostile media perception (see Gunther 1992; Ariyanto, Hornsey & Gallois, C. (2007).

**ANALITICAL STRATEGY**

First frequencies were established to gain a better understanding of the sample demographics, including age, grade, country of birth and ethnicity. Frequencies were established to understand how often Muslim American youth communicate with their teachers, parents, and peers about media coverage. Followed by Pearson's correlations of age and talking with others

about media, to determine correlation with gender and communicating with others. The next section contains frequency of media use, news use, and Pearson's correlations of age media use and ANOVA for gender and media use. Hierarchical multiple regressions were ran to determine what factors predict communicating with others. Pearson's correlations were initially conducted to gain an understanding of the relationships among media use, self esteem, perceived discrimination, religious identity, ethnic identity, socialization, and hostile media measures with age. Subsequently Anova's were used to determine if there were any differences between gender identity measures, and hostile media perceptions, followed by a series of hierarchical multiple regressions. The models controlled for the influence of age and gender. Lastly, a series of analysis were ran to determine if there were any interactions effects from the experiment component between those who watched the entertainment clip and those who saw the news clip.

Tables 1 – 4 include frequency charts for the demographics. Tables 5 – 11 include analysis related to youth and socialization with peers, teachers, and parents. Tables 12 – 16 include analysis related to media consumption. Table 18 is an HLM determining what predicts talking with others. Tables 19 – 27 are analysis related to identity variables. Table 28 – 34 are analysis for perceived discrimination. Tabl3 35 – 43 include analysis regarding media perceptions. The last three tables, 44 – 46, include analysis measuring hostile media perceptions, and determining if there were any differences between the group that saw the entertainment clip and the group that saw the news clip.

# Chapter 4

## Results

The results chapter is organized around the questions and hypothesis that guide this study, namely, the demographics, communicating with others about media and Muslims/Arabs, media use habits, identity measures (religious, self esteem, ethnic), and perceptions of discrimination, perceived media biased, and the hostile media experiment. In addition to the statistical analysis of the survey data, embedded you will find responses to open ended questions to gain a better understanding of what Muslim American youth think and feel about portrayals of Muslim and or Arabs living in the United States and abroad. The research questions and hypothesis are listed above the corresponding tables. The results section will begin with demographics of the sample and continue through the research questions and hypothesis.

Table (1) shows the frequency and percentage of students' age. The youngest students are 8 years of age, while the oldest students are 18 years of age. The majority of students (56%) are ages 13 and 14 years. A total of 5% of students are 15 – 18 years of age.

**Table 1. Students' Age**

| Age | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| 8 | 4 | 3% |
| 9 | 19 | 15% |
| 10 | 4 | 3% |
| 11 | 11 | 9% |
| 12 | 12 | 9% |
| 13 | 36 | 28% |
| 14 | 36 | 28% |
| 15 | 1 | 1% |
| 16 | 2 | 2% |
| 18 | 2 | 2% |
| Total | 127 | 100% |

Table (2) shows the frequency and percentage of students within grade. The majority of the students are in grades 7 and 8 (65%). Third graders make up 19% of the sample, while grades 9 – 12 make up 5% of the sample. There were no students in grades four and eleven.

**Table 2. Students' Grade**

| Grade | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | 24 | 19% |
| 5 | 16 | 13% |
| 6 | 1 | 1% |
| 7 | 31 | 24% |
| 8 | 52 | 41% |
| 9 | 1 | 1% |
| 10 | 1 | 1% |
| 12 | 2 | 2% |
| Total | 127 | 100 |

Table 3 shows the frequency and percentages of students born in the United States. A total of 110 students answered this question. A follow-up question was asked to students that responded that they were not born in the U.S. The majority of students reported they were born in the United States (66%) while 37% responded they were not born in the United States. Of the students who answered the open-ended question asking which country they were born in, the following countries were listed: Pakistan (9), Palestine (8), Jordan (4), Egypt (2), Turkey (2), UAE (2), India (2), Syria (2), California (1), and Puerto Rico (1).

**Table 3. Students' Country of Birth**

| Born in US | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 73 | 66% |
| No | 37 | 34% |
| Total | 110 | 100% |

The last question in this first demographic section is students' ethnicity. Table 4 shows the frequency and percentage of students' ethnicity. The majority of students are Arab (62%). The second largest ethnic group is South East Asian (16%) and the smallest group is Latino/Latina (1%).

**Table 4. Students' Ethnicity**

| Ethnicity | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| African | 4 | 4% |
| African American | 3 | 3% |
| Arab | 69 | 62% |
| South Eastern Asian | 18 | 16% |
| Latino/Latina | 1 | 1% |
| White/European American | 2 | 2% |
| Other | 14 | 10% |
| Total | 111 | 100% |

The following section explores students' frequency of communicating with others, including teachers, peers, and parents about television coverage of Muslim/Arabs, and

communicating with parents about being a Muslim. The next set of analysis addresses research questions 1 and 2 and Hypothesis 1. The first research question addresses whether or not students engage in conversation about television coverage of Muslim and or Arabs with teachers, peers, and parents. The questions were identical for engaging in conversation with teachers and peers; however, when students were asked about engaging in conversation with parents, the questions were related to whether or not parents talk to their children about being Muslim American and one media related question. This leads to the first research question (see tables 5 & 6).

**RQ: 1 Do students engage in conversations of television coverage of Muslim and or Arabs with teachers, peers, and or parents?**

This first research question was explored by looking at the frequency of students reporting how often they spoke with their teachers and peers about television coverage of Muslim American and or Arabs in the US and Muslims and or Arabs in other countries. Thirteen percent of participants reported that they talk quite often with teachers about television coverage of Muslim Americans and or Arab Americans. Participants reported talking less about Muslims or Arabs living in other countries (11% quite often or very often). Ten percent of students reported talking with their peers about Muslim Americans or Arab Americans quite often or very often, and they talked less with peers about Muslims and or Arabs living in other countries (8 % quite often or very often). Forty-one percent of students reported they never talked with their peers about news coverage of Muslim and Arabs in other countries. Students reported talking more with their teachers than with their peers, and they talk with both teachers and peers more about Muslim/Arab Americans than about Muslim/Arabs living in other countries.

**Table 5. Frequency of communicating about news coverage of Muslims and Arabs with teachers and peers.**

| | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Quite Often | Very Often |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Teacher - US | 38% | 23% | 26% | 13% | N/A |
| Teacher - Other | 38% | 29% | 23% | 9% | 2% |
| Peers - US | 30% | 33% | 28% | 5% | 5% |
| Peers - Other | 41% | 24% | 28% | 4% | 4% |

The following questions ask how often students communicated with their parents about: Being Muslim American, being treated differently because of being Muslim American, being proud to be Muslim American, and whether parents explained things seen on TV about Muslims/Arabs. Table 6 shows that communicating with parents is quite prominent. Students reported that they talked to their parents most about being proud to be Muslim American (46% very often 14% quite often), followed by parent's explaining things seen on TV about Muslim Americans (24% and 14%). Students reported they talked least with their parents about being treated differently because of being Muslim American (9% very often and 35% never).

**Table 6. Frequency of communication with parents about being Muslim American**

| | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Quite Often | Very Often |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslim American | 20% | 21% | 22% | 21% | 16% |
| Treated differently | 35% | 21% | 24% | 10% | 9% |
| Proud | 13% | 8% | 20% | 14% | 46% |
| Explain things seen on TV | 22% | 26% | 25% | 14% | 24% |

Students were asked a follow up question, 'what have you talked about with your parents regarding the news recently'. There were five repeated themes, which include the following: The

death of Bin Laden, the Arab spring, Israel/Israelis and Palestine/Palestinians, why people may treat Muslims differently, and being a good Muslim. Below are some quotes that illustrate the five themes, while some overlap. For instance this quote includes almost all five themes.

> "The revolutions in the Arab countries. How I should focus more on God than other useless things such is the computer, tv, phone, or games. When we go out in public and people give me the "stink eye" and wonder why would I be put in a position like that when i did no harm to them, (so my mother/father explains to me). My father had a talk to us about the death of Osama Bin Laden and how to react and not to react. By Father always has monthly talks with my family when we discuss how we should change our life to be a better Muslim."

**Death of Bin Laden:**

> "the bin laden inciden or the gaza strip , the changes in the middle eastern countrie's goverments."
> "I remeber when people will talk about my scarf and the death of Osama bin Laden. My mom/dad expalined that all to me and siblings."

**Arab Spring:**

> "I remember when the mutiny was happening in the arab countries. My family and I were watching the news when that happened. My dad started explaining that the Muslims in those countries have a bad leader that doesn't give them rights and the people want to go against the government. It started in one Muslim country then went on to the next and to the next. It went on for a while and my dad proceeded to explain to us what and why it happens."

**Israel/Palestinian conflict:**

> "I talk about what the jews are doing to palistin"
> "How much the zianist jews are constantly oppressing the muslims in Palestine and how we should not let this change our view and behavior towards the jewish people we meet because they have nothing to do with what the zianists do."

**Treated differently**

> "How as Muwslims, we dont wear things that people do in America. We see them but we don't follow them. Also about Suddam Hussein, how people wil treat us unfairly because of the incident, even if we had NOTHING to do with it."

**Being a good Muslim**

> "have been takling to my family and friends about Osama Bin Ladin, and how others are being blamed for what he did. Also, I have been talking about what is happening in all of the countries like Lybia, Syria, and the aftermath of it all. I see stuff on the news talking about the "terrorist" that bomed the building, or about how racist people treat us Muslims, and me and my familt and friends talk about how un fair all of this is, and how things should be differently Whenever something is being said badly about Musilms, my parents would usually explain to us why people think so negative. They say that sometimes people get the wrong information about us and that some people have their own opions.

> They also say that the way I act myself can help influence what others think about Muslims in the area around me."

The students who responded to the open ended question were all either 13 years of age or 14 years of age. The open-ended responses show that students are in fact engaging in conversation with their parents about issues related to being Muslim. This leads us to the following analysis. The first hypothesis, predicts that older students will engage in conversation about television coverage of Muslim and or Arabs with teachers, peers, and parents more than younger students.

**H1: Older students will engage in conversation about television coverage of Muslim and or Arab with teachers, peers, and parent's more than younger students**.

In order to test this hypothesis a zero order correlation analysis was conducted. Table. 7 shows that age is highly correlated with the amount students talk to teachers about news coverage of Muslim and/or Arab Americans living in the US ($r$ =.322, $p < .01$) and other countries ($r$ = 249, $p < .01$). Age is also significantly correlated with talking with peers about news coverage of Muslim and Arab Americans ($r$ = .203, $p < .05$) and talking with peers about news coverage of Muslims and Arabs in other countries ($r$ = .186, $p < .05$). Based on Pearson's correlation, talking with teachers and peers about news coverage of Muslims and Arab Americans both in the US and other countries is related and significant, if one talks with teachers, he or she is also likely to talk to his or her peers. There is a stronger age correlation with talking with teachers than with talking with peers.

**Table 7. Age and frequency of talking with teachers and peers about new coverage of Muslims**

| | Age | Teacher - US | Teacher - Other | Peers - US |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Teacher - US | .322** | | | |
| Teacher - Other | .249** | .803** | | |
| Peers - US | .203* | .666** | .621** | |
| Peers - Other | .186* | .733** | .688** | .765** |

# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

In order to determine if a student's age is related to whether or not students engage in conversation with their parents, a Pearson's correlation was conducted. Table 8 shows that the relationship between age and communicating with parents is weak. The one variable that is significant is age and whether or not parents explain things students see on television about Muslim Americans ($r = .178$, $p < .05$). The results also show that if a parent explains things seen on TV they are more likely to talk with their children about being Muslim American ($r = .313$, $p < .01$), being treated differently by other people ($r = .438$, $p < .01$), and being proud to be Muslim ($r = .447$, $p < .01$), as all these variables are statistically significantly and positively correlated.

**Table 8. Age and talking with parents about being Muslims American**

| | Age | Muslim American | Treated | Proud |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslim American | -.042 | | | |
| Treated differently | .132 | .418** | | |
| Proud | .019 | .494** | .414** | |
| Explain things seen on TV | .178* | .313** | .438** | .447** |

# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

To determine if there is a relationship amongst age and talking with teachers and peers and talking with parents a Pearson's correlation was conducted. Table 9 shows there is no statistically significant relationship between age and talking with parents ($r = .095$, *NS*). There is a statistically significant relationship between talking with parents and teachers ($r = .095$, $p < .01$), and parents and peers ($r = .546$, $p < .001$). If students communicate with parents they are likely to communicate with teachers and peers as well.

**Table 9. Age and communicating with parents, teachers, and friends about news coverage**

| | Age | Teacher | Peers |
|---|---|---|---|
| Teacher | .295** | | |
| Peers | .211* | .769** | |
| Parents | .095 | .519** | .546** |

# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The next research questions asks whether there is a gender difference in the amount of conversation students engage in with teachers, peers, and parents. In order to address this question an analysis of variance was conducted for gender and communicating with teachers and peers about Muslim/Arab Americans, and Muslims/Arabs in other countries.

**RQ 2: Is there a gender difference in the amount of conversation students engage in with teachers, peers, and or parents?**

Table 10 shows that there is a marginally significant difference between gender and talking with others about news coverage of Muslim or Arab Americans; Girls report talking with teachers about news coverage of Muslim Americans or Arab Americans more than boys ($M$ = 2.21, $M$ = 1.91). There is no statistically significant difference in the amount of communication with peers between girls and boys.

**Table 10. Gender and Communication with teachers and peers about news coverage of Muslims**

| | Mean | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Teacher - US | Boy 1.91<br>Girl 2.21 | 3.71 | .056 |
| Teacher - Other | Boy 1.96<br>Girl 2.17 | 1.24 | .268 |
| Peers - US | Boy 2.09<br>Girl 2.32 | 1.34 | .250 |
| Peers - Other | Boy 2.05<br>Girl 2.10 | .073 | .787 |

The following analysis examined whether there was a gender difference and whether students communicate with their parents about being Muslim American. The result of this analysis of variance in table 11 shows there is no statistical difference between gender and communicating with parents. Boys report slightly higher means for communicating with parents than girls; however, these differences are not statistically significant.

**Table 11. Gender and Parental Socialization (communicating with parents about being Muslim)**

| | Mean | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Muslim American | Boy 3.13<br>Girl 2.83 | 1.472 | .227 |
| Treated differently | Boy 2.58<br>Girl 2.28 | .875 | .351 |
| Proud | Boy 4.0<br>Girl 3.6 | 2.363 | .127 |
| Explain things seen on TV | Boy 3.00<br>Girl 3.04 | .019 | .889 |

This next section of results focuses on media consumption habits of Muslim American students. The above results show that students are communicating with others about what they see on television, now we want to determine what kinds of media students are using and how often they are using media. This following section includes research question three, hypothesis 2, research question four and five.

**RQ 3: What are the media consumption habits of Muslim American students?**

In order to capture media consumption habits of Muslim American youth, students were asked how often they use nine types of media. Table 12 shows frequency for each type of media considered. Television is the most frequently used medium. Fifty nine percent of students answered quite often or very often. Ipod use was next with 54% of students responding quite often or often. Fifty percent of students reported they used online quite often and very often. Chat rooms were the most infrequently used medium, 17% of students reported using chat quite often or very often.

**Table 12. Frequency of media use**

| | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Quite Often | Very Often | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Television | 7% | 9% | 25% | 23% | 36% | 100% (127) |
| Radio | 26% | 15% | 18% | 21% | 20% | 100% (127) |
| Books | 8% | 17% | 31% | 21% | 24% | 100% (127) |
| Magazine | 50% | 20% | 13% | 9% | 8% | 100% (125) |
| Video Games | 19% | 20% | 26% | 14% | 21% | 100% (126) |
| Ipod | 18% | 18% | 11% | 20% | 34% | 100% (127) |
| Chat | 50% | 20% | 13% | 9% | 8% | 100% (127) |
| Online Videos | 7% | 13% | 30% | 24% | 26% | 100% (127) |
| Social Networking | 20% | 7% | 30% | 18% | 25% | 100% (126) |

One of the main variables of interest in this study are the news consumption habits of Muslim American Students. Table 13 shows the frequency of news consumption. The patterns

are similar to overall media use. Students reported watching television news quite often and very often (21%), followed by watching/reading news online (21%). Students reported reading newspapers least often, 62% reported never reading the newspaper.

**Table 13. Frequency of news consumption**

| | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Quite Often | Very Often | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newspaper | 62% | 27% | 7% | 3% | 1% | 100% (124) |
| Television news | 11% | 32% | 37% | 18% | 3% | 100% (126) |
| News in Arabic | 43% | 25% | 17% | 6% | 9% | 100% (126) |
| News online | 25% | 19% | 35% | 16% | 5% | 100% (124) |

The second prediction for this study is that older students will consume more media than younger students.

**H2: Older students will consume more media than younger students.**

In order to predict the relationship between media use and age, this was investigated using Pearson's correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality. Table 14 shows that there is a significant correlations between age and radio ($r = .19$, $p. < .05$), age and magazines ($r = .18$ $p < .05$), and age and social networking sites ($r = .19$, $p. < .05$). Overall, most types of media had significant correlations with each other; however, books correlated the least of all types of media use (*NS*). Use of social networking was significantly correlated with each medium. Older children read more books, magazines, and engage in social networking sites, more frequently than younger children.

**Table 14. Pearson's correlation: Media use and age**

| | Age | TV | Radio | Books | Magazines | Video Games | Ipod | Chat | Online Videos |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TV | .106 | | | | | | | | |
| Radio | .193* | .415** | | | | | | | |
| Books | .100 | .004 | -.032 | | | | | | |
| Magazines | .182* | .312** | -.088 | .324* | | | | | |
| Video Games | -.019 | .385** | .172 | -.184* | .137 | | | | |
| Ipod | .170 | .510** | .394** | -.055 | .385** | .372** | | | |
| Chat | .053 | .172 | .271** | -.088 | .152 | .263** | .402** | | |
| Online Videos | .152 | .421** | .329** | -.040 | .263** | .265** | .422** | .180* | |
| Social Networking | .188* | .488* | .314** | -.180* | .214* | .333** | .314** | .401** | .408** |

# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The following Pearson's correlation of age and news use in table 15 shows that age is significantly correlated with newspaper use ($r$ = .224, $p$ < .05) and online news use ($r$ = .255, $p$ <. 05). All forms of news use were statistically significantly correlated; in particular, newspaper use was correlated with all types of news consumption: television news ($r$ = .300, $p$ < .01), news in Arabic ($r$ = .368, $p$ < .01), and online news ($r$ = .362 $p$ < .01). If one takes time to read newspaper it is more likely one will consume other types of news. These results are similar to frequency of non-news media use and age. Older students read the newspaper more, and read/watch news online more.

**Table 15. Pearson's Correlation: Age and frequency of news use**

| | Age | Newspaper | Television news | Read News in Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newspaper | .224* | | | |
| Television news | .036 | .300** | | |
| News in Arabic | .059 | .368** | .237** | |
| News Online | .255* | .362** | .323** | .182* |

# $p$ < .10, * $p$ <.05, ** $p$ <.01, *** $p$ < .001

There are correlations between age and frequency of news use (newspaper and online). Next we wanted to determine if there is a gender difference in the amount of media consumption, including news consumption. This leads to research question four.

**RQ 4: Is there a gender difference in the amount of media consumption?**

Table 16 shows the results of a series of ANOVAs. There is a statistically significant relationship between gender and books and gender and video games. Girls ($M$ = 3.60) read more books than boys ($M$ = 2.91). Boys ($M$ = 3.63) play more video games than girls ($M$ = 3.43).

There is no statistically significant difference between gender and television use (*M* = 3.83, *M* = 3.70), Radio (*M* = 3.07, *M* = 2.89), Magazines (*M* = 1.96, *M* = 2.10), ipod (*M* = 3.57, *M* = 3.24), Chat (*M* = 2.33, *M* = 1.89), Online Video (*M* = 3.63, *M* = 3.43), or social networking (*M* = 3.36, *M* = 3.15).

**Table 16. ANOVAs: Gender differences in Media Consumption**

| | Mean | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|
| TV | Boy 3.83<br>Girl 3.70 | .311 | .578 |
| Radio | Boy 3.07<br>Girl 2.89 | .419 | .518 |
| Books | Boy 2.91<br>Girl 3.60 | 9.7 | .002 |
| Magazines | Boy 1.96<br>Girl 2.10 | 1.2 | .26 |
| Video Games | Boy 4.07<br>Girl 2.37 | 66.4 | .00 |
| ipod | Boy 3.57<br>Girl 3.24 | 1.3 | .255 |
| Chat | Boy 2.33<br>Girl 1.89 | 3.35 | .070 |
| Online Videos | Boy 3.63<br>Girl 3.43 | .857 | .356 |
| Social Networking | Boy 3.36<br>Girl 3.15 | .612 | .435 |

Table (17) shows the analysis of variance between gender and frequency of news consumption. The results show that there is no statistically significant difference between boys and girls and amount of news consumption. The mean for girls and news consumption is slightly

higher for television ($M$ = 2.76, $M$ = 2.62), than news in Arabic ($M$ = 2.17, $M$ = 2.07), and news online ($M$ = 2.68, $M$ = 2.40), however, not significantly different.

**Table 17. Gender and frequency of news consumption**

| | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Newspaper | Boy 1.57<br>Girl 1.53 | .05 | .817 |
| Television | Boy 2.62<br>Girl 2.76 | .585 | .446 |
| News in Arabic | Boy 2.07<br>Girl 2.17 | .205 | .651 |
| News Online | Boy 2.40<br>Girl 2.68 | 1.647 | .202 |

After analyzing communicating with others and overall media consumption habits of Muslim American students, and finding that students are communicating with teachers, peers, and parents, and that older students do in fact use some media more often than younger, we wanted to determine what factors predicts communicating with others.

**RQ 5: What factors predict communicating with parents, teachers, and peers?**

Table 18 shows the results of a hierarchical regression that explains 57.4% of the variance in communicating with others. The demographics explained 7.6% of variance. Gender was marginally significant and became significant when learning and media consumption were added to the model. Age was significant in the first block, and reduced to marginally significant when learning was added and was no longer significant when media consumption was added to

the model. When learning was added to the model it explained 25.9 % of variance. Learning was significant in both block two and three. In the third block only media use was significant (ß= .294, $p < .01$). Media (non news) did not predict whether students communicate with others; however, news consumption did predict whether students communicated with others.

**Table 18. Talking with others**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Demographics | | | |
| Gender | .170# | .172* | .150* |
| Age | .200* | .143# | .038 |
| $R^2$7.6** | | | |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Learn | | .431*** | .335*** |
| $R^2$25.9*** | | | |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Media Use | | | .047 |
| News use | | | .294** |
| $R^2$57.4** | | | |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

The next section of results will focus on identity measures. These measures include religious identity, ethnic identity, and self esteem. Before presenting the results of what predicts religious identity, table 19 shows the means and standard deviation for each question included in the religious identity measure. Students were asked how important the following are: attending

Friday prayer, reading or listening to the Quran, praying daily, fasting, wearing a hijab outside of school, wearing religious symbol, telling others about your faith.

**Table 19: Religious Identity Means and Std.**

| Question | Mean | Std | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Friday prayer | 4.78 | .550 | 126 |
| Reading Quran | 4.70 | .623 | 126 |
| Praying daily | 4.87 | .527 | 126 |
| Fasting | 4.74 | .695 | 126 |
| Wearing hijab | 4.12 | 1.23 | 126 |
| Religious symbol | 3.42 | 1.43 | 125 |
| Telling others | 4.09 | 1.23 | 125 |

The statistical analysis will address research questions 5– 8. Research question six, is what factors predict religious identity in Muslim American students. To examine the relationship between the three identity measures in this study: religious identity, self-esteem, and ethnic identity. Three hierarchical regressions were preformed organizing the independent variables into three blocks. Control variables, total talk, and media consumption including news use. In addition, to further investigate the role of media consumption, these regressions specified medium for religious identity, self-esteem, and ethnic identity. Due to the small sample size, each dependent variable has four models. The models are separated into categories, print media: books and magazines. Traditional digital media: TV and radio. Electronic media: ipod, video games. And interactive new media: chat, online video, social networking.

**RQ 6: What factors predict Religious identity among Muslim American Students?**

In order to determine what predicts religious identity, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted (Table 20). The first block contains demographic variables. The second block contains the talk/communicating with others variables; the third block contains media use and news use variables. The entire model for religious identity explained 12.8% of variance. The demographic variables explained 1.2% of variance, and neither age nor gender was significant. The second block explained 8.2% of variance. When talking with others was added in block 2, it was significant (ß =.272, $p < .01$), and remained significant in the third block (ß = .269, $p < .05$). In the third block, media use was significant, but the relationship was negative (ß = .219, $p < .05$). Those consume more media have lower levels of religious identity.

**Table 20. Religious Identity**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Demographics | | | |
| Age | .044 | -.002 | .026 |
| Gender | .097 | .053 | .022 |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Talk | | .272** | .269** |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Media | | | -.219* |
| News | | | .061 |
| | $R^2$ 1.2 | $R^2$ 8.2** | $R^2$12.8# |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** < .001

The following regression includes each medium to determine if a specified medium predicts religious identity. Table 21 shows that the first model explained 9.9% of variance. Age ($r$ = .001, $p$ < .05) and total talk ($r$ = .265, $p$ < .01) was significant. The second model explained 12.8 % of variance and total talk was significant ($r$ = .256, $p$ < .01). Radio was significant, and negative ($r$ = -.213, $p$ < .05). Model three explained 13.6 % of variance and again only talk was significant ($r$ = .279, p < .01). Model four explained 11.2% of variance; there were no significant variables in this model. Overall the results show that the amount one talks to others predicts religious identity more than media use.

**Table 21. Religious Identity**

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | | |
| Demographics | | | | |
| Age | .001* | .015 | -.005 | .002 |
| Gender | .092 | .115 | .070 | .091 |
| Block 2 | | | | |
| Total talk | .265** | .256** | .279** | .268** |
| Block 3 | | | | |
| Books | .061 | | | |
| Magazines | -.109 | | | |
| TV | | -.044 | | |
| Radio | | -.213* | | |
| Video game | | | -.037 | |
| Ipod | | | -.137 | |
| Chat | | | | -.084 |
| Online video | | | | -.022 |
| Social networking | | | | -.165 |
| | $R^2$9.9 | $R^2$12.8* | $R^2$13.6 | $R^2$11.2 |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The next identity measure is ethnic identity. Table 22 shows the mean and standard deviation for each religious identity question asked. Students were asked on a five point scale whether they strongly disagree to strongly agree about the following statements: I spend time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic

group, I understand what my ethnic group membership means to me, I often do things that will help me understand my ethnic background better, I often talk to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group, I feel strong attachment towards my ethnic group. These questions were on a scale of 1 – 5. Overall, the mean for each question is 3 and above. The highest mean is for students feeling a strong attachment towards their ethnic identity ($M$ = 3.92). The lowest mean reported was for students trying to find out more about their ethnic group history and traditions.

**Table 22. Ethnic Identity Mean and Std.**

| | Mean | Std | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Find out more | 3.22 | 1.24 | 125 |
| Belonging | 3.82 | 1.31 | 124 |
| Understand group | 3.90 | 1.24 | 122 |
| Understand better | 3.50 | 1.20 | 123 |
| Talk | 3.28 | 1.27 | 125 |
| Attachment | 3.92 | 1.32 | 125 |

The next step is to determine what factors predict ethnic identity among Muslim American students.

**RQ 7: What factors predict ethnic identity among Muslim American students?**

In order to address research question six, a multiple hierarchical regression for ethnic identity we ran. Table 23 shows that the total model explained 18.8% of variance. The first block, demographics, explained 9.4% of variance. Age was significant in all three blocks; however, became only marginally significant in the third block, which was media (ß =.183, $p$ <.10). The second block, containing talk, explained 13.7 % of variance and was significant (ß

=.214, $p < .05$) but lost significance when media use was added in the third block. In the third block, news use was marginally significant (ß = .299, $p < .10$).

**Table 23. Ethnic Identity**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Demographics | | | |
| Age | .306** | .272** | .183# |
| Gender | .012 | -.023 | -.020 |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Talk | | .214* | .127 |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Media | | | .123 |
| News | | | .299# |
| | $R^2$ | $R^2$ | $R^2$ |
| | 9.4** | 13.7** | 18.8* |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The following table includes the regression analysis for ethnic identity and individual mediums. In table 24 the first model, explained the highest variance with 32.5%. Age was significant (ß =.351, $p < .001$), total talk was significant (ß = .179, $p < .01$) and both mediums were significant (ß =.202, $p < .01$; ß = .169, $p < .01$). The second model explained 27.1% of variance. Age was again significant (ß= .424, $p < .001$) and total talk was also significant (ß=.235, $p < .01$.). Only one medium was significant, that being radio which was marginally significant and negative (ß = -.153, $p < .10$). The third model explained 24% of variance. Age was significant (ß = .354, $p < .001$). Total talk was again significant (ß = .243, $p < .01$). Video

game was marginally significant (ß =.198, $p < .10$). The fourth model explained 28.4 % of variance. Age (ß=.413, $p < .001$) and total talk (ß = .217, $p < .01$) were significant. None of the media considered were significant.

**Table 24. Ethnic Identity**

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model3 | Model 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | | |
| Demographics | | | | |
| Age | .351*** | .424*** | .354*** | .413*** |
| Gender | -.125 | -.070 | .050 | -.053 |
| Block 2 | | | | |
| Total talk | .179** | .235** | .243** | .217** |
| Block 3 | | | | |
| Books | .202** | | | |
| Magazines | .169** | | | |
| TV | | .079 | | |
| Radio | | -.153# | | |
| Video game | | | .198# | |
| Ipod | | | -.027 | |
| Chat | | | | .139 |
| Online video | | | | .016 |
| Social networking | | | | -.108 |
| | $R^2$32.5* | $R^2$27.1 | $R^2$24 | $R^2$28.4 |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The third related construct in this study is self-esteem. Students were asked six questions on a five point scale the following questions: On the whole I am satisfied with myself, at time I think I'm no good at all, I am able to do things as well as most other people, I feel I do not have much to be proud of, I feel useless at times, I have a positive attitude toward myself. Overall students have a high level of self-esteem. Table 25 shows the means and standard deviations for the self-esteem scale.

**Table 25. Self-esteem Mean and Std**

| | Mean | Std. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Satisfied | 4.12 | 1.10 | 126 |
| No Good (r) | 3.35 | 1.38 | 125 |
| Well | 4.17 | 1.01 | 126 |
| Not proud (r) | 3.85 | 1.4 | 126 |
| Useless (r) | 3.75 | 1.28 | 126 |
| Positive | 4.04 | 1.12 | 126 |

Research question seven addresses what factors predict self-esteem in Muslim American students. The first block is demographics, the second block is talking with others, and the third block includes media and news consumption.

**RQ8: What factors predict self-esteem among Muslim American students?**

To determine what predicts self-esteem a hierarchal regression was conducted, table 26 shows that 13.5% of variance of self-esteem is explained. The first block of demographics explained 6.2% of variance. As pervious results show, age is significant for many variables. Age was a significant predictor in the first two blocks (ß= .233, $p < .01$; ß= .214, $p < .05$). When talking with others was added, 9.2 % of variance was explained. Talk was marginally significant

when entered (ß=.174, $p < .1$). When media consumption was entered, news use was significant (ß=.223, $p < .05$).

**Table 26. Self-Esteem**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Demographics | | | |
| Gender | -.101 | -.133 | -.135 |
| Age | .244** | .214* | .131 |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Talk | | .174# | .087 |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Media | | | .074 |
| News | | | .223* |
| | $R^2$ 6.2** | $R^2$ 9.2# | $R^2$13.5# |

The following table (27) includes the regression analysis for self-esteem and individual mediums. The first model including demographics, talk, and books and magazine explained 32.5%. Gender was marginally significant and negative (ß=-.172, $p < .1$). Model 2 explained 31.2% of variance and included demographics, talk, and TV and radio. Age was significant (ß=.198, $p < .05$). Model three explained 40% of variance. Age (ß=.248, $p < .001$) and talking with others was significant (ß=.179, $p < .01$). Model four explained 53.2 % of variance. Age (ß =.413, $p < .001$) and talking with others (ß = .217, $p < .05$) was significant. Neither chat, online video, nor social networking was significant in model 4.

**Table 27. Self-Esteem**

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | | |
| Demographics | | | | |
| Age | .151 | .198* | .248** | .413*** |
| Gender | -.172# | -.122 | -.069 | -.053 |
| Block 2 | | | | |
| Total talk | .089 | .135 | .179# | .217* |
| Block 3 | | | | |
| Books | .146 | | | |
| Magazines | .147 | | | |
| TV | | .101 | | |
| Radio | | .038 | | |
| Video game | | | .167 | |
| ipod | | | .067 | |
| Chat | | | | .139 |
| Online video | | | | .016 |
| Social networking | | | | -.108 |
| | $R^2$ 32.5 | $R^2$31.2 | $R^2$40.00 | $R^2$53.2 |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The next section of results focuses on perceived discrimination. Hypothesis three and research question nine are listed in this section. Table 28 shows the means and standard deviations for the perceived discrimination scale. Perceived discrimination was measured with three questions on a five-point scale. Overall students have low perceptions of discrimination.

Students reported the highest mean for feeling they were treated differently in the mall (*M* = 2.13) followed by, feeling treated differently on the street (*M* = 2.11), and being treated different in public (*M* = .2.09). All of the means were very similar.

**Table 28. Perceived discrimination Means and Std**

| | Mean | Std | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mall | 2.13 | 1.36 | 127 |
| Street | 2.11 | 1.33 | 126 |
| Public | 2.09 | 1.32 | 127 |

The third hypothesis predicts that older students will perceive more discrimination than younger students.

**H3: Older Students will perceive more discrimination than younger students.**

In order to predict whether older students perceive discrimination more than younger students a Pearson's correlation was conducted. Results in table 29 shows that age is not significantly related to perceived discrimination at the shopping mall ($r$ = -.051, *NS*) on the street ($r$ = -.050, *NS*) nor in public ($r$ =.021, *NS*). If one perceives being treated differently in the mall they also perceive being treated differently on the street ($r$ = .771, $p$ < .01) and in public ($r$ = .758, $p$ < .01).

**Table 29. Age and perceived discrimination**

| | Age | Shopping mall | On the street |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shopping Mall | -.051 | | |
| On the street | -.050 | .771** | |
| Public (bus, grocery store) | .021 | .758** | .759** |

# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

After determining there was no relationship between age and perceived discrimination, question eight asks what factors do in fact predict perceived discrimination in Muslim American Students.

**RQ 9: What factors predict perceived discrimination in Muslim American students?**

To determine what factors predict perceived discrimination a hierarchal multi linear regression that included three blocks was conducted in Table 30. Demographics, total talk, and media use. The total for perceived discrimination explained 20% of variance. The first block demographics explained 1.0% of variance, and did not have any significant results. The second block explained 13.7% of variance and talk was significant in both second (ß=.354, $p < .001$ and third block (ß=.354, $p < .001$). In the third block, age was marginally significant and negative (ß=-.182, $p < .1$). Talk (ß=.354, $p < .001$) and Media use (ß= .281, $p < .01$) was also significant.

**Table 30. Total Perceived Discrimination**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Demographics | | | |
| Age | -.083 | -.144 | -.182# |
| Gender | .071 | .005 | .038 |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Talk | | .354*** | .354*** |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Media | | | .281** |
| News use | | | -.073 |
| | $R^2$ 1 | $R^2$12.7*** | $R^2$20** |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

To further investigate media predicting perceived discrimination, the next regression (Table 31) includes four models with individual mediums. The first model includes demographics, total talk, and books and magazines. The model explains 14% of variance. Total talk is significant (ß=.303, $p < .01$). Books were marginally significant (ß=.172, $p < .1$). The second model's mediums were TV and radio and explained 16.8% of variance. Total talk was the only significant variable in this model (ß=.352, $p < .001$). The third model included video game and ipods. The model explained 15.3% of variance. Total talk was significant again (ß=.345, $p < .001$). The fourth model included chat, online video, and social networking and explained 16.9% of variance. Again, only talk was significant in this model (ß=.348, $p < .001$).

**Table 31. Perceived Discrimination**

| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model3 | Model 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | | |
| Demographics | | | | |
| Age | -.141 | -.146 | -.139 | -.103 |
| Gender | -.070 | -.035 | .090 | .035 |
| Block 2 | | | | |
| Total talk | .303** | .352*** | .345*** | .348*** |
| Block 3 | | | | |
| Books | .172# | | | |
| Magazines | .034 | | | |
| TV | | .126 | | |
| Radio | | .130 | | |
| Video game | | | .169 | |
| ipod | | | .948 | |
| Chat | | | | .141 |
| Online video | | | | .098 |
| Social networking | | | | .078 |
| | $R^2$14.4 | $R^2$16.8# | $R^2$15.3# | $R^2$16.9# |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

After analyzing identity measures and perceived discrimination independent of each other, the next step was to determine if there is a relationship amongst the identity variables and perceived discrimination. This next set of analysis includes research question 10 & 11.

**RQ 10: Is there a relationship between Muslim American student's ethnic identity, religious identity, self-esteem and perceived discrimination?**

In order to address question 10, a Pearson's correlation amongst religious identity, self-esteem, perceived discrimination, and ethnic identity was explored. Table 32 shows there is a significant relationship between and ethnic identity ($r$ = .439, $p$ < .01) and age and self-esteem ($r$ = .235, $p$ < .01) and age. There is not a significant relationship between religious identity and perceived discrimination ($r$ = .069, *NS)* and age ($r$ = .068, *NS*). There is a statistically significant relationship between ethnic identity and religiosity ($r$ = .323, $p$ < .05), Ethnic Identity and perceived discrimination ($r$ = .232, $p$ < .05), and self-esteem and ethnic identity ($r$ =.241, $p$ < .01).

**Table 32. Age, Religiosity, Perceived Discrimination, Ethnic Identity, and Self-Esteem**

| | Age | Religious identity | Perceived Discrimination | Ethnic identity |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Religious identity | .068 | | | |
| Perceived Discrimination | -.028 | .069 | | |
| Ethnic Identity | .439** | .323** | .232* | |
| Self-Esteem | .235** | .121 | .032 | .241** |

# $p$ < .10, * $p$ <.05, ** $p$ <.01, *** $p$ < .001

**R11: Is there a gender difference in levels of ethnic identity, religious identity, self-esteem, and, perceived discrimination?**

Table 33 presents ANOVAs for religious identity, discrimination, ethnic identity, and self-esteem by gender; results show there is a statistically significant difference for religious identity. Girls report higher levels of religious identity than boys ($M$ = 4.2**, $M$ = 4.5). There is not a statistical difference in gender and perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and self esteem.

**Table 33. Gender and ethnic identity, religious identity, self esteem, perceived discrimination**

| | Mean | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Religious identity | Boy 4.2<br>Girl 4.5 | 5.18 | .025 |
| Discrimination | Boy 2.1<br>Girl 2.1 | .008 | .928 |
| Ethnic Identity | Boy 3.6<br>Girl 3.6 | .012 | .912 |
| Self Esteem | Boy 3.9<br>Girl 3.8 | .436 | .510 |

The following correlation, table 34 controls for age and gender and shows that ethnic identity is strongly correlated with religious identity ($r$ = .329, $p$ > .001), perceived discrimination, although not as strong of correlation ($r$ = .270, $p$ > .01), and significantly correlated with self esteem ($r$ = .182, $p$ > .05) but less so than religious identity and perceived discrimination.

**Table 34. Controlling for Age and Gender**

| | Religious Identity | Perceived Discrimination | Self Esteem |
|---|---|---|---|
| Discrimination | .080 | | |
| Self esteem | .094 | .072 | |
| Ethnic Identity | .329*** | .270** | .182* |

The next section of analysis includes Muslim American Students perceptions of media portrayals of Muslim and or Arabs. This section includes hypothesis 4, 5 & 6, and research questions 12 and 13. Students were asked how they thought Muslim and or Arabs were portrayed in TV comedy shows and TV dramas, movies, and news. This sliding scale ranges from zero to 100. Zero is labeled as bad guys, 100 is labeled as good guys, and 50 is labeled as neutral. Table 35 shows the means for each response for each item this scale. Overall the mean was around 50 for all questions. The lowest mean was for news ($M$ = 49.75). The highest mean was comedy ($M$ = 53.06).

**Table 35. Media Perceptions bad/good**

| | Mean | Std | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Comedy | 53.06 | 33.37 | 122 |
| Drama | 51.11 | 32.73 | 122 |
| Movies | 51.09 | 34.49 | 122 |
| News | 49.75 | 35.97 | 122 |

To measure students' perceptions of media portrayals of Muslim and Arabs, an additional question was asked. This question asked "what do you think about the following things on TV?:

News coverage of religious or religious people, news coverage of Islam and or Muslims, news coverage of Arab Americans, Muslims/Arabs in TV drama." A sliding scale was used from zero to 100. Zero is labeled as unfair, 100 is labeled as fair and 50 is labeled as neutral. Table 36 shows that students reported that news coverage of religious people was just above neutral ($M$ = 53.93), and drama ($M$ = 52.74). Students responded that news coverage of US Muslims was less than neutral ($M$ = 46.63), while news coverage of Arab Americans was almost exactly neutral ($M$ = 49.66). Table 38 shows the mean and standard deviations for youth perceptions of news portrayals of Muslim and or Arabs.

**Table 36. Perceptions of News – Fair/Unfair**

| | Mean | Std | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| News – religious people | 53.93 | 34.14 | 120 |
| News – US Muslims | 46.63 | 35.16 | 120 |
| News – Arab Americans | 49.66 | 32.72 | 119 |
| Drama – Muslim/Arabs | 52.74 | 32.71 | 118 |

The next prediction in this study is that older students will perceive media as more hostile against their own group more than younger students.

**H4: Older students will perceive media as hostile against their own group more than younger students.**

Table 37 shows correlations of age and media perceptions and shows there is a strong negative relationship between age and media perceptions. The older the kids are the more they think Arabs and or Muslims are portrayed as bad characters ($r$ = .345, $p$ < .01) and the more likely they are to think that depictions of Arabs or Muslims are unfair ($r$ = .247, $p$ < .01).

**Table 37. Age and perceptions of media portrayals of Muslims/Arabs - news biased (hostile media)**

| | Age | Portrayal Good |
|---|---|---|
| Portrayal Good | -.345** | |
| Portrayal Fair | -.247** | .603** |

# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

After analyzing age and media perceptions, the next question asks if there is a gender difference in media perceptions of Muslim Americans. Table 38, shows ANOVA results that suggest there is a statistical difference between gender and hostile media perception. Girls report the media is less fair *M = 57M =44*and they perceive Arabs to be portrayed as bad guys more often than boys do (63*, 45**).

**RQ12: Is there a gender difference in perceptions of Muslim American television portrayals?**

**Table 38. Gender and news consumption and hostile media perception**

| | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Portrayal - Fair | Boy 57<br>Girl 44 | 4.638 | .033 |
| Portrayal - Good | Boy 63<br>Girl 45 | 12.591 | .001 |

Age and gender have been analyzed and related to media perceptions. Now I turn to determine what other factors may predict how students perceive media portrayals of their own group in the media.

**RQ 13: What factors predict how Muslim American students perceive media portrayals of Muslim and or Arabs in the media?**

In order to tap into the perceptions of media bias or hostile media phenomenon and the relationship between media consumption and talking with others, two hierarchal multiple regressions were used, to assess whether or not participants thought Muslims and Arabs are portrayed as good or bad guys in the media and whether or not they thought media coverage of Muslims or Arabs was fair or unfair. Table 39 shows the regression for perceptions of media portrayals explained 21.7% of variance. Both controls were strongly significant in all three blocks and negative. The first block explained 16.6% variance (ß= -.312, $p < .001$; ß = -.344, $p < .001$; ß = -.388, $p < .001$). The second block explained 19.6 % variance. Total talk was marginally significant in block 2 (ß=.152, $p < .10$) and lost significance in block three. When media consumption was added, news was marginally significant (ß=.192, $p < .10$).

**Table 39. Portrayal - Good**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Controls | | | |
| Gender | -.280** | -.306*** | -.315*** |
| Age | -.312*** | -.344*** | -.388*** |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Talk | | .152# | .088 |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Media | | | -.018 |
| News | | | .192# |
| | $R^2$ 16.6*** | $R^2$ 19.6 | $R^2$ 21.7 |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$

Table 40 shows the results of a regression measuring whether or not participants thought media coverage of Muslim and Arab Americans was fair or unfair. The first blocked explained 28.8% of variance, but only age was significant and negative, and remained significant in all three blocks (ß=-.218, $p < .05$; ß= -.207, $p < .05$; ß = -.237, $p < .05$). The second block when talk was added explained 29.7% variance; however was not significant in either block 2 or 3. Neither was media consumption.

**Table 40. Portrayals -Fair**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Control | | | |
| Gender | -.134 | -.123 | -.138 |
| Age | -.218* | -.207* | -.237* |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Talk | | -.068 | -.117 |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Media | | | -.074 |
| News | | | .156 |
| | $R^2$ 28.8** | $R^2$ 29.7 | $R^2$33.1 |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

To determine predictors of the hostile media phenomenon I ran two hierarchal regressions including demographics, media consumption in block 2, and perceived discrimination in block three. Table 41 shows that this model explained 25% variance. The first block of controls explained 19.7 percent of variance with both gender and age significant and negative in blocks 1 and 2, but losing significance in block 3. When media consumption was added only news use was significant (ß=.230, $p < .05$) and remained significant in block three (ß=.233, $p < .05$) while perceived discrimination was not significant.

**Table 41 Portrayals - Good**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Gender | -.284** | -.302*** | -.291 |
| Age | -.310*** | -.392*** | -.414 |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Media use | | -.010 | .012 |
| News use | | .230* | .233* |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Perceived discrimination | | | -.101 |
| | $R^2$ 19.7*** | $R^2$24.2** | $R^2$ 25 |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 42 shows the regression for fair or unfair perceptions in media portrayals of Muslims and Arabs described 35.8% variance. The controls explained 26.7% of variance. Gender was not significant in any of the blocks where as age was significant and negative in all three blocks (ß = -.206, p < .05; ß = -.237, $p < .05$; ß = -.277, $p < .05$). Media consumption explained 29.3% of variance and neither variable were significant in either block two or three. When perceived discrimination was added to the model it was negative like in the previous model; however, it was significant (ß = .214, $p < .05$)

**Table 42. Portrayals - Fair**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | |
| Gender | -.148 | -.164 | -.133 |
| Age | -.206* | -.237* | -.277* |
| Block 2 | | | |
| Media use | | -.056 | -.013 |
| News use | | .122 | .127 |
| Block 3 | | | |
| Perceived discrimination | | | -.214* |
| | $R^2$26.7** | $R^2$29.3 | $R^2$35.8** |

#$p < .1$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

In order to determine if ethnic identity, religious identity, self-esteem, and perceived discrimination made a difference in how students perceive media, a hierarchical regression was conducted. Hostile media phenomenon is typically apparent when people have a strong partisanship or group membership. Therefore hypothesis five and six predicted that students who score higher in ethnic identity and religious identity would perceive media as more biased than those who scored lower on ethnic and religious identity measures.

**H5: Students who score higher on ethnic identity measures will perceive media as more biased than those who score lower on levels of ethnic identity.**

**H6: Students who score higher on religious identity measures will perceive media as more biased than those who score lower score on religious Identity measures.**

Table 43 shows the results of the hierarchical regression predicting fair and unfair media perceptions. The first block includes age and gender and explains 8.9% of variance; both age and gender are negative. Age is significant ($r = -.241$, $p > .01$). In block two total talk is added, and

explains 9.4% of variance. Age remains significant and negative ($r$ = .229, $p$ > .05) and both gender ($r$ = -.143, *NS*) and talk ($r$ = -.074, *NS)* are not significant. Block three includes media use and News use. Age remains significant and negative ($r$ = -.259, $p$ > .05). Talk, media use, and News use are not significant. The final block includes identity measures, ethnic ID, self esteem, perceived discrimination, and religious identity. Age again remains significant and negative ($r$ = -.264, $p$ > .05). Talk and media use were not significant. Self esteem ($r$ = -.210, $p$ > .10), perceived discrimination ($r$ = -.197, $p$ > .10) were marginally significant and negative. Religious identity is also marginally significant, but positive ($r$ = .206, $p$ > .10). The final block explains 19.4% of variance.

**Table 43. Fair/unfair**

| | Block 1 | Block 2 | Block 3 | Block 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Block 1 | | | | |
| Demographics | | | | |
| Age | -.241* | -.229* | -.259* | -.264* |
| Gender | -.156 | -.143 | -.154 | -.171# |
| Block 2 | | | | |
| Talk | | -.074 | -.122 | -.091 |
| Block 3 | | | | |
| Media Use | | | -.054 | .049 |
| News use | | | .147 | .167 |
| Block 4 | | | | |
| Ethnic ID | | | | .045 |
| Self Esteem | | | | -.210# |
| Perceived Dis | | | | -.197# |
| Religious ID | | | | .206# |
| | $R^2$8.9 | $R^2$9.4 | $R^2$11.2 | $R^2$19.7 |

The final set of analysis is related to the experimental condition. Students were randomized into one of two groups. One group was exposed to an entertainment clip, while the other group was exposed to a news clip. Although randomization was used in assigning students to conditions, the randomization did not work for one's ethnicity or whether or not students were born in the United States. Therefore both of these variables were controlled for in the following

analysis. This section includes research questions 13, 14, and 15. These analysis determine if there is a difference in how Muslim American youth perceive media portrayals of Muslims and Arabs via entertainment and news content, and if there is a difference, again tapping trying to tap into the hostile media phenomenon.

The first question in this section is whether or not Muslim Americans students think the negativity of media portrayals of Muslims and or Arabs is exacerbated by the respective clips.

**RQ14: Do Muslim American youth think Muslim and or Arab portrayals in entertainment are more negative than in news?**

Table 44 shows the results show there is no statistical difference in how participants thought the two clips portrayed Muslims/Arabs. Students were asked: "how did the clip show Muslims/Arabs, what do you think non Muslims would think about Arabs/Muslims after watching this clip, how did the clip show women or girls, how did the clip show men or boys." This was a zero – 100 point sliding scale. Zero indicated negative and 100 indicated positive, 50 indicated neutral.

**Table 44. How the clip portrayed Muslims and or Arabs?**

| Source | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Correct Model | 3 | 737.073 | .853 | .468 |
| Intercept | 1 | 32686.553 | 37.813 | .000 |
| Ethnicity | 1 | 645.770 | .747 | .389 |
| Born in the US | 1 | 504.402 | .584 | .447 |
| Condition | 1 | 944.203 | 1.092 | .298 |
| Error | 104 | 864.438 | .853 | .468 |
| Total | 108 | | | |
| Corrected Total | 107 | | | |
| Adjusted *R* - *.004* | | | | |

The next question was whether either clip made the students more emotional.

**RQ 15: Does news content or entertainment content about Muslim and or Arabs make Muslim American youth react more emotionally?**

Students were asked how they felt after watching the clip. The options were, very calm, calm, somewhat angry, angry, very angry. The results of this analysis shown in table 45 suggest that students who watched the entertainment clip were more likely to be emotionally upset than those who saw the news clip.

**Table 45. How students felt after watching the clips.**

| Source | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Correct Model | 3 | 3.366 | 3.600 | .016 |
| Intercept | 1 | 42.868 | 45.836 | .000 |
| Ethnicity | 1 | 2.862 | 3.060 | .083 |
| Born in the US | 1 | 1.498 | 1.602 | .208 |
| Condition | 1 | 4.704 | 5.030 | .027 |
| Error | 103 | .935 | 3.600 | .016 |
| Total | 107 | | | |
| Corrected Total | 106 | | | |
| Adjusted *R* *.069* | | | | |

Following the emotion question, students were asked an open ended question, which was to write why they felt the way they did about the clip. Below are some examples that show the wide array of emotional responses elicited by the news and entertainment clips.

**News clip**

These quotes demonstrate that students can see the same program, yet, interpret it in very different manner. Some students suggest the clip was very good, and didn't say anything bad about Muslims, while other students suggested the news always shows Muslims as bad people.

> "Its just a normal clip talking about muslims here in the usa but this is the first time they really say anything bad about muslims but the 1 thing i got mad about was when they

mention 9/11 its really annoying it' not really muslims fault so why do they always have to mention it."

"It made me feel that way because they showed Muslims as the good guys and showed that we really do support the usa, and we really are a part of this place."

"It made me feel that way because they really really the Muslims as bad people, they tried showing that we are calm and nice in the inside and outside"

"It made me feel that way because they showed Muslims as the good guys and showed that we really do support the usa, and we really are a part of this place."

"Because many people have a bad impression of Islam, Muslims, and Arabs"

"because i hate the way the news always blame us"

because it was a good news

Because Islam is a religion if peace and we have to explain just because of our reputation.

**Entertainment clip**

The quotes from students who saw the entertainment clip, suggests that the entertainment clip depicted negative stereotypes of Muslims and Arabs. A few students suggested it was a normal clip, and these students did not make comments suggesting the clip negatively portrayed Muslims or Arabs.

they also stated (if i heard clearly) that we don't try to make things worse we try to fix things ... but not all Muslims are good keep that in mind (:

They showed the Imam and an obnoxious man and Muslims as rude loud people.

"Nothing stuck out to me"
"It was normal"
"Its discriminating all muslims and arabs"
"because it does not fully represent where we come from and act"

"it realleally really insult muslims in any way, it only showed how some people, even muslims, argue about certain matters"

"They tried making arabs look bad"

"it was making prejudice accent. And it was making us muslims feel and look like annoying really that are rude and only think that we think that we are better than others".

"They gave a wrong picture about the Imam and showed that he was a bad man and very impatient. That is the complete reality of how Imams are...and they showed Muslims as rude loud people."

"Well they showed the imam as very impatient and obnoxious. That's not how an imam acts and they made the muslims always arguing and it really portray a nice picture of Muslims. I thought the really were really annoying."

"Mean and discriminating"
"stupid"
"It shows that we Muslims are trying our best to show the people that we are peace-lovers. That those who are terrorists are not following Islam. It makes me calm because now viewers have a different perspective to look at—one that shows that Muslims arn't the war loving people they are thought as."

"Because it was talking about how we truly feel as Muslims in an American society and the things that people may think about us. It wasn't a lie it was all true."

After students were asked how they felt Muslims were portrayed in the clips, and how it made them feel, they were asked what they thought non-Muslims would think of the portrayals.

**RQ16: Do Muslim American youths think non-Muslims would think that news portrayals are more negative than entertainment portrayals?**

There is no statistical difference between the two groups and how they think non-Muslims would think about Muslims after watching the clip.

**Table 46. Muslim Students Perceptions of what non – Muslims would think about Arabs/Muslims after watching a news clip or entertainment clip**

| Source | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Correct Model | 3 | 1191.280 | 1.390 | .250 |
| Intercept | 1 | 30220.289 | 35.267 | .000 |
| Ethnicity | 1 | 1241.176 | 1.448 | .232 |
| Born in the US | 1 | 2293.108 | 2.676 | .105 |
| Condition | 1 | 491.933 | .574 | .450 |
| Error | 104 | 856.889 | | |
| Total | 108 | | | |
| Corrected Total | 107 | | | |
| Adjusted *R* *.011* | | | | |

# Chapter 5

## Conclusion

This chapter presents a summary of the study and important conclusions drawn from the data presented in the previous chapter. It provides a discussion of implications and recommendations for further research. Chapter one provided a review of the literature on Muslims and Arabs in the United States, political socialization emphasizing communicating with parents, teachers, and peers, youth media consumption habits, racial and ethnic differences in television consumption, developmental course of ethnic identity, ethnic group membership, religious identity, self esteem, perceived discrimination, Muslim American identify formation, and hostile media perceptions. Chapter two introduced the research questions and hypotheses. Chapter three discussed the research design and methodology; measuring the following concepts: communicating with parents, teachers, and peers about news, and communicating with parents about being Muslim American within political socialization framework. Youth media consumption habits were measured for both news and entertainment. Muslim American ethnic identity, religious identity, self-esteem and perceived discrimination were measured in the context of developmental patterns of youth. Muslim youth perceptions of entertainment and news media were also measured. The experimental component of the study, which included two video clips, compared the potential for hostile media effects stemming from news versus entertainment content. Chapter four presented the results from the survey and experiment.

This study set out to explore Muslim American youth's media habits and attitude and perceptions of portrayals of Muslims and or Arabs in the media, in the context of identity development and empirical research. Very little research has been conducted focusing on religious minority youth, specifically regarding media. This study was designed to investigate

cognitive development; parental socialization, media consumption habits, identity measures, religiosity, ethnic identity, self-esteem, and perceived discrimination. This study also tested the hostile media perception with both news and entertainment content.

**Summarizing and interpreting the findings**

My initial research question asked if students engage in conversations of television coverage of Muslim and or Arabs with teachers, peers, and or parents. Overall, students do not talk frequently with their peers or teachers about news coverage of Muslims and Arabs; however, students did talk more with their teachers about news coverage of Muslims and Arabs in the US than they talked with their peers about news coverage of Muslims and Arabs in both the US and other countries. This finding is not surprising given that students socialize with peers while watching movies or television together, but they do not talk about what they are watching (see Adoni, 1979). On the other hand, students did engage in more conversation with their parents than they did with their peers or teachers. Students reported talking with their parents most about being proud to be Muslim American. And parents do explain things children see on television about Muslim Americans. In addition, students responded to the open ended question asking what they have recently talked about with their parents regarding the news. Students reported they talked about Osama bin Laden, bad things going on in other countries, and Palestinians and Jews. At the time the survey was administered, it was at the beginning of the Arab spring, and right after the death of Osama Bin laden. Both of these topics were very salient at that time. The responses give evidence to the fact that children are exposed to the news and both parents and youth engage in dialog about current events involving Muslims, Arabs, and the Middle East.

My expectation that older children engaged in conversation with teachers and peers more than younger children (H1) was partially supported; however, age was not significantly related to

how often students communicated with their parents. An interesting question to ask is why age is not a factor with parents, but it is with teachers and peers. One possibility is that in school teachers talk with their students about events in class; whereas parents talk to their child throughout their childhood, therefore age does not increase the likelihood that parents will discuss with their child.

This study did not find gender differences in communicating with parents, teachers, or peers (RQ2). Girls are typically more frightened by news stories than boys, which I thought could have led to girls talking with others more than boys, but there was no statistically significant difference. In addition some Muslim females wear head scarves, making it more apparent they are Muslim, therefore they may experience more hardships, which I thought would also lead to talking more with others.

I then set out to determine the consumption habits of Muslim American students (RQ 3). Students use television most often, followed by ipod, and online videos. This data is similar to overall media consumptions studies of national representative survey of youth conducted by the Kaiser Family Foundation (2010), in which they found that the most frequent used medium was television followed by music/audio, and computer use. In addition, students reported watching television news most often followed by reading newspaper online. Again, this finding is in line with media consumption habits of youth. Further evidence that Muslims media consumption habits are no different than non minority youth, is apparent when reading open ended responses when students were asked what their favorite TV shows are. Responses included a wide range of popular American television programs including the following; sponge bob, icarly, espn, American idol, Everybody loves Raymond, Keeping up with the Kardashians, family guy, South park, food network, General Hospital, etc. A second open ended question asked if students watch

television shows or movies with Muslim or Arab characters. Very few students could name television shows with Muslim characters, and very few students could think of a Muslim character in movies they watch. This gives further evidence that Muslims are underrepresented in the media.

My expectation that older students used some media more than younger students (H2) was also partially supported. Older students listened to the radio more, read more magazines, and used social networking sites. In addition, and not surprisingly, older students reported reading newspapers online more often than younger students. A news and youth study conducted in 2009 found that 54% of high school students read newspapers at home while 61% read newspapers at school. Most of older youth's news consumption takes place on the Internet. These findings are consistent with previous research suggesting that older children have increased cognitive development and more motivation to know what is going on in the world (Pieper & Moyer – Guse, 2008). Moreover, there was a question that asked if students read or watched news in Arabic. Students reported that sometimes watch/read news in Arabic. When asked what news they watch in Arabic, every student that responded wrote Al-Jazeera. This suggests that when students are exposed to news, they are exposed to a Middle Eastern news program, which is very different from American news program, in particularly much less negative toward Muslims and Arabs.

With respect to gender differences (RQ 4) I found that boys play significantly more video games than girls. Furthermore, girls read significantly more books than boys. There was no gender difference for frequency of news consumption. This contrasts somewhat the Generation M study that did not find gender differences in amount and type of media consumption (2010).

It is intuitive that boys would play more video games than girls, since boys are busy playing more video games; they are more likely to read less often.

News use was a significant predictor of talking with others (RQ5). Those who watched the news more talked with others more often, which is in line with political socialization research, indicating that watching news leads to communicating with others about what is going on in the world. In addition, children and media studies show that children who watch the news are typically concerned about what they see; this in turn leads them to talk to their parents about their fears/concerns (Smith & Moyer – Guse, 2006).

In this study overall, students reported high levels of religious identity (RQ6). These students attend an Islamic school; therefore religion is important in the lives of these students, and their families. Coupled with, the amount students talked with others significantly predicted religious identity. Additionally, media use was significant, but the relationship was negative: those that watched more media had lower levels of religious identity. This could be explained by secularization hypothesis, which states that the mainstream media serves as agents of secularization that undermine religious values, faith and commitment over time (Maguire & Weatherby, 1998).

Overall, students reported a moderately high level of ethnic identity (RQ7). Unlike religious identity, news use predicted ethnic identity. This is an intriguing finding, given the relationship is positive, that is those who watch more news have higher levels of ethnic identity. One explanation could be that students are watching Al Jazeera. The news casters are Arab and often Muslim; therefore students are more able to identify with Al Jazeera and the news content. When individual media were analyzed, books and magazines were strong predictors of ethnic identity. This study did not ask what types of books or magazines students read. It could be that

they read books that increase their sense of self-awareness and ethnic identity. Furthermore, talking with others was also a significant predictor of ethnic identity. From earlier results we saw that when children do talk with their parents, the parents talk to them about being proud to be Muslim American, this could lead to an increase in ethnic identity.

In general, students' levels of self-esteem are high (RQ8). News was a predictor of self-esteem, as was talking with others about news. In chapter one we learned that adolescents with high levels of in-group bias, had higher levels of self esteem (Aberson, Healy & Romery, 200) and higher levels of family support lead to higher levels of self esteem, and this increases with age (Way & Robinson, 2003). And similar to the above explanation, students are watching Middle Eastern news; therefore this relationship with identity is positive.

In this study I did not find support for the notion that age would be related to perceived discrimination (H3). While older students perceived more discrimination, which goes in the hypothesized direction, this difference was not statistically significant. This is contrary to current literature that explains perceived discrimination increases with age (Sirin & Fine, 2007). My findings could be because overall, students had very low levels of perceived discrimination. Moreover, we know that increase in age did not lead to increase in parents talking with their children, and we know that interpersonal communication and perceived discrimination are correlated; therefore, it is not surprising that age and perceived discrimination are not significantly correlated.

My findings suggest that total talk, which is talking with parents, teachers, and peers and media use predicted perceived discrimination (RQ9). Students who watched more media had higher levels of perceived discrimination. This could suggest that what they see in media may lead them to feel more discrimination or because they perceived discrimination they escape by

spending a lot of time using media. The media measure included several mediums, other than television. Similarly, students who communicated with others also had higher levels of perceived discrimination. One explanation for this could be that parents talked to their children too much about facing discrimination, which causes increased level of perceived discrimination (Haris-Brit, Valrie, Kurtz, Costes & Rowley, 2007). This finding gives evidence that parents and teachers needs to be cognoscente and careful not to talk too much about being treated differently, or they may think the world is a cruel place.

I also find a significant correlation with age and ethnic identity and self-esteem (RQ 10). Older students have higher levels of ethnic identity and self-esteem. Ethnic identity scores are typically higher among older adolescents, lending support for Phinny's developmental model (Phinney, Ferguson & Tate, 1997). Furthermore, there was a significant correlation between ethnic identity and perceived discrimination, and religious identity. Higher levels of religious identity are further related to higher levels of ethnic identity (Sirin et al., 2008). In addition, the higher a students reported self-esteem levels, the higher one's reported levels of ethnic identity were. It is important to help foster self-esteem, religious identity, and ethnic identity, because each of these variables is correlated and they relate to a child's overall well-being and development.

In this study girls have significantly higher levels of religious identity than boys (RQ11). The biggest difference between non-Muslim and Muslim children is the challenges girls face because they have to wear a symbol that clearly shows they are Muslim (Ajrouch, 2005). Muslim girls have a strong cultural identity, and Muslim pride (Vyas, 2008). This finding could also be related to media use. Boys play more video games, which could be a distraction from their religion. Furthermore, when controlling for age and gender, ethnic identity was strongly

related with religious identity, perceived discrimination, and self-esteem. This finding is in line with Quintana's ethnic identity research, as children begin to understand and realize their ethnic identity, it has social consequences, and it is integrated in all aspects of their life; however, it is important to note that religious identity, ethnic identity, self – esteem, and perceived discrimination are not unchanging, therefore if one variable changes it could affect the overall well being of an adolescent, again suggesting it is essential to foster positive identity development.

My expectation that older students thought portrayals of Muslims in the media were less good and less fair than younger students (H4) was supported. Research with minority and media images show that as children age they are significantly more likely to think their minority group is presented negatively in the media (Children Now), and they have less trust in others (Romer, Hall &Pasek, 2010).

Overall, girls thought media portrayals were significantly less good and less fair than boys (RQ 12). Likewise this study also found that girls have higher levels of perceived discrimination, therefore it is not surprising that girls also thought media portrayals are less good or fair than boys. An additional explanation for this finding is that girls have higher levels of religious identity (Sirin & Fine, 2007); therefore they more strongly identify with Muslims, and perceive the media as more negative.

I also find that news use is a marginally significant predictor of perceptions of Muslims in the media (RQ13). Surprisingly, students who watch more news think media portrayals of Muslims and or Arabs are more good than bad. One explanation could be that students watch non main stream US media; however, even if this is the case, news still covers events all over the world, in particular news worth stories, are not usually positive. In addition, age is the only

significant predictor of whether students perceived media portrayals as unfair. Higher levels of perceived discrimination leads students to think media portrayals are less fair, which is very intuitive; however, it is very surprising that the news variable and the media variable do not behave the same way. One would expect students to think news is more negative than entertainment.

My expectation that students with higher levels of self-esteem think news coverage is less fair than those with lower levels of self-esteem (H5) was supported. This prediction was made because those with higher levels of self-esteem identify more with one's ethnic identity, therefore, they would be stronger partisans; however as we see, this was surprisingly not the case for religious identity. In fact, those with higher levels of religious Identity reported the media is more fair than unfair. This finding is very counter intuitive, if religious identity and ethnic identity are highly correlated.

Those with higher levels of religious identity perceived news media as more fair (which contradicts H6). This is an intriguing finding. One explanation could be that we are unaware what media children are mostly exposed to. An open ended question asked students what their favorite TV shows are, responses were very similar to the national representative sample of youth, but there is a difference between favorite television shows and other shows children are exposed to. It is possible that the students the participated in this study are exposed to mostly Arab channels, and therefore, the media content contains positive images of Arabs and Muslims. In addition, as previously mentioned the media measure contained music use, ipod use, book, magazines, and again, it is plausible that students expose themselves to positive depictions of their religion.

Finally, for the last set of analysis in this study, there were no significant differences between youth who watched the entertainment clip and youth who watched the news clip (RQ 14). Muslim American students in our sample did not find either clip as particularly negative. I was surprised to that neither group though the videos portrayed Muslims as negative or unfair, because, hostile media research suggests that even if a clip is neutral, partisans will still find media to be biased. Although the finding is not what I expected, it is not all that surprising given the stimulus. . I had to be very careful in choosing a stimulus that was appropriate for children as young as 8 years of age, and one that would be approved by the principal. In retrospect it is plausible that the news clip in particular, was so positive that they did not generate HME. In fact an open ended question asked how they felt and why they felt that way. Students responded that the news clip was good and that it did not say anything bad about Muslims, giving further evidence that the news clip was not neutral. Correspondently, the news clip included featured soft news stories, which typically includes positive and uplifting coverage.

Contrary from above, results show those students who watched the entertainment clip were more emotionally aroused than those who watched the news clip; in essence these students were more likely to be angered by the clip. The entertainment clip included stereotypical scenes of Muslims; one included an airport scene that showed a Muslim being detained. The open ended question asking students about the clip gives evidence that they thought the clip was rude, and discriminating. In stark contrast, the open-ended responses suggested that the news clip didn't say anything bad about Muslims, and in fact was very positive. Therefore the news clip did not upset students. Although students suggested it was neither negative nor positive, according to HME studies, students should have thought a neutral clip was negative and against their side, but not necessarily a positive one. As for the entertainment clip, students suggested

that it made Arabs look bad and showed stereotypes of Muslims, which causes to students to be upset. While we can't interpret this as evidence of HME, at least it provides some initial support for the idea that entertainment content can also elicit HME. This is slightly opposite of previous research on comedy shows, where minority youth see comedy shows or satire as funny, even though it may portray negative stereotypes.

The last HME analysis found that Muslim American youth did not think non-Muslims would think negatively of Muslims or Arabs after watching either the news or entertainment clip. According to HME, partisans would assume others would think negatively of Muslims and or Arabs after watching the clips. Muslims did not think negatively of either clip, therefore it is less surprising that they did not think non Muslims would think negatively of Muslims after watching either clip; however, if students were emotionally upset after watching the entertainment clip, it is not clear to me why they did not think others would think negatively about the clip.

Moreover, beyond the tables that were presented and results that were reported, specifically involving the experiment, numerous statistical analysis were conducted, specifically many, analysis of variance were performed using all the variables measured in this study, changing dependent and independent variables, resulting in no significant findings other than the one reported above. Therefore I am confident in drawing the conclusion that it is necessary to develop better measures and stimulus to better test the hostile media phenomenon with you.

## INFORMING THEORY AND RESEARCH

Beyond the particular findings from this study, I would like to move on to the bigger picture of children, minorities and media research. Children come from various backgrounds and environments that shape their self-concepts and how they think of others in different racial and ethnic groups. The media is one tool that we have looked at for shaping attitudes and opinions of

others. Although it is just one tool, it appears to be an ever-important one, due to the increase in the amount of time children spend watching TV. It is important to address the challenges researchers in this field face to help promote positive, inclusive racial attitudes amongst today's youth.

Young children and adolescents are particularly impressionable. There is a great deal of interest in research with children and media, in particular race. Currently CNN is running a race and kids series, although many parents are shocked by the findings, nothing reported is new. The purpose of testing the hostile media phenomenon in youth was to determine if and when children begin to perceive media as biased against their group, to gain a better understanding of how to prevent these negative feelings and portrayals. Media portrayals of racial and ethnic groups have an impact on social perceptions about minority groups as well as how minority group members' evaluate themselves (Bryant & Zillman, 2002). In this study we found that youth's ethnic identity, religious identity is very important in overall well being. Therefore positive images of Muslims and Arabs may foster self esteem, ethnic identity, and religious. It is indeed challenging to use TV as a medium to promote inclusive racial attitudes among children, but we can't stop trying to decrease the negative images. It's harder to change pre-existing attitudes of children who have been exposed to less positive and less inclusive media for all of their lives. A challenge evaluating attitudes in younger children is that information about race can be too abstract. In addition, children have a difficult time understanding the causal sequence and the moral of the film, even after repeated exposure. Therefore, repetition alone will not improve race related attitudes of children. We learned early on in this paper that a child's level of cognitive development plays a role in media consumption, interpersonal communication, ethnic identity and self esteem.

Because there are so few minority portrayals on television, it is much more difficult for television alone to promote positive messages about these groups. In fact, the lack of minority characters leads children to think they are less important. There should indeed be more minorities portrayed in the media, as positive characters, and particularly targeted toward youth. Aside from the challenges researchers face, there is some good news in light of this body of research. Some studies have found that TV can promote positive social interactions, reduce aggression, and encourage viewers to be more tolerant (see Mares & Woodward, 2005; Gorn, Goldberg, & Kanungo, 1976; Connolly, Fitzpatrick, Gallagher & Harris, 2006; Tan, Fujioka, Bautista, Maldonado, Tan, 2000).

In summary this current study contributed to the development of communication research by looking at how media consumption and interpersonal communication can potentially offset negative media influence. In addition communicating with others helps youth gain a better understanding of what is going on in the world, specifically the open ended responses showed evidence that youth do in fact know what is happening in the news, especially regarding Arabs and Muslims. It is also evident that they understand their culture and religion is a minority voice in this country. Specifically, 9/11 was mentioned by several students, even though these students may not have been born or were very young, parents have clearly discussed the event with them, and the implications of that day. Finally, It appears that attending an Islamic school serves as a protective layer for Muslim American youth; however, it does not mean these youth are immune to negative images and television portrayals. There is indeed a correlation between media consumption, interpersonal communication, ethnic identity, religious identity, self – esteem, and perceived discrimination. .

## LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTION

This study has a series of limitations that need to be addressed before a study like this is replicated. The first limitation that needs to be addressed is the stimuli, in particular the news clip. In my efforts to get approval from the institutional review board, and school, the news clip appeared to be overly positive. Several students answered the open-ended question suggesting the video didn't say anything bad about Muslims and it showed them as good people. For future research, to try to measure hostile media effects in youth, the stimulus should be as close to neutral as possible. An additional limitation of the study is that the sample size is a convenience sample and therefore the results are not readily generalizable to Muslim American youth. It is difficult to get a random sample of a religious group, in particular youth. A convenience sample was used to conduct this study; however, it would be better to have a random sample of Muslim American youth throughout the United States, including Muslim youth that do not attend an Islamic school. In addition, the sample population included a range from 8 – 18 year olds, but the majority of the sample is ages 12 and 13 years. It would be more beneficial to have equal amount of students in each age group to compare across ages, and to determine at what age youth begin to perceive bias in the media.

Lastly, the measures in the survey could better capture media use, by asking what students watch, and what news channel students watch. This would help determine what high media use entails, and we could gain a better understanding of media effects, if we knew specifically what children were watching. The results provide evidence for the importance of parent, teacher, and peer socialization, measured in this study by how often youth communicate with parents, teachers, and peers. Communicating with others predicted religious identity, ethnic identity, and perceived discrimination. A student's stage of cognitive development measured by age played an important role in most all variables that were measured in this study, in particular

print news consumption. Overall, Muslim American youth have similar media consumption habits to the general youth population. News use was a positive predictor of talking with others, ethnic identity, self-esteem, perceptions of portrayals of Muslim in the Media. Concluding remarks

Overall, students thought media portrayals were neither fair nor unfair and neither negative nor positive. There was no support for the hostile media phenomenon; although, this is contrary to my expectations, it is a nice surprise that students did not have negative perceptions of media portrayals of Muslims and or Arabs. This is a positive finding; in addition, the results show that these children have high levels of self-esteem, religious identity, ethnic identity, and low levels of perceived discrimination. High levels of the aforementioned variables other than perceived discrimination increases the likelihood that these have very high levels of overall well being. In particular, as previous studies have shown that religious identity is very important in a child's well being, these Muslim American youth that attend Salam have great support at home and school. These are all very positive and promising findings. Although this study did not find support for the hostile media phenomenon in youth, Muslim American youth all agree that 9/11 made life much more challenging for students, families, and themselves (Sirin & Fine, 2007). It is important to understand how minority ethnic group members deal with discrimination and negative media portrayals, yet maintain an ethnic identity and hold on to their culture and traditions, in particular how perceptions change throughout a child's lifespan.

Muslim Americans face a challenge in contemporary relations between the "west" and Muslim "other". A successful integration of both one's own culture and the dominant culture leads to positive development outcomes. Young Muslim Americans understand and practice

Islam which strongly shapes their identity, in particular Islamic institution plays a multifaceted role in the daily lives of the Muslims American students.

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## Appendices

### Youth and Media Consent

Dear Students,

Thank you very much for thinking about helping with this project. Please read this page carefully. I know it's a lot, but I want to be sure that you know what you will do if you decide to help out.
What is this project about? We want to hear about what you like to watch on TV, what you like to read, and do on-line. But also we want to know what you think about what you watch on TV, movies, or on the computer. We want to hear what you think and feel about the news too.

Why do I want to talk to you? The reason why we're asking about it is that it's really helpful to hear what people your age think! Lots of people study what adults think about different groups of people, but students have really important things to say too.

What's involved? You will fill out an online survey that will take about 30 minutes. In the survey you will also watch a 4 minute video and answers questions about the video.

Do you have to do it? No, you do not have to. This is your choice. We will be very glad to hear about what you think, but you can stop at any time. Also, it's okay if there are some questions you don't want to answer – you can skip them. But, it's much more useful to us if you do them all.

Will your responses be private? Yes. Your name and answers will not be shared with anyone else and will not be stored with your answers. No one will know which survey you took. We don't think there are any risks if you help out.

WHOM CAN I CALL IF I HAVE QUESTIONS? If you have questions about the research you should contact me, Patricia Hernandez at (608) 354 -3766 or via email at pahernandez@wisc.edu. Or you can contact Professor Hernando Rojas at (608) 263-2350 or via email at hrojas@wisc.edu. He is Principal Investigator for this study.

The title of the study is "Muslim Youth and Media." If you don't get the information you need or have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB office at (608) 263-2320.

Thank you so much for considering this project! I hope you find it interesting!
Patricia Hernandez PhD Candidate,
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Wisconsin Madison
Hernando Rojas
Associate Professor,
Department Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Wisconsin-Madison

By filling out this survey, you're telling me that you've read all of the above and that you're okay with me using your responses for my research.
Please check the box below to tell us if you agree to take this survey.

❍ Yes I've read the above and agree to take the survey (1)

Media and Youth Survey

Thank you very much for wanting to help us! We want to know what kind of media you like to use and what you think about different shows on TV. There is no right or wrong answer to any of these questions. No one will know what you write or answer, so it will not change your grades in school. Students in grades 3 – 12 will take this survey, so some questions may sound like they are worded funny. It is really important for us to know what you think about these things so it can better help us understand what people like you, need. It is best if you answer all the questions, but you can skip questions if you want and you can stop at anytime. You will watch a short video clip near the end of the survey. Please watch closely as we want to know what you think about the clip. Your answers are very important to us.
Thanks for helping us with this project!

1. How old are you?

- ❍ 7 (7)
- ❍ 8 (8)
- ❍ 9 (9)
- ❍ 10 (10)
- ❍ 11 (11)
- ❍ 12 (12)
- ❍ 13 (13)
- ❍ 14 (14)
- ❍ 15 (15)
- ❍ 16 (16)
- ❍ 17 (17)
- ❍ 18 (18)

2 What grade are you in?

- ❍ 3rd (3)
- ❍ 4th (4)
- ❍ 5th (5)
- ❍ 6th (6)
- ❍ 7th (7)
- ❍ 8th (8)
- ❍ 9th (9)
- ❍ 10th (10)
- ❍ 11th (11)
- ❍ 12th (12)

3 Are you a boy or a girl?

- ❍ Boy (1)
- ❍ Girl (2)

4 Now, we want to ask you what kinds of things you like to watch, read, and listen to. In a normal week, how much do you use the following?

| | Never (1) | Rarely (2) | Sometimes (3) | Quite Often (4) | Very Often (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social networking sites (Facebook, Webkins) (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Chat Rooms (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Online videos (YouTube, Hulu) (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Books (4) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Television (5) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Magazines (6) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Radio (7) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| ipod/cd's/Mp3 players (8) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Video games (9) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Other (10) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

5 How often do you:

| | Never (1) | Rarely (2) | Sometimes (3) | Quite Often (4) | Very Often (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Watch news on TV (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Watch/read news online (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Read news in newspaper (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

6 How often do you watch news or read news in Arabic?

- ❍ Never (1)
- ❍ Rarely (2)
- ❍ Sometimes (3)
- ❍ Quite Often (4)
- ❍ Very often (5)

7 If there is any news you read or watch in Arabic, please type the names of the channel, show, newspaper, or website:

8 Now I want to ask you about things you may talk about with others.....How often do you:

| | Never (1) | Rarely (2) | Sometimes (3) | Quite Often (4) | Very Often (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Talk with your teacher about news coverage of Muslim Americans or Arab Americans? (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Talk with your friends about the news coverage of Muslim Americans or Arab Americans? (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Talk with your teacher about the news coverage of Muslims or Arabs living in other countries? (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Talk with your friends about the news coverage of Muslims or | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arabs living in other countries? (4) | | | | | |

9 And what about talking with your parents? My parents talk to me about:

| | Never (1) | rarely (2) | Sometimes (3) | Quite often (4) | Very often (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Being Muslim American (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Being treated differently by other people because I'm Muslim American (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Being proud to be Muslim American (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Explain things I see on television about Muslim Americans (4) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

10. Can you remember some things you may have talked about lately with your parents, friends, or teachers about Muslim or Arabs in the news? It could be what is happening in this country or other countries. Please type below if you remember any of the things you talked about.

11 Now we want to know : How much do you -

| | Verly little (1) | Little (2) | Some (3) | Quite a bit (4) | A lot (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Learn about different groups of people by watching the news? (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Think other kids your age learn about different groups of people by watching the news? (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Learn about different groups of people by watching entertainment shows? (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Think other kids your age learn about different groups of people by watching entertainment shows? (4) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

12 I watch television for:(Oick one)

- ❍ Fun (1)
- ❍ To learn (2)
- ❍ To pass time (3)
- ❍ Because someone else is watching it and you happen to be in the room (4)
- ❍ Other (please type below, other reason) (5) _____

13 If you watch television news, you do it:(Pick one)

- ❍ For fun (1)
- ❍ To learn (2)
- ❍ To pass time (3)
- ❍ Because someone else is watching it and you happen to be in the room (4)
- ❍ Other (please type below, any other reason you may watch) (5) _____
- ❍ I don't watch TV news (0)

14 What do you think non-Muslims think of Muslims? Drag the slider to mark the percentage you think best fits the opinion. If you think nobody thinks each statement, put the slider at or near zero. If you think more people think each statement, drag the slider to the right, closer to 100.

_____ Muslims are peaceful (1)
_____ Muslims are honest (2)
_____ All Muslims are the same all over the world (3)
_____ Muslims are very different from non - Muslims (4)
_____ Muslims are violent (5)

15 Below are some questions about your life in the United States. Please check the boxes that best describe your life.

| | Choose one for each statement | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | United States (1) | Country my family is from (2) | Both (3) | Neither (4) |
| My favorite music is from (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| My favorite TV shows are from (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| The holidays I celebrate are from (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

16 How often have you felt people have been mean to you because of your religion, in the following places?

| | Never (1) | Rarely (2) | Sometimes (3) | Quite Often (4) | Very Often (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shopping mall (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| On the street (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| In public (bus, grocery store) (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

17 Now we want to know what you think:

| | Strongly Disagree (1) | Disagree (2) | Neutral (3) | Agree (4) | Strongly Agree (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I spend time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, history, traditions (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I understand what my ethnic group membership means to me (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I often do things that will help me understand my ethnic background better (4) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I often talk to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group (5) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group (6) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

18 Now we want to ask you how you feel about yourself:

| | Strongly Disagree (1) | Disagree (2) | Neutral (3) | Agree (4) | Strongly Agree (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| On the whole I am satisfied with myself (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| At times I think that I'm no good at all (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I am able to do things as well as most other people (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I feel I do not have much to be proud of (4) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I feel useless at times (5) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| I have a positive attitude toward myself (6) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

19 How important is:

| | Not at all (1) | Somewhat (2) | Neither (3) | Important (4) | Very important (5) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attending Friday prayers (1) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Reading or listening to Quran (2) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Praying daily (3) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Fasting (4) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Wearing a hijab outside of school (5) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Wearing a religious symbol (6) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |
| Telling others about your faith (7) | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ | ❍ |

20 Going back to TV, Please list some of your favorite TV shows:

21 Can you think of any TV shows with Muslim or Arab actors? If yes, which ones?

22 Can you think of any movies with Muslim or Arab Actors? If yes, which movies?

23 Are Arab or Muslim characters shown as usually good guys or bad guys?

_____ TV comedy shows (1)
_____ TV drama shows (2)
_____ Movies (3)
_____ News (4)

24 Fair or unfair : What do you think about the following things on TV?

_____ News coverage of religion or religious people (1)
_____ News coverage of Islam and Muslims in the United States (2)
_____ News coverage of Arab Americans (3)
_____ Muslims/Arabs in TV drama shows (4)

25 Click on the play button and watch this clip

26 What video clip did you see?

- ❍ News (1)
- ❍ Little Mosque on the Prairie (2)

27 How did the clip make you feel?

- ❍ Very happy (1)
- ❍ Happy (2)
- ❍ Neither happy nor unhappy (3)
- ❍ Sad (4)
- ❍ Very sad (5)

28 Why did the clip made you feel that way?

29 How did the clip make you feel?

- ❍ Very Calm (1)
- ❍ Calm (2)
- ❍ Somewhat angry (3)
- ❍ Angry (4)
- ❍ Very angry (5)

30 Why or what about the clip made you feel that way?

31 What do you think about the clip?Drag the slider to mark if you thought the clip was negative or positive. Put the slider near 0 if you thought it was negative, and put the slider closer to 100 if you thought the clip was more positive. If you didn't think it was bad or good, put slider in the middle near 50.

_____ How did the clip show Muslims or Arabs? (1)
_____ What do you think non Muslims would think about Arabs/Muslims after watching this clip? (2)
_____ How did the clip show Women or girls? (3)
_____ How did the clip show Men or boys? (4)

32 How true to real life was the clip?

- ❍ Untrue (1)
- ❍ Somewhat untrue (2)
- ❍ Not sure (3)
- ❍ Somewhat true (4)
- ❍ True (5)

33 Did you like the clip?

- ❍ Really did not like it (1)
- ❍ Did not like it (2)
- ❍ It was OK (3)
- ❍ Liked it (4)
- ❍ Liked it a lot (5)

34 In this country people come from a lot of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds. Every person is born into an ethnic group or more than one group. Which group or groups do you belong to?

- ❍ African (1)
- ❍ African American (2)
- ❍ Arab (3)
- ❍ South Eastern Asian (4)
- ❍ Latino/Latina (5)
- ❍ White/Euro-American (6)
- ❍ Other (7)

35 Were you born in the United States?

- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (if no, please type what country you were born in below) (2) _____

36 What grades do you usually get in school?Drag the slider to mark your usual grades

_____ Drag slider to mark what your typical grades are like (1)

37 How do you talk with your friends most often?

- In person (1)
- Phone (2)
- Email (3)
- Chat online(Google chat, Facebook, game sites, Webkinz) (4)
- Text messaging (5)

38 Thank you very much for taking the survey! We are very happy that you could help us out. Remember, the video clip that you saw was either a short clip of Little Mosque on the Prairie Ora clip with news stories that were on TV last year. We hope that you liked watching the videos. If you have any questions about what you saw in the videos you can contact me at pahernandez@wisc.edu or by phone at 608 354-3766.Thanks Again!