UCLA
American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title
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Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/02z4c5w1

Journal
American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 31(1)

ISSN
0161-6463

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Publication Date
2007

DOI
10.17953

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AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE AND RESEARCH JOURNAL 31:1 (2007) 21–37

American Indians in the News: A Media Portrayal in Crime Articles

ADRIENNE FRENG

INTRODUCTION

As one of the most recognized social problems, crime represents a constant focus of many media accounts in television, movies, and newspapers. Crime stories are a staple of day-to-day newspaper reporting;[1] thus the media may profoundly shape the public's stereotypes and beliefs toward crime and perpetrators of criminal activity.[2] Individuals' notions of crime may be influenced by the media practice of emphasizing serious crime and overreporting crime relative to the actual crime rate.[3]

Of special interest to social scientists is the media's portrayal of racial/ethnic minorities in crime reporting. It is possible that simply identifying a suspect's racial/ethnic minority status may contribute to the maintenance of certain "minorities as criminal" stereotypes and could impact the readers' perceptions about the threat posed by minorities.[4] This problem could be exacerbated if certain contextual or situational forces influenced the overrepresentation of racial/ethnic minorities as perpetrators in crime articles. Involvement in crime, an increase in minority populations, and periods of racial/ethnic conflict may heighten displays of prejudice and discrimination that could result in differential racial/ethnic identification in crime reporting.[5]

Although a growing body of research has examined racial/ethnic minority characterization in media images of crime, the primary focus has been on television and movies.[6] Less research has concentrated on how the print media, specifically newspapers, portrays minorities in crime news.[7] These analyses of media accounts largely ignore American Indian populations, which is somewhat surprising given that American Indians are impacted by crime at a higher rate than most other racial/ethnic groups.[8] For instance, American Indians

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are subjected to rates of violence twice that of the general US population and possess the highest victimization rate of all racial/ethnic groups.[9] American Indians are incarcerated at a rate 38 percent higher than the national rate.[10] However, recent research has indicated that this overrepresentation may be the result of continued discrimination due to the unique historical and political status of American Indian groups.[11] Previous research on American Indians and crime has been criticized for ignoring the importance of these contextual factors. Thus, the question remains whether the bias toward American Indians in the past has continued into the recent era as a result of their identification in crime articles.[12]

The purpose of this exploratory research is to investigate the identification of American Indians in crime articles in two South Dakota newspapers. This article seeks to expand the current literature by addressing the dearth of research regarding whether American Indians are differentially identified by race/ethnicity in crime accounts. In addition, how contextual factors might influence the identification of American Indians as "criminal" is examined, as evidenced by arrest rates, racial/ethnic conflict, and regional influences. Four questions related to the identification of American Indians were examined:

1. Are American Indians more likely than Euro-Americans to be identified as perpetrators in crime articles when race/ethnicity is mentioned?
2. Is the percentage of crime articles identifying American Indians similar to the percentage of American Indians arrested in the state of South Dakota?
3. Do periods of racial/ethnic conflict impact whether American Indians are identified in crime articles?
4. Does geographical region affect the frequency of identification as indicated by differences between the *Rapid City Journal* and the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader*?

To explicate more fully the rationale for examining the racial/ethnic identification of American Indians in newspaper crime articles, the following section provides an overview of the mechanisms by which the identification of minorities in crime articles might contribute to stereotyping.

STEREOTYPES AND INFORMATION PROCESSING

Members of minority groups, including American Indians, have long been tied to images and stereotypes of criminality.[13] Stereotypes of American Indians, in particular, include positive descriptions (for example, proud, noble, kind, generous, nature loving) and more negative descriptions (for example, savage, heathen, stupid, incompetent, unreliable, lazy).[14] It is more specifically the negative stereotypes of American Indians as thieving, drunk, violent, cruel, and bloodthirsty that reinforce the view of American Indians as "criminal."[15] Images of American Indians and crime that are disseminated by the media may result in the unintended consequence of perpetuating and maintaining this stereotype.

Research on social cognition, in particular, can partially explain how this process occurs.[16] To increase efficiency in information processing, individuals

perceive others as belonging to certain groups.[17] This initial categorization often occurs automatically without conscious awareness and is frequently based on some easily identifiable characteristic such as race/ethnicity, gender, or age.[18] Once categorized, our prior knowledge and expectations regarding group membership guide our impressions of the individual.[19] Therefore, because race/ethnicity is an important trait for categorization, when it is mentioned or if individuals harbor certain expectations based on their stereotypes of criminal activity (for example, that a crime was probably committed by a minority), the identification of minorities in crime articles acts to reinforce stereotypes.

The illusory correlation is another artifact of social perception that may contribute to the maintenance of stereotypes in the media.[20] It suggests that when two distinct or rare events occur together, individuals expect them to be related, even if they are not.[21] Thus, if majority group members rarely interact with racial/ethnic minorities and rarely encounter undesirable behaviors, such as crime, then the co-occurrence of a minority group suspect and a criminal act in media reports on crime may trigger the illusory correlation: the assumption that minority status is typically related to committing criminal acts.[22]

Finally, the cultivation theory also proposes that media images impact individuals' impressions of minorities.[23] Gerbner argues that "the shared public notions about facts, values, and contingencies of human existence" are cultivated through the media.[24] In other words, by continually showing minorities as criminals, the media cultivates a connection between crime and minority status.[25] In their examination of cultivation theory, Vergeer and colleagues found that increased reporting on minority crime led readers to be more likely to perceive minorities as a threat.[26] Perpetually showing minority group members as criminals in the media impacts the public's ideas regarding certain groups and who is responsible for criminality.[27] These stereotypes can "determine expectations of criminal behavior" and influence the culpability assigned in criminal behavior.[28]

Because the identification of racial/ethnic minorities in crime news may contribute to the perpetuation of negative stereotypes, it is imperative to examine the extent of identification of minorities as "criminal" and the context under which it occurs.

CRIME NEWS AND MINORITY PORTRAYAL IN NEWSPAPERS

Existing research on crime news primarily focuses on how racial/ethnic minorities are depicted. However, this research largely ignores factors that may influence whether or not minority status is identified in crime reporting. The following section explores the depiction of racial/ethnic minorities in newspaper crime articles, followed by a discussion of potential contextual factors that may moderate the identification of racial/ethnic minorities as "criminal."

Portrayal of Minorities in Newspaper Crime Stories

Crime reporting in newspapers not only associates minorities with problems and disturbances, but also with violence and significant conflicts, such as riots, which can lead to collective damage for an entire racial/ethnic group.[29] Additionally, Ungerleider argued that the structure of newspaper articles perpetuates stereotypic notions of minorities and crime by categorizing individuals as victims, villains, or heroes.[30] According to Ungerleider, this is especially problematic because minorities are less often portrayed as heroes in news stories compared to nonminorities. Instead, they are depicted as victims and villains. A specific example from Ungerleider further illustrates this process.

> In 1988 and 1989, the media in Vancouver gave attention to criminal activity among members of youth gangs. The coverage left readers and viewers with several erroneous impressions. The coverage implied that only Asians belonged to the youth gangs; that a large proportion of immigrant youth were involved in the gangs; and that the safety of the entire community was at stake. A more accurate picture was that, as a proportion of the youthful population—even the population of immigrant youth—gang members was a very tiny segment; that Asians were only one of several groups involved in gang activity; and that the victims of crime were most likely to have the same backgrounds as the perpetrators.[31]

Contextual Factors and the Identification of Minorities in Crime News

Despite a dearth of research examining potential contextual factors that may influence minority identification and portrayal in crime news, several possibilities exist. Factors that have gone largely unexplored include arrest rates, periods of racial/ethnic unrest, and geographic region. Herbert Blalock's theory of minority group relations provides some insight into the possible impact of these conditions on the portrayal of minorities in crime accounts.[32] The main premise of this theory is that as minority populations increase, they come into direct competition with the majority group for resources. The majority group reacts to this increased power threat by discriminating against minority group members. Blalock states that this "power-threat factor would be of greater importance in times of political instability."[33] Thus, the identification of minorities in newspapers should be related to the relative size of the population in the area, their involvement in crime, and their perceived threat to majority power.[34]

However, the actual impact of arrest rates, racial/ethnic unrest, and geographic region on American Indian portrayals and identification in crime news has not been extensively examined. In related research, findings have indicated that newspapers overreport crime, especially serious crime, compared to actual arrest statistics.[35] Trimble completed a content analysis of photographs

and cartoons published in newspapers during the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee in South Dakota.[36] This period of time was characterized by numerous conflicts arising from continued racial/ethnic unrest. The occupation at Wounded Knee culminated in a seventy-one-day clash between protestors and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the US Army.[37] Trimble found that the dominant image of American Indians at the time was the "traditional Indian" stereotype.[38] In a similar vein, Grenier examined news reports of the Oka Crisis.[39] In the Oka Crisis, the Mohawk participated in a two-month standoff with the Quebec Provincial Police. Grenier failed to find evidence that the number of articles discussing American Indians increased during this conflict.[40]

CURRENT STUDY

This study explores the identification of American Indians as "criminal" in newspaper accounts of crime to determine whether it varies depending on crime rates, political/social unrest, or regional/geographical contexts. This research adds to the limited scope and implementation of the literature in this area by providing a preliminary investigation into several factors that have yet to be examined at length. To the researcher's knowledge, this study offers a first attempt at determining the multiple contextual factors that may influence the identification of American Indians in crime articles. By focusing on the contexts in which identification may vary—arrest rates, periods of racial/ethnic conflict, and regional/geographical influences—this study adds to our understanding of the impact of the media on the perception of American Indians as "criminal."

South Dakota provides a rich environment in which to examine the research questions posed, first, because it has a considerable American Indian population. According to Blalock's theory of minority relations, discrimination intensifies as the minority population in an area increases.[41] Therefore, because South Dakota's American Indian population comprises 8.3 percent of the state population and 3 percent of the total US American Indian population, it presents an ideal context to test this prediction.[42] If Blalock's theory applies, one way that discrimination toward American Indians might appear is through differential identification of race/ethnicity in crime news.[43] It was expected that American Indians would be identified more than Euro-Americans as perpetrators in crime news.

Second, the involvement of American Indians in the criminal justice system in the state provides the backdrop for exploring the impact of arrest rates on the identification of American Indians in crime news. Currently, American Indians comprise 26 percent of the prison population in South Dakota.[44] Based on Blalock's theory, the discrimination that results from an increase in a minority population, especially one with a considerable prison population, combined with a newspaper's tendency to overreport crime in contrast to crime rates, might result in the overidentification of American Indians in crime accounts compared to their arrest rates.[45] Therefore, it was hypothesized that the identification of American Indians in crime news would be higher than their percentage of arrests.

Third, as part of the Northern Plains, South Dakota has a history of genocide and discrimination toward American Indian groups.[46] In addition, South Dakota was host to multiple incidents of racial/ethnic conflict in the 1970s, which were highly publicized by print and television media nationally and locally.[47] Several of the major confrontations took place in the western half of South Dakota, including the occupation of Wounded Knee when members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupied a church to protest the conditions on the reservation. The siege ended when the United States agreed to investigate failed obligations under the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, reestablish a traditional government, and examine the problems facing American Indians on the reservation. However, action was never taken on this agreement.[48]

Despite the state's history of conflict between American Indians and Euro-Americans, leadership in South Dakota has also tried to promote periods of understanding. One such period occurred in the 1990s when then Governor George Michelson declared a period of reconciliation and instituted several policies to mend relationships between these two groups. Thus, because South Dakota has experienced periods of American Indian/Euro-American conflict as well as reconciliation, it provides an opportunity to examine the impact of political/social unrest on the differential identification of race/ethnicity in crime articles. To explore the role of this contextual factor, the years 1960–61 (baseline "normal" relations), 1973–74 (conflict), and 1990–91 (reconciliation) were compared. It was predicted that American Indians would be identified more during 1973–74 than during 1990–91 or 1960–61.

Finally, South Dakota allows for the examination of regional/geographical contexts. The state is divided by the Missouri River into what residents call "West River" and "East River." These areas are geographically separate, and they represent distinct mentalities. West River is characterized by a frontier mentality, and East River represents a more urban mind-set. These two areas each include one of the two most populated cities in South Dakota. Rapid City (population 59,607) is located in western South Dakota in a ranching, mining, and tourist area.[49] Sioux Falls (population 123,975) is a business community surrounded by small farming communities located in the eastern part of the state.[50] Both communities are predominately Euro-American but consist of different minority group representation. Rapid City has a higher American Indian population than Sioux Falls. Rapid City's population includes a majority of Euro-Americans (84 percent), with a relatively large American Indian minority (10 percent).[51] Sioux Falls's distribution consists of 92 percent Euro-Americans and 2 percent American Indian.[52]

Consequently, because South Dakota contains two distinct regions within its borders that are characterized by separate geographical areas, conflicting mentalities, and different minority populations, it provides an adequate area to examine the effects of regional/geographical context on the identification of American Indians in crime news. To accomplish this assessment, the state's two largest newspapers, the *Rapid City Journal* and the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader,* which provide coverage of West River and East River respectively, were compared. According to Blalock's theory of minority group relations, regions

with larger minority populations and heightened racial/ethnic unrest would produce an increased bias toward minorities.[53] Therefore, because Rapid City has a larger American Indian population, represents the West River mind-set, and was in the vicinity of many of the conflicts occurring during the 1970s, it was predicted that American Indians would be identified more often in the *Rapid City Journal* than the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader*.

METHODOLOGY

Crime Articles

Data was limited to crimes that occurred within the state of South Dakota and editorials were excluded. Only those articles discussing crimes that occurred in the state were included. It was felt that including articles from other states would confound the issue because only certain crimes would be selected to be reported in South Dakota news. Additionally, because one of the analyses includes arrests for South Dakota, including out-of-state crimes would bias the measurement of articles for this comparison. Furthermore, the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader* covers more out-of-state news than the *Rapid City Journal*, once again confounding the measurement. Articles providing a description of perpetrators being sought by law enforcement were also not included because race/ethnicity would purposefully be listed in the description. These articles were not included because this would not measure the intentional practice of identification by race.

Additionally, only crimes committed by adults were examined. Articles dealing with juvenile crime were excluded to maintain consistency across time periods regarding the confidentiality accorded juvenile offenders.[54] Because research indicates that most crime occurs on the weekend starting with Friday night, only articles appearing in newspapers on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday were examined.[55] The analyses consisted of examining the entire newspaper on these days for the chosen years. The year 1973 was chosen due to events marking social unrest in the state at that time. The year 1990 was included due to its designation as the "Year of Reconciliation" between American Indians and Euro-Americans by the late Governor Michelson. The years 1974 and 1991 provided continued coverage of events occurring in the primary years of examination. Finally, the years 1960–61 were included to serve as a baseline of "normal" American Indian and Euro-American relations. This was to ensure that any differences between the two time periods were a result of an actual increase in bias in reporting during the 1970s and not due to a change in newspaper policy in the 1990s to utilize less racial/ethnic language.

Measures

The designation of a crime article and the concept of race/ethnicity were two measures utilized in the study. Classification of a crime article was determined by the inclusion of a major index crime in the article, as defined by the FBI Uniform Crime Report (UCR).[56] These crimes included murder and nonneg-

ligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny/theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. Part II offenses of the UCR were excluded because, according to previous research, index crimes were most frequently reported in newspapers.[57] The most serious offense was reported if an article listed more than one crime, and the article was excluded if the article included two different crimes committed by two different people.[58] The race/ethnicity of the perpetrator was determined by the specific racial/ethnic identification in each crime article, such as Chocktaw, Indian, and white. The article was relegated to an unknown category if race/ethnicity was not mentioned.

RESULTS

Unexpectedly, the race/ethnicity of individuals was mentioned quite infrequently in crime articles. Throughout the six years examined, only thirty-one of the 1,230 articles identified the race/ethnicity of the perpetrator. American Indians and Euro-Americans were identified in thirteen articles each. Therefore, contrary to the prediction, the overt identification of American Indians as perpetrators did not occur more often than for Euro-Americans.

Because the overt identification of American Indians by race/ethnicity in crime articles rarely occurred, the remaining analyses utilized a proxy measure of race/ethnicity (American Indian/non–American Indian) (see table 1). This proxy measure was developed based on research indicating that race/ethnicity often will be inferred even when not directly mentioned because it is a salient feature often determining categorization.[59] Cues such as proper name, picture of the perpetrator, and other pieces of information are salient features and likely to be used by the reader of a crime article to infer race/ethnicity.[60] Therefore, these factors were utilized to create the American Indian–inferred race/ethnicity category (see table 1). For example, it seems reasonable that a perpetrator named Grover Horned Antelope would be perceived as an American Indian, as would someone characterized as a Lakota religious leader.

Table 1
Number of Crime Articles Inferring Race/Ethnicity

	American Indian
1960	25
1961	16
1973	55
1974	32
1990	32
1991	42
Total:	161

Total Number of Crime Articles = 1,230

If race/ethnicity was not known to be American Indian, the article was considered as part of a non–American Indian category. Therefore, this proxy measure provides a conservative estimate because American Indians that do not possess, for example, "traditional" names may be relegated to the non–American Indian category. Chi-square analyses were utilized to test the remaining hypotheses.[61]

The second research question examined the relationship between the frequency of identification of American Indians in crime articles and arrest rates for American Indians as reported to the FBI UCR.[62] In 1960 and 1961, American Indians comprised 25 percent and 11 percent, respectively, of arrests in South Dakota. In 1973, 24 percent of arrests in South Dakota were American Indian, while 23 percent of the arrests in 1974 included American Indians. The percentage of arrests for American Indians was 26 percent during 1990 and 24 percent in 1991. Differences appeared between the number of articles inferring race/ethnicity for American Indians and American Indian arrests in the state for the years 1960, 1990, and 1991. However, contrary to the prediction, American Indians were identified less often in crime articles than expected based on their arrest rates for those years: 1960: χ^2 (1, n = 150) = 5.556, p = < .05; 1990: χ^2 (1, n = 265) = 26.706, p = < .001; and 1991: χ^2 (1, n = 339) = 25.055, p = < .001.

As predicted, American Indians were identified more in crime articles during the years of 1973 and 1974 than during either the baseline years of 1960 and 1961 or the period of reconciliation of 1990–91: χ^2 (2, n = 1230) = 29.047, p = .001. Specifically, of those articles inferring American Indians as perpetrators, 20 percent appeared during 1960–61, 43 percent during 1973–74, and 37 percent during 1990–91. The two newspapers were compared to test the prediction that region/geographic context would influence whether American Indians were differentially identified in crime articles. However, no significant differences were found between the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader* and the *Rapid City Journal*.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research seeks to expand the current literature by examining the identification of American Indians in crime news and providing a preliminary investigation into how contextual factors may impact the identification of American Indians as "criminal." On a positive note, even in a state in which race/ethnic relations have at times been highly contentious, overt bias did not appear. The intentional identification of race/ethnicity in crime news was rare for both American Indians and Euro-Americans.

Findings for the importance of context in identification provided mixed support. Although actual arrest rates of American Indians and frequency of identifying American Indians in crime news differed significantly for 1960, 1990, and 1991, these differences were contrary to expectations and previous research.[63] In those years, American Indians were actually identified in crime news at lower rates than would be expected based on arrest data. In addition, region/geographic location did not influence the identification of American Indians as "criminal."

Context, however, did seem to matter when examining periods of political/social unrest. However, a possible explanation for the differences over time is a change in the newspaper practice of identifying race/ethnicity. The years 1960–61 were included to eliminate this alternative explanation.[64] The additional comparison of 1973–74 to 1960–61 reaffirms the uniqueness of this period. The number of articles inferring American Indians in 1973–74 was greater than the 1990–91 and 1960–61 periods. In addition, if the lower identification of American Indians in 1990–91 was due to changes in newspaper reporting practices, this period should have lower identification rates for American Indians in comparison to 1960–61. However, the findings that 37 percent of the articles inferring American Indians as perpetrators appeared in 1990–91 and that only 20 percent of these articles appeared in 1960–61 provide additional evidence that differences were not a result of a change in newspaper policy and that race/ethnic conflict influenced American Indian identification in crime articles.

Several limitations remain although this research addressed many of the issues regarding the identification of American Indians in newspapers. First, South Dakota may not be representative of all areas in which American Indians reside. However, identification can be examined due to the relatively large population of American Indians in the state. Additionally, the representation of American Indians in the criminal justice system allows for exploring how crime rates impact identification.[65] The conflicts of the 1970s, along with the reconciliation period of the 1990s, provide a backdrop to explore the influence of the context of political/social unrest. The diverse population and the distinct mentalities—East River/West River—as captured by the different newspapers allows for the examination of geographical context. However, future research should explore these relationships in other locations to establish if results are consistent across all regional/geographical areas.

The use of the UCR as a measure of arrests to test the second research question represents another potential limitation of this study, as not all crimes, specifically federal crimes, are included in these statistics.[66] This is problematic because many crimes committed by American Indians are classified as federal crimes due to jurisdictional issues on American Indian lands.[67] Thus, when American Indians commit crimes, depending on the crime and location, they can come under local, county, state, tribal, or federal jurisdiction. This presents unique issues when examining arrest data as it pertains to American Indians and especially when using UCR data for arrests, as it provides a conservative estimate of arrests.[68] In this study, the inclusion of federal crimes in this analysis could make the difference greater because newspapers already identify American Indians less than expected based on their arrests, but it would not impact the existing pattern. The only year in which this pattern does not appear is 1973. In 1973, the nonsignificant trend was such that identification in articles was more than would be expected based on arrests. Thus, it is the only year in which the pattern could potentially be influenced by the inclusion of additional arrests. It is possible that these nonsignificant results are a consequence of articles published during this period reporting on federal crimes, while those crimes were excluded from analysis due to the dependence on the UCR statistics.

Finally, examining the characterizations of American Indians and Euro-Americans in crime news could provide further valuable information on the nature of stereotyping. However, these comparisons could not be completed beyond the first research question due to the lack of overt identification of perpetrators by race/ethnicity. Furthermore, the nature of the proxy variable for American Indian/non–American Indian as inferred from cues such as proper name did not allow for further exploration of these issues. It is more likely that American Indians could be identified by "Indian" proper names than Euro-Americans could be distinguished by "white" names, and it is improbable that the proxy variable would operate in the same way for these two groups.[69]

Although this research explores many of the issues regarding the identification of American Indians in crime news, the results of this study indicate further areas for investigation. The findings seem to suggest that these two newspapers did not overtly contribute to the continuation of stereotypes linking American Indians with criminal behavior by identifying them more often than Euro-Americans. A more extensive examination of newspapers needs to be completed to explore whether the findings of nonidentification of perpetrators by race/ethnicity is an extensive practice used by all newspapers or just present in this case.

Furthermore, although the newspapers did not directly state race/ethnicity, they may have contributed indirectly and unknowingly to the perpetuation of stereotypes by reporting names and providing other cues associated with racial/ethnic identification as previous research has indicated.[70] Since it could be argued that Euro-Americans can cover their racial/ethnic identity more easily than American Indians because they can not be identified using distinguishable cues, such as proper names, this may result in the association of American Indians with crime more than Euro-Americans. However, this research did not specifically examine the readers' perceptions created by this inferred category or how identification impacted the impressions developed toward minorities. Instead, this research only measured portrayal through identification as "criminal." Thus, further research into the influence of differentially identifying minorities in crime articles on readers' perceptions is needed, especially since evidence of ongoing discrimination toward American Indians exists.[71] To begin to disentangle this larger problem, the question explored by this research was whether newspaper accounts of crime were contributing to negative stereotyping of American Indians as "criminals" and thus maintaining a system of bias. The results of this preliminary investigation indicate that newspapers are not overtly contributing to the fostering of negative stereotypes toward American Indians, but they may be subtly perpetuating the "villain" stereotype and straining already contentious relations during times of racial/ethnic conflict.[72] Thus, this research provides preliminary evidence regarding which contextual factors may contribute to the identification of American Indians in crime stories. Further examination of the contexts presented in this study, as well as other contextual factors, are areas for future exploration.

Acknowledgments

Part of the original research was supported by an Arts and Sciences Basic Research grant from the University of Wyoming. The author thanks Andrea Gable-Mower for assistance in data collection and the anonymous reviewers for comments on this paper. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Adrienne Freng, University of Wyoming, Department of Criminal Justice, 1000 E. University, Dept. 3197, Laramie, WY 82071. Phone number: 307-766-2307. E-mail: afreng@uwyo.edu.

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31. Ibid.

32. Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations.*

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., 169.

35. Davis, "Crime News in Colorado Newspapers," 325–30; Ditton and Duffy, "Bias in Newspaper Reporting," 159–65; Garofalo, "Crime and the Mass Media," 319–50; Humphries, "Serious Crime, News Coverage, and Ideology," 191–205; Roberts and Edwards, "Contextual Effects," 902–17; Smith, "Crime in the News," 289–95.

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42. US Census Bureau, *US Census–General Population Characteristics for the State of South Dakota* (Washington, DC, 2000); US Census, 2000.

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46. Feagin and Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*; Josephy, *Now That the Buffalo's Gone*; Weyler, *Blood of the Land.*

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48. Ibid.

49. US Census Bureau, *U.S. Census-General Population.*

50. Ibid.

51. US Census, 2000.

52. Ibid.

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54. The practice of identifying juveniles in crime-related news has changed over time. During the 1960s, it was common to identify juveniles by name. However, due to changes in the law regarding juveniles, they were afforded confidentiality during the other two time periods.

55. Stephen E. Brown, Finn Aage Esbensen, and Gilbert Geis, *Criminology: Explaining Crime and Its Content* (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co., 1996).

56. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, 2005* (Washington, DC, 2005).

57. Part II offenses include simple assault, forgery and counterfeiting, fraud, embezzlement, stolen property (buying, receiving or possessing), vandalism, carrying or possessing weapons, prostitution and commercialized vice, sex offenses, drug abuse violations, gambling, offenses against the family and children, driving under the influence, liquor laws, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, all other offenses except traffic and suspicion. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, 2005,* Washington, DC.

Ditton and Duffy, "Bias in Newspaper Reporting," 159–65; Garofalo, "Crime and the Mass Media," 319–50; Humphries, "Serious Crime, News Coverage, and Ideology," 191–205; Marsh, "A Comparative Analysis of Crime Coverage," 67–79; Roberts and Edwards, "Contextual Effects," 902–17.

58. Because the article was the unit of analysis, including articles with multiple perpetrators and crime results in coding issues, such as which racial category to place the article if the perpetrators were of two different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, because the article can only count once, if multiple perpetrators/crimes existed, you would have to select which crime and perpetrator would represent that specific article. To avoid these confounds, these types of articles were eliminated from the analysis.

59. Galen Bodenhausen, "Stereotypic Biases in Social Decision Making and Memory: Testing Process Models of Stereotype Use," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (1988): 726–37; Galen Bodenhausen and Robert S. Wyer, "Effects of Stereotypes in Decision Making and Information-Processing Strategies," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (1985): 267–82; Fiske, "Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination," 357–412; Fiske, Lin, and Neuberg, "The Continuum Model," 231–54; Fiske and Taylor, *Social Cognition.*

60. Bodenhausen, "Stereotypic Biases," 726–37; Bodenhausen and Wyer, "Effects of Stereotypes," 267–82; Fiske, "Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination," 357–412; Fiske, Lin, and Neuberg, "The Continuum Model," 231–54; Fiske and Taylor, *Social Cognition.* Examples include Grover Horned Antelope and Willard Bores a Hole and references such as Lakota Sioux Religious Leader and reference to American Indian Housing areas such as Lakota Homes. Although pictures and other cues were used, names were the most common identifier.

61. Although chi-square analyses were utilized to access differences for all of the research questions, nonparametric chi-squared tests were utilized to test hypothesis two. This was necessary because the research articles represented a sample, while the arrests represented a population.

62. The arrests statistics for 1960, 1961, 1973, and 1974 were obtained directly from the FBI files acquired from law enforcement in South Dakota. The arrest statistics for 1990 and 1991 were published in *Crime in South Dakota*, provided by the Statistical Analysis Center for the state of South Dakota, and based on arrests reported by law enforcement to the FBI; thus it was utilized for this time period. Although the arrest rates were collected from different sources, the statistics are based on the same data: law enforcement arrest statistics reported to the FBI for the UCR. Because the arrest statistics were not published by race/ethnicity (to the author's knowledge) in the 1960s and 1970s, the information was acquired directly from the FBI.

63. Davis, "Crime News in Colorado Newspapers," 325–30; Ditton and Duffy, "Bias in Newspaper Reporting," 159–65; Garofalo, "Crime and the Mass Media," 319–50; Smith, "Crime in the News," 289–95.

64. Thank you to the anonymous reviewers for suggesting this solution.

65. South Dakota Department of Corrections, http://www.state.sd.us/corrections/adult_stats.htm (accessed 24 January 2005).

66. Federal Bureau of Investigation (Washington, DC, 2002). According to the Federal Justice Statistics Resource Center and the US Marshals Office, information on federal arrests by race/ethnicity for these years was unavailable, thus UCR data was utilized.

67. Zoann Snyder-Joy, "Self-Determination and American Indian Justice: Tribal Versus Federal Jurisdiction on Indian Lands," in *Native Americans, Crime, and Justice,* eds. Marianne Nielsen and Robert Siverman (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 38–45.

68. Larry Siegel, *Criminology* (Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth, 2006).

69. Fiske and Taylor, *Social Cognition.*

70. Bodenhausen, "Stereotypic Biases," 726–37; Bodenhausen and Wyer, "Effects of Stereotypes," 267–82; Fiske, "Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination," 357–412; Fiske, Lin, and Neuberg, "The Continuum Model," 231–54; Fiske and Taylor, *Social Cognition.*

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72. Ungerleider, "Media, Minorities, and Misconceptions," 160.