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TV Policy Dynamics: Examining Effects of Advertising on Arrests in Cities

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TV Policy Dynamics: Examining Effects of Advertising on Arrests in Cities

A Thesis Presented

by

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Abstract

Through the work done by Shaw & McKay (1942), Bursik (1989), Messner & Sampson (1991), and Sampson & Wilson (1995), social disorganization and focus on inner-city crime became a major point of interest for researchers. The idea of social disorganization looks at the weakening of social institutions, both formal and informal, that eventually lead to crime and the study of crime patterns in urban areas. This framework has been used to study crime and pinpoint areas where decisions from governmental officials and local communities have eroded the collective efficacy of neighborhoods, leading to crime. In 2003, the FCC made changes to the media ownership rules that allowed for the intrusion of implicit bias into news mediums like a virus, hijacking the content being sent out to the public for consumption. Then, in 2005, Jerry Kang came up with ideas that accused the FCC to be directly linked with the bias in media and for the increase of arrest rates in minority groups, mainly the Black population. Kang's arguments piggybacked on the arguments of Sampson & Wilson in regards to utilizing the macro-structural approach when looking at conscious political decisions actively affecting crime, and positing that the FCC was responsible for doing just that. This study looks to use the framework and ideas put forth by both Sampson & Wilson (1995) and Kang (2005) to connect the FCC to media implicit bias and increased arrest rates of minority groups. The study utilized the top 110 cities or markets in terms of television and cable advertising to show how impactful implicit bias in in changing arrest rates, and also focuses on the arrest rates of both White and Black populations as well as demographic and population data to run a multivariate regression OLS analysis.

Keywords: FCC, social disorganization, implicit bias, OLS regression, arrest rates, media

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Chapter One

Introduction

Across the known history of mankind, the dissemination and spreading of vital knowledge across individuals and civilized groups has been key to survival. As our species evolved, so too did the ways in which information was stored, shared, and consumed by humanity. From early cave drawings, to carvings, all the way to modern-day technology, the intent of each varying method was clear to contemporary counterparts, regardless of where in the world, or time period in history. Between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries, newspapers have been instrumental in the ability to keep the public informed of current events, and so much more. Unfortunately, in more recent times, the news media has sometimes become biased, skewed, and even inaccurate or incomplete in the overall coverage and discussion of current events and information (Simmons & Woods, 2015; Min & Feaster, 2010; Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000).

News media is generally conceptualized across three different mediums: television broadcasting, newspaper distribution, and radio broadcasting. These are the three main ways people envision receiving news information. Across the past decade and a half, the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) may be linked to practices that wmay effectively destabilize and diminish the reliability and validity of news media across all three of the aforementioned mediums (Kang, 2005). Originally created by Congress and the government in the Communications Act of 1934 to manage the electromagnetic spectrum for broadcasting, the FCC was charged with maintaining and furthering "'public convenience, interest, or necessity,'" which became known as the public interest standard (Kang, 2005, 1542). Another function of the

FCC was the assignment of frequencies for broadcasting companies to use for public consumption, which allowed, partly, for the FCC to shape what is broadcasted, and to whom (Kang, 2005).

Through the news media, with a shift towards focusing more on "local news," minority groups have become the main focus and generally are overrepresented in crime stories (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000). This trend of minority over-representation in crime stories has led arguably to an increase in arrest rates, disproportionately so (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000). Data collected from the FBI's (2010, 2009, 2008) UCR aggregated data also showed that arrest rates in certain areas were disproportionate compared to the total population of each market or city (FBI, 2008-2010). The opposite holds true regarding minorities and focus in news media, depending on the story; minority children of both genders face severe under-representation in missing children cases, compared to White boys and girls (Simmons & Woods, 2015; Min & Feaster, 2010). So, either minority populations are too frequently the focus as the main story, or ignored almost completely by the media (Simmons & Woods, 2015; Min & Feaster, 2010; Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000). The fact of the matter is that most people in each individual, as well as national population, are White and care less about stories featuring minorities if the crime committed is not by a minority man or woman against a White victim (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000).

The issue with this area of study is that there is not much literature focusing on this particular topic, and more specifically, there is no literature linking activities of the FCC directly to arrest rates in minority populations. Work has been previously done to look at arrest rates and

the effects of the media on minority populations, but there is little tying these phenomena directly to any particular cause (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000). In Kang's (2005) article, implicit bias can be shown to empirically suggest why there is an increase of arrest rates in minority groups nationally, and the answer is implicit bias. However, even though it is heavily implied, there is no true empirical data or evidence directly correlating the FCC's decisions since 2003 through now regarding media ownership rules to the influx in minority population arrest rates (Kang, 2005). This study seeks to examine that there is a connection, and that suggests the employment of implicit bias through the news mediums, the FCC has allowed this to happen over time (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004).

In order to delve into this issue further, the effects of social disorganization and social disorganization theory must be discussed. Posited by Sampson & Wilson (1995), and reinforced in a new interpretation by Kang (2005), the idea that social disorganization theory can be understood through a macro-structural scope become plausible and possible regarding this topic. In fact, this argument is more defensible when looking at a macro-structural argument, as policy and politics play heavily in the overall standing of individual and communal areas. The argument being made here is that macro-structural policy, referring to recent FCC decisions, has led to heightened arrest rates in minority groups, more specifically among the Black population nation-wide. This is made possible by controlling for structural and social disorganization variables, allowing for macro-structure to directly explain the outcome as stated in the social disorganization framework.

Television advertising, along with news media, has become increasingly influential over the last few decades (Gaquin, 2010; Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt,

2002). A natural part of modern life, advertising on television can be effective in influencing public opinion. As presented by the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), *2010 Television Industry: A Market-By-Market Review* looks at the statistics behind cable and television advertising, and how far-reaching the effects can be (NAB, 2010). Within the volume, the NAB looks as specific markets that are labeled based on singular cities, or cities within a specified area to be counted together and then averaged. For example, the highest market area is New York City, New York that includes all five boroughs with a total population of approximately nine million people (Gaquin, 2010; NAB, 2010). Some useful demographic information and population data comes from the *2010 City and County Extra: Annual Metro, County, and City Data Book*, and allows scholars to identify what types of populations regarding race, gender, and age are present in each city or market area (Gaquin, 2010).

The work done by Kang (2005) and Beckett & Sasson (2004) implicate that media and television advertising have predictive value. In other words, the ability to focus on the way television markets to the public and the messages sent have direct relationships to how the public reacts and predict what outcomes will follow. For example, if the media sends out advertising and news media that paint certain groups poorly, the perception of said groups will change and in this case it is minority groups. When testing for implicit bias, the four previously mentioned studies found that both overt and covert messages of racial meaning sent through news stories and television stimulate implicit bias in viewers (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004). The goal of this study is to observe whether there is a direct link between the FCC and increased arrest rates for minority populations, more specifically Black populations nationally. Also, to suggest that through the alteration of important media ownership rules, cable penetration, television advertising, and the media have become inundated with implicit bias, which is driving the public

to react to Black populations and law enforcement agencies to increase the arrest rates of Black populations in mainly urban settings. The two research questions framed by Dr. Robert Grantham (thesis chair) that are used to guide this paper are (1) what is the relationship between levels of television and cable advertising and implicit bias and how do these levels lend an explanation of increased arrest rates in minority populations?, and (2) what is the relationship between media related variables that implicate the FCC and arrest rates for Black populations? The two hypotheses I wish to test regarding this topic are (1) areas of higher cable penetration and television marketing and advertising have higher arrest rates for minorities due to implicit bias, and (2) as cable and advertising penetration increases, so do the total arrest rates for Black populations.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The following section will provide the reader with background knowledge pertaining to social disorganization theory and its development over time, in relation to this paper and its significance to the work as a whole. The work done previously by both Shaw & McKay (1942) and Sampson & Wilson (1995) pioneered work that led to the creation of the modern social disorganization framework and theory, which will be used in this paper to support the empirical evidence gained from the analyses. One work greatly focused on in the literature review will be Jerry Kang's (2005) *Trojan Horses of Race,* which defines and explains the phenomenon of implicit bias and discusses different methods used previously to empirically test and measure implicit bias. Another major work discussed will be Katherine Beckett and Theodore Sasson's (2004) *Politics of Injustice: Crime and Punishment in America,* where political policy influences public opinion of minority groups and crime. Scholarly articles published regarding similar topics of interest that intersect this paper include work done by Seong-Jae Min and John C. Feaster (2010), and Clara Simmons and Joshua Woods (2015), who both looked at the levels of which news media depicted missing children cases looking specifically at gender and race.

Also focused on in this section are television advertising marketing areas in media and the impact on minority arrest rates will also be discussed, as well as the role of the FCC in allowing implicit bias to enter the media and the consequences that have resulted from implicit bias and heightened arrest rates of minority groups. Over the past fifteen years, rules and regulations restricting ownership across news media and within markets have been eroded by the FCC, and have spawned a new era in media where less control and governance has led to

proliferation of bias in media. This uptick in bias through the media has caused an increase in minority arrest rates, specifically in urban cities across the nation.

Social Disorganization Theory

The Chicago School. Since the early twentieth century, an emphasis on geography playing a role in criminological study began in Chicago, where the Chicago School of Thought began with the help of the University of Chicago. Between alumni and collaborators with the sociology department, many studies posited that the dimensions and structural layout of Chicago allowed for crime to foster in certain areas (Lilly et al., 2015; Ritzer, 1996). Since that time, research has been encouraged through the use of collected data in order to fully understand the phenomena that occur within the city that lead to the prediction of crime. In other words, there was a move from the abstract realm of thought into a more concrete realm of study. Among those chiefly responsible for this shift in focus is Robert Park, who was a part-time instructor and newspaper reporter, and quickly rose to a position of prominence within the sociology department at the University of Chicago (Lilly et al., 2015; Ritzer, 1996). Other major contributors to the Chicago School were Ernest Burgess, Clifford Shaw, and Henry McKay; all provided different aspects of theoretical understanding that led to the development of data and research-based practices within the sociological and criminological perspective (Lilly et al., 2015; Ritzer, 1996).

The Chicago School is a school of theoretical study based out of the University of Chicago, which is home to the nation's oldest sociology program that was established in 1892 by Albion Small (Lilly et al., 2015; Ritzer, 2015). This school of thought focuses not on the individual as the center of crime, as many other theories might suggest, but that a city [in this

case, the city of Chicago] itself and the way it is built or has developed is the root cause of criminological tendencies (Lilly et al., 2015). For example, due to the rapid growth of Chicago between the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the city itself became a "dominant feature of American life…warning that the social fabric of urban slums bred crime" (Lilly et al., 2015, p. 38). Essentially, Chicago had become the center of societal change and norms at the time, and the eventual shift towards studying the city led to theoretical discussion of geographic conducive to shaping creating crime-favorable environments (Lilly et al., 2015; Ritzer, 1996).

As mentioned before, Robert Park (1921) was instrumental in garnering interest and support towards actively researching and observing Chicago's design and social aspects personally. He noted two important facts as a result; that the city's design was not random but followed a certain pattern, and could be understood via basic social processes such as assimilation, invasion, conflict, and accommodation; and that the only true way to determine the root of criminal sources was through careful study of city life (Lilly et al., 2015, p. 38). Park, Burgess, and McKenzie (1925) published a book related to the idea of concentric zones present within Chicago: the "loop" or business district, the transitional zone, the zone of workingmen's homes, the residential zone, and the commuter zone on the outer edge of the map (Lilly et al., 2015, p. 40). This concentric zone map allowed for study into specific areas to discern where crime happened most. The result was a heightened crime level within the transitional zone, or the second zone from the center, due to high levels of mobility in and out of that zone, along with higher levels of immigrant populations. Shaw and McKay (1942) looked at the effects Chicago as a city, and an example of social disorganization, had on juvenile delinquency building off of

previous work done by Burgess (1925). Shaw and McKay (1942) found similar results regarding juvenile delinquency to work done by burgess (1925) on the subject (Lilly et al., 2015).

When applied further, Shaw and McKay (1942) used Burgess' (1925) idea of concentric zones to study crime within the transitional zone. The findings observed that due to court records and analyses spanning decades, the transitional zone itself was the cause of crime, regardless of what ethnic population was present (Lilly et al., 2015). In other words, overall the research and study done in Chicago would not have been possible if not for the collection of data by the researchers, and the building of ideas off of said official data. The collection of secondary data was needed to allow future research to further delve into different aspects of criminology and sociology (Maxfield & Babbie, 2015). This work was essential in leading to future social disorganization studies in the criminology field. Work done by Sampson & Wilson (1995) shows that Black males suffer a heightened rate of homicide (1:21), as opposed to White males (1:131) in their lifetime.

Prior research conducted regarding media and social disorganization show that there is a connection between media and arrest rates of minority groups, specifically Black minority groups. The theory of social disorganization posits that at a macro-structural level, policies and practices account for the increase in disproportionate arrest rates for Black minority groups. This approach controls for structural and social disorganization factors, implicating the FCC and media as a link to implicit bias and arrest rates of Blacks.

Social disorganization, as an idea, has been around since the beginning of the twentieth century. But, it was not until when Robert Shaw and Henry McKay (1942) refined the work done by predecessors from the Chicago School that social disorganization theory truly took shape. Social disorganization, in its essence, discusses the issues that stem from interactions from local,

state, and federal institutions and their influence on informal and formal social control within communities that lead to a breakdown of functionality and lead to crime (Gau, 2015; Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2015; Maxfield & Babbie, 2015; Borg & Parker, 2001; Krivo & Petersen, 2000; Kovandzic, Veiraitis, & Yeisley, 1998; Ritzer, 1996; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Messner & Sampson, 1991; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925; Park & Burgess, 1921). Formal social control refers to the control exerted by the government, state, or local law policy and agencies regarding the functionality of communities (Gau, 2015; Lilly et al., 2015; Maxfield & Babbie, 2015). Informal social control refers to the local governing done by neighborhoods or the overall community on itself, including the perpetuation of institutions within the community and the relationships between citizens (Gau, 2015; Lilly et al., 2015; Maxfield & Babbie, 2015; Ritzer, 1996). For example, if government funding to a specific community dries up, upkeep of churches, schools, et cetera decline and therefore foster environments conducive to deviance and delinquency, and this breeds crime.

Macro-Structural Approach and Conscious Political Decisions

After Shaw & McKay (1942), Messner & Sampson (1991) and Sampson & Wilson (1995) delve further into social disorganization theory, and posit that it can be viewed through both a structural and macro-structural lens; in other words, policy and political decisions can influence structural aspects like residential mobility and poverty, which in turn affect collective efficacy of neighborhoods and communities, leading to crime. With this model in mind, the beginning of the framework starts with a macro-structural aspect eventually leading to the outcome of crime, controlling for structural and social disorganization variables. In terms of this paper, the idea is that television advertising leads to social disorganization, which then leads to heightened arrest rates for minority groups ($X_1 \rightarrow X_2 \rightarrow Y$).

Sampson & Wilson (1995) accept that the breakdown of community controls due to structural conditions is in fact criminogenic, but not a natural part of the process in which cities grow (Cullen & Agnew, 2011). After looking at Blau & Blau's (1982) argument talking about the cost of inequality in urban areas, Sampson & Wilson argue that variations in social disorganization are in fact directly linked to racial inequality shaped by "macro-structural factors." The basics of Sampson & Wilson's (1995) thesis focus on "macro social patterns of residential inequality [that] give rise to the social isolation and ecological concentration of the truly disadvantaged, which in turn leads to structural barriers and cultural adaptations that undermine social organization and hence the control of crime" (Sampson & Wilson, 1995, 38). This looks to a higher level of explanation would put pressure on policy and politicians for making decisions that ultimately trickle down and cause crime through a number of different variables, using the social disorganization framework. Sampson & Wilson's thesis suggests that due to the ecological makeup of different areas, where exactly White and Black populations

reside within certain areas can be responsible for disproportionate rates of violent crime in urban cities (Sampson & Wilson, 1995).

One main argument being made by Sampson & Wilson (1995) is that there are political decisions being made by politicians that adversely affect the stability of communities across the nation. Also, that these suggested political decisions are made consciously and knowingly by different parties, in order to satisfy personal standings and gains over the well being of the entire country (Sampson & Wilson, 1995). Also touched upon by Bursik (1989), the idea that these decisions have direct impact on communities, as well as public opinion, greatly affect the way individuals interact with one another. This idea of consciously political decisions is what Kang (2005) hints at when discussing the topic, and while his ideas might not be directly related to Sampson & Wilson, Kang suggests that the decisions made by the FCC fall into the category of conscious political decisions, making it a part of the macro-structural level. The argument in this study seeks to find substantial proof that there is a direct link to the FCC regarding implicit bias arguments and the heightened levels of arrest rates for Black and other minority populations. While other policy decisions and regulation may also affect the arrest rates of minority populations, we find no evidence empirically tested that links the FCC to the literature as of yet.

Implicit Bias and Media

Implicit Bias. The second major piece of literature to be looked at in regards to this topic is Jerry Kang's (2005) article, *Trojan Horses of Race*. In his article, Kang discusses several experiments in which social cognition is studies, along with different tests run with fMRI technology to study the amygdala and connections between time and thoughts (Kang, 2005). Since social cognition has a wide range of influence, all types of groups and populations are affected. Also stated is the empirical data collected within each different study pertaining to implicit bias and how the media uses these biases to continue to fuel stigmas of what crime should look like with regards to different groups. Kang (2005) also seeks to tie into this idea of media perpetuation of implicit bias to the FCC, but lacks definitive evidence to support his claim. While there is evidence that points to the FCC making changes in the early 2000's to the way media and news mediums are governed, it has not been directly proven to fall on the FCC (Kang, 2005). Kang (2005) also talks about things that he coins "racial mechanics," which deal with the different types of interactions people have with one another and the impact of those points of contact and reference.

The public is primed to see minority groups (particularly males) as violent and more dangerous than any other type of offender—and in many cases (arguably) unaware—which researchers refer to as implicit bias (Kang, 2005). Implicit bias is defined as any understanding, action, or decision made by an individual unconsciously as shaped by previous direct and vicarious experiences and affect social interactions (Kang, 2005). Kang speaks to direct experiences, or personal interactions with one another that allow the categorical mapping of different racial groups (Kang, 2005). Also described by Kang are vicarious experiences, which are "stories of or simulated engagements with racial others provided through various forms of the

media or narrated by parents and our peers" (Kang, 2005, 1539). Kang (2005) posits that the combination of these two types of experiences help to create negative stereotypes, and further along implicit bias against different racial groups.

Social cognition further explains this as ways that focus on how one forms schemas from internal and external factors, which subconsciously affect how one perceives information, and in this particular case, people (Kang, 2005). Implicit bias itself is not necessarily negative, but in the case of looking at arrest rates and depictions of minorities within the media, it would be considered more negatively skewed. This fact makes identifying and curbing implicit bias difficult, as many are not aware of its existence and are only triggered by subliminal stimuli (Kang, 2005).

Jerry Kang's (2005) article focuses, in part, on four distinct and different studies completed that shed light onto what implicit bias is and how it affects individuals in everyday life. Stated in Kang's article are the different social cognition tests and studies, which include: the computer crash study done by Bargh, Chen, & Burrows (1996); the mug shot study facilitated by Gilliam & Iyengar (2000); the math test study conducted by Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady (1999); and the shooter bias study implemented by Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink (2002) (Kang, 2005, 1492-1493). Each study focuses on different aspects of implicit bias and the myriad of ways bias can influence individuals without consciously knowing. Through these studies, the scope of implicit bias can be understood, especially in regards to the media.

The computer crash study. In a study done by Bargh et al. (1996), participants were divided into two groups and asked to count whether an even or odd amount of circles were displayed on a computer screen before the image disappeared. Each group then underwent one hundred and thirty different iterations of this test, until the computer would crash by design and

each group would be prompted to start again (Kang, 2005). While these tests were being administered, the reactions of the two groups were being monitored through video recording cameras by observers. After the recordings of each participant was captured, third party observers would examine and analyze the tapes and data to record the levels of frustration and hostility towards the computer for crashing after a certain period of time (Kang, 2005).

The importance of dividing the subjects into two groups is that half of the participants would have a Black face being flashed at them subliminally, while the other half of the group would have a White face being flashed subliminally after each screen of the program. Once analyzed, the recordings and data showed that those part of the group who were flashed a Black face as opposed to a White face were more aggressive and hostile towards the computer after each crash of the program (Kang, 2005). Kang (2005) included this study in his article in order to help underscore the significance of subliminal messaging and implicit biases on how individuals react; in this case, towards the face of a minority group member in the Black face shown. The study done by Bargh et al. (1996) was conducted back in the 1990's; the effects of implicit bias, according to Kang, have only increased since then (Kang, 2005).

The mug shot study. A study conducted by Gilliam & Iyengar (2000) comprised of different groups viewing a created news broadcast and measuring the differences between the groups. There were four separate groups set up for the study: a control group with no crime segment, a group with a crime story with no mug shot, a group with a crime story and a White mug shot, and a group with a crime story and a Black mug shot. The Black and White mug shots used in each segment were made from the same morphed photograph, where skin hue was manipulated to be darker or lighter. This was done in order to control for facial features and expressions in the mug shot (Kang, 2005).

The mug shots were only visible for five seconds over the course of the ten-minute news broadcast, but the race of the suspect in the mug shot produced statistically significant differences in a criminal law survey completed after the broadcast (Kang, 2005). Viewers who saw the Black mug shot were 6% more likely to be supportive of punitive penalties for the offender than the control group, who saw no crime story; the viewers that saw a White mug shot were only 1% more likely to be supportive than the control group, which was not seen as statistically significant (Kang, 2005). This study is meant to display the level of bias against Black people and minority groups within society, especially compared to that of White people in a similar situation.

The math test study. A study conducted by Shih et al. (1999) focused on Asian American female Harvard University students taking a hard math test. Prior to taking the exam, each student completed a brief questionnaire (Kang, 2005). Unbeknownst to the students, the questions were seeking to prime subtly different identities in each of the students (Kang, 2005). Questions were designed to prime either the female identity of the students, or the Asian identities, with a control group that answered questions regarding neutral topics (Kang, 2005). After taking the exam, an exit survey was administered regarding the test; the questions asked prior to testing had no conscious effect on self-reports of exam difficulty, self-confidence in math, the total number of questions attempted, or how well the participants thought the test went (Kang, 2005, 1492).

The importance of this study is showing what happened implicitly to each group of Asian American women test-takers regarding performance. Those participants that were a part of the Asian–primed group performed the best in accuracy (54%), the participants that were a part of the neutral control group placed second in accuracy (49%), and those participants from the

female–primed group performed last (43%) in accuracy (Kang, 2005, 1492-1493). Therefore, it was shown that "being" Asian boosted mathematic skills and performance on the exam, while "being" female decreased mathematic skills and performance; the neutral group did neither better, nor worse than either group (Kang, 2005). What this shows is that, while all of the participants were a part of both categories, the questions asked prior to the exam implicitly strengthened one identity or another, and this affected test-taking abilities (Kang, 2005).

The shooter bias study. In a study conducted by Correll et al. (2002), a video game was created that placed pictures of White or Black individuals holding a gun or another object in diverse photographic backgrounds (Kang, 2005, 1493). Participants were shown these images and then instructed to decide whether to shoot the target or not. Due to severe time pressure, decisions needed to be made quickly; this was so by design, to gauge the instinctual reactions of each participant (Kang, 2005). Consistent with prior evidence on the subject, participants were more likely to mistake a Black target as armed when in fact the target was unarmed, called false alarms (Kang, 2005). Conversely, participants were also more likely to mistake a White target as being unarmed when in fact the target was armed, called misses (Kang, 2005).

Whether or not an individual mistakenly shot at a target, or did not shoot a target when necessary, the fact remains that there is a major bias regarding race present as shown by the study. White targets would be assumed to be unarmed and no threat, while Black targets would be assumed to be armed and dangerous; this is referred to as shooter bias (Kang, 2005). What is also intriguing is that in the study done by Carroll et al. (2002), Black participants had the same amount of shooter bias as White participants (Kang, 2005). This implicated a bias that is below the conscious level of thinking, implicitly directing individuals how to act or not act to different stimuli (Kang, 2005).

Racial Mechanics

In Kang's (2005) article, a key term to be aware of is racial mechanics, a term coined by Kang to describe the different ways race influences interpersonal interactions. This model draws heavily from the social cognition field, as well as literature regarding implicit bias (Kang, 2005). The two key elements within Kang's term of racial mechanics are racial schemas and implicit bias, which illuminate the reader as to how and why individuals process and act on information differently regarding race and interpersonal relationships (Kang, 2005). Kang (2005) further breaks down the components of racial schemas, positing that the culmination of racial categories, racial mapping, and racial meaning result in the formation of predisposed notions of a person's race within society.

Racial categories are formed through law and culture in society, and allow perceptions about individuals to be divided into different groups (Kang, 2005). Racial mapping is then the laying out and demarcation of these racial categories from the perspective of society (Kang, 2005). One the category and the mapping of an individual's race are complete, implicit and explicit racial meanings are assigned to each category within the mapping system and are then triggered thereafter (Kang, 2005). Kang (2005) includes both cognitive and affective components of behavior within the definition of racial meanings. The cognitive aspect of racial meanings includes thoughts or beliefs about a particular racial group, while the affective reflects emotion, feelings, and evaluation that function within the realm of positive/negative, good/bad, and approach/avoid attitudes (Kang, 2005, 1500). When all three aspects are combined, Kang (2005) suggests that the creation of racial schemas is a major factor in the modern era implicit bias that is perpetuated within the news media, due to the lack of governance from the FCC.

Kang (2005) suggests that the components of racial schemas are biologically inevitable, and depending on different variable, affect interpersonal relationships significantly. Whether primacy, salience, accessibility, or individuation information, each of these variables can be crucial to guiding social behavior and interactions (Kang, 2005). Primacy is a variable that refers to the first schema stimulated by an individual and has a significant impact on an individual (Kang, 2005). Salience refers to which schema cues catch the attention of an individual, after the initial interaction (Kang, 2005). Accessibility refers to the schemas most readily retrieved from memory, where information has been previously collected and stored (Kang, 2005). Individuation is defined in Kang's (2005) article as including variables such as mood, motivation, hierarchy, and cognitive busyness; these all relate to individuals in a specific moment in time, rather than a general assumption of a particular group.

The most intriguing thing about Kang's (2005) article is that is shows that, even when presented with subliminal stimuli, racial schemas can be triggered. While some aspects of racial schemas can be shown to be conscious and overt, other schemas can be primed simply by the flashing of a face on a screen, or a name read aloud; the implications are astounding, and lend credence to the necessity of this paper. The term "automaticity" is given to this phenomenon, as it happens without conscious thought, much as a heart beats, or the blink of an eye (Kang, 2005). In order to understand this phenomenon more completely and better defend against it, one must seek to determine the root of the issue and work up from there. Kang (2005) posits that these biases may not be wholly avoidable, due to the early development of these mental schemas. Implicit bias is another key aspect of racial mechanics, and discusses the idea that there are subconscious and subliminal thoughts or ideas that influence daily routines and relationships, without conscious realization (Kang, 2005).

A major issue discussed within Kang's (2005) article focuses on the potential lack of introspective capabilities for individuals to recognize implicit biases regarding race. There is then a level of disassociation between explicit views and implicit ideas regarding groups or individuals, causing a level of cognitive dissonance (Kang, 2005). The conscious thought of these ideas would help to fight against any ingrained attitudes towards one another, and attempt to fend off further implicit biases. In order to better understand the reason as to why here is opposing explicit and implicit biases, academics have taken to measuring the speed at which questions are answered when using sequential priming procedures (Kang, 2005). These procedures take advantage of the automaticity of individuals processing of information and by priming certain racial schemas and racial meanings, performance should be altered from the norm and can be measured comparatively (Kang, 2005).

In order to accurately measure the different speeds of which individuals respond to related stimuli, the Implicit Association Test (IAT) was invented and looks at the closeness of the relationship between two concepts (Kang, 2005, 1509-1510). This test studied the near imperceptible different time participants in studies took to respond to screens showing two different racial categories, with closely associated words assigned to each (Kang, 2005). Each participant is shown either a Black or White face, and words that are associated generally with each racial category; half of the time, the words associated with each corresponding category were on the same side as the picture shown, where the other half the words and pictures were on opposite sides (Kang, 2005). The study described found that there was a heightened implicit bias level due to the speed at which the participants answered correctly, and controlling for familiarity with test stimuli, left- or right-handedness, or overall speed in which a person would answer questions, that the validity of the test was proven (Kang, 2005).

The amygdala is a rather small subcortical structure located in the brain that deal with emotional response, perceiving viral threatening stimuli, and fear conditioning that can measure minute changes in perception when using an functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scan. The accuracy found within these fMRI readings indicates that, when subliminally shown images, the amygdala would “light up” more when shown Black pictures as opposed to White pictures, and matched the IAT scores of the previous experiment (Kang, 2005). Combining these two types of testing methods, implicit bias can be observed and analyzed regarding racial mechanics, and relate greatly to how the media portrays minority groups in society overall.

FCC and Media

The major changes from the FCC regarding media ownership rules began in June 2003, where liberalization of media ownership restrictions and cross-ownership rules occurred in the name of "public interest" and local news (Kang, 2005, 1545). Essentially, the lifting or altering of these media rules allowed for greater horizontal consolidation across national markets, as well as greater consolidation across media markets with newspaper/broadcast mergers (Kang, 2005, 1545). Due to this, and several other decisions regarding media ownership across the past fifteen years, "local news" has begun to take on a form that is anything but local (Kang, 2005). As defined by the FCC, local news consists of "diversity, competition, and localism," (Kang, 2005, 1546).

The next piece of literature to be studied is Katherine Beckett and Theodore Sasson's (2004) book *Politics of Injustice: Crime and Punishment in America,* which discusses the implications of stereotypes of minorities and overrepresentation in media in regards to violent crime. Also talked about in the book is the effect of a fearful public being affirmed of biased beliefs because of the sheer volume of coverage in news stories (Beckett & Sasson, 2004). These topics lead to the possible explanation as to why and how exactly these biases are perpetuated by the public, despite the differing numbers when looked at against factual statistics. While violent crime is not a new topic to news media, violent crime specifically focusing on minority offenders, and minority groups overall, is a trend that has begun to increase (Beckett & Sasson, 2004).

The news media of today has successfully created a perpetual level of fear in the public, as crime stories are focused on more than any other topic (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000). A fearful public creates an image of what to

be demonized, and in this case it is Black populations mainly. Seeing more and more coverage of minority groups in crime media and news stories, it is only a matter of time before public opinion changes direction (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002). This is the driving force behind implicit bias in the news media today, and undermines the efforts to bridge the gap between the majority population and the minority populations across the nation.

Seong-Jae Min and John C. Feaster (2010) wrote an article on the disparities of representation of different gender and race of missing child case news coverage in the media. In the study, it was asserted that there was heavy under-representation of minority children regardless of gender, as well as under-representation of female white children. On the other hand, there was over-representation of male white children in the media regarding missing children cases (Min & Feaster, 2010). This showed that there was statistical significance in terms of gender when it came to White children, but not when it came to children belonging to minority populations.

A study conducted by Simmons & Woods (2015) looks at the underrepresentation of minority children in missing children stories in the media, and relies heavily on secondary data collected by multiple sources, and builds off of another study previously conducted on the topic (Min & Feaster, 2010). Secondary data analysis works best for this research study as the information needed has already been collected by a number of databases and datasets that is readily available for use, as well as accurately and reliably evaluating the data to obtain valid results. Something that Simmons & Woods (2015) include in the study is there is a separation between pre- and post-AMBER alert news related media articles and broadcasts, with each section needing different levels of analysis from different secondary data sets to provide a comprehensive analysis of the data. Simmons and Woods (2015) supported the majority of these

previous findings, with the exception that there was a decline in the under-representation of female white children in the media. Overall, this work looks at the differential representation in mainstream media of different groups of missing children through the use of more in-depth database records and multiple sources. This article also can tie into labeling theory[1], as the different genders and racial groups are labeled as most deserving or least deserving of coverage in the media. The overall findings indicated that there was still a major gap between minority and White children missing cases being covered on the news, and that a slight increase in representation of female white children has occurred.

The majority of literature and study articles thus far looked at relating to arrest rates and media bias have failed to link the FCC directly. In Kang's (2005) study, the collective findings from previous research spanning multiple disciplines of scientific study make a case regarding the culpability of the FCC, but nothing in the way of hard empirical data was provided. This paper seeks to bridge the gap between the literature available regarding these different topics and finding statistically significant evidence showing a correlation between FCC policy and minority arrest rates.

[1] Labeling theory is considered to be the social reaction perspective, and is defined as a theory that "distinguishes between primary deviance (the acts of individuals that lead to public sanctions) and secondary deviance (the deviance that occurs in response to public sanctions). *See* Bachman, R. D., Schutt, R. K., & Plass, P. S. (2017). *The fundamentals of research in criminology and criminal justice: With selected readings*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Chapter Three

Data and Methods

This cross-sectional study seeks to test Sampson & Wilson's (1995) thesis and Kang's (2005) ideas by combining their collective thoughts regarding social disorganization theory being used to explain macro-structural level arguments with implications of the FCC allowing implicit bias in the media to lead to an increase of arrest rates of minority populations nationally. I am using secondary data analysis to analyze all of the data of interest. This study seeks to examine arguments regarding implicit bias and news media influencing law enforcement practices and increases in arrest rates of minority groups, which can be traced back to the FCC and its current stance on certain media ownership rules and regulations (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004). The research questions used to guide the study are as follows: (1) what is the relationship between levels of television and cable advertising and implicit bias and how do these levels lend an explanation of increased arrest rates in minority populations?, and (2) what is the relationship between media related variables that implicate the FCC and arrest rates for Black populations? The two hypotheses I wish to test are (1) areas of higher cable penetration and television marketing and advertising have higher arrest rates for minorities due to implicit bias, and (2) as cable and advertising penetration increases, so do the total arrest rates for Black populations.

In order to empirically test the argument being made that FCC policy has implications regarding increased arrest rates for minority populations and test my two hypotheses, I have constructed a data set pulling from multiple sources. For arrest rates and data regarding individuals based on race, age, and area, I used three separate aggregated data sets from the

FBI's (2008-2010) UCR data. This data unfortunately excludes Florida, and certain major cities across the nation that do not supply data to the FBI's UCR data sets. The population data and population demographic information was collected from the *2010 City and County Extra: Annual Metro, County and City Data Book* (Gaquin, 2010). This helped to provide race, gender, population, education level, female-headed households, unemployment rates, and more data sets to use towards analysis with arrest rates being the dependent variable. The population data and population demographic information was collected from the *2010 City and County Extra: Annual Metro, County and City Data Book* (Gaquin, 2010). This helped to provide race, gender, population, education level, female-headed households, unemployment rates, and more data sets to use towards analysis with arrest rates being the dependent variable. I collected market information regarding television advertising, cable penetration, advertising as a percentage of cable from the 2010 Television Industry: A Market-by-Market Review, and from which the top 110 markets were selected for study (NAB, 2010). These markets can encompass one or more cities when looking at the market area, and in cases with two or more the average of each was taken for all data. The reason for looking at the top 110 markets was due to most of the cities included exceeded populations of 100,000 individually or in a combined market, and were more representative of the overall population.

I will be using a multivariate regression analysis (MRA) through the use of the ordinary least squares (OLS) method to analyze the six models to be presented, as is consistent with various studies of social inquiry (Doherty, Cwick, Green, & Ensminger, 2016; Jones, 2016; Simmons & Woods, 2015; Min & Feaster, 2010; Borg & Parker, 2001; Krivo & Peterson, 2000; Kovandzic et al., 1998; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Messner & Sampson, 1991). Regressions are based off of correlations, which are statistical procedures that seek to determine "whether two

variables are related in a linear fashion and the strength of the relationship" (Gau, 2015, 322). So, a regression not only includes this information, but it also can determine the extent to which the independent variable(s) help to predict the dependent variable (Gau, 2015; Allison, 1999). A bivariate regression analysis uses one dependent variable and one independent variable in determining the extent and strength the two variables are connected (Gau, 2015; Allison, 1999). When looking to do more in-depth research, a multivariate regression analysis that includes multiple independent variables and one dependent variable, is used (Gau, 2015; Allison, 1999). A multiple regression is "a statistical method for studying the relationship between a single dependent variable and one or more independent variables" (Allison, 1999, 1).

Since multivariate regression analyses are more extensive, most researchers use this method to predict relationships between variables, and to what extent the variables can be explained. The most common form of multivariate regression analysis is ordinary least squares, or OLS for short (Gau, 2015; Allison, 1999). This is due to the fact that OLS looks to create a line of best fit closest to all points of data; the key factor to this regression analysis is that the dependent variable must be continuous and normally distributed in order for it to work.

According to Allison (1999), in order to analyze data through multivariate regression analyses much meet eight specific criteria. The criteria are as follows: (1) the dependent variable must always be measured on a continuous scale, (2) there has to be a minimum of two independent variables that are either categorical or continuous, (3) there must be an independence of observation of the variables, (4) there must exist a linear relationship between the dependent variable and each individual independent variable, (5) the data must depict a homoscedasticity assumption, or that there is an equal level of variance between the degrees of random noise, (6) the data cannot show multicollinearity, or two or more independent variables

showing no correlation when there is a correlation present, (7) there should be no outliers or highly influential points present, and (8) the error should be approximately normally distributed (Allison, 1999). The data in this study is measured at the continuous level.

Unit of Analysis

The choice to use the top 110 market areas was made to both limit the total number of cases, as well as measure a more accurate representation of the national population average. These cities in particular all equaled to 50,000 people or more, both individually or combined in each city/market, and reached as high as nine million in the case of New York City (FBI, 2008-2010). Previous works looking at arrest rates have used states or standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's) for measurement, but both of these would be less useful for the purposes of this study. Some cities that are either separate or combined would be too small and would not appropriately represent the population in the sample. Due to this variability in size of cities within a state, researchers have moved away from using states as a unit of analysis (Krivo & Petersen, 2000). Similar critiques also follow the use of SMSA's, as mentioned in Kovandzic et al. (1998), and therefore would also not be useful in this study. The level of aggregation regarding states and SMSA's are not consistent with this study, which focuses on the relationship between the FCC, implicit bias, social disorganization, and arrest rates.

Another reason for using these market areas that consist of cities as a unit of analysis is that cities in general follow a long precedent as a major unit of analysis in study. This is particularly prevalent in previous and recent works regarding arrest rates and the media (Doherty et al., 2016; Jones, 2016; Simmons & Woods, 2015; Min & Feaster, 2010; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002; Borg & Parker, 2001; Krivo & Peterson, 2000; Kovandzic et al., 1998; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Messner & Sampson, 1991; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Park et al., 1925; Park &

Burgess, 1921). Different books also speak to the validity of using cities as a preferred unit of analysis (Bachman & Paternoster, 2017; Bachman, Schutt, & Plass, 2017; Gau, 2015; Lilly et al., 2015; Maxfield & Babbie, 2015; Cullen & Agnew, 2011). The work done using data gained from the *2010 City and County Extra: Annual Metro, County and City Data Book* as well as the 2010 Television Industry: A Market-by-Market Review were essential to collecting this data and deciding what unit to use, as well as using the population data to find the statistical information. Across multiple studies, popular places for retrieving data remain the U.S. Census Bureau (USBC, 1994; 1991; 1990; 1982) and the FBI's UCR Reports (2008-2010) and the FBI's *Crime in the Unites States* (FBI, 1997; 1992; 1991; 1990), as well as other sources. Gathering data from the government databases is a valuable skill and saves time, as this data is more readily available to individuals than gathering and compiling data by hand. Overall, there were 23 major cities not included in the data received from the FBI UCR for the years of 2008-2010, the majority of which were located in Florida and Illinois, which do not send any crime data to the FBI for use in the UCR.

Dependent Variables

Kang (2005) argues in his study that implicit bias in media has a direct correlation with arrest rates of minority populations in an urban setting, particularly in larger metropolitan cities across the United States. The dependent variables in this study seek to measure the relationships between different arrest rate statistics and demographic variables with the markets and the concentration of television advertising and cable penetration. The main focus will be on six different variables that all showcase different population totals for arrests across the top 110 markets in terms of advertising. Those variables will be the total arrests for each city/market, arrest rates for White juveniles by city/market, the total arrests for Black adults for each

city/market, the total arrests for the Black population, the total arrest rates per city/market, and the percent of female family house-holders.

The total arrests for each city/market show the extent to how many criminals each city produces, across age and race. This variable is measured by combining the total arrests from White and Black populations in both juvenile and adult data sets, then if needed combined between the number of cities within a specific market (if there is more than one). The data received from the FBI in the form of UCR reports aggregated the data across county, city, and region as well as city within each state, and then furthermore by age and race within each subsection. For the purposes of this study, only the age and race sections under each city within the markets specified were used from each state, with the exception of a few major cities and states that do not regularly submit data to the FBI UCR reports. This variable is informative due to the fact that any given city/market can be looked at individually to find an average number of arrests and compare to a national average, as well as inform to what percentages each arrest population reflects minority groups. The arrest rates for White juveniles by city/market is measured by collecting the overall arrests for White juveniles, and then combined to accommodate for each city/market, given that there could be more than one city per designated market. The total arrests for White juveniles data set was collected from the UCR report from 2009. The data was used to see if the statistic would be statistically significant in relation to the markets. This variable is included to show the difference between arrest rates and totals for White juveniles compared to that of Black adults or the total Black population. This showcases the significance of implicit bias in the media, and how the specific public opinion of different racial groups charges which populations are policed more vigorously, and have higher arrest rates overall.

The total arrests for Black adults for each city/market is measured by collecting the total arrests for Black adults per each city/market, and combining the totals where necessary to fully represent the city/market shown. This variable looks at the amount of Black adults that are arrested per city/market overall, and shows the disproportionate level at which these individuals are arrested over other populations. This pairs with the total arrests for the Black population, where the totals for Black adult and juvenile arrests are compiled for each city/market and totaled to appropriately represent each city/market. This showcases the overall amount of Black individuals that are arrested across the top 110 advertising markets in the United States, and the disproportionality this minority group faces when compared to White, or even other minority groups regarding arrest totals and rates.

The total arrest rates per city/market is measured by gathering both the White juvenile and adult arrest totals and adding them together with the total Black adult and juvenile arrest totals, then dividing it by the total population of each city/market and multiplying the total reached by 100,000 and averaging the totals depending on how many cities are in each market. The number of 100,000 is used due to the norm of utilizing said number when calculating any sort of crime or arrest rate per largely populated urban city, due to the fact that the number will be better representative of the overall population. This will provide an approximate arrest rate per each individual city or a combined arrest rate total for markets that consist of two or more cities. This variable is important to show how much the media affects the overall totals of arrest by age and race, and if the total arrest rates remain significant in light of White populations being arrested at significantly lower rates than Black populations. The affects of advertising and cable penetration combined with the power of implicit bias in news media will be either observed or

missing, depending on the correlation between this variable and the other independent variables and control variables present in each of the different models.

The percent of female family house-holders is measured by collecting the overall demographic information regarding single parent, female-headed households per each city/market, and combining the numbers where necessary to gain one single representative percentage. This variable is important to the study as it focuses on minority populations, as there is evidence in social disorganization literature that lends credence to support the claims that minority populations, particularly in urban areas, have higher levels of female-headed households than do White populations. This will help to show whether or not, due to media impressions and focus, minority populations in cities with single mothers are higher and have adverse effects on arrest rates than do in White populations in an urban setting.

Independent Variables

While there are many variables that can be looked at while conducting this study, the main independent variables that showcase theoretical implications are the market rankings in reverse and the cable penetration rates per city/market (Gaquin, 2010; NAB, 2010). This is due to the work done previously by Kang (2005) and other sources cited in his study that focus on media implications and their importance to the overall correlation between implicit bias and arrest rates for minority populations. The two independent variables that will be looked at in this study, as stated above, will work with three control variables that are included in each model to look at how each of the dependent variables are affected by the rest of the variables in each of the six separate models, as well as overall in the correlation matrix provided. The cable penetration information was collected from the NAB review and looked at the level of cable penetration per city/market (NAB, 2010).

The market rankings in reverse order variable is measured by taking the top 110 markets in the United States, and ranking them from 110 down to 1. This variable is used due to the fact that it is easier to show the increase of the effects of the other variables from 110 down to one, supporting the hypothesis that as the markets increase to the top market, so do the arrest rates and percentages of cable penetration and television advertising. The theoretical implications of this variable stem from the fact that as population sizes increase, so do the overall rates or totals of arrest per city/market, and therefore there are more individuals to reach with media infused with implicit bias to shape public perceptions of minority groups.

The cable penetration variable is measured by taking the total amount of individuals in a city/market, then gaining the percentage of individuals or households that have cable and combining them where necessary to reflect each city/market. The theoretical implications for this variable, similarly to the reverse order rankings for the markets, look at showcasing the powerful impact cable and television advertising have on individuals' perceptions of minority populations, especially paired with news mediums that have implicit bias tones carried within. Combining these two independent variables helps to see what kinds of correlations can be found between these variables, the control variables, and the dependent variables to prove that implicit bias and news media have direct relationships between minority arrest totals and rates, due to the FCC.

Control Variables

Control variables are variables that are not of primary interest, and thus constitute an extraneous or third factor whose influence is to be controlled or eliminated (Salkind, 2010). The inclusion of control variables in a research study is a common practice in many studies throughout scientific history, and provides a baseline for evaluation. The reason for the inclusion of these control variables is that the aforementioned variables have already been thoroughly

tested and documented within academia, and are not necessarily connections that are sought after to study within this paper. However, since they generally are strong correlations with other variables, it is important to include them to further show the relationships between the dependent variables separately with the independent and control variables. The three different control variables that will be included in this study will be the educational attainment percentage for each city/market with a high school-level education or less, the educational attainment percentage for each city/market with a Bachelor's level of education or higher, and the overall unemployment rate for each city/market.

The educational attainment percentage of high school or less for each city/market is measured by gaining the total educational levels for the bracket and dividing by 100, then combining where necessary to represent each city/market. This control variable is important due to the predictive nature of educational levels in success and criminogenic tendencies within all populations, but more specifically in minority populations. As found in many studies previously conducted, education and crime go hand in hand, and share a negative correlation where an increase in education leads to a decrease in crime, and vice versa. Since there has been extensive research on this and similar variables in the past, it is not a main focal point of this study, but retains certain value in showing the relationship strength between each separate dependent variable with the independent and other control variables.

The educational attainment percentage of Bachelor's degree or higher is measured by taking the overall education levels for said bracket and dividing by 100, and combining where necessary for each city/market. This control variable, much like the previous control variable, seeks to show the inverse relationship between education and crime and delinquency across all populations, with a special focus on minority populations. Education levels are especially

poignant in urban settings, as it further alienates minority populations when education is lacking, which has a high predictive property when looking at criminogenic behaviors of both youth and adults in major cities. Since the majority of minority populations reside within parts or across major urban cities, there are disproportionate amounts of education-starved communities that plague these minority-rich areas.

The overall unemployment rate is measured by taking the overall amount of unemployed individuals per city/market and dividing by the total labor force population, combining totals where necessary and averaging them per number of cities per market. As mentioned before, the previous control variables can be considered independent variables depending on the study, but since extensive work has been done regarding educational levels and unemployment, they are not a major focus for this study. Unemployment of both young adults and adults, as well as youth in volunteer positions have a great affect on crime and delinquency, especially among minority populations in urban areas. So, this variable still holds value when looking at the overall relationship between the dependent variables in each model with the independent variables and the control variables, as well as having predictive value when looking at crime rates and arrest rates for minority populations.

Chapter Four

Results

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations for the dependent, independent, and control variables included in the study, as found in other studies in the literature (Doherty et al., 2016; Jones, 2016; Simmons & Woods, 2015; Min & Feaster, 2010; Carroll et al., 2002; Borg & Parker, 2001; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Krivo & Petersen, 2000; Shih et al., 1999; Kovandzic et al., 1998; Bargh et al., 1996; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Messner and Sampson, 1991; Bursik, 1989). The descriptive statistics show a pattern of implicit bias across the sample, both regarding the market rankings and cable penetration and arrest rates for different populations. When looking at the mean total arrests per each city/market, the average comes out to be 8,309 arrests. When the total amount of arrests is compared to the average number of White juveniles arrested per city/market, the number drops to a staggering 527 arrests. The total number of Black adult arrests, and the total arrests for the Black population per city/market are 1,858 and 2,512, respectively. The number of adult Black individuals arrested per city/market is triple what it would be for White juveniles, and the average total arrests for both adult and juvenile Blacks is four times as high as White juveniles comparatively. Granted, this study looks at urban settings as opposed to suburban or rural areas, but the disproportionality between arrests for each racial group is astounding. These statistics agree with previous literature that focuses on disadvantage in urban areas and arrest rates for minority groups.

The difference between arrests between the Black populations and the White population used as a comparative variable supports the claims made by Kang (2005) and others that arrest rates are in fact disproportionate, and that Black populations are generally the recipient of this

disproportionality (Doherty et al., 2016; Jones, 2016; Simmons & Woods, 2015; Min & Feaster, 2010; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Carroll et al., 2002; Lipschultz & hilt, 2002; Borg & Parker, 2001; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Krivo & Petersen, 2000; Shih et al., 1999; Kovandzic et al., 1998; Bargh et al., 1996; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Messner and Sampson, 1991; Bursik, 1989, Blau & Blau, 1982). When computing the average percentage of arrests the total Black population represents across each city/market, the result is 30.23%; considering that the Black population across the entire country is a similar percentage, it is astounding that the proportion of those arrested is so high, compared to the White population. The average total arrest rate per city/market is 1,135 per 100,000, which is relatively low. Per a statistical report published by Statista (2017), the U. S. national arrest rate as of 2016 is approximately 3,600, with the highest individual state arrest rate at 5,979.1 in South Dakota, and 1851.7 as the lowest in the state of Massachusetts. Relatively speaking, the national average is higher than the selected sample of the top 110 markets in the study, but some of the cities included in the markets are not as highly populated as cities that might not have been included. Also, the decreased sample size reflects more accurately on the sample than would the national average.

Table 2 presents the findings when using the total arrests for each city/market as the dependent variable, while including the market reverse rankings, cable penetration percentage, educational attainment percentage for high school or lower, educational attainment percentage for Bachelor's degree or higher, and the unemployment rate for the sample collected. The data shows that there is no significant relationship between the total arrests per city/market and four of the independent and control variables: cable penetration (Cable Penetration 2008), the educational attainment percentage for high school or lower (Educational Attainment Percentage – High School or Lower 2005-2007), the educational attainment percentage for Bachelor's or

higher (Educational Attainment Percentage – Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007), and the unemployment rate (Unemployment Rate 2008). The findings do show, however, that there is a statistically significant relationship between the market reverse rankings (City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008) and total arrests per city/market (Total Arrests for City/Market 2009), being significant at the .05 alpha-level with a .013 significance level. This shows that the rankings are predictive in terms of total arrests per each market, and are positively correlated. To see how strong or weak a correlation is, a test called the Pearson's Correlation is used (Bachman & Paternoster, 2017). This is a bivariate statistical analysis that looks at the linear correlation between one set of independent and dependent continuous variables (Bachman & Paternoster, 2017, p. 355). In order to determine what percentage of the variance that is present in the dependent variable due to the independent variable, R^2 is calculated (Bachman & Paternoster, 2017). The R^2 for the model is .099, meaning that about only 10% the total arrests per city/market can be explained by the independent and control variables used. Having a R coefficient of .315 means that there is not a relatively strong connection between the dependent variables and the other variables used in the model, but that the correlation is positive.

Table 3 presents the multivariate regression that focuses on the dependent variable arrests for White Juveniles per city/market (Arrests for White Juveniles by City/Market 2009) while using the aforementioned independent and control variables. The findings in this table show that there is a statistically significant relationship between the city/market reverse rankings with White juvenile arrests at the .001 alpha-level, with a significance level of .001. This means that the way media portrays certain groups of individuals is highly predictive of who is and is not arrested, especially compared to minority groups. The R^2 for the model is .117, meaning that

about 12% of the variance between White juvenile arrests per city/market can be explained by the remaining variables.

Table 4 looks at the regression focused on the correlations between arrests for Black adults by city/market (Arrests for Black Adults by City/Market 2009) and the other variables in the regression. The current and past literature looking at media and public opinion have posited the existence of negative and disproportionate effects on the arrest rates of minority groups. The findings show that there is a statistically significant correlation between the arrests for the Black adult population and city/market reverse rankings. This relationship is significant at the .001 alpha-level with a significance level of .000. This means that the chances of a truly significant relationship existing by chance are infinitesimal. However, the relative strength of the correlation is at best moderate. The R^2 for the model is .209, meaning about 21% of the dependent variable can be explained by the independent and control variables. This model is one of the key proponents of the argument being made by Kang (2005) and many others that discuss the effects of cable and media on minority groups. Using Black adult arrests over juveniles was decided based on the amount of individuals that represent each age bracket, and the adult bracket was larger, therefore the better choice to use in the model. The next model looks at the dependent variable total arrests for Black population per city/market.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Dependent Variables		
Total Arrests for City/Market 2009	8308.65	32932.553
Arrests for White Juveniles by City/Market 2009	527.37	844.927
Arrests for Black Adults by City/Market 2009	1857.75	3319.472
Total Arrests for Black Population 2009	2511.93	5040.142
Total Arrest Rate per City/Market 2009	1135.1147	1037.28257
Percent of Female Family House-Holders 2005-2007	16.126	4.3355
Independent Variables		
City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008	55.5	31.898
Cable Penetration 2008	57.891	12.8015
Control Variables		
Educational Attainment Percentage - High School or Lower 2005-2007	45.897	8.5896
Educational Attainment Percentage - Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007	52.239	255.1905
Unemployment Rate 2008	6.247	2.0671

Table 2

Model 1: Dependent Variable: Total Arrests for City/Market 2009	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	**Standard Error**	**Beta**	**t**	**Significance**
(Constant)	-27448.065	20272.626		-1.354	0.179
City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008	251.145	99.868	0.243	2.515	0.013*
Cable Penetration 2008	358.882	249.95	0.14	1.436	0.154
Educational Attainment Percentage - High School or Lower 2005-2007	244.667	411.134	0.064	0.595	0.553
Educational Attainment Percentage - Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007	-0.84	12.022	-0.007	-0.07	0.944
Unemployment Rate 2008	-1623.661	1703.639	-0.102	-0.953	0.343

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Standard Error of the Estimate
*p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001	0.315	0.099	0.056	31993.757

Table 3

Model 2: Dependent Variable: Arrests for White Juveniles by City/Market 2009	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Standard Error	Beta	t	Significance
(Constant)	411.169	514.959		0.798	0.426
City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008	9.07	2.537	0.342	3.575	0.001***
Cable Penetration 2008	-10.444	6.349	-0.158	-1.645	0.103
Educational Attainment Percentage - High School or Lower 2005-2007	5.759	10.443	0.059	0.551	0.583
Educational Attainment Percentage - Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007	-0.052	0.305	-0.016	-0.17	0.865
Unemployment Rate 2008	-7.062	43.275	-0.017	-0.163	0.871

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Standard Error of the Estimate
*p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001	0.342	0.117	0.075	812.695

Table 4

Model 3: Dependent Variable: Arrests for Black Adults by City/Market 2009	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	**Standard Error**	**Beta**	**t**	**Significance**
(Constant)	-2582.839	1914.666		-0.00286533	0.18
City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008	45.371	9.432	0.436	4.81	0.000***
Cable Penetration 2008	-3.852	23.607	-0.015	-0.163	0.154
Educational Attainment Percentage - High School or Lower 2005-2007	45.829	38.83	0.119	1.18	0.553
Educational Attainment Percentage - Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007	-0.337	1.135	-0.026	-0.297	0.944
Unemployment Rate 2008	9.557	160.902	0.006	0.059	0.343

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Standard Error of the Estimate
*p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001	0.458	0.209	0.171	3021.679

Table 5

Model 4: Dependent Variable: Total Arrests for Black Population 2009	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	**Standard Error**	**Beta**	**t**	**Significance**
(Constant)	-4394.905	2966.092		-1.482	0.141
City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008	61.868	14.612	0.392	4.234	0.000***
Cable Penetration 2008	3.606	36.57	0.009	0.099	0.992
Educational Attainment Percentage - High School or Lower 2005-2007	73.437	60.153	0.125	1.221	0.225
Educational Attainment Percentage - Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007	-0.496	1.759	-0.025	-0.282	0.778
Unemployment Rate 2008	-12.846	249.26	-0.005	-0.052	0.959

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Standard Error of the Estimate
*p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001	0.421	0.177	0.137	4681.013

Table 6

Model 5: Dependent Variable: Total Arrest Rate per City/Market 2009	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	**Standard Error**	**Beta**	**t**	**Significance**
(Constant)	1119.703	664.734		1.684	0.095
City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008	2.755	3.275	0.085	0.841	0.402
Cable Penetration 2008	0.584	8.196	0.007	0.067	0.947
Educational Attainment Percentage - High School or Lower 2005-2007	-7.592	13.481	-0.063	-0.563	0.575
Educational Attainment Percentage - Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007	0.454	0.394	0.112	1.152	0.252
Unemployment Rate 2008	24.89	55.862	0.05	0.446	0.657

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Standard Error of the Estimate
*p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001	0.155	0.024	-0.023	1049.067

Table 7

Model 6: Dependent Variable: Female Family House-Holders 2005-2007	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	**Standard Error**	**Beta**	**t**	**Significance**
(Constant)	-1.731	1.847		-0.937	0.351
City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008	0.004	0.009	0.028	0.416	0.678
Cable Penetration 2008	0.037	0.023	0.109	1.62	0.108
Educational Attainment Percentage - High School or Lower 2005-2007	0.232	0.037	0.459	6.192	0.000***
Educational Attainment Percentage - Bachelor's Degree or Higher 2005-2007	-0.002	0.001	-0.096	1.489	0.14
Unemployment Rate 2008	0.793	0.155	0.378	5.108	0.000***

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Standard Error of the Estimate
*p< .05, **p< .01, ***p< .001	0.754	0.569	0.548	2.9148

Table 8

	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)	8)	9)	10)	11)
1)	1										
2)	0.245**	1									
3)	0.268**	0.201*	1								
4)	0.305**	-0.066	0.139	1							
5)	0.441**	0.111	0.167	0.672**	1						
6)	0.401**	0.125	0.172	0.681**	0.994**	1					
7)	0.088	0.023	0.339**	0.238*	0.330**	0.330**	1				
8)	0.135	0.220*	0.072	-0.089	0.209*	0.197*	0.072	1			
9)	0.063	0.163	0.053	0.046	0.146	0.149	-0.033	0.660**	1		
10)	-0.009	0.014	-0.01	-0.022	-0.03	-0.029	0.113	-0.082	-0.002	1	
11)	0.134	0.081	-0.028	0.043	0.119	0.107	0.035	0.608**	0.480**	0.035	1

*p< .05,
**p< .01,
***p< .001

1) City/Market Reverse Ranking 2008
2) Cable Penetration 2008
3) Total Arrests for City/Market 2009
4) Arrests for White Juveniles by City/Market 2009
5) Arrests for Black Adults by City/Market 2009
6) Total Arrests for Black Population 2009
7) Total Arrest Rate per City/Market 2009
8) Percent of Female Family House-Holders 2005-2007
9) Educational Attainment Percentage (High School or Lower) 2005-2007
10) Educational Attainment Percentage (Bachelor's Degree or Higher) 2005-2007
11) Unemployment Rate 2008

Table 5 has the multivariate regression analysis that shows the relationships between the total arrests for the Black population per city/market from the study sample. Similarly to Table 4, this model is important to the hypothesis that media and implicit bias affect change in arrest rates for minority populations, as posed by Kang and others (Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004; Lipschultz & Hilt, 2002). The findings in the model show that there is a statistically significant positive correlation between the city/market reverse rankings with the total arrests for the Black population of the study sample. This includes juveniles, and if tested would likely show a significant relationship between the two as well. These variables lend credence to the argument in support of recent literature. The R^2 for the model is .177, meaning that about 18% of the dependent variable can be explained by the other variables in the model. The relative strength of the correlation is just short of moderate, but there is still a statistically significant relationship within the regression analysis.

Table 6 looks at the model using the total arrest rates per city/market as the dependent variable. Contrary to what was originally expected, there were no statistically significant relationships between any of the independent or control variables with the dependent variable. This is surprising due to the fact that if White juvenile, Black adult, and the entire Black population see statistically significant relationships with the city/market reverse rankings, it would stand to reason that the overall arrest rates would also have a positive strong correlation. The R^2 for the model is only .024, suggesting that although there is a positive correlation, it is not significant and can only explain about 2% of the correlation between the variables. As can be seen in Table 8, there is a more substantial connection to the other dependent variables in the study.

Table 7 focuses on the relationship between female-headed households, and the connection to the other variables in the model. While this variable is not necessarily one that was immediately of interest, past literature has shown a significant connection between single parent homes and minority groups in relation to lack of jobs, education, and criminogenic tendencies. Since the correlations thus far between some of the other dependent variables are strong in relation to media and cable influences, it stands to reason that this particular variable will have ties with education and employment levels. The findings support this notion, with statistically significant correlations between the educational attainment percentage when looking at high school or lower levels of education and the unemployment rate. The dependent variable has a significance level of .000 for both of the control variables mentioned previously, and are significant at the .001 alpha-level. The R^2 for the model is .569, meaning that there is a strong positive correlation between the variables, and about 57% of the dependent variable can be explained by the other variables. This relationship is by far the strongest of the models tested, but is not necessarily the most important one.

Table 8 is a simple correlation matrix that encompasses all eleven variables used to test throughout the previous seven models. There are six dependent variables, two main independent variables, and three control variables but also act as independent variables when running multivariate regression analyses. As seen above, the most prominent correlation seems to stem from the city/market reverse ranking variable as it is statistically significant with cable penetration, total arrests per city/market, arrests for White juveniles by city/market, arrests for Black adults by city/market, and total arrests for the Black population at the .01 alpha-level. Another interesting correlation is between the female family house-holders variable and total arrests per city/market, arrests for White juveniles by city/market, arrests for Black adults by

city/market, and total arrests for the Black population at the .01 alpha-level as well. Cable penetration was found to be statistically significant at the .05 alpha-level in relation to arrests for White juveniles by city/market and the educational attainment percentage for high school level or lower. This indicates that the amount of marketing and television has a positive correlation. Another interesting correlation came from the relationship between arrests for White juveniles by city/market and the total arrests for the Black population, the total arrest rates per city/market, and female family house-holders variables, the former two at the .01 alpha-level, and the latter at the .05 alpha-level. This suggests that the amount of White juvenile arrests is dependent on the total amount of Black population and arrest rates per each city/market, and as shown are significantly lower than the other two provided arrest rate statistics. When looking at the correlation matrix, it is easier to conceptualize how many of these variables are interconnected, with varying degrees of strength, and somehow can still explain the phenomenon of implicit bias and the increase in arrest rates for minority groups.

Chapter Five

Discussion

There are two main alternative hypotheses formulated from this research; to complement them, there are also two null hypotheses. The null hypotheses are as such: (1) as areas that have higher cable penetration and percent cable advertising increase, there is no change in the arrest rates for minorities increase due to implicit bias, and (2) as cable advertising as a percent of television advertising increases, there is no change in the arrest rates for Black populations. Conversely, the alternative hypotheses are as follows: (1) as areas that have higher cable penetration and percent cable advertising increase, arrest rates for minorities increase due to implicit bias, and (2) as cable advertising as a percent of television advertising increases, arrest rate for Black populations increase as well. These are the hypotheses that are tested to see if there is statistical significance to the correlations between the dependent variables and the independent and control variables.

In this research, a multivariate regression analysis was run utilizing the six dependent variables in separate models with independent and control variables included. Many statistically significant relationships were made, at the .05, .01, and the .001 alpha-level in the multivariate regression analysis for these variables in five of the models. The only model that did not have any statistically significant relationships was Model 5 in Table 6, with the total arrest rate per city/market. The highest significance level between the different variables was the constant with a .095, having an R^2 of .024. The findings show that there is a statistically significant correlation between the city/market reverse rankings variables with the arrest variables, as they were all statistically significant at the .01 alpha-level. There is also a positive relationship between the

different variables, as none of the correlations ran into the negative spectrum. When the markets increase from lowest to highest, so does the total arrest rates for the Black population; when the percent cable advertising increases from low to high, so do total arrest rates for the Black population as well. Also found was as city/markets increase from 110 to 1, so do the total amount of arrests.

The variables used in the multivariate regression analysis that will be looked at in depth include city/market reverse ranking, where one is the highest and 110 is the lowest. This data was from the year 2008, and is the collection of one or more cities in a given market. This data allows for looking at how much, where, and when different levels of media statistics occur, and how many people are affected by each city/market. The total arrest rates for the Black population is the total amount of Black arrests across all 110 city/markets, including age and gender. The data used was collected from the 2009 year and allows further analysis for different levels of classification, as race and age are separated individually. This variable was the variable that was sought to prove implicit bias and misrepresentation in the media, at the hands of the FCC via lack of governance. The total arrests for each city/market includes the total amount of arrests for each of the 110 markets and includes total arrests for White juveniles and adults, and total arrests for Black juveniles and adults combined. This variable includes all of the major variables pertaining to arrests, and helps as a comparative variable against total arrests for the Black population. The cable advertising as a percentage of total television advertising was collected to see how much advertising was reaching people through cable. This statistic was collected from 2008, and is the average of each city within a given market.

The results found in the tables above show that there is a positive correlation between city/markets and arrests for Black adults, as well as the city/market reverse rankings and total

arrest for Black populations. The main goal is to see if there is a positive correlation, and the strength of said correlation. In this case, there is a positive correlation in the main multivariate regression analyses. However, they overall fall short of being terribly strong, save for a few statistically significant correlations. In regards to the city/markets and total Black arrests, the R coefficient is .458, which while statistically significant at the .001 alpha-level, is just below moderate in terms of the strength of the correlation itself. When looking at the correlation between total Black arrests and the cable penetration variable, however, the significance level is .154 and is not statistically significant. The strongest correlation happens to be between White juvenile arrests and total Black arrests, with .681 and is closer to strong in terms of correlation strength. Seeing that the individually run analyses of these variables were not necessarily significant with one another, it is interesting to see how the correlation matrix shows the different ways in which the eleven variables interact, in ways that were not wholly expected previously. The data supports the hypotheses stated at the beginning of the paper, suggesting that both past and recent literature is correct, and that there can begin to be discussion regarding the direct culpability of the FCC regarding the way media functions now, and how that in turn affects arrest rates and crime.

Policy Implications

The results found throughout the study and shown in the tables provided support previous literature on the topics of media, social disorganization and arrest rates, and show that there is a clear problem regarding the relationship between the two (Bachman et al., 2017; Doherty et al., 2016; Jones, 2016; Gau, 2015; Lilly et al., 2015; Maxfield & Babbie, 2015; Simmons & Woods, 2015; Cullen & Agnew, 2011; Min & Feaster, 2010; Kang, 2005; Beckett & Sasson, 2004;

Carroll et al., 2002; Borg & Parker, 2001; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Krivo & Petersen, 2000; Shih et al., 1999; Kovandzic et al., 1998; Bargh et al., 1996; Ritzer, 1996; Sampson & Wilson, 1995; Messner and Sampson, 1991; Bursik, 1989; Blau & Blau, 1982; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925). According to Kang (2005) and Beckett & Sasson (2004), the combination of media influence on the public and implicit bias has devastating effects for those groups negatively stereotyped by racial mechanics. This study sought to prove that, utilizing Sampson & Wilson's (1995) and Bursik's (1989) argument of conscious political decisions and Kang's (2005) ideas regarding implicit bias and the FCC partaking in conscious political decisions in terms of policy, that the FCC is to blame for the increase of minority arrest rates. The guiding research questions for the study were (1) what is the relationship between levels of television and cable advertising and implicit bias and how do these levels lend an explanation of increased arrest rates in minority populations?, and (2) what is the relationship between media related variables that implicate the FCC and arrest rates for Black populations? These questions helped to shape the two hypotheses posited for the study, and were eventually answered by the discovery of the findings presented in the results section. This claim was supported by two main hypotheses: (1) areas of higher cable penetration and television marketing and advertising have higher arrest rates for minorities due to implicit bias, and (2) as cable and advertising penetration increases, so do the total arrest rates for Black populations.

The implications of the findings discovered in this study suggest that, in order to prevent and alter the current trajectory of arrest patterns and media influence via implicit bias, changes must occur in the way the FCC regulates media ownership rules and the content of news mediums across the spectrum. Possible policy changes may include rescinding the loosening of cross ownership over newspaper companies, radio broadcasting stations, and television news

broadcasting stations, as well as oversee social media interactions. Since June of 2003, by a 5-4 decision, the FCC began the campaign to essentially decentralize their ability to govern and regulate media and the electromagnetic spectrum that the organization was tasked with overseeing (Kang, 2005). While there is still oversight, the decision to promote "localism" and to serve the new "public interest standard" has done incredible damage in undermining the validity and reliability of today's news media credibility. If the decision to revoke the current statutes that allowed for wider consolidation not only within markets and mediums, but across them as well, the total number of interested and controlling parties would expand from a mere few to many, and assure true competition and trustworthiness. As the rules stand now, there are few restrictions left protecting the absorption and seizure of local television and news stations and media, and issues arise when in both the larger Boston area in Massachusetts and Manchester, New Hampshire both have similar, if not identical "local" news broadcasts (Kang, 2005). If these situations do not change, then the ability for the greater public to truly rely on local and national news will disappear, and leave every individual to find the truth personally. Unfortunately, until a regime change happens within the FCC, there does not seem to be a huge push to change the status quo.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to fill in the missing pieces between the literature that currently exists put forth by Kang (2005), Beckett & Sasson (2004), and Sampson & Wilson (1995) mainly, as well as other past and recent literature on the subject. The communal focus across the literature focuses on the arrest rates for minority groups and the effect of the media on these rates, with the lack of a direct link to the FCC for allowing these things to take place. This paper seeks to prove empirically that the FCC can be considered responsible for allowing the deregulation of media ownership rules over the past decade and a half, and for perpetuating a culture that fosters implicit bias in all mediums of news broadcasting and distribution. Utilizing the social disorganization framework, the argument that this issue fell under the macro-structural section as it tied into previous work regarding conscious political decisions, it was believed that it would explain the end outcome of increased arrest rates in minority groups, specifically the Black population. This work, spearheaded by Park & Burgess (1921), Park et al. (1925), later refined by Shaw & McKay (1942), and then broadened to include structural and macro-structural arguments by Sampson & Wilson (1995) and others, it made the ability to test Kang's (2005) theory of FCC culpability in the increase in minority arrest rates over the past fifteen years.

Across the many criminology textbooks with a focus on social disorganization, the framework has not changes since the late twentieth century, but has been refined to encompass many different arguments across the field of criminology. Combined with aspects from sociological and psychological study, Kang's (2005) focus was on how individuals interacted with one another in public. His inclusion of many different studies pointed out that over time,

racial schemas and racial mechanics have changed the way we as human beings interact interpersonally. Due to direct and vicarious experiences, people form schemas of what crime looks like and certain types of people in relation to crime, making minority males more vulnerable to targeting and arrest (Kang, 2005). Along with these forms of experience, the different racial mechanics and implicit bias lend support to explaining why individuals feel a certain way about other racial groups. While looking at several other studies, Kang presented findings that showed that racial stereotypes come into play more often than not subliminally, and remain undetected to most individuals. The best way to deter and prevent further implicit bias lingering is to test for it and safeguard against falling into automatic racial schema mapping.

The aforementioned research questions and hypotheses were found to be empirically accurate by the research done in this study after running a multivariate regression analysis through the use of OLS regression. The findings will help to finally connect the FCC to the implicit bias epidemic running rampant in modern day news mediums and the uptick in minority arrest rates. Also found was the strength and statistical significance of the correlations between the city/market rankings more statistically significant than the correlation between cable penetration affecting the total amount of arrests for the Black population. Hopefully, this will shed some light on a subject that is either not interesting enough in today's society to look into or overall ignored because the subject matter is no longer deemed worth approaching to facilitate change.

Limitations and Future Research

Like many other social science studies, there are limitations and room for improvement. One of the major limitations this study found was the lack of complete data across the nation in just the top 110 markets used for the rankings and to collect the demographic and population data, along with the arrest rates and totals. Florida was among the excluded population sets due to the lack of reporting sent to the FBI yearly for use in the UCR regarding any sort of statistics. Also unavailable were cities from Illinois, Ohio, Louisiana, Kentucky, and the state of Washington. Those major cities that were excluded from computation for each city/market include: Miami, FL, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, Tampa, FL, St. Petersburg, FL, Sarasota, FL, Orlando, FL, Daytona Beach, FL, Melbourne, FL, West Palm Beach, FL, Ft. Pierce, FL, Pensacola, FL, Ft. Meyers, FL, Naples, FL; Champaign, IL, Springfield, IL, Decatur, IL; Cincinnati, OH, Toledo, OH; New Orleans, LA; Lexington, KY; and Spokane, WA. In order to gain a better understanding of how close the relationships are between the markets and media with implicit bias are to affecting arrest rate data, a more complete and broader survey would be required to reflect better the overall population of the United States.

Another limitation that the study faced was that the availability of data and information from previous years, as it was arduous to obtain arrest rate data, demographic data, and market data from any year before 2010. A more varied selection of data should be considered, as there were only a few major sources utilized in the collection of the data used for the study. In other words, on a grander scale this study should yield even more results regarding the proposed arguments made. A larger spread of years studied may also have beneficial results, as it can better gauge the extent of implicit bias in the media, as well as the state of the media before and

after the media ownership rules were changed. Also, looking at the changes across the population and demographic statistics could help widen the scope of the argument.

The potential inclusion of sociological and psychological models, alongside the social disorganization framework, may help to fully flush out the internal and external factors as to how and why implicit bias happens in the modern world, as well as way to better safeguard and prevent the escalation of the problem. This may also better lend ideas as to what influences caused the political decisions consciously made by the FCC in originally changing the media ownership regulations. This would allow for a more complete and full understanding as to what the political and crime standpoint the country was in before and after the FCC made changes, and see over a longer period of time the extent and effects of implicit bias in the media on interpersonal relationships across the country.

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