

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

# Exposure to Television Portrayals of Latinos: The Implications of Aversive Racism and Social Identity Theory

Dana E. Mastro<sup>1</sup>, Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz<sup>2</sup>, & Maria A. Kopacz<sup>3</sup>

1 Department of Communication, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721

2 Department of Communication, University of Missouri–Columbia, Columbia, MO 65211

3 Department of Communication, West Chester University, West Chester, PA 19383

*Although research suggests that manifestations of blatant racism are on the decline, findings additionally demonstrate that subtle racism remains prevalent when contexts provide sufficient ambiguity for the expressions to go unnoticed. Notably, studies examining these outcomes have typically been confined to intergroup contexts, despite the fact that mediated contact may yield parallel responses. The present investigation examines this relationship by applying aversive racism and social identity theory assumptions to assess the influence of exposure to television depictions of Latinos, on White viewers' judgments. Results cautiously reveal that racial identification and media ambiguity affect both viewers' evaluations of target racial/ethnic out-group members as well as in-group esteem.*

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Research examining portrayals of race/ethnicity in the media consistently indicates that Latinos are grossly underrepresented on television compared to their proportion of the U.S. population (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). When depicted, they are seen in a limited range of oftentimes stereotypical roles (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Ramírez Berg, 2002). Despite these content analytic findings, only minimal attention has been paid to investigating the sociocognitive effects of exposure to these images on consumers. The present study addresses this issue by applying insights from the aversive racism framework alongside assumptions from social identity theory to assess the influence of exposure to television depictions of Latinos on viewers' race-based judgments and self-esteem. Although not traditionally associated with media effects, these theories' postulates speak to the unique intergroup outcomes that are likely to result from exposure to specific features of media content. In particular, they suggest that alongside the more blatant, discriminatory responses

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Corresponding author: Dana Mastro; e-mail: [mastro@email.arizona.edu](mailto:mastro@email.arizona.edu)  
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that have begun to be revealed based on exposure to overt stereotypes in the media (Gilliam, 1999; Mastro, 2003; Peffley, Shields, & Williams, 1996), more subtle race-based responses are additionally likely to emerge when media messages provide sufficient ambiguity for the expressions to be attributed to race-irrelevant rationales (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Accordingly, the manner in which Latinos (and racial/ethnic minorities in general) are depicted on television is of import as these images may provoke a broader array of discriminatory responses than previously recognized.

### **Media portrayals of Latinos and intergroup relations**

Although Latinos are currently the largest ethnic minority in the United States, comprising approximately 12.5% of the population (U.S. Census, 2000), content analytic research suggests that they constitute only about 3%–4% of characters featured on prime-time television (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000)—a proportion of the television population that has remained relatively stable for approximately 5 decades (Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002). In addition, when depicted, they are typically restricted to a small number of parts including comics, criminals, law enforcers, and sex objects (Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1987; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Ramírez Berg, 2002). Within these roles, Latinos are frequently characterized by limited intelligence, inarticulate speech, laziness, and verbal aggression (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Moreover, among all Latino characters depicted, only about 11% are seen in high-status jobs, with Latinos more likely to be portrayed in service roles than any other racial/ethnic group on television (Children NOW, 2004). Thus, irrespective of the particular character or role, a trait that appears to be commonly associated with Latinos on television is lack of intelligence and/or education. In contrast to previous decades, however, content analyses suggest that Latinos are increasingly seen in major, as opposed to minor or background, roles (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Notwithstanding this meaningful change, it comes as no surprise that the effects of exposure to these images have been an issue of longstanding concern—particularly when considering that for many White Americans, a bulk of information about Latinos comes from mass media (National Council of La Raza, Center for Media and Public Affairs, 1994).

Notably, little empirical research exists that specifically examines the influence of exposure to television portrayals of Latinos on consumers. Among these few studies, findings consistently illustrate that viewing unfavorable images has consequential implications for audience members. Indeed, these investigations reveal that majority group member's (i.e., White's) consumption of even a limited number of stereotypical portrayals of Latinos in the media is associated with negative judgments about Latino characters' disposition, stereotypic evaluations of Latinos in society, and even unsympathetic race-related policy preferences (Mastro, 2003; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007; Mastro & Kopacz, 2006). Moreover, these in-group-favoring responses may possibly serve identity-based needs by enhancing majority group members' self-esteem (Mastro, 2003).

When studies assessing a more expansive variety of racial/ethnic groups are considered, the association between viewing stereotypes in the media and overt manifestations of discrimination by majority group members is underscored. Across a number of research domains, findings demonstrate that exposure results in an array of disadvantageous race-based outcomes for minority groups, ranging from hostility among White viewers to disparate judgments of guilt and prison sentencing by White consumers (Dixon, 2006; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Gilliam, 1999; Peffley et al., 1996). Although these findings do much to highlight the meaningful role that media play in provoking conspicuous displays of racism, they fail to consider the more discreet discriminatory responses that are also likely to occur given the strong emphasis on fairness and racial equality in contemporary U.S. society (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Consequently, the existing research may provide a conservative test of the relationship between media exposure and expressions of prejudice, as indirect and even unconscious biases are ignored. By recognizing the assumptions of the aversive racism framework along with those from social identity theory, more subtle (and possibly more pervasive) outcomes can be identified and examined.

#### **Aversive racism paradigm and social identity theory**

Among the many perspectives on contemporary forms of racism (Jhally & Lewis, 1992; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988), extensive empirical support has been found for the aversive racism framework (Aberson & Ettlin, 2004). This paradigm posits that evaluations of racial/ethnic minorities are characterized by a conflict between Whites' endorsement of egalitarian values and their unacknowledged negative attitudes toward racial/ethnic out-groups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). According to this perspective, although egalitarian dispositions are a highly valued outcome of current social norms that oppose racial discrimination on both legal and moral bases (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998), racial antipathy persists due to (a) cultural and ideological differences between majority and minority group members (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986), which are often reflected in media representations of race/ethnicity (Ramírez Berg, 2002), (b) cognitive processes that give rise to racial stereotyping (Brewer, 1979; Hamilton, 1981), and (c) social identity motivations that lead to intergroup comparisons (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Thus, in attempts to maintain an egalitarian self-image, aversive racists carefully avoid discriminatory responses when behaviors could be attributed to race-based motives; even adjusting for real or perceived biases in judgments that may result in overcorrections of out-group member evaluations (Aberson & Ettlin, 2004; Murphy-Berman, Berman, & Campbell, 1998; Wegener & Petty, 1995). Nonetheless, prejudicial reactions remain likely to surface if an opportunity to privilege the in-group arises that would allow for continued maintenance of a nonracist self-image (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). This includes contexts where the criteria for social judgments are ambiguous, for example, in terms of features such as qualifications, credentials, and ability (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005) as well as

when the situation offers anonymity and lack of accountability, as may be the case in group or mediated environments (Dobbs & Crano, 2001).

In other words, due to a genuine desire to assimilate societal norms of equality, aversive racists will behave in a discriminatory manner only when their actions can be attributed to factors other than race. To illustrate (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, for review), research demonstrates that helping behaviors favor the in-group (i.e., Whites) when a justifiable, race-irrelevant excuse not to help is available, such as a setting where others may take responsibility or with limited/no accountability. Similar results are yielded in assessments of job candidates and college applicants. Data indicate that hiring and admission decisions favor the in-group when the candidate's qualifications are unclear (i.e., neither exceedingly strong nor weak) and/or when contexts are ambiguous with regard to norms for decision making (i.e., lack of clarity regarding relative importance of various aspects of an applicant's credentials). Parallel manifestations of racism have even been found to emerge in mock jury decisions, resulting in higher rates of conviction and longer prison terms for Black suspects. In these studies, White participants consistently place undue weight on inadmissible evidence when evaluating a Black (vs. White) defendant. In so doing, Gaertner and Dovidio (2005) argue that White respondents are able to provide an ostensibly unbiased rationalization for the decision while still adhering to stereotypes in their judgment, either consciously or unconsciously. Taken together, these results offer evidence of aversive racism outcomes across a wide variety of contexts.

Notably, few investigations explicitly address the impact of media exposure on aversive racism (see Coover & Godbold, 1998). Nonetheless, findings from a handful of investigations signal that mediated intergroup contact may provide the appropriate conditions for such expressions to emerge. In studies ranging from the evaluation of Black versus White welfare recipients in the news (Gilliam, 1999) to others gauging the influence of race representations (Black and White) on liking and similarity (Coover, 2001; Mastro, Tamborini, & Hullett, 2005), results reveal a tendency to provide judgments consistent with aversive racism, although not directly tested as such. These outcomes are not surprising when considering that mediated contexts may supply viewers with ambiguous situational norms alongside anonymity and decreased accountability. Indeed, Coover and Godbold argue that "by functioning to reinforce Whites' identities as egalitarian, media satisfy Whites' need for a positive social identity without challenging them to face their hidden racial biases" (p. 678). Accordingly, media images become part of the ongoing negotiation of identity by supporting and enhancing important aspects of self-image.

In this regard, the significance of linking the assumptions of the aversive racism model with those rooted in social identity theory cannot be overstated. Social identity theory emphasizes the inherent use of group comparisons in managing identity needs and recognizes the important role that media images play in this process (Harwood, 1999a, 1999b). From this perspective, exposure to media depictions of race/ethnicity would be expected to provoke group-based comparisons in order to

maintain self-concept and possibly enhance self-esteem. However, according to aversive racism theory, there may be qualifying conditions for such outcomes to occur. Aversive racism theorists would submit that most White Americans support principles of racial equality and consider themselves racially unbiased, despite harboring conscious and/or unconscious feelings of emotional and psychological discomfort toward racial/ethnic minorities. From an integrated theoretical approach, then, content features that allow viewers to mask their reactions as race irrelevant (i.e., ambiguity) are most likely to promote prejudicial responses. Under such circumstances, viewer's egalitarian self-concept is protected both by the vague media content as well as by the anonymity of the mediated environment. Consequently, exposure may elicit both traditional in-group-favoring responses such as stereotype adherence and more subtle race-based reactions such as differential evaluations in qualifications. One might additionally expect that this expression of in-group bias, either direct or indirect, would serve the identity-based needs identified in social identity theory, therefore enhancing self-concept.

Thus, when considered in conjunction, these theories promote greater awareness of the different types of intergroup outcomes that can be anticipated from exposure to particular features of media content. More specifically, they highlight the important role that character race/ethnicity and the particular manner in which characters are depicted each play in predicting viewer's responses to media. From this theoretical conceptualization, it would be expected that exposure to television storylines that offer sufficient protection from perceptions of in-group favoritism would prompt preferential responses to in-group (as opposed to out-group) characters. In other words, the television storyline should moderate the relationship between exposure to racial/ethnic out-group members on television and subsequent evaluations of these characters along outcomes such as qualifications and stereotype adherence. In particular, when television portrayals are ambiguous, White viewers will likely report judgments of target characters that advantage the in-group (White) over the out-group (Latino). Alternatively, when television portrayals provide contexts where egalitarianism would be the norm (i.e., clearly stereotypic and/or counter-stereotypic), evaluations favoring the in-group will be less likely to emerge.

Of course, stereotypic and discriminatory responses to the media are not confined to circumstances that offer the protection of contextual ambiguity. Indeed, research has repeatedly demonstrated the ability of media exposure, under certain conditions, to elicit blatant stereotype-based outcomes (Bodenhausen, Schwarz, Bless, & Wänke, 1995; Gilliam, 1999; Mastro, 2003; Peffley et al., 1996; Power, Murphy, & Coover, 1996). Instead, what these theories, together, contribute is a refined understanding of the media-based conditions that facilitate intergroup outcomes and why they occur. Moreover, they call attention to additional, more subtle, racially driven outcomes of media exposure that had been largely ignored. Given that an "individual's ability to construct a favorable social identity is directed and constrained by their beliefs about the ... context," the importance of this theoretical contribution should not be ignored (Reid, Giles, & Abrams, 2004, p. 18).

By considering the postulates of each framework, the unique potential for media exposure to elicit intergroup responses rooted in aversive racism is recognized.

However, it should additionally be expected that a viewer's own racial identification would influence this process. Research on social identity theory consistently reveals that as levels of in-group association increase (e.g., identification with one's racial in-group), more extreme accentuation responses emerge (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). In other words, the stronger the identification with the salient social group/category, the greater the in-group favoritism (Espinoza & Garza, 1985; Haslam & Turner, 1995). That is, self-concept becomes increasingly competitive, in-group normative, and out-group stereotypical (Hogg, 1992). As such, the following hypothesis was formulated:

H1: A three-way interaction will emerge between viewer racial identification, character race, and television storyline in predicting evaluations of television characters' qualifications and adherence to stereotypes. Specifically, the viewer's own level of racial identification will moderate the two-way interaction between character race and television storyline.

Put differently, the moderating influence of the television storyline on evaluations of racial/ethnic television characters will be qualified by the viewer's racial identification. Consistent with the literature on social identity theory, greater in-group identification should result in stronger group-based differentiation tendencies. Notably, because intergroup comparisons favoring self, such as those addressed in Hypothesis 1, have been demonstrated to serve self-esteem needs (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995), Hypothesis 2 was additionally posited:

H2: Viewers exposed to ambiguous out-group (Latino) depictions on television will report higher self-esteem than those exposed to ambiguous portrayals of the in-group (White) on television, increasingly so as racial identification rises.

In order to examine these hypothesized relationships, two experimental studies were conducted. Study 1 investigated these associations using scripts and actors' composite shots as a proxy for authentic television programming as this allowed for greater control over induction materials, including the storyline and the characters' attributes. Study 2 replicates Study 1, this time utilizing contemporary television programming to increase environmental realism.

## **Method: Study 1**

In order to provide preliminary insights into the hypothesized relationships between exposure to media content and audience members' judgment processes along racial/ethnic stereotypes, Study 1 was conducted. In this experimental design, participants were exposed to an ambiguous, stereotypic, or counterstereotypic representation of either a White or Latino television character using a simulated television script.

### Participants

The sample consisted of 249 undergraduate students. They received class credit for their voluntary and anonymous participation. All experimental hypotheses were premised upon White-specific stereotypes regarding Latinos, derived from pilot tests to determine real-world stereotypes (reported below) and from findings based on existing content analyses of media. These real-world and mediated assessments of stereotypes revealed parallel outcomes in terms of perceived characteristics associated with Latinos such as low educational achievement, laziness, criminality, and aggressiveness. Accordingly, only White students were included in analyses, so although 323 students participated in the study, only the data for the White participants ( $N = 249$ ) were used.

### Experimental procedure

All students involved in the experimental design were randomly assigned to the induced conditions, including two levels of race for the main character and three levels of the television storyline. Participants were told that they were taking part in a nationwide effort being conducted by the broadcast networks to evaluate new television programming for the upcoming fall season. The purpose was to gather audience feedback on both scripts and actors for several television pilots in order to reduce expenses and optimize success rates prior to the costly production phase. They were additionally informed that their secondary objective was to rate the quality of the shows and evaluate the storyline presented. Students were asked to base these judgments on the merit of the script rather than their personal preferences for television programming as the shows had been designed for a wide variety of viewers.

The students were asked to complete the survey only after reading the script in its entirety, examining the photograph of the character, and noting the name of the character. They were informed that they would be asked to evaluate the storyline involving the specific character identified/photographed in their script so to be certain to observe this character. This process was expected to activate race as the salient social category. Finally, they were made aware that their participation was both voluntary and anonymous.

Following this introduction, the scripts including photographs of the target character (which were bound into the scripts to enhance realism) were randomly assigned to participants. After completion of the study, all students were fully debriefed.

### Analyses

In order to assess the hypothesized three-way interactions, regression analyses and  $t$  tests were conducted. Specifically, multiple regressions (using mean-centered interaction terms) were computed separately at each level of the television storyline to examine the influence of character race and viewer racial identification on subsequent character evaluations and viewer self-esteem. Next,  $t$  tests were used to

determine whether the unstandardized slopes for the centered interaction terms differed significantly based on the television storyline—thereby assessing the three-way interaction. In other words, to determine whether the Character Race  $\times$  Racial Identification interaction differed significantly based on the television storyline, *t* tests comparing the equality of the unstandardized regression coefficients were calculated. Using this strategy, the existence of a moderating effect is determined based on rejection of the null. Examinations of this approach have found it to be the most powerful test for interactions when the moderator is naturally categorical (Alexander & DeShon, 1994). In addition, assessing the three-way interaction in this way (a) helps overcome the reduction in power that would result from adding a dummy predictor to the regression model if the television storyline variable was included (McClelland & Judd, 1993), (b) provides the most powerful test of the particular three-way interaction, given the levels of measurement of the variables under investigation (Alexander & DeShon, 1994), and (c) eliminates the need to artificially dichotomize the (continuous) racial identification variable to include in procedures such as analysis of variance (ANOVA). Thus, this approach provided the most appropriate and straightforward test of the predicted three-way interaction by maintaining the integrity of the variables under investigation, maximizing power, and offering more intuitive results.

Given that regression analyses were computed separately for each television storyline, the overall sample per television storyline condition is approximately 80. Accordingly, the power to detect a medium effect size ( $R^2 = .13$ ) at  $p < .05$  is 0.82. Because multiple regression accounts for effects in any direction, this is a two-tailed test. For tests of the equality of regression slopes, the sample size is approximately 165. This two-tailed test with an alpha of .05 yielded a power of .98 to detect a medium effect size ( $r = .3$ ).

### Pilot tests

Prior to the experiment proper, pilot tests were conducted with students outside the experimental group ( $N = 209$ ) to ensure the effectiveness of the induction. Additionally, scales were pilot tested using confirmatory factor analysis, including tests of internal consistency and parallelism to evaluate factor structure (whenever appropriate). Confirmatory factor analysis was repeated using the actual experimental group, with these reliabilities individually reported in the sections titled, “Independent Variables” and “Dependent Measures.”

### *Racial stereotypes*

Content analyses of television programming have long identified lack of intelligence to be a prevalent characterization of Latinos in the media (Greenberg et al., 2002) and a common trait associated with the two most prevalent roles for Latinos—those of comics and criminals (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Ramírez Berg, 2002). Therefore, this characterization was deemed appropriate for the test of the theoretically derived propositions examined here. To further assess the prevalence of and

belief in this stereotype, it was additionally investigated with a sample of 89 White participants via a free-response, list-making task and two closed-ended questions. Based on this process, an uneducated stereotype emerged prominently. With regard to perceptions of the veracity of this stereotype, on a 5-point scale (5 = *strongly agree*) the mean was 3.22 ( $SD = 0.84$ ), indicating modest belief that people perceive this stereotype to be true. In terms of perceptions that the stereotype is strongly held by the general public, these respondents' average score was 6.47 ( $SD = 1.96$ ) on a 10-point scale (10 = *powerfully held*), suggesting evidence of the perception that the stereotype is strongly held by the general public.

#### *Actor race and attributes*

In order to find comparable White and Latino/Hispanic actors to be used in conjunction with the mock television script, actors' composite shots from a local modeling agency were piloted ( $N = 30$ ). The actor selected as the White character was identified as White by 73% of the participants, and the actor chosen to represent the Latino character was deemed Latino by 67% of the students. They were rated equivalently in terms of age ( $t = 1.8, p > .05$ ) and attractiveness ( $t = 1.6, p > .05$ ) via  $t$  tests.

#### *Names*

To reinforce the race associated with the picture, the names for the White and Latino characters also were piloted ( $N = 13$ ). The name "Juan Rodriguez" was identified as characteristically Latino by all 13 respondents, and the name "John Rodgers" was reported as typical of a White individual by 85% of participants ( $N = 11$ ).

#### *Scripts*

Having identified lack of intelligence/educational attainment to be a prominent real-world stereotype regarding Latinos and a persistent television characterization, three scripts were created that varied in the level of adherence to this stereotype. To ensure realism, the scripts were created in a television scripting format utilizing a two-column technique. They were printed on professional paper, spiral-bound with a cover, and designed to represent actual scripts for television pilots. The storylines from several episodes of two no-longer-airing U.S.-produced prime-time family dramas (*Party of Five*, *My So Called Life*) were modified in creating these three scripts.

Consistent with the fundamental assumptions of aversive racism, the scripts in the dropout (stereotype) and graduate (counterstereotype) condition provide clear outcomes that would be obvious to others. Thus, the appropriate response is plainly provided. Alternatively, in the ambiguous condition the evidence is imprecise and the normative structure is vague. Here, the basis for judgment is indistinct.

Seventy-seven students took part in the assessment of the scripts. ANOVA findings revealed a main effect for condition ( $F = 57.9, p < .001$ ). Scheffe post hoc analyses indicated significant differences ( $p < .001$ ) between each condition in the desired direction such that the main character in the dropout condition was strongly perceived to have dropped out of high school, whereas in the graduate condition, the character was definitively believed to have graduated. Alternatively, in the ambiguous

condition respondents were unsure about the status (i.e., dropout or graduate) of the character. Character names and matching photos were exchanged based on the condition. Otherwise, these scripts varied only in the final scene, which addressed the graduation status of the main character. The full dialogue for the script of the stereotype condition is provided in Appendix A.

### Independent variables

#### *Racial in-group identification*

Four items, extrapolated from existing versions of various group cohesion scales, were used to measure in-group association (see Hogg, 1992, for overview) ( $\alpha = .90$ ,  $M = 2.53$ ,  $SD = 0.95$ ). The questions follow: "Compared to the other characteristics which define you, how much do you value your race/ethnicity?" and "How strong a sense of belonging do you have with your race/ethnicity?" as well as "How much do you like being defined by your race/ethnicity?" and "How much pride do you take in your race/ethnicity?" Response options ranged from *very* (5) to *not at all* (1).

#### *Character race and television storyline*

The independent variable of character race included two races/ethnicities: Latino and White. The television storyline variable included the following three levels: highly stereotypic; ambiguous; and counterstereotypic. Because differences based on television storyline were examined using *t* tests comparing the slopes from regressions calculated at each level of the television storyline, no dummy coding was required. Participants were randomly assigned to the character race and the television storyline conditions.

### Dependent measures

#### *Adherence to stereotypes*

Assessments of stereotype adherence were evaluated based on in-group favoritism (allocation of highest favorable rating to the in-group) (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). The following two items ( $r = .70$ ,  $M = 2.62$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ) were used in determining perceptions of graduation from high school for the "uneducated" storylines: "How confident are you that John/Juan graduated from high school?" and "How confident are you that John/Juan dropped out of high school?" Responses were scored on a 5-point scale from *completely confident* (5) to *not at all confident* (1).

#### *Qualifications*

This three-item measure gauged the extent to which the character was perceived to have the training, skill, ability, and background to complete high school ( $\alpha = .81$ ,  $M = 2.06$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ). The measure included statements such as: "It is clear that Juan/John has the training to succeed in high school" and "Juan/John has the necessary preparation to make it through high school." Items were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* (5) to *strongly disagree* (1).

### Self-esteem

Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item self-esteem scale was used in the present study. This measure has been found repeatedly to exhibit internal consistency as well as convergent and divergent validity (Rosenberg, 1965) ( $\alpha = .87$ ,  $M = 4.11$ ,  $SD = 0.51$ ). Responses were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly agree* (5) to *strongly disagree* (1) and included items such as "I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others" and "I feel that I have a number of good qualities."

## Results: Study 1

### Hypothesis 1: Character Race $\times$ Viewer's Racial Identification $\times$ Television Storyline interaction

Hypothesis 1 predicted that exposure to ambiguous television portrayals would result in evaluations of target characters that favor the in-group over the out-group, increasingly so as the viewer's racial identification increased and with these preferences less emergent when norms for egalitarian responses were evident in the television depiction. This relationship was assessed for judgments regarding character qualifications as well as adherence to stereotypes.

As postulated, a significant character race by viewer racial identification interaction was revealed for judgments regarding character qualifications only in the ambiguous condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .05$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 84) = 4.58$ ,  $p < .05$  (see Table 1 for summary of regression interactions). In order to illustrate the nature of this relationship in the ambiguous storyline condition, separate correlations for participants in the White and Latino conditions were computed between the viewer's racial identification and evaluations of character qualifications. When the target character was White, no association was revealed ( $r = -.09$ ,  $p > .05$ ). However, when the target character was

**Table 1** Study 1: Summary of Regressions Based on Condition for All Dependent Measures

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
DV = Qualifications			
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: ambiguous condition	.75	.35	.27*
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: stereotype condition	.29	.27	.13
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: counterstereotype condition	.06	.34	.02
DV = Adherence to stereotypes			
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: ambiguous condition	.09	.25	.05
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: stereotype condition	.08	.27	.03
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: counterstereotype condition	-.36	.23	-.21
DV = Self-esteem			
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: ambiguous condition	-.36	.17	-.26*
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: stereotype condition	-.08	.17	-.05
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: counterstereotype condition	.15	.16	.13

\* $p < .05$ .

DV = Dependent variable.

Latino, as viewer racial identification increased perceptions of the character's qualifications decreased ( $r = -.35, p < .025$ ). This offers a straightforward demonstration of the specific nature of the interactions; however, these results are provided solely for illustration and do not take the place of the reported regression results. Notably, no such effect emerged in either the stereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .01, \Delta F(1, 79) = 1.15, p > .05$ , or the counterstereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00, \Delta F(1, 74) = .03, p > .05$ , where clear-cut and obvious evidence was provided. Next,  $t$  tests were computed to determine if differences in the regression coefficients at each level of the television storyline were statistically significant (assessing the three-way Character Race  $\times$  Viewer Racial Identification  $\times$  Storyline interaction). Although comparisons of the counterstereotype and ambiguous condition approached significance,  $t(162) = 1.54, p = .06$ , comparisons between the stereotype and ambiguous conditions failed to reach significance,  $t(167) = 1.05, p > .05$ . Thus, despite the fact that a significant interaction between character race and racial identification emerged only in the predicted (ambiguous) storyline condition, only limited support is provided for the hypothesized three-way interaction as  $t$  tests comparing the regression coefficients across the storylines did not consistently achieve significance.

On evaluations of adherence to stereotypes, the posited interaction between character race and viewer racial identification was not revealed in the ambiguous condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00, \Delta F(1, 84) = .13, p > .05$ , the stereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00, \Delta F(1, 79) = .08, p > .05$ , or the counterstereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .03, \Delta F(1, 74) = 2.53, p > .05$ . Table 1 contains the regression summary for interaction effects. Given that the predicted three-way interaction between racial identification, character race, and television storyline did not emerge, the two-way interaction between television storyline and character race was examined using ANOVA. Although this interaction also failed to achieve significance,  $F(2, 243) = 1.52, p > .05, \eta^2 = .00$ , a main effect for character race was revealed,  $F(1, 243) = 4.13, p < .05, \eta^2 = .00$ , such that the Latino character ( $M = 3.31, SD = 1.19$ ) was deemed less likely than the White character ( $M = 3.44, SD = 1.30$ ) to graduate.

### Hypothesis 2: Influence of exposure on self-esteem

Hypothesis 2 proposed that intergroup comparisons in the ambiguous condition advantaging Whites would result in elevated levels of self-esteem, increasingly so as racial identification increased. A significant interaction effect was found for self-esteem only in the ambiguous condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F(1, 84) = 4.53, p < .05$  (see Table 1 for summary of regression interactions). In order to decompose this relationship, separate correlations for the White character and the Latino character were computed (in the ambiguous storyline condition) between viewer's racial identification and esteem. When exposed to the White character, a significant relationship was not revealed ( $r = -.02, p > .05$ ). However, when participants were exposed to the Latino character, as viewer racial identification increased, self-esteem rose ( $r = .47, p < .01$ ), tentatively suggesting that the ability to engage in advantageous intergroup comparisons may bolster evaluations of self.

Notably, no such effects emerged in either the stereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 79) = .20$ ,  $p > .05$ , or the counterstereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 74) = .89$ ,  $p > .05$ . To determine if differences in these regression coefficients (across television storylines) were statistically significant,  $t$  tests were then computed. Neither comparisons of the stereotype versus ambiguous condition,  $t(167) = 1.47$ ,  $p > .05$ , nor the counterstereotype versus ambiguous condition,  $t(162) = .89$ ,  $p > .05$ , achieved significance. Although the Character Race  $\times$  Racial Identification interaction emerged only in the hypothesized television storyline condition, the failure to achieve significance in  $t$  tests assessing the three-way interaction limits support for this finding.

## Method: Study 2

Having established a modest relationship between exposure to the scripted representation of racial stereotypes and consumers' subsequent evaluative responses, Study 2 examined this association using actual television programming. This provided a more externally valid television viewing experience. Thus, whereas the scripts and photographs of actors offered the most optimally controlled environment for the test of the theoretically derived hypotheses, consuming actual programming more closely reproduced an authentic television encounter. Additionally, for comparison purposes, a no-video condition was utilized rather than a counterstereotype condition to provide a true control. Given evidence suggesting that when clearly apparent evidence is present, discrimination is less likely to emerge, the counterstereotype condition was replaced. In all other regards, including hypotheses, design, and analyses, Study 2 replicated Study 1.

### Participants

Students participated on a voluntary and anonymous basis. One hundred ninety-four participants took part in the experiment itself, whereas 56 were used in pilot testing.

### Experimental procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to the experimentally induced conditions. They were informed that they were taking part in a national effort by the broadcast networks to determine what viewers look for in current television programming. In particular, they were told that the networks hoped to obtain audience feedback on actors and television series to reduce errors in casting and increase success rates of new shows prior to production. After viewing the television program, participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire about the plot of the show and the main characters in the program. On average, five students viewed the show at one time. After completing the study, participants were fully debriefed as to the true nature of the experiment.

### Analyses

Consistent with analyses for Study 1, regressions and  $t$  tests were used to assess the posited three-way interactions. Because regressions are computed separately for each television storyline, the power to detect a medium effect size ( $R^2 = .13$ ) at  $p < .05$  is 0.70. Multiple regression accounts for effects in any direction and as such this is a two-tailed test. For tests of the equality of regression slopes, the sample size was approximately 110. This two-tailed test at  $p < .05$  yielded a power of .90 to detect a medium effect size ( $r = .3$ ).

### Pilot tests

As in Study 1, pilot testing was conducted to ensure the appropriateness of the induction. Because participants viewed an actual television clip (as opposed to reading a script), the emphasis on character name was no longer critical given that factors such as context, tone, attire, and so forth all were available to reinforce the race/ethnicity of the target actor.

#### *Character race, character attractiveness, storyline, and enjoyability*

Episodes from the same contemporary family dramas used in Study 1 were edited into segments of approximately 25 min. for use as experimental stimuli. The episodes were selected based on the cast of characters and the range of storylines. The videos edited from the shows were designed to vary only in the race/ethnicity of the target character. In the stereotype condition, the target character struggles with the demands of high school and begins skipping classes or avoiding academic endeavors. In the ambiguous condition, the rigors of high school are presented but minimized and the characters are not shown cutting classes and the like.

In total, 56 participants took part in pilot tests of the video clips. Findings revealed that all participants identified the White character to be White and 96% of respondents identified the Latino character to be Latino. These characters were deemed equivalent in attractiveness via  $t$  test,  $t(54) = .18, p > .05$ . Next, participants assessed the storyline. A  $t$  test demonstrated the clips used for the stereotype condition to be comparable in terms of evaluations of both the Latino and the White characters' academic inadequacy,  $t(54) = .24, p > .05$ . Specifically, those in the Latino condition found the Latino character to be failing academically but no more so than the White character in the White condition. Similarly, pilot tests of the ambiguous condition found the Latino character's circumstance to be uncertain but no more so than the White character's circumstance,  $t(54) = .33, p > .05$ .

### Independent variables

The measures employed in Study 1 also were used in Study 2. The independent variables included character race (Latino, White), television storyline (stereotype, ambiguous, no video control), and racial identification ( $\alpha = .70, M = 3.19, SD = 0.82$ ).

### Dependent measures

Again, consistent with Study 1, the dependent measures included adherence to stereotypes ( $r = .79$ ,  $M = 2.58$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ), qualifications ( $\alpha = .95$ ,  $M = 2.41$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ), and self-esteem ( $\alpha = .89$ ,  $M = 4.09$ ,  $SD = 0.66$ ).

### Results: Study 2

#### Hypothesis 1: Character Race $\times$ Viewer's Racial Identification $\times$ Television

##### Storyline interaction

Hypothesis 1 posited that character race, television storyline, and racial identification would interact in influencing stereotype adherence and judgments about character qualifications. In the ambiguous condition, the predicted Character Race  $\times$  Viewer Racial Identification interaction emerged significantly with regard to stereotype adherence,  $\Delta R^2 = .16$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 55) = 10.62$ ,  $p < .01$  (see Table 2 for summary of regression interactions). In order to demonstrate the nature of this relationship, separate correlations for the White and Latino character conditions were computed (in the ambiguous television storyline condition) between viewer's racial identification and stereotype adherence. When viewers were exposed to the White character, as racial identification increased so, too, did certainty about the academic success of the character ( $r = .29$ ,  $p = .059$ ). Alternatively, when exposed to the Latino character, as racial identification increased, confidence in the academic success of the character (i.e., stereotype adherence) decreased ( $r = -.63$ ,  $p < .01$ ). These analyses provide a straightforward illustration of the regression interaction; however, these results do not supersede the reported regression results. Notably, no such effects emerged in either the stereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 55) = .00$ ,  $p > .05$ , or in the control condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 59) = .19$ ,  $p > .05$ . To determine if these differences in

**Table 2** Study 2: Summary of Regressions Based on Condition for All Dependent Measures

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
DV = Qualifications			
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: ambiguous condition	-.62	.36	-.25
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: stereotype condition	-.81	.36	-.30*
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: control condition	.08	.38	.03
DV = Adherence to stereotypes			
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: ambiguous condition	.76	.23	.44**
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: stereotype condition	-.006	.34	-.00
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: control condition	.17	.39	.06
DV = Self-esteem			
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: ambiguous condition	-.75	.27	-.41**
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: stereotype condition	-.23	.20	-.16
Race $\times$ Racial ID interaction: control condition	-.23	.21	-.15

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

DV = Dependent variable.

the regression coefficients at each level of the television storyline were statistically significant,  $t$  tests were then computed. Comparisons of the stereotype and ambiguous condition differed significantly,  $t(114) = 1.90, p < .05$ ; however, significance was not achieved in comparisons of the ambiguous and control conditions,  $t(118) = .66, p > .05$ .

In terms of viewers' evaluations of the target characters' qualifications, results failed to provide support for Hypothesis 2. The predicted character race by racial identification interaction did not emerge in either the ambiguous condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F(1, 54) = 3.05, p > .05$ , or the control condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .00, \Delta F(1, 59) = .04, p > .05$  (see Table 2 for summary of regression interactions). This interaction was significant, however, in the stereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .08, \Delta F(1, 55) = 5.03, p < .05$ . To decompose this interaction, correlations between character qualifications and viewer's racial identification were run separately for those exposed to the White and Latino characters in the stereotype television condition. These analyses revealed that as identification increased among those exposed to the Latino character, ratings of the character's qualifications rose ( $r = .46, p < .05$ ). No such relationship emerged in the White condition ( $r = -.15, p > .05$ ).

To determine if differences in the regression coefficients at each level of the television storyline were statistically significant (i.e., the test of the three-way interaction),  $t$  tests were computed. No significant differences were revealed between either the stereotype and ambiguous conditions,  $t(113) = .37, p > .05$ , or the ambiguous and control conditions,  $t(117) = 1.17, p > .05$ .

### **Hypothesis 2: Influence of exposure on self-esteem**

Hypothesis 2 posited that resultant from the process of intergroup comparisons favoring the in-group, self-esteem would increase, more so as racial identification rose. In the ambiguous condition, the predicted Character Race  $\times$  Viewer Racial Identification interaction emerged,  $\Delta R^2 = .13, \Delta F(1, 52) = 7.59, p < .01$  (see Table 2 for summary of regression interaction). To illustrate the nature of the relationship between these variables, separate correlations for the White and Latino character conditions were computed (in the ambiguous television storyline condition) between viewer's racial identification and esteem. These analyses reveal no relationship between racial identification and esteem in the White character condition ( $r = -.14, p > .05$ ). Alternatively, in the Latino condition as racial identification increased, self-esteem also rose ( $r = .62, p < .01$ ), tentatively suggesting that advantageous intergroup comparisons may play a role in esteem maintenance. No significant interactions were yielded in either the stereotype condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F(1, 55) = 1.30, p > .05$ , or the control condition,  $\Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F(1, 56) = 1.20, p > .05$ . Next,  $t$  tests were computed to determine whether these differences in regression coefficients at each level of the storyline were statistically significant. These tests failed to reach significance in comparisons of the stereotype and ambiguous condition,  $t(111) = 1.49, p > .05$ , as well as the ambiguous and control condition,  $t(112) = 1.44, p > .05$ . Thus, despite the fact that the predicted Character Race  $\times$  Racial

Identification interaction emerged only in the hypothesized condition (ambiguous), support for the three-way interaction was not provided via *t* tests.

## Discussion

This investigation applied the aversive racism framework and social identity theory to test the effects of exposure to media representations of Latinos on race-based expressions among White viewers. Results demonstrate that viewers made judgments in a manner relatively consistent with this integrated theoretical approach, although this was not exclusively the case. As expected, viewers' racially driven responses emerged largely when contextual norms in television portrayals were ambiguous, indicating a tendency for such outcomes to be evoked when responses can be deemed unrelated to race. This was particularly evident as racial identification increased. Moreover, these intergroup outcomes advantaging one's in-group appear to serve identity-based needs by enhancing self-esteem. However, these findings are not to be overstated. Although these data provide initial evidence for the theoretically derived propositions posed here, the inconsistencies across results point to the need for continued research into the nature of these relationships.

### Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 explored the degree to which viewer's racial identification influenced the effect of character race and television storyline on consumer's judgments. As predicted, the protection offered by the ambiguous media storyline in Study 1 prompted intergroup responses that disadvantaged the out-group on ratings of character qualifications. In particular, only in the ambiguous television storyline condition did increases in viewer's racial identification impact assessments of character qualifications—with evaluations of the Latino character decreasing as racial identification rose. In Study 2, this relationship was again revealed but in determinations of stereotype adherence. Specifically, as viewers' level of racial identification increased in an ambiguous media context, more favorable estimations of educational attainment (i.e., stereotype adherence) were reported when exposed to the White character. When exposed to the Latino character, however, increases in viewer racial identification were associated with decreases in perceptions of the character's academic success. Together, these findings provide tentative support for the aversive racism notion that discriminatory responses to media content are more likely to occur when the content allows this reaction to be rationalized (to self and others) as unrelated to race. Further, these data demonstrate that strength of one's own racial identification may moderate this relationship, resulting in increased aversive racism responses when viewers are highly racially identified.

Despite the preliminary support provided by these results, unanticipated and counterintuitive results additionally were revealed. In Study 1, merely priming racial/ethnic categories resulted in straightforward stereotyping (independent of both racial identification and television storyline). In Study 2, as the racial identification of the

viewer rose, ratings of the character's qualifications increasingly favored the *Latino* in the *stereotype* condition. The question then becomes how to reconcile these seemingly contradictory findings. Although antithetical to the assumptions posited here, these outcomes are not inconsistent with assertions from social identity theory and the aversive racism framework. Indeed, the manifestation of bias in favor of the White character (irrespective of storyline and racial identification) found in Study 1 follows directly from social identity-based assumptions that link in-group-favoring responses to identity maintenance. But, what then of the out-group-favoring response found in Study 2? It may have been the case that in attempts to control prejudicial responses (having been exposed to an overtly stereotypical depiction), viewers overcompensated, resulting in *more* favorable evaluations of Latinos (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Wegener & Petty, 1997). As Gaertner and Dovidio (1981, p. 209) assert, "in these situations, they [Whites] may bend over backwards, responding even more favorably [to minorities] ... given the additional threat to their egalitarianism." The flexible correction model (Wegener & Petty, 1997) addresses this issue.

According to Wegener and Petty's (1997) flexible correction model, when individuals believe they are responding (intentionally or unintentionally) with an undue amount of prejudice they may try to remove this influence from their judgments. However, these attempts at correction do not necessarily result in more accurate views. As they explain, a variety of correction phenomenon may occur. Most consequential to the results from the present study are their findings revealing that such attempts often result in overcorrections (Wegener & Petty, 1995). In particular, if respondents perceived that the target's race/ethnicity might be operating to unfavorably influence decision making, then adjustments to rectify this bias may lead to modifications that produce overly advantageous evaluations. In other words, those who evaluated the stereotypical Latino character may have consciously or unconsciously expected that the character's ethnicity would negatively affect their judgments, therefore resulting in overly positive corrections. In so doing, the viewer's egalitarian self-concept is preserved.

From a more squarely social identity-based perspective, this out-group-favoring response may represent a shift to the comparative categories of racist versus non-racist White (Aberson & Ettlin, 2004; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Here again, as Aberson and Ettlin (2004, p. 31) note, "[t]his process produces extreme responses that overshoot the egalitarian norm, resulting in ... [minority] favoring biases." Although these findings suggest links between media exposure and inter-group responses rooted in aversive racism, further research will be necessary to fully parse out this relationship.

Thus, although findings were not entirely supportive of the theoretical model proposed in the present study, these results imply that both the characteristics of the viewer and the features of the content each must be considered when examining race-based responses to the media. The role of in-group identification in this context is not surprising given research indicating that individuals may use media to serve

social identity needs (Abrams, 2005; Harwood, 1997, 1999a, 1999b) and bolster group vitality (Reid et al., 2004). Accordingly, it also may be expected that mediated group contact would serve to meet esteem needs in much the same manner as real-world group contact. Hypothesis 2 addressed this issue.

### **Hypothesis 2**

Hypothesis 2 posited that resultant from the process of intergroup comparison advantaging the in-group (under conditions of storyline ambiguity), White viewers would register higher levels of self-esteem, increasingly so as their racial identification rose. In both Study 1 and Study 2 (when consuming ambiguous media content), as viewer's racial identification increased, higher levels of self-esteem were reported when exposed to the Latino target. No such findings were yielded in any other condition. What can be cautiously inferred from this result is that these intergroup comparisons favoring the in-group may protect and/or enhance self-esteem by way of downward social comparisons.

### **Limitations and further considerations**

The most considerable limitation to the present study may have been the failure to detect significant differences in *t* tests comparing the regression coefficients across storyline conditions. When considering the theoretical underpinnings supporting these hypotheses, we think it more than serendipity that the predicted effects emerged nearly exclusively in the expected storyline condition (that of ambiguity). Nonetheless, the fact that *t* tests failed to reach significance across the majority of comparisons (for the three-way interaction) cannot be ignored. One possible explanation may be yielded from the power analysis (reported previously), which identified that although the sample size was sufficient to detect medium effect sizes common to much of the stereotyping literature, it may have been inadequate for detecting the small effect sizes yielded in many domains of media research (Morgan & Shanahan, 1997). Thus, it may have been the case that observing differences in effects size metrics such as regression coefficients (Cohen, 1988) for media effects that are typically small required a considerably larger sample. Indeed, with a power of .80 a sample size of 799 would be necessary to detect a small effect size ( $r = .1$ ) using a two-tailed test.

Notwithstanding this limitation, when taken together, these observations cautiously advance our understanding of media and race-related phenomena in two ways. First, they reveal parallels between outcomes typically associated with intergroup contexts and those emergent from exposure to media. Specifically, the manifestations of in-group favoritism and esteem maintenance found in the ambiguous media condition indicate that viewers may derive normative cues from television content and use these to guide their racial expressions. In other words, these data suggest that the "real-world" aversive racism response of egalitarian self-presentation can result from mediated interactions. Moreover, in accordance with social identity theory, group identification appears to play a role in predicting the degree to which

any such responses occur. Mediated interracial contact, therefore, can be seen to function in much the same way as intergroup contact by providing norms that guide racial judgments and support identity maintenance.

Second, this study constitutes an empirical test of the notion that aversive racism may be equally pertinent to Whites' attitudes toward Latinos. Previous studies of aversive racism have concentrated nearly entirely on Whites' subtle biases against Blacks. Consequently, the present study's application to Latinos extends the parameters of the paradigm. The framework contends that aversive racism is a consequence of the sociohistorical relationship between Whites and Blacks in the United States (Dovidio, Gaertner, Anastasio, & Sanitioso, 1992). Thus, the differing patterns of discrimination between Whites and Blacks compared with Whites and Latinos suggest that comparable outcomes may not necessarily apply. However, these results provide preliminary evidence of the same category-based biases typically associated with Whites' aversive racism toward Blacks, and therefore expand the scope of the literature in this area.

Finally, it is important to note that future research in this area would benefit from considering not only White responses to mediated images of race/ethnicity but also racial/ethnic minority groups responses to media depictions of self and other. It may be the case that the desire to maintain an image of the self as nonprejudiced is a phenomenon exclusive to Whites. If so, without the pressure of being deemed racist, what outcomes could be expected from exposure to images of racial/ethnic minorities in the media *by* racial/ethnic minorities? Further inquiry into this area may lend meaningful insights into any such questions.

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## Appendix

### Script for stereotype condition (conditions differed only in concluding scene)

SCENARIO: High school. Loud, overcrowded English classroom setting. It is only the second week back to school after the summer break and the students are still slightly restless. The class is all seniors. It is before the bell. Papers are being thrown across the room. Music is playing loudly. Students are standing around desks, some dancing to music. The substitute teacher walks in as the bell rings. He sits up on his desk [students begin to calm down]. Entire class is looking curiously at the substitute. The sub pulls a pack of gum out of his jacket pocket and gestures to the class, offering them a piece. The students look curious.

STUDENT 1: So, why are you here? You the new substitute?

SUBSTITUTE: Good question [RUNS FINGERS THROUGH HAIR OVER SIDE OF HEAD]. Why AM I here? [WALKING TO SIDE OF CLASS]. Yes, I am the new substitute ... I'm here, quite simply, to get paid. [LAUGHTER FROM THE STUDENTS]. Assuming that you can all read and write, I don't perceive any emergency situations [PACING/PAUSE]. So, that's all ... continue wasting your lives. [GRABS NEWSPAPER FROM BACKPACK, SITS ON DESK, BEGINS TO READ].

- STUDENT 2: Um, are we like ... dismissed? [STUDENTS LOOKING AROUND CURIOSLY].
- SUBSTITUTE: Do you want to be dismissed?  
[CLASS RUMBLING]
- STUDENT 2: No, um, you just said that's all you have to say ... so ... well ... I was just wondering if ... .  
[STUDENTS STILL LOOKING AROUND CONFUSED, ONE STUDENT, JUAN RODRIGUEZ, LIFTS HIS HEAD OFF THE DESK WHERE IT WAS RESTING]
- SUBSTITUTE: I will be here for the next 43 minutes. Whether or not you will be here for that time is your decision. [LOOKS BACK DOWN AT PAPER]
- JUAN: What's the catch, huh?
- SUBSTITUTE: No catch; you don't want to be here ... go. I'm not going to stop you.  
[STUDENTS RUMBLING AND FIDGETING AROUND]  
[JUAN GETS UP PUSHING HIS DESK OUT OF THE WAY AND STRUTS OVER TO THE DOOR]
- SUBSTITUTE: Well, you know there is just one catch. [TOSSES NEWSPAPER TO THE SIDE]. We will be discussing you in your absence. [CLASS SNICKERS]. But, if you don't mind that ...
- JUAN: Yeah, right, man. [SHRUGGING AND CONTINUING TO WALK].
- SUBSTITUTE: It's no joke. Trashing you in your absence will help pass the time. [MORE STUDENT LAUGHTER]. It could possibly be educational too. [JUAN WALKS SLOWLY AND SUSPICIOUSLY BACK TO HIS DESK, PAUSES, AND SITS DOWN]
- STUDENT 1: So, what are we supposed to do?  
[STUDENTS LOOKING AROUND, CONFUSED AND AMUSED]
- SUBSTITUTE: I've known you for all of 5 minutes and you want me to tell you what you're supposed to do ... [RUNS FINGERS THROUGH HAIR. SHRUGS THOUGHTFULLY]. Fine. Follow your hearts and stay clear of heroin. [CLASS LAUGHTER].
- STUDENT 1: No, I mean in the next 43 minutes. [SMILING CURIOSLY. REFLECTING ON THE PECULIAR NATURE OF THE SUBSTITUTE].
- SUBSTITUTE: I know what you meant. That was sarcasm. [REACHES INTO COAT POCKET. PULLS OUT ANOTHER PIECE OF GUM. EXCHANGES THE ONE IN HIS MOUTH FOR A NEW PIECE]. Um, gum? [OFFERING THE PACK TO THE CLASS AGAIN WITH HIS ARM OUTSTRETCHED].  
[STUDENTS TALKING UNDER BREATH]

- STUDENT 2: Um, one of the, um, things we were supposed to do this year was [PAUSE], um, the literary magazine. We each wrote something, and, like Mrs. Madolin, that was our teacher, she never approved the writing or whatever, because, she just quit. So we, um, never did ... start ... the magazine. [STUDENTS SHUSHING STUDENT 2]
- SUBSTITUTE: That's a heartbreaking tale. [LAUGHTER]
- STUDENT 2: What I meant was, the poems we wrote are in there [POINTING TO THE CABINET]. So, could you at least, like, read them so we can get credit for them?
- SUBSTITUTE: Why not? [IN ENTHUSIASTIC TONE. WALKS OVER TO THE CABINET. LOOKS OVER THE SHELVES GRABBING A STACK OF PAPERS]. All right then.  
[BELL SOUNDS. STUDENTS FILE-OUT IN FAST - BELL SOUNDS NEXT DAY CLASS PERIOD]
- SUBSTITUTE: Well now, I have had the privilege of reading your entries for the Literary Magazine [SMIRKING]. And, how should I describe them ... [LOOKING AROUND WITH THOUGHT]. Lets see ... [LOOKING AT CEILING] ... Boring, the word boring comes to mind. Fake, false, synthetic, bogus ... [STUDENTS TALKING UNDER BREATH]... . Now, what do you think these words have in common. [STANDS UP IN FRONT OF THE CLASS]. You ... [POINTING TO JUAN].
- JUAN: [WITH BLANK LOOK] Me?
- SUBSTITUTE: Yes, what do these words have in common?
- SUBSTITUTE: Yes, yes, I know what you are going to say [JUAN LOOKING AROUND CONFUSED] ... that these words are synonyms. And, that is true ... but what else are they? How else would you classify them?
- JUAN: [LOOKING AROUND EMBARRASSED]. I dunno.
- SUBSTITUTE: Yes! You! Do! [IN STERN TONE]. Think I'm an idiot? If I tell you the class poems were [WALKING] safe, banal, homogenized, cutesy ... all of which is true by the way ... what kinds of words am I using? [SITS ON JUAN'S DESK. LOOKING INTENTLY AT HIM]. Tell me [LEANS OVER VERY CLOSE. LOOKING INTO JUAN'S FACE]. Don't give me that blank look. [JUAN LOOKS AWAY]. [PAUSE]. You know this, come on. [STARTS PACING AROUND JUAN'S DESK]. Tell me. Not nouns, not verbs, but ... [PAUSE AS JUAN LOOKS AROUND IN A PANIC]
- STUDENT 1: Adjectives. [YELLING FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ROOM].
- SUBSTITUTE: Yes, okay. [SUBSTITUTE DISTRACTED FROM JUAN NOW WALKS OVER TO THE WINDOW WITH THE STUDENT

POEMS IN HIS HAND]. Now, how do I put this ... This [RAISING POEMS INTO THE AIR] is the most wretched crap I have ever read. [TOSSES POEMS OUT THE WINDOW LITTERING THE FRONT LAWN. STUDENTS IN CLASS RUMBLING]

[BELL SOUNDS] – [BELL RINGING AS STUDENTS EXITING, SUBSTITUTE ADDRESSES JUAN].

SUBSTITUTE: Juan [JUAN TURNS AROUND HALF-WAY OUT THE DOOR]. That's your name right? Juan Rodriguez? [JUAN NODS]. Look, I appreciate that you don't want to monopolize the class discussion [HUMOROUS TONE], but come on ... I need you to talk more [TONE TURNS SERIOUS]. You're not going to pass this class if I can't see that you understand the material. That means you will not graduate.

JUAN: Okay, okay.

SUBSTITUTE: And be prepared in class tomorrow.

[BELL RINGING]

SUBSTITUTE: [AS THE STUDENTS ARE ENTERING] Pull out your notebooks. [STUDENTS RUMBLING]. I want everyone to start over on their poems ... from the beginning ... right now.

STUDENT 2: What? [UPSET] [GRUMBLING IN CLASS]

STUDENT 1: I didn't bring a notebook ... and I worked hard on the last poem. The Pine tree poem ... that was mine!

SUBSTITUTE: [SITTING ON HIS DESK] Well, this time don't give me anything quaint. I don't want to read about greenery or domesticated animals ... I want the real deal!

[NOW PACING] I want honesty, anger ... what you're feeling ... what you never told anyone ... what you never told yourself! [SMILING]. Yes, and so no one is exposed ... don't put your names on them. These will be completely anonymous.

[STUDENTS GRUMBLING. PULL OUT NOTEBOOKS AND START WORKING]

SUBSTITUTE VO: ... *I think it clever of the turtle ... in a fix and yet so fertile.*

SUBSTITUTE: Okay, is this poem a real Haiku? [LOOKING AROUND ROOM] What do you think? [PAUSE] Anyone? [PAUSE] Juan?

JUAN: [FIDGETING IN SEAT. LOOKING AROUND]. I dunno.

SUBSTITUTE: Yeah, well find out [JUMPS UP. GRABS CLASS TEXT FROM DESK]. Look it up! [HANDS BOOK TO JUAN]. Now!

[JUAN LOOKING AROUND NERVOUSLY. BELL RINGS SPARING HIM ANY FURTHER EMBARRASSMENT. CLASS EXITS. JUAN HALF WAY OUT THE DOOR ... ]

SUBSTITUTE: Juan! Come here. [JUAN PAUSES AND TURNS AROUND]. You and I aren't finished yet. [SUBSTITUTE AND JUAN WALK

OVER TO STUDENT DESKS AND SIT DOWN]. You have only turned in a few of your assignments, you rarely participate in class. What are we going to do about this?

[FADE OUT] [FADE IN. JUAN AND SUBSTITUTE ARE SITTING IN THE STUDENT DESKS AFTER SCHOOL. JUAN HAS A BOOK IN FRONT OF HIM. HE IS FRUSTRATED EXAMINING THE TEXT].

SUBSTITUTE: What's that word? [STARING INTENTLY AT JUAN. JUAN LOOKS OUT THE WINDOW]. Don't look out the window! What's the word! [STERNLY]

JUAN: Um [LONG PAUSE].

SUBSTITUTE: What's the sound? [PAUSE]. [DISAPPOINTED] Okay, finish this chapter and the next 10 poems tonight.

JUAN: What? Are you crazy? [PUSHES HIMSELF BACK IN HIS DESK]

SUBSTITUTE: Look [LEANING TOWARD JUAN]. This is Haiku poetry. Haiku poetry contains only 17 syllables per poem. That's not a lot of syllables. [TONE RAISING]. Don't skip any. [LOUDER]. Get out of here!

[JUAN STORMS OUT OF THE CLASS, PUSHING THE DESKS IN HIS WAY – SUBSTITUTE SIGHS HEAVILY, LOOKING DOWN, CLEARLY UPSET. STANDS UP. PUSHES DESK. BEGINS TALKING ALOUD TO HIMSELF]

SUBSTITUTE: It just pisses me off ... how that kid could make it this far ... with no one ever bothering to notice that he can hardly read or write! [GRABS A PIECE OF GUM FROM HIS POCKET]

[WIDE: Scenes in and out of class periods across several more months. Juan is coming to class less and less frequently. The substitute waits for him after class and Juan never shows up. As the segment continues, it becomes clear that Juan is not going to stick with it. It is a slow process throughout the school year and Juan seems to have lost his motivation. On the rare occasion that he does come to class he doesn't bother to lift his head from the desk.]

[ZOOM: Juan is standing in the hall with a group of his classmates. It is the day of graduation. Everyone is in a cap and gown, except for Juan. Juan and the substitute see one another and walk towards each other.]

JUAN: I, uh, don't know what to say ... .

SUBSTITUTE: You could have written it down for me if ... .

[THERE IS A LONG PAUSE. JUAN WALKS AWAY]

[MUSIC: SHIFT TO FINALE]

End Scene, over school. Graduation. Juan is not present.

[MUSIC: UP AND OUT]

## **Exposition à des images télévisuelles de Latino-Américains : Les implications du racisme aversif et de la théorie de l'identité sociale**

Dana E. Mastro, Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz, & Maria A. Kopacz

### **Résumé**

Bien que la recherche suggère que les manifestations de racisme flagrant soient sur le déclin, les résultats démontrent également qu'un racisme subtil demeure courant lorsque les contextes permettent suffisamment d'ambiguïté pour que les expressions ne soient pas remarquées. Notamment, les études qui ont examiné ces résultats ont typiquement été confinées à des contextes inter-groupes, malgré le fait qu'un contact médiatisé puisse générer des réponses parallèles. La présente recherche examine cette relation en appliquant des postulats de racisme aversif et de la théorie de l'identité sociale afin d'évaluer l'influence de l'exposition aux représentations télévisuelles des Latino-Américains sur le jugement des téléspectateurs Blancs. Les résultats révèlent, prudemment, que l'identification raciale et l'ambiguïté médiatique ont un impact tant sur les évaluations que font les spectateurs des membres d'un groupe racial/ethnique extérieur que sur l'estime intra-groupe.

**Die Wahrnehmung der Darstellung von Latinos im Fernsehen:  
Schlussfolgerungen bezüglich aversiven Rassismus und der Theorie der  
sozialen Identität (Social Identity Theory)**

Auch wenn neuere Forschung davon ausgeht, dass Manifestationen von offenkundigem Rassismus zurückgehen, zeigen andere Forschungsergebnisse, dass unterschwelliger Rassismus weiter besteht, wenn der jeweilige Kontext entsprechend mehrdeutig ist und diese Ausdrücke unbemerkt bleiben. Studien, die derartige Folgen untersuchen, beschäftigen sich zumeist mit Gruppenkontexten, auch wenn ein mediatisierter Kontakt ähnliche Reaktionen hervorrufen kann. Die vorliegende Studie untersucht diese Beziehung unter Rückgriff auf Annahmen des aversiven Rassismus und der Theorie der sozialen Identität, um herauszufinden, inwiefern die Beurteilung von Latinos durch weiße Zuschauer durch die Darstellung von Latinos im Fernsehen beeinflusst wird. Die Ergebnisse zeigen (wenn auch schwach), dass die Einschätzung der Zielethnie (outgroup) wie auch die Wertschätzung der eigenen Ingroup seitens des Zuschauers durch die Identifikation mit einer Ethnie und der Medienambiguität beeinflusst werden.

# **La Exposición a las Representaciones de los Latinos: Las Implicancias del Racismo Inconsciente y la Teoría de Identidad Social**

Dana E. Mastro

Department of Communication at the University of Arizona.

Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz

Department of Communication at the University of Missouri-Columbia

Maria A. Kopacz

Department of Communication at West Chester University

## **Resumen**

Aún cuando las investigaciones sugieren que las manifestaciones evidentes de racismo están en declive, los resultados demuestran, adicionalmente, que un racismo sutil continúa prevaleciendo cuando los contextos proveen de suficiente ambigüedad para que las expresiones permanezcan inadvertidas. Notablemente, los estudios que examinan estos resultados han sido típicamente confinados a los contextos intergrupales a pesar del hecho de que el contacto mediático puede producir respuestas paralelas. La presente investigación examina esta relación a través de la aplicación de las suposiciones del racismo inconsciente y la teoría de identidad social para evaluar la influencia de la exposición a las representaciones televisivas de los Latinos, sobre los juicios de los televidentes blancos. Los resultados revelan con prudencia que la identificación racial y la ambigüedad de los medios afectan las evaluaciones de los televidentes sobre la raza/etnia de los miembros del grupo de no pertenencia así como también la estima del grupo de pertenencia.

## 接触有关拉裔的电视形象：反面种族主义和社会身份理论的含义

Dana E. Mastro, Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz 和 Maria A. Kopacz

### 摘要

尽管研究认为赤裸裸的种族主义言论呈下降趋势，但一些研究证明，当某种背景提供足够的模糊空间以至于种族主义的表达难以被注意时，微妙的种族主义言词依然盛行。值得注意的是，检测上述结果的研究常常局限在群体内的背景，尽管媒介化的接触会导致同样的反应。为了探讨媒介所带来的影响，本研究应用反面种族主义和社会身份理论，来探讨接触有关拉裔的电视形象对白人关于拉裔判断的影响。结果谨慎揭示了种族界定和媒介模糊影响了受众对种族群体外成员及群体内自尊的评价。

# 라틴계 주민의 텔레비전 묘사에 대한 노출: 혐오적인 인종차별주의의 영향과 사회일치이론

Dana E. Mastro, Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz, & Maria A. Kopacz

## 요약

비록 여러 연구들이 명백한 인종차별주의가 감소한다는 것을 보여주고 있어도, 추가적으로 진행되는 연구 결과들은 미묘한 인종차별주의는 만연하게 남아있다는 것을 보여주고 있다. 주목할만하게, 이러한 결과들을 연구한 논문들은 중재된 접촉이 똑 같은 결과를 산출할 수 있을 수 있다는 사실에도 불구하고 집단 상호간 상황에 주로 제한되고 있다. 본 연구는 이러한 관계를 혐오적인 인종차별주의와 사회일치이론가정을 응용하는 것에 의해 실험하고 있는바, 이는 백인 시청자들의 판단에 대한, 라티노들의 텔레비전 묘사에 대한 노출의 영향을 측정하기 위한 것이다. 결과들은 인종 동일시와 미디어 모호성은 시청자들의 목표 인종 집단 구성원들에 대한 평가와 집단내 존중 모두에 영향을 주는 것으로 조심스럽게 진단하고 있다.