Latinos' Perceptions of Intergroup Relations in the United States: The Cultivation of Group-Based Attitudes and Beliefs from English- and Spanish-Language Television

Michelle Ortiz[*]
The Ohio State University

Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz
University of Missouri

This study utilized a social identity-based cultivation approach to investigate the influence of English and Spanish-language television exposure in the United States on Latinos' perceptions of intergroup relations. Although research has examined the influence of television on Whites' perceptions of nondominant racial and ethnic groups, little empirical research exists assessing the influence of television on nondominant group members' (e.g., Latinos') race-related perceptions. To help fill this gap, a survey of Latino Americans (N = 209) was conducted. Results indicated that Latinos' English-language television exposure was associated with perceptions of discrimination against Latinos and perceptions of the legitimacy of such treatment. Endorsement of English-language television portrayals and exposure to Spanish-language television moderated these relationships.

Theory and empirical research alike indicate that exposure to television images of race/ethnicity contributes to viewers' race-based cognitions and behaviors. However, most research examines this relationship among majority group viewers (e.g., Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yarchi, 2015), with few studies examining the influence of television on nondominant group members. The limited empirical evidence with nondominant audiences suggests that television may indeed be a significant

[*]Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Michelle Ortiz, School of Communication, The Ohio State University, 154 N Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210 [e-mail: michortiz@gmail.com and behmmorawitze@missouri.edu].

predictor of perceptions of discriminatory treatment (e.g., Dowler & Zawilski, 2007), which in turn has negative effects on socially important issues such as political engagement (Schildkrau, 2005) and depression (e.g., Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000). This study addresses this gap in the literature by investigating the influence of viewing English and Spanish-language television programming on U.S. Latinos' perceptions of prejudice and discrimination. This research is guided by assumptions from cultivation theory and social identity theory (SIT) and its results can inform research on social identity processes of media effects as well as make practical suggestions for reforming Latino representations on U.S. television.

Representations of Latinos on U.S. Television

Compared to their actual proportion of the U.S. population, Latinos have consistently been underrepresented on English-language television (e.g., Mastro & Tukachinsky, 2012; Tukachinsky et al., 2015). Although Latinos account for approximately 17% of the U.S. population, they represent only 5% of characters depicted on primetime television in recent years. Latino images have not only been limited in number, they have also been constrained with regard to the importance and quality of their roles (Ramírez Berg, 2002). Content analytic work examining U.S. television programming provides insight into the Latino depictions that viewers are likely to encounter when watching English-language television. Latino television characters are identified as less appropriately and more provocatively dressed than their Black and White counterparts (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Compared with White women, Latino women are characterized by higher verbal aggression and a lower work ethic. Latino men are judged as less articulate and more hot-tempered than White men. Further, Latinos are portrayed as lazier and as less intelligent than their White and Black counterparts. Latinas are identified to be lower in social authority than Whites, and among men, Latinos are lower in job authority than Whites. These portrayal patterns reflect some of the longstanding negative stereotypes of Latinos in English-language television programming.

Spanish-Language Television in the United States

Alongside these offerings on English-language television, Spanish-language television channels constitute an additional media outlet providing viewers with representations of Latinos that may influence social perceptions. Spanish-language networks, such as Univision, target Latinos living in the United States and feature telenovelas as well as genres akin to English-language network programming. These networks are widely available and watched via cable and satellite providers in the United States. For example, during the fall 2012 season, Univision averaged 3.7 million viewers during prime time (Vega, 2012).

Content analyses of Spanish-language television programming reveal the following about Latino characters: women appear in almost equal numbers to their male counterparts; men hold more professional jobs whereas women hold more parental/familial positions; characters are frequently family-focused; and lighter skin is privileged (e.g., Mastro & Ortiz, 2008).

Similar to patterns of portrayals on English-language television, Spanish-language networks privilege youth, light skin, and masculinity. Latino men are more likely to be depicted in the workplace and with higher status roles than women; this is particularly true for lighter skinned Latinos (Mastro & Ortiz, 2008). Black Latinos appear very infrequently. Further, congruent with traditional gender stereotypes, attractiveness and youth are more often associated with representations of Latino women than intelligence and career status. Overall, character biases in Spanish-language television appear to be based on gender and skin coloring, similar to U.S.-based English-language television.

Notably, there are a few marked differences in the portrayals of Latinos on Spanish-language television in comparison to English-language programming in the United States. First, Latinos dominate in Spanish-language programming, whereas they appear in limited numbers in English-language television. Thus, there is a wider variety of roles for Latinos on Spanish-language networks (vs. English-language TV). Second, although Spanish-language television depicts gender stereotypes not unfamiliar to English-language television shows, Spanish-language programming does not link Latinos to crime as frequently as English-language programming (Mastro & Ortiz, 2008). Latino viewers may get a reprieve from seeing their culture represented as deviant and dangerous on television by turning to Spanish-language rather than English-language programming. As a result, despite holding to some recognizable gender- and race-based stereotypes, Spanish-language television may offer viewers a more diverse picture of Latinos in comparison to English-language programming.

Latinos' Media Preferences and Usage

Focusing attention on the influence of exposure to both English and Spanish-language television offerings becomes essential when the viewing rates and preferences among Latino consumers in the United States are considered. Latinos in the United States spend more time using television than any other medium (Nielsen, 2013). Looking across all age groups, Latino American households watch approximately 29 hours of television per week (Nielsen, 2013). The Spanish-language television industry has been rapidly growing in the United States. (Nielsen, 2011). Moreover, 85% of Latino Americans can speak Spanish (Nielsen, 2011), and they can and do select from both English- and Spanish-language programming—vastly broadening television offerings. According to Nielsen (2011), predominantly Spanish-speaking homes view 78%, mixed-language

homes view 50%, and solely English-speaking homes view 3% of television in Spanish.

Beyond language use, research suggests Latino Americans may make television selections based on desire to bolster their ethnic social identity (Harwood, 1999). For this study, this suggests that Latino Americans may elect to view Spanish-language television to seek out media representations that are similar to themselves. In other words, English-language television offers fewer Latino representations, thus, Spanish-language television may better fulfill social identity gratifications for Latino Americans. Research also suggests that some Latinos may avoid English-language television as a means of protecting one's identity (Abrams & Giles, 2007). Taking an intergroup perspective, SIT provides a useful framework for understanding the psychology of media influence on racial/ethnic perceptions. Coupled with cultivation theory—which speaks directly to the cumulative effects of television on viewers' perceptions—SIT provides explication for how Latino viewers' cognitions about prejudice may be formed from repeated exposure to English- and Spanish-language television.

Theoretical Framework

We propose an integrated social identity-based cultivation approach to understand the influence of English- and Spanish-language television on Latino Americans' perceptions of discrimination and the legitimacy of treatment.

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory focuses on television's contribution in shaping viewers' social perceptions; positing that much of what people know comes from the stories they see on television (Gerbner et al., 2002). Television's influence is facilitated by the consistency of its messages, its ubiquitous nature, and its vast reach. As such, television becomes fundamental to constructing viewer's perceptions about the world (Signorielli & Morgan, 1996).

According to cultivation theory, television provides viewers with a consistent set of homogenized messages that, over time and with repeated exposure, influence consumers' perceptions of reality. Consequently, cultivation theory is not concerned with the effect of exposure to one particular message; rather, it is concerned with consumption of the system of messages presented by television—for example, themes regarding violence, sex, and stereotypes (Gerbner et al., 2002). Notably, although originally conceptualized to describe the influence of overall exposure (irrespective of genre or day-part), recent research indicates that cultivation effects may be more closely associated with the amount of exposure to certain types of content (e.g., genres) as: (a) particular themes are more likely to emerge within these programming categories and (b) audience members tend to

selectively choose certain program types over others (Cohen & Weimann, 2000; Hawkins & Pingree, 1981).

Thus, repetitive and prolonged exposure to television messages, based on specific viewing patterns, drives consumers to adopt the reality presented in its content. Moreover, cultivation theory stipulates that heavy viewers (vs. light viewers), by virtue of their total amount of exposure to television, would be expected to show greater correspondence with television's messages when making judgments about the world (Gerbner et al., 2002). These effects are revealed in terms of beliefs regarding the concrete features of reality (i.e., first-order cultivation) such as demographic estimations, as well as inferences derived about the social world (i.e., second-order cultivation) such as stereotypes (Mastro & Tukachinsky, 2012).

When applied to the influence of exposure to images of Latinos on Latino consumers' social perceptions, the implications of cultivation theory are twofold. First, given the heavy rates of television consumption reported by Latinos, these audience members would be expected to be highly susceptible to cultivation effects. Second, when considering the findings from content analytic research on depictions of Latinos on television, it is not unlikely that exposure could influence a wide variety of social perceptions related to group characteristics, norms, status, and even power relationships (Harwood & Roy, 2005; Ramírez Berg, 2002). However, when it comes to understanding the specific features of the processes leading to these outcomes, cultivation theory alone fails to provide sufficient clarity. The tenets put forth by SIT address this issue by identifying the psychological mechanisms that may contribute to the cultivation of ethnic cognitions (Harwood & Roy, 2005).

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that a person's self-concept is derived, in part, from the groups to which they belong. These group memberships, or social identities, provide rewards in the form of positive group distinctiveness in group-based comparisons (depending on the value of the group membership). More specifically, through a process of categorization, individuals compartmentalize themselves and others into groups in reference to the self, such that others are perceived as members of the same or different category (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). The characteristics of these groups then supply norms of thinking and behaving that guide interactions with ingroup and outgroup members (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

According to SIT, this ongoing social categorization process is essential for two primary reasons. First, it aids in establishing power and status relations between people, so that the benefits associated with a group are generalized to members of the group; similarly, the costs associated with a group are also associated with its members (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Second, through this process individuals are able to form ingroup–outgroup distinctions that favor the ingroup. In other words, SIT stipulates that in seeking to maintain positive ingroup status, individuals will compare their own group to salient outgroups. Given that such comparisons are meant to provide the ingroup with favorable comparative distinctions (Turner, 1978) and positive social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988), individuals focus on the advantageous characteristics ascribed to their group. Accordingly, upon drawing a favorable intergroup comparison, individuals simultaneously enhance evaluations of self and maintain (and perhaps even bolster) their self-esteem (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

It is important to note that these comparisons can occur in both intergroup and mediated contexts. Indeed, television messages have been implicated in intergroup processes as exposure has been found to facilitate intergroup comparisons and group contrasts (Harwood & Roy, 2005; Mastro, 2003). That is, considering the disparities that exist in the quantity and quality of representations of different racial/ethnic groups on television, this medium appears to provide a context through which to draw intergroup distinctions. Harwood and Roy (2005) further argue that in addition to the manner in which different groups are depicted in the media, the sheer numeric representation (or lack thereof) also serves as an indicator of group status and strength in intergroup contexts.

According to this framework then, media models can serve as an information source from which viewers learn about (among other things) the standing and perceptions of their group in society (Harwood & Anderson, 2002). Moreover, these images play a role in normalizing the characteristics associated with different groups (Ramírez Berg, 2002). This is supported in studies on the influence of media on gender identity (Acosta-Alzuru & Kreshel, 2002; Mayer, 2003) as well as on age identification (Harwood, 1997, 1999).

An Integrated Approach

Taken together, the findings based on content analyses as well as research on cultivation theory and SIT imply that heavy exposure to television portrayals of one's ethnic group may result in the creation of shared norms regarding the characteristics that define group membership. Applying SIT to cultivation offers an explanation for how media representations impact group-based perceptions. According to a social identity-based cultivation perspective, greater frequency of television use would predict intergroup judgments that are more in line with thematic group representations on television. Further, this approach suggests that a key individual difference impacting this relationship may be an individual's acceptance of the race-based thematic depictions. Social identity research indicates that a number of factors, such as strength of social identification, may impact ingroup perceptions. These complexities of social identity processes may influence whether or not a Latino viewer endorses the depictions of Latinos on television.

Thus, the strength of the cultivation effect may depend on individual interpretations of the accuracy of television images.

Although Latinos appear infrequently on English-language television, their appearance may be memorable (due to scarcity in relation to their White counterparts) and stereotypical in nature (Behm-Morawitz & Ortiz, 2012). Latino viewers may begin to internalize these images, subsequently impacting social identity, self-concept, and intergroup relations. In particular, Latinos who are heavy consumers of English-language television, being unable to draw positive group distinctiveness based on the quantity or quality of media images, may experience this mediated encounter as a threat to self-concept. Additionally, increased exposure to the oftentimes unflattering roles associated with English-language television images of Latinos may result in a belief that their ethnic ingroup is treated unjustly/unfairly in society; as reflected on television. That is, Latino viewers may rationalize that these unfavorable media images result from real world prejudice and discrimination in society.

When viewing Spanish-language television, however, Latino audience members are likely to be exposed to numerous characters considered ethnic or cultural ingroup members (or both) as the vast majority of these shows come from Latin America (Becker, 2005). Moreover, they are likely to see a greater array of images, allowing for the maintenance of social identity-based needs. Consequently, the role of Spanish-language television consumption also should be taken into consideration when investigating the effects of television exposure on Latinos' social perceptions. Based on this rationalization, the following hypothesis was developed:

Hypothesis 1: English and Spanish-language television consumption will interact in predicting perceptions of treatment toward Latinos, such that as Spanish-language television consumption rates decrease, increased levels of English-language television consumption will be associated with increased perceptions of negative treatment of the ingroup.

In addition to influencing perceptions regarding treatment in society, exposure to negative portrayals of one's ingroup on television may also influence the perceived legitimacy of such treatment. Perceived legitimacy refers to the belief that one's group status in society can be attributed to actual group differences (Schmader, Major, Eccleston, & McCoy, 2001). Accordingly, it may be the case that through increased exposure to English-language television, Latino subordination becomes incorporated into Latinos' own belief systems regarding their group's standing in society. In other words, exposure may result in the acceptance of such treatment as defensible/justified. This association is not expected based on exposure to Spanish-language television, as this content offers diverse set of images of Latinos in the social hierarchy. Thus, the following hypothesis was formulated:

Hypothesis 2: English and Spanish-language television consumption will interact in predicting perceived legitimacy of treatment, such that as Spanish-language television consumption rates decrease, increased levels of English-language television consumption will be associated with increased perceptions of the ingroup receiving legitimate treatment.

However, as previously noted, the influence of English-language television consumption on perceptions regarding the legitimacy of treatment of Latinos in society may be moderated by the extent to which Latino viewers endorse these depictions. Among some viewers, the relationship between English-language television exposure and perceptions of the ingroup status may be attenuated because they discount the portrayals, viewing them as unrealistic. Others, however, may view such television representations as legitimate. For these viewers, the cultivation effect on perceptions of treatment should be evident, as they view these portrayals as accurate. Thus, the effect of English-language television consumption on perceptions may be moderated by the perceived accuracy/legitimacy of group portrayals on English-language television. Taking this possibility into consideration, the following hypotheses were developed:

Hypothesis 3a: When portrayals of Latinos are perceived as accurate, increased English-language television consumption will be associated with increased perceptions of negative treatment toward the ingroup.
Hypothesis 3b: When portrayals of Latinos are perceived as accurate, increased English-language television consumption will be associated with increased perceptions of legitimacy treatment toward the ingroup.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Latino participants ($N = 209$, mean age $= 31.77$, $SD = 13.35$; 59% female, 41% male) were recruited from local Spanish-speaking, nonsecular community-based organizations and a large university in the Southwestern region of the United States. Approximately 51% ($n = 107$) of participants were first generation Latino Americans, 29% ($n = 60$) were second generation, 9% ($n = 18$) of were third generation, 5% ($n = 10$) were fourth generation, 4% ($n = 8$) were fifth generation, and 3% ($n = 6$) did not report their background. The instrument was available in English and Spanish. The back translation approach was employed to ensure that the English- and Spanish-language instruments were equivalent (Marín & Marín, 1991). Confirmatory factor analysis was used to assess all scale constructs. Forty-five percent ($n = 94$) of participants took the English survey, and 55% took the Spanish survey.

Predictor Variable

Television exposure.   English-language television consumption was assessed with four items (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007). Participants reported the amount of hours they spent watching English-language television the previous night, afternoon, and morning. Responses were summed and multiplied by seven to get a measure of weekly exposure to English-language television. This figure was then added to responses from a question asking how many hours they watch English-language television during a typical week. This sum was divided by two to get a measure of average weekly hours of English-language television exposure ($M = 17.5$, $SD = 17.6$, $\alpha = .75$). This procedure was repeated for Spanish-language television consumption ($M = 13.8$, $SD = 16.2$, $\alpha = .86$).

Moderating Variable

Accuracy of group portrayals.   Perceptions of the accuracy of representations of Latinos on television was measured with five items ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .95$, $\alpha = .89$). The items asked participants to indicate their level of agreement ($1 = $ *strongly disagree*, $5 = $ *strongly agree*) with statements like: "Latinos on English-language television are representative of Latinos in general." Higher scores on the scale indicate greater endorsement of portrayals of Latinos.

Dependent Variables

Perceived treatment of Latinos.   Perceived treatment of Latinos was assessed using two social indicators: perceptions of prejudice and perceptions of discrimination. Perceived prejudice consisted of four items modified from Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995) threat and rejection subscale for blatant prejudice (e.g., "Anglo-Americans think we take their jobs away"). Responses were scored on a 5-point scale ($1 = $ *strongly disagree*, $5 = $ *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating more perceived prejudice against Latinos ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 1.03$, $\alpha = .77$).

Four items were used to determine perceived discrimination against Latinos. Three of the items measured perceived unjust treatment of Latinos in society, compared to Whites (Gallup, 2001). For example, participants were asked to indicate their agreement with this statement: "Latinos in my community are treated less fairly than Whites in dealings with police." The fourth item assessed perceived unfair treatment of Latinos in public policy. Higher scores ($1 = $ *strongly disagree*, $5 = $ *strongly agree*) indicated more perceived discrimination against Latinos ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.05$, $\alpha = .85$).

Perceived legitimacy of treatment.   To determine perceptions regarding legitimacy of treatment, Schmader et al.'s (2001) three-item scale was used (e.g., "Latinos are often unable to advance in American society"). This measure assesses beliefs regarding the accuracy and fairness of their ethnic group's status, as well as the extent to which they believe such status is justified. Responses were scored on a 5-point scale, with higher scores indicating greater acceptance of the legitimacy of treatment ($M = 1.97$, $SD = 1.03$, $\alpha = .79$).

Analyses

Regression analyses, using mean-centered interaction terms, were conducted to test all hypotheses. Significant interactions were decomposed via the Aiken and West (1991) method. Participant age, gender, generation, and survey language (English and Spanish) were explored as possible control variables but were not included in analysis as they had no significant relationships with the independent and dependent variables.

Results

Hypothesis 1 postulated that English- and Spanish-language television consumption would interact in predicting perceived treatment toward Latinos in U.S. society. Separate regression analyses were performed for both indicators of perceived treatment: prejudice against Latinos and discrimination against Latinos. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported. As shown in the top and middle panels of Table 1, increased English-language television consumption was associated with increased perceptions of prejudice and discrimination against Latinos. This effect was not found for Spanish-language television consumption. An interaction effect emerged between English- and Spanish-language television consumption on perceptions of prejudice. This interaction significantly improved the model ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F = 4.38$, $p < .05$). However, the interaction was not significant in predicting perceptions of discrimination and it did not contribute to the model ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, $\Delta F = .20$, $p > .05$). Decomposition of the interaction effect for prejudice revealed that at low levels of Spanish-language television consumption, English-language television consumption was not associated with perceptions of prejudice ($\beta = .04$, $p > .05$). However, at moderate ($\beta = .17$, $p < .05$) and high ($\beta = .30$, $p < .01$) levels of Spanish-language television consumption, increased exposure to English-language television was associated with increased perceptions of prejudice against the ingroup.

The second hypothesis predicted that amount of English-language television consumption and amount of Spanish-language television consumption would interact in predicting perceptions of the legitimacy of the treatment accorded to Latinos. The bottom panel of Table 1 shows that direct effects emerged for

Table 1. Regression Analyses Predicting Perceived Prejudice, Discrimination, and Legitimacy of Treatment from English and Spanish-language TV Consumption

Prejudice	β	t	r^2	R^2	F
Step 1				.04	3.92*
English TV	.18	2.61*	.03		
Spanish TV	.05	.72			
Step 2				.06	4.12**
English TV × Spanish TV	.15	2.09*			
Discrimination					
Step 1				.02	2.43
English TV	.15	2.12*	.02		
Spanish TV	.02	.20			
Step 2				.02	1.68
English TV × Spanish TV	.03	.45			
Legitimacy of Treatment					
Step 1				.09	10.00***
English TV	.24	3.58***	.06		
Spanish TV	.16	2.30*	.03		
Step 2				.13	9.92***
English TV × Spanish TV	.21	2.99**	.04		

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

English- and Spanish-language television consumption. Exposure to both English and Spanish-language content was associated with increased perceptions of the legitimate treatment of Latinos. The interaction effect between types of television exposure was statistically significant ($\Delta R^2 = .04$, $\Delta F = 8.94$, $p < .01$). Contrary to the hypothesized relationship, decomposition of this interaction effect indicated that increased levels of English-language television consumption were positively associated with perceptions of legitimacy of treatment at high ($\beta = .43$, $p < .001$) and moderate ($\beta = .21$, $p < .01$) levels of Spanish-language television consumption, but not at low levels of Spanish-language television consumption ($\beta = .02$, $p > .05$).

    Hypotheses 3a and 3b predicted an interaction effect between English-language television consumption and perceived accuracy of Latino portrayals in terms of perceptions regarding negative treatment of Latinos and legitimacy of treatment of Latinos. Partial support was found for Hypothesis 3a (see Table 2): English-language television exposure and perceived accuracy of Latino portrayals interacted in predicting perceptions of prejudice ($\Delta R^2 = .04$, $\Delta F = 3.79$, $p < .05$). As shown in the top panel of Table 2, the interaction effect indicated increased levels of English-language television consumption to be positively associated with perceptions of prejudice at high ($\beta = .29$, $p < .01$) and moderate ($\beta = .15$, $p <$

Table 2. Regression Analyses Predicting Perceived Prejudice, Discrimination, and Legitimacy of Treatment from English-language TV Consumption and Perceived Accuracy of Portrayals

Prejudice	β	t	r^2	R^2	F
Step 1				.04	3.79*
English TV	.19	2.74**	.04		
Accuracy	−.04	−.63			
Step 2				.06	4.09**
English TV ×Accuracy	.15	2.14*	.02		
Discrimination					
Step 1				.03	2.58
English TV	.16	2.26*	.02		
Accuracy	−.03	−.48			
Step 2				.03	2.11
English TV ×Accuracy	−.08	−1.07			
Legitimacy of Treatment					
Step 1				.14	16.47***
English TV	.23	3.43**	.06		
Accuracy	.28	4.17***	.08		
Step 2				.15	11.64***
English TV × Accuracy	.10	1.36			

$^*p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

.05) levels of perceived accuracy of portrayals, but not at low levels of perceived accuracy of portrayals ($\beta = .02$, $p > .05$). No interaction effect was found for perceptions of discrimination ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F = 1.15$, $p > .05$) or perceptions of legitimacy of treatment ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F = 1.84$, $p > .05$). Direct effects emerged for English-language television consumption on all three variables, indicating that as consumption rates increased, so did perceptions of prejudice, discrimination, and legitimacy of treatment. A direct effect also emerged for perceived accuracy on perceived treatment—as Latino portrayals were seen as more accurate, the treatment received by Latinos in society also was seen as more legitimate.

Discussion

This study applied a social identity-based cultivation approach in investigating the association between English- and Spanish-language television viewing and Latinos' perceptions of treatment of their ethnic group. Results suggest that increasing exposure to English-language TV unfavorably influenced perceptions of prejudice and discrimination against Latinos in society as well as the legitimacy of such treatment. Perceived accuracy of group portrayals also was found to moderate the relationship between Latinos' perceptions of prejudice and legitimacy

of treatment. These results tentatively suggest that English-language television affects Latinos' perceptions of their group's status in society. Specifically, amount of television exposure appears to have a measurable influence on perceptions of group treatment. Moreover, Latino viewers who perceived images of Latinos in the media to be accurate representations of their group were more likely to report negative treatment of their group in society. This outcome is consequential to cultivation research as it points to an important qualifier to cultivation effects; suggesting that perceptions regarding the accuracy of media portrayals may moderate the influence of exposure.

Further, these data provide some support for calls to improve the quality of Latino portrayals on English-language television. Not only does existing research suggest that exposure to unfavorable images of Latinos on television negatively influences Whites' evaluations of Latinos (Mastro, 2003; Mastro et al., 2007), but also the results found here indicate that exposure may play a role in influencing Latinos' perceptions of intergroup relations in the United States. Of course, the cross-sectional survey design and nonprobability sample limit the inferences that can be made. Nonetheless, they point to the need for sustained research in the area.

Some unexpected results additionally emerged. Although greater cultivation effects (consistent with English-language content) were predicted among Latinos who were light consumers of Spanish-language television and heavy consumers of English-language television, effects were instead found for Latinos who were heavy consumers of English-language television and of Spanish-language television. These results suggest that perhaps heavy viewing of both English- and Spanish-language television makes clear, for viewers, a disparity in treatment of Latinos across the two types of television programming. The infrequent and more negative portrayal of Latinos on English-language television, in comparison to Spanish-language television portrayals, makes salient issues of prejudice against Latinos in the United States.

To fully flesh-out the relationships found here, examinations linking the specific content features of English- and Spanish-language television (alongside other media sources), with exposure patterns, will be required. A next step may be to utilize a panel study to help establish a causal relationship between English- and Spanish-language television viewing and Latinos' perceptions over time. It will also be critical for future research to attempt to offer greater clarity into whether and how different Latino populations are presented in the media (e.g., Mexican American vs. Puerto Rican, etc.). In the same vein, it would be worthwhile to situate these questions in the context of immigrants' media use and effects. Media can be used to achieve two, seemingly conflicting goals: integration inwards (cultural transmission and connection with one's homeland) and integration outwards (intensifying identification with the new country, e.g., Elias & Lemish, 2011). Exposure to media in the local language can improve command of the new language, provide practical knowledge about the society and offer familiarity

with the new country's culture. These can lead to the development of hybrid identities and adoption of the values of the majority group in the hosting country. For instance, Moon and Park (2007) found that consumption of Korean and American media was related to Korean Americans' affinity for Korean culture and acceptance of the American culture respectively.

It is possible that the effects revealed in this study constitute one facet of this type of acculturation process, whereby media consumers adopt the majority group's values and perspectives and internalize the negative stereotypes of their own group. An example can be found in Keshishian's (2000) self-ethnography, as the author reflects on the effects that negative media stereotypes of Iran had on his social identity and perception of his social group: "[t]he image the U.S. media portrayed of my homeland was so negative and alienating that it began to even make *me* [emphasis in the original] wonder whether I still belonged to the Iranian culture" (p. 100). Notably, these processes and outcomes are not unique to the United States, as studies in Canada, Germany, and Israel echo these findings (e.g., Elias & Lemish, 2011). As such, it is important to explore the extent to which media use/preferences reflect biculturalism, as the social and psychological consequences are far-reaching.

Altogether then, the current study's results support: (a) calls for public policy aimed at ensuring more favorable and inclusive media representations of diverse groups (e.g., Leavitt, Covarrubias, Perez, & Fryberg, 2015); (b) recommendations for wider implementation of media literacy programs (e.g., Scharrer & Rama-subramanian, 2015); and (c) appeals for interventions aimed at assisting first and second generation immigrants develop healthier hybrid identities that celebrate their cultural heritage alongside allegiance with the new society.

References

Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. (1990). An introduction to the social identity approach. In D. Abrams & M. Hogg (Eds.), *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances* (pp. 1–9). Hemel Hempstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Abrams, J. R., & Giles, H. (2007). Ethnic identity gratifications selection and avoidance by African Americans: A group vitality and social identity gratifications perspective. *Media Psychology*, *9*, 115–134. doi:10.1080/15213260701279598.

Acosta-Alzuru, C., & Kreshel, P. (2002). 'I'm an American girl . . . whatever that means': Girl consuming pleasant company's American girl identity. *Journal of Communication*, *52*, 139–162. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2002.tb02536.x.

Aiken, L., & West, S. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Becker, A. (2005). Spanish-language expansion: New broadcast shows include novelas, dramas, sports and news. *Broadcasting & Cable*, *135*, 32.

Behm-Morawitz, E., & Ortiz, M. (2012). Race, ethnicity, and the media. In K. Dill (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Media Psychology* (pp. 252–264). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cohen, J., & Weimann, G. (2000). Cultivation revisited: Some genres have some effects on some viewers. *Communication Reports*, *13*, 99–114. doi:10.1080/08934210009367728.

Dowler, K., & Zawilski, V. (2007). Public perceptions of police misconduct and discrimination: Examining the impact of media consumption. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *35*, 193–203. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2007.01.006.

Elias, N., & Lemish, D. (2011). Between three worlds host, homeland, and global media in the lives of Russian immigrant families in Israel and Germany. *Journal of Family Issues*, *32*(9), 1245–1274. doi:10.1177/0192513×11400837.

Finch, B. K., Kolody, B., & Vega, W. A. (2000). Perceived discrimination and depression among Mexican-origin adults in California. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *41*, 295–313. doi:10.2307/2676322.

Gallup Organization (2001). *Black-White relations in the United States: 2001 update*. Washington, DC: Gallup Organization.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., Signorielli, N., & Shanahan, J. (2002). Growing up with television: Cultivation processes. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann, (Eds.), (*Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 43–68). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Harwood, J. (1997). Viewing age: Lifespan identity and television viewing choices. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *41*, 203–213. doi:10.1080/08838159709364401.

Harwood, J. (1999). Age identification, social identity gratifications, and television viewing. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *43*, 123–136. doi:10.1080/08838159909364479.

Harwood, J., & Anderson, K. (2002). The presence and portrayal of social groups on prime-time television. *Communication Reports*, *15*, 81–97. doi:10.1080/08934210209367756.

Harwood, J., & Roy, A. (2005). Social identity theory and mass communication research. In J. Harwood & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup communication: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 189–211). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Hawkins, R., & Pingree, S. (1981). Uniform messages and habitual viewing: Unnecessary assumptions in social reality effects. *Human Communication Research*, *7*, 291–301. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.1981.tb00576.x.

Hogg, M., & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Keshishian, F. (2000). Acculturation, communication, and the US mass media: The experience of an Iranian immigrant. *Howard Journal of Communication*, *11*(2), 93–106. doi:10.1080/13691830220146581.

Leavitt, P. A., Covarrubias, R., Perez, Y. A., & Fryberg, S. A. (2015). "Frozen in time": The impact of Native American media representations on identity and self-understanding. *Journal of Social Issues*, *71*(1), 39–53.

Marín, G., & Marín, B. (1991). *Research with Hispanic Populations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Mastro, D. (2003). A social identity approach to understanding the impact of television messages. *Communication Monographs*, *70*, 98–113. doi:10.1080/0363775032000133764.

Mastro, D., & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005). Latino representation on primetime television. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *82*, 110–130. doi:10.1177/107769900508200108.

Mastro, D., Behm-Morawitz, E., & Ortiz, M. (2007). The cultivation of social perceptions of Latinos: A mental models approach. *Media Psychology*, *9*, 1–19. doi:10.1080/15213260701286106.

Mastro, D., & Ortiz, M. (2008). A content analysis of social groups in prime-time Spanish- language television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *52*, 101–118. doi:10.1080/08838150701820916.

Mastro, D., & Tukachinsky, R. H. (2012). Cultivation of perceptions of marginalized communities. In M. Morgan, J. Shanahan & N. Signorielli (Eds.), *Living with television now* (pp. 38–60). NY: Peter Lang Publishing.

Mayer, V. (2003). Living telenovelas/telenovelizing life: Mexican American girls; identities and transnational telenovelas. *Journal of Communication*, *53*, 479–495. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2003.tb02603.x.

Moon, S. J., & Park, C. Y. (2007). Media effects on acculturation and biculturalism: A case study of Korean immigrants in Los Angeles' Koreatown. *Mass Communication & Society*, *10*(3), 319–343.

Nielsen (2011). Three things you thought you knew about U.S. Hispanic's engagement with media...And why you may have been wrong. Retrived January 10, 2014, from: http://www.nielsen.com/content/dam/corporate/us/en/newswire/uploads/2011/04/Nielsen-Hispanic-Media-US.pdf

Nielsen (2013). A look across media: The cross-platform report December 2013. Retrived January 10, 2014, from: http://www.nielsen.com/content/dam/corporate/us/en/reports-downloads/2013%20Reports/The-Cross-Platform-Report-A-Look-Across-Media-3Q2013.pdf

Pettigrew, T., & Meertens, R. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *25*, 57–75. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2420250106.

Ramírez Berg, C. (2002). *Latino images in film: Stereotypes, subversions, and resistance*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Scharrer, E., & Ramasubramanian, S. (2015). Intervening in the media's influence on stereotypes of race and ethnicity: The role of media literacy education. *Journal of Social Issues*, *71*(1), 171–185.

Schildkrau, D. J. (2005). The rise and fall of political engagement among Latinos: The role of identity and perception of discrimination. *Political Behavior*, *27*, 285–312. doi:10.1007/s11109-005-4803-4809.

Schmader, T., Major, B., Eccleston, C., & McCoy, S. (2001). Devaluing domains in response to threatening intergroup comparisons: Perceived legitimacy and the status value asymmetry. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *80*, 782–796. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.80.5.782.

Signorielli, N., & Morgan, M. (1996). Cultivation analysis: Research and practice. In M. B. Salwen & D. W. Stacks (Eds.), *An integrated approach to communication theory and research* (pp. 111–126). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In S. Worchel and W. Austin (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.

Tukachinsky, R., Mastro, D., & Yarchi, M. (2015). Documenting portrayals of race/ethnicity on primetime television over a 20-year span and their association with national-level racial/ethnic attitudes. *Journal of Social Issues*, *71*(1), 17–38.

Turner, J. (1978). Social comparison, similarity and ingroup favouritism. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 235–250). London, UK: Academic Press.

Vega, T. (2012). A spate of rebranding for Spanish-language TV. *The New York Times*. Retrieved January 10, 2014, from: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/03/business/media/a-spate-of-rebranding-for-spanish-language-television.html?_r=0

MICHELLE ORTIZ, PhD, is Project Manager for Student Success at the University of Arizona. Her research focuses on how consumption of media messages contributes to social identity; affects stereotypes and cognitions about ethnic groups; and influences intergroup attitudes.

ELIZABETH BEHM-MORAWITZ, PhD, is an Associate Professor in the Department of Communication at the University of Missouri. Her research takes a media psychology approach to examining media depictions of gender, race, and ethnicity, and how these representations influence stereotyping, self-concept, and well-being. Her recent work explores these phenomena in the context of virtual and interactive media.