

UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS IN MEDIATED
INTERGROUP THREAT: A CULTIVATION AND APPRAISAL THEORY
APPROACH

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

This investigation sought to extend research in mediated intergroup communication by examining the role of emotion in producing intergroup bias. Two studies were guided by social identity theory, appraisal-based theories of emotion, and cultivation theory. Study 1 surveyed 254 adults, recruited through student referrals. Drawing insight from previous content analytic research and cultivation theory, results indicated that the media plays an important role in cultivating emotional reactions toward racial minorities. Overall daily television consumption was associated with experiencing anxiety-related emotions and distrust-related emotions toward Blacks. Television news consumption was associated with experiencing anger towards Blacks. Overall daily television consumption was associated with experiencing anger and anxiety-related emotions toward Latinos and Asians. Television news consumption was associated with experiencing distrust-related emotions toward Asians.

In Study 2 a 2 (Immigration: Threat/No-Threat) X 2 (Ingroup Emotional Norm Endorsement: Present/Absent) plus 1 (Control) experiment examined the impact of mediated intergroup threat on attitudes toward immigration, collective self-esteem, information sharing and seeking behaviors, and policy support, in the context of illegal immigration. This study also examined whether experimental condition indirectly influenced the above-specified outcomes through intergroup emotions. Previous news consumption was examined as a potential moderator of the mediational relationship

between experimental condition and intergroup outcomes via intergroup emotions. Results indicate that exposure to intergroup threat via the media directly influence attitudes toward immigrants' human rights and information sharing. Exposure to intergroup threat indirectly influences immigration attitudes through feelings of anxiety. Moreover, exposure to intergroup threat via the media indirectly influences information sharing and support for English-only legislation through feelings of disgust. Conditional indirect effects were found for immigration attitudes, information sharing, and support for English-only legislation. Exposure to threatening intergroup information neither directly, nor indirectly information seeking or emailing congressperson to reduce the number of immigrants allowed in the United States. Results are discussed in light of social identity theory, intergroup threat theory, intergroup emotions theory, and BIAS map research. Taken together, results suggest that the current study's social identity appraisal-based approach provides insight into the role of media in intergroup processes.

I. INTRODUCTION

The media landscape is replete with threatening themes and images (Hoffner & Cohen, 2012). Research suggests that members of minority groups are associated with threats including crime, immigration, terrorism, and other violent acts, more so than majority group members (e.g., Whites) (Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b; Entman, 1990, 1992; Hoffner & Cohen, 2012; Mastro, 2009; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Oliver, 2003). Because the media are a dominant socialization force for how individuals learn about their own and other social groups (Arendt, 2010; Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Dixon, 2008a; Vergeer, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2000), the pairing of these threatening images with racial/ethnic minority group members has potentially negative implications for intergroup relations.

Research in communication and social psychology provides evidence that negative images of minority groups influence the perceptions of both majority and minority group members (e.g., Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Davis & Stephan, 2011; Fujioka, 2005). Taking a predominantly cognitive psychological approach, this line of research focuses on the formation of stereotypes about minority groups (e.g., Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007), how stereotypes influence judgments about minority group members (Peffley, Shields, & Williams, 1996; Dixon, 2006a) or the positive identity-based outcomes for majority group members exposed to these images (Mastro, 2003).

Although this work provides valuable insight into the role of media in the formation of stereotypes and their influences, the role of affect in these processes has been largely ignored. Scholars have suggested for some time that the media theoretically “cultivate[s] fears” of minority group members (Mastro & Robinson, 2000, p. 394), but the empirical work in this area has been slow to integrate these propositions into a broader understanding of the role of media in intergroup processes. Research is beginning to suggest that affect does play a meaningful role in predicting intergroup bias (e.g., Dasgupta, DeSteno, Williams, & Hunsinger, 2009) or positive intergroup outcomes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Recent mass communication studies support the contention that affect does in fact help to explain the role of the mass media in producing intergroup bias (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008; Fujioka, 2011; Johnson, Olivo, Gibson, Reed, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2009, Ramasubramanian, 2010, 2011). Specifically, mass communication research suggests that affect influences policy support (Johnson et al., 2009; Ramasubramanian, 2010, 2011), behavioral intentions (Brader et al., 2008; Fujioka et al., 2008) and attitudes toward minority group members (Fujioka, 2011; Fujioka et al., 2008). The current study integrates insights from appraisal theory (Smith & Mackie, 2010), media priming (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, & Dillman Carpentier, 2009) and cultivation theory, (Morgan, Shanahan, & Signorielli, 2009) to provide a deeper theoretical understanding of the relationship between media exposure, affect, and

intergroup bias via a two-study design. In Study 1, a survey tests whether repeated, long-term exposure to threatening images of minorities is associated with negative affect towards these groups. In Study 2, an experiment examines whether one-time exposure to threatening images of minorities activates negative affect towards these groups; mediating the relationship between news exposure and the intergroup outcomes specified above. The goals of these studies are three-fold. First, these studies will provide evidence that the media play a significant role in the formation and maintenance of affective responses toward minority group members. Second, these studies will examine the specific affective mechanisms through which the media impact intergroup outcomes. Finally, these studies will help to reconcile several diverse bodies of literature explaining intergroup bias.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW STUDY 1

Perceptions of Intergroup Threat

Contact between members of different social groups has been touted as the salve for repairing negative intergroup relations, given the right conditions (Harwood & Joyce, 2012). Research does support that positive contact between social group members can produce positive attitudes toward the outgroup (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, contemporary contact between social groups has been linked with anxiety and competition over resources (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Such anxiety-ridden contact has the potential to produce negative intergroup outcomes, including negative attitudes toward the outgroup and discriminatory behaviors (Harwood, 2010). Alongside real-world contact, media exposure provides an important source for contact with members from various social groups (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007). Given this, if the media consistently portrays social groups as threats to other groups in society, exposure also could have negative implications for intergroup interactions. The next section systematically reviews the mass communication content analytic literature to examine how minorities are paired with themes associated with intergroup threat.

Media's Depiction of Intergroup Threats

Content analytic research consistently documents that minority groups are portrayed more negatively compared to their White counterparts (Dixon & Linz, 2000a; Entman 1990, 1992; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). This research suggests that

minority groups tend to be underrepresented in primetime television, with the only exception being Blacks (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Research also finds that people of color are overrepresented as criminals in news programs, compared to their White counterparts (Dixon & Azocar, 2006; Dixon & Linz, 2000a). In other words, minorities tend to be underrepresented in media that has the potential to contribute positively to intergroup relations and overrepresented in media that has negative implications for intergroup relationships. Across each of these domains, minorities are typically portrayed as physical, economic, or social threats to majority group members.

Research provides overwhelming evidence that Blacks and Latinos are portrayed as physical threats to majority group members, such that the media portrays these groups as violent aggressors targeting White victims (Dixon & Azocar, 2006; Dixon & Linz, 2000a, Dixon & Linz, 2000b; Entman 1990, 1992; Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullins, 2011). Dixon and Linz (2000a) suggest that examining the proportion of minority criminal perpetrators to White perpetrators presented in the media provides valuable insight into the likely “cognitive lineage[s] between people of color and criminal behavior” (p. 135). Specifically, their work finds that not only are Blacks and Latinos are overrepresented in the news as criminals, as compared to Whites, that Blacks are overrepresented as criminals even compared to their real-world arrest rates (Dixon & Linz, 2000a). Entman (1992) finds that regardless of crime type, Blacks are more likely to be shown in prison or street clothing (as opposed to professional business attire) and more likely to be shown in restraints compared to Whites. Blacks are also more likely than Whites to be associated with violent crime, such as murder. When examining only

violent crimes, Blacks are portrayed as nameless criminals who are provided with fewer opportunities to convey their own perspectives about their charges. Although a majority of the research in this area has examined adult men of color, research suggests parallel trends for Black and Latino juvenile criminal offenders/suspects as well (Dixon & Azocar, 2006). Whites, on the other hand, tend to be shown as the societal protector, underrepresented as criminals and overrepresented as law enforcers in the news (Dixon & Linz, 2000a).

Not only does the news suggest that minorities are threatening in general, it suggests that majority group members are the victims of their crimes (Dixon & Linz, 2000b; Entman, 1990). For example, Dixon and Linz (2000b) find that Whites are more likely to be crime victims in the news compared to both Blacks and Latinos. Not only were Whites more likely to be shown as victims compared to people of color, they were also overrepresented compared to actual victimization rates. This research finds that 43% of homicide victims that were featured in the news were White; however, only 13% of real-world homicide victims in that same region were White. On the contrary, 54% of real-world homicide victims in that area were Latino, but Latinos only comprised 19% of homicides shown on the news. Entman (1990) argues that victimization of Whites by Blacks receives predominant coverage in the news, implicitly reaffirming Blacks as a physical threat to White audience members. This type of news coverage is likely to

“compound Whites’ fear of Blacks by showing Black criminals more than White criminals surrounded with symbols of menace” (Entman, 1990, p. 337).

It should be noted that racial minorities are also portrayed as threatening on primetime television, though not to the extent as in news coverage (Mastro, 2009). For example, research by Mastro and Behm-Morawitz (2005) suggests that Latino women are more verbally aggressive compared with Black and White women. Black women were portrayed as significantly more hot-tempered compared with Whites. Hence, Black women are more excitable on primetime and Latinas are more likely to use abusive language.

Although research predominantly focuses on Blacks and Latinos as threats to the physical well-being of Whites, research suggests that other low-status groups are also portrayed in a similar manner (Arendt, 2010; Conway, Grabe, & Grieves, 2007; Paterson, 2006). For example, research by Arendt (2010) finds that a popular EU newspaper (*Krone*) overrepresents foreigners (e.g., Serbians) as criminals. More specifically, his research reports that 65.3% of crimes covered by *Krone* features foreigners as crime perpetrators compared to the real-world percentage of crimes committed by foreigners of 27.2%. Similarly, in the United States, Bill O’Reilly discusses “foreigners” and “illegal aliens” as physically dangerous to the American people (Conway et al., 2007). Conway and associates’ study does not specifically investigate which races and ethnicities are associated with these terms, but just focused exclusively on the broader groups themselves.

Minority group members are also portrayed as economic threats (Kawai, 2005; Rodgers & Thorson, 2000). An economic threat refers to a threat to a social group's wealth and financial security; but can also include perceiving other social group members as competition for jobs or as a burden to shared social systems, such as welfare (Kim et al., 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Kawai (2005) argues that portraying Asians in the media in the stereotypical dialectic of the model minority and yellow peril serves to both reaffirm and threaten White America's economic hegemony. More specifically, when compared to Blacks, Asians are more likely to be portrayed as the model minority in order to deny institutional racism towards Blacks, which explains lesser support for affirmative action and other redistribution policies. This allows White Americans to retain their economic sovereignty over Blacks by not having to share economic resources with this group. However, when Asians are compared to Whites in the media, the yellow peril stereotype is more apparent, such that Asians are portrayed as a threat to Whites' financial hegemony (Kawai, 2005). Latinos are also portrayed as economically threatening, such as being consistently paired with stories about illegal immigration (Rodgers & Thorson, 2000), which has negative connotations for the economy (Kim et al., 2011). For example, illegal immigration is associated with taking jobs away from native-born citizens in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2011).

Finally, research suggests that minorities are portrayed as a symbolic threat to mainstream values and morals (Conway et al., 2007; Liebler, Schwartz, & Harper, 2009). Symbolic threats refer to threats to a social group's system of meaning, such as their language, important principles, and religious customs and values (Stephan & Stephan,

2000). Conway et al. (2007) find that Bill O'Reilly consistently frames his news segments about foreign governments and foreign citizens as violating U.S. social norms and as threats to U.S. moral values. This study also found that illegal aliens are predominantly discussed as threats to U.S. moral values. More specifically, this study argues these groups are presented as a threat to "to the moral core of America and to this country's suggested dearly held values, including liberty, democracy, safety, family,[and] patriotism" (p. 219).

Taken together, this research suggests that minorities are portrayed in threatening ways in the media. People of color and foreigners are portrayed as physical threats to society in the media, particularly (but not exclusively) in the news (Arendt, 2010; Dixon & Linz, 2000a; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Research also suggests that news reports characterize Whites as the victims of crimes committed by people of color (e.g., Entman, 1990). Minorities are also portrayed as economic threats to Whites, with Asians being shown as threat to Whites' economic hegemony (Kawai, 2005) and Latinos being associated with illegal immigration (Rodgers & Thorson, 2000). Finally, minorities are also portrayed as deviant from majority group social norms, with foreign citizen and illegal immigrants being characterized as threats to U.S. moral values (Conway et al., 2007). Although effects cannot be determined from content analytic work, theory and empirical evidence suggest that these portrayals influence majority group members' perceptions of these social groups.

Cultivation Effects of Threatening Portrayals on Audience Members

Negative portrayals of minority group members have the potential to negatively impact how majority group members perceive outgroup members (see, Mastro & Atwell Seate, 2012, for a review). Cultivation theory asserts that consuming a media diet that is plagued with the threatening images of minority group members leads individuals to develop and maintain perceptions of group members that are in line with the mediated version of reality (Morgan et al., 2009). According to cultivation theory, the media (particularly television) are a dominant socialization force that presents a largely homogenous and repetitive set of messages. Heavy media consumers are more likely to internalize these themes compared to light viewers (Morgan et al., 2009). Thus, television influences negative perceptions of minority group members via the increased accessibility of these cognitions among heavy media consumers (Shrum, 2009). Accordingly, messages linking certain groups with threatening images would be expected to further increase the accessibility and applicability of these cognitions (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Ultimately then, when asked to make judgments about these social groups, heavy media consumers report judgments consistent with the media's depiction of said groups.

Empirical evidence supports these theoretical assumptions, demonstrating that exposure to media messages that portray minorities as threatening is associated with negative perceptions toward these groups (Arendt, 2010; Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Lee et al., 2009; Zhang, 2010). For example, employing a mental models approach to cultivation theory, Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, and Ortiz (2007) find that as television consumption increases, individuals report increasing perceptions that Latinos are

criminals (i.e., a physical threat) and have low work-ethic (i.e., symbolically threatening the protestant work ethic of Whites). Similarly, research by Arendt (2010) suggests the more individuals read an EU newspaper that overrepresents foreigners as criminals, the more people's perceptions are in line with that reality. Similarly, network news consumption increases the likelihood that individuals perceive Blacks as being intimidating (Dixon, 2008b). This work provides evidence that heavy consumption of television depictions of threatening minorities helps to create and reaffirm negative schemata that these groups are indeed, more threatening. As such, it seems likely that the media could also cultivate emotional responses that link these groups with negative affect including fear, distrust, and anxiety.

The Current Study and Hypotheses

Overall television consumption. Because the media are an important source of information about minority groups (see, Mastro & Atwell Seate, 2012) and minority groups are often paired with threatening themes and images (Dixon & Linz, 2000a, Dixon & Linz, 2000b; Entman, 1990, 1992; Oliver, 2003) cultivation theory would predict that individuals are likely to associate them with general threat-relevant emotions based on their media consumption and the threat-relevant patterns associated with those groups. Specifically, Blacks and Latinos are portrayed as physically threatening (e.g., Entman, 1990). Hence, television consumption should be associated with emotions related to physical threats, including fear anxiety, discomfort, and anger. Asians, on the other hand, are typically portrayed as economically threatening when compared to Whites (Kawai, 2005). Moreover, Asians in the media are portrayed in ways that underscore that

they are “less American” and “forever foreigners” (Kawai, 2005, p. 117), which is indicative of the yellow peril stereotype. Taken together, this suggests that television consumption should be associated with emotions related to their “otherness”, including resentfulness, distrust, and anger. Based on the above rationale, the following is proposed:

H1a: For individuals who are not Black, overall daily television consumption will be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Blacks.

H1b: For individuals who are not Latino, overall daily television consumption will be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Latinos.

H1c: For individuals who are not Asian, overall daily television consumption will be positively associated with distrust-related emotions and anger toward Asians.

Genre specific television consumption. Recent scholarship (e.g., Morgan & Shanahan, 2010) suggests that examining consumption of specific media genres can provide insight into the cultivation process. Research suggests that Blacks are overrepresented in news media as violent criminals (e.g., Dixon & Linz, 2000a), while other researchers suggest that Latinos are associated with other highly charged topics, such as illegal immigration (Dixon & Azocar, 2006). The research examining the portrayals of Asians in the news is less abundant, but research suggests that this work does mirror their portrayals in television (Kawai, 2005). It stands to reason that consuming news should also be related to cultivating these emotional responses toward minority groups. To test this line of reasoning, the following is proposed:

H2a: For individuals who are not Black, consumption of television news and print news will be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Blacks.

H2b: For individuals who are not Latino, consumption of television news and print news will be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Latinos.

H2c: For individuals who are not Asian, consumption of television news and print news will be positively associated with distrust-related emotions and anger towards Asians.

Research suggests that the overall television landscape paints racial minorities as physical, economic, and symbolic threats to majority group members (see, Hoffner & Cohen, 2012; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). However, the preponderance of research examining these issues has documented the portrayals across television broadly (e.g., Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005) and has not examined genre specific portrayals, outside of the news context. Based on the overall pattern of portrayals, it stands to reason that specific genres would be positively associated threat-based emotions toward minorities, but research does not provide evidence about which genres are more likely to cultivate these emotional responses. Because previous research does not provide a clear picture about the relationships between specific genres and portrayals of threat, the following research question is posed:

RQ1: What entertainment genres will be positively associated with feelings of threat towards Blacks, Latinos, and Asians?

III. METHOD STUDY 1

Respondents and Procedures

In order to achieve a more diverse sample, respondents were recruited using a student referral system, wherein students were asked to refer someone else to complete an online questionnaire on their behalf. Specifically, students were asked to recruit respondents from a variety of age groups, such that each class was randomly assigned to a specific age group to recruit from (i.e., one class recruited 18-30 year olds, one class recruited from 30-40 year olds, etc.). To ensure independent observations, students could only refer one individual that was not affiliated with the university (e.g., not a student). Should the recruited individual want to participate, the student provided the email address and phone number to the researcher. The researcher then sent an email with a letter of consent and the link to the online questionnaire. Once the individual completed the online survey, the student received extra course credit for their help in recruitment process and the respondent received a \$5 Amazon gift card. Respondents ($N = 254$) were mostly White (75.6%); however, 11.8% identified as Latino, 5.5% identified as Asians, 2.4% identified as Black, 1.2% identified as Native American, and 3.5% identified as Other. There were more females in the sample (74%) compared to males (26%). The average age of the sample was 43.64 ($SD = 11.27$).

Measures

News consumption. To measure news consumption, respondents were asked how often they watched certain television news channels (e.g., Fox News, CNN, MSNBC)

and read newspapers (e.g., *The Wall Street Journal*). Responses for these items ranged from “Never” to “Multiple Times a Day” on a seven-point scale. The items for television were averaged. The items for print news were also averaged. Please see Table 1 for all descriptive statistics. It is important to note that because the specific hypotheses were proposed for non-group members (e.g., Blacks were excluded for all hypotheses regarding perceptions of Blacks) that the descriptive statistics were segmented by racial category.

Overall television consumption. General television consumption was measured using items adapted from Nabi (2009). Specifically, respondents were asked, “In the past six months, how many hours of TV did you usually watch during each of the following four time periods [morning, afternoon, evening, night] on one single weekday [Saturday and Sunday] on the average?” Responses range from “Never” to “More than 6 hours” on a seven-point scale. Totals for the three types of days were taken and a daily weighted average was computed.

Genre-specific television consumption. To assess genre-specific television consumption, six items were used, based on previous research and theory (Busselle & Crandall, 2002; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). These items asked how often they consume the following genres of television: dramas, situational comedies, soap operas, talk shows, sports games, and sports commentary. Responses ranged from “Never” to “Multiple Times a Day” on a seven-point scale.

Feelings of threat toward minorities. Feelings of threat toward minorities were measured using prejudicial feelings items from Ramasubramanian (2010). Specifically,

respondents were asked to: “Please look at each of the following adjectives and indicate how well they describe your feelings towards [Blacks, Latinos, and Asians] in general. Please be frank in your opinions.” Responses ranged from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree” on a seven-point scale. These items included fear, anger, uneasy, anxiety, uncomfortable, and resentful. Because previous research indicated that specific categories of emotions (e.g., distrust vs. anger) would be associated with different racial minorities based on the patterns of portrayals for each group three categories were created. The first category, anxiety-related emotions, consisted of fear, anxiety, uneasiness, and discomfort. The second category, distrust-related emotions, consisted of resentfulness and distrust. The final category was anger. Table 1 provides means, standard deviations, and alphas.

Intergroup contact. To measure intergroup contact for use as control several items were used based on previous research by Fujioka et al. (2008). Respondents reported the extent to which they had interpersonal contact with racial minorities (i.e., Blacks, Latinos, and Asians). Responses ranged from “Never/No Contact” to “Often” on a four-point scale. Individual also rated the nature of their interaction with these groups (1 = Very Unpleasant, 7 = Very Pleasant).

Demographics. Respondents provided their age, annual income, educational attainment, political ideology, sex, and race.

IV. RESULTS STUDY 1

To test H1 (a-c), H2 (a-c), and RQ1, partial correlations were used, controlling for race (White/Non-White), sex, age, quantity of interpersonal contact with the minority group, and quality of interpersonal contact with the minority group. Please see Tables 2-4 for all partial and zero-order correlations.

Daily Television Consumption

Hypotheses 1 (a-c) proposed that daily television viewing would be positively related to feelings of threat towards Blacks (H1a), Latinos (H1b), and Asians (H1c). Specifically, H1a proposed that daily television consumption should be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Blacks. Results indicate that daily television consumption was positively related to anxiety-related emotions ($r_p = .17, p < .01$) toward Blacks, but not anger ($r_p = .10, p > .05$). These findings provide moderate support for H1a. Hypothesis 2b proposed that that daily television consumption should be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Latinos. Daily television viewing was positively related to anxiety-related emotions ($r_p = .15, p < .05$) and anger ($r_p = .11, p = .05$) towards Latinos. Hypothesis 1b was supported. Hypothesis 1c predicted that daily television consumption should be positively related to distrust-related emotions and anger toward Asians. Results indicate that daily television consumption was positively related to anger ($r_p = .12, p < .05$) towards Asians, but not distrust-related emotions ($r_p = .09, p > .05$). Hypothesis 1c was partially supported.

Television and Print News Consumption

Hypotheses 2 (a-c) proposed that television and print news consumption would be positively related to feelings of threat towards minorities. Specifically, H2a proposed that television news consumption should be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Blacks. Television news consumption was positively related to feelings of anger towards Blacks ($r_p = .11, p < .05$), but not anxiety-related emotions ($r_p = .06, p > .05$). Print news was not associated with anger or anxiety-related emotions toward Blacks. These findings provide moderate support for H2a. Similarly, H2b proposed that television news consumption should be positively associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Latinos. Neither television nor print news was related to feelings of threat towards Latinos. Hence, H2b was not supported. H3c proposed that news consumption would be positively related to distrust-related emotions and anger toward Asians. Television news was positively related to distrust-related emotions toward Asians ($r_p = .12, p < .05$), but not anger. Print news was not related to distrust-related emotions nor anger towards Asians. Hypothesis 2c was partially supported.

Genre Specific Television Consumption

Research question 1 asked whether feelings of threat towards minorities were related to entertainment media consumption. Again, partial correlations were used, with the inclusion of daily television viewing as an additional covariate. Feelings of threat towards Blacks and Asians were not related to watching drama, comedy, soap operas, sports commentary shows, sports games, and talk shows. Feelings of anger towards Latinos was related to sports games ($r_p = .16, p < .05$) and marginally related to watching sports commentary shows ($r_p = .13, p = .06$).

V. DISCUSSION STUDY 1

The current study examined whether media consumption was associated with threatening emotions toward racial minorities. Cultivation theory suggests that threatening images of minorities should propagate negative affect towards minority groups, but research has not explicitly tested this proposition. The majority of cultivation research addressing the role of the media in cultivating perceptions of fear and anxiety has not included measures of specific emotional responses (see, Hoffner & Cohen, 2012).

In its original conception, cultivation theory argued that television's overall pattern of messages influenced individual's perceptions of their reality (Morgan et al., 2009). Communication research suggests that racial minorities are typically portrayed as threatening to the mainstream society (see, Mastro, 2009). Taken together, this research suggests that daily television consumption should be associated with feeling of threat towards these racial groups. Providing some support for this line of reasoning, the current study's results demonstrated that one's overall daily television viewing is related to feelings of threat regarding outgroup racial minorities.

Hypothesis 1: Overall Television Consumption

Consistent with H1a-c, overall daily television consumption was associated with feelings of threat towards minorities. With regards to Blacks, overall daily television consumption was related to anxiety-related emotions. The association between overall daily television consumption and anger did not reach the traditional level of significance,

but was consistent with the typical cultivation effect size ($r = .09$, Morgan & Shanahan, 1996). This suggests that although the quality and quantity of portrayals of Blacks are improving (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005), negative portrayals of this group remain in the media (see, Mastro, 2009). Similar to the findings regarding Blacks, daily television consumption was associated with anxiety-related emotions and anger towards Latinos. However, unlike Blacks, Latinos are grossly underrepresented on primetime television, making up about 5% of the primetime television landscape (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Latinos are portrayed as lazier and as having lower job authority than their White counterparts (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005), which is incongruent with the American protestant work ethic. Finally, daily television consumption was associated with feelings of anger towards Asians, but not distrust-related emotions. Like Latinos, Asians are underrepresented on primetime (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005), and are portrayed as “forever foreigners” to mainstream America (Kawai, 2005). Interestingly, although Latinos and Asians are underrepresented in the media landscape (although portrayals are apparent), the relationship between overall daily television consumption and emotional reactions was similar to that of Blacks, who as a group are adequately represented in the media landscape.

These findings provide evidence for cultivation theory’s claim that it is the ubiquitous and repetitive nature of daily television consumption that is the driving force behind the cultivation process, because if it were just the sheer amount of portrayals the associations between racial groups would be expected to be markedly different. Based on the quantity of portrayals alone one could expect that the relationship between daily

television consumption and feelings of threat towards Blacks would be much stronger compared to Latinos and Asians, because Blacks have a stronger media presence (at least on primetime). The quality of portrayals provides insight into this relationship. Latino and Asian portrayals have not evolved at the same pace as portrayals of Blacks.

Portrayals of Blacks have been described as more complex, meaning that although stereotypes of Blacks still exist in the media, they are more subtle and covert (see, Mastro, 2009). Contrast this with portrayals of Latinos and Asians, which have been fairly consistent (and negative) over time. The current study found that the strength of association between daily television consumption and feelings of threat were equivalent for all racial minority groups although Latinos and Asians receive much less television coverage (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). These findings speak to the complex nature of learning about social groups from the media—because Latinos and Asians are consistently negatively portrayed in the media their reduced primetime presence still produces the same outcomes as Blacks who receive more media coverage, but have more variety in their portrayals.

Hypothesis 2: News Consumption

The current study found fairly weak support for H2 a-c. Specifically, consumption of television news was related to feelings of anger towards Blacks and distrust-related emotions toward Asians. Consumption of news was not associated with feelings of threat towards Latinos. These findings are surprising for several reasons. First, research consistently finds that minorities are portrayed as threatening in the news media (Dixon & Linz, 2000a; see also, Hoffner & Cohen, 2012). Reality-based portrayals, like the

news, are thought to have a stronger (typically negative) impact on people's perceptions compared to fiction-based portrayals (see, Oliver, 2003), with some scholars suggesting that perceived realism is the underlying factor in these differences (see, Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). Second, recent extensions in cultivation theory suggest that consumption of specific media genres (in this case news) would be associated with both first- and second-order cultivation beliefs (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010), with second-order cultivation perceptions being more relevant to the current study. Emotional responses are more conceptually similar to that of other second-order outcomes. Research finds that news viewing is associated with other (albeit more cognitive) second-order perceptions. For example, Busselle and Crandall (2002) found news consumption was positively associated with perceiving the inequality between Blacks' and Whites' socioeconomic success was a result of Blacks' lack of motivation and was negatively associated with perceptions these gaps were a result of a lack of job opportunities. These findings may be providing evidence that it is "the bucket, and not the drops" that truly explains cultivation (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010, p. 340); however, future research should continue to examine both the association between overall television consumption, genre viewing, and emotional responses, so more conclusive conclusions can be drawn.

Research Question: Genre Exposure

Content analytic work provides evidence that minorities are generally portrayed as threatening on television but outside of the news research does not provide evidence about which genres would be positively associated with threat-related emotions (see, Mastro, 2009; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). The current study examined whether

genre-specific viewing was associated with feelings of threat towards minority groups. Overall, findings suggest that feelings of threat towards minorities were not specifically associated watching dramas, comedies, soap operas, and talk shows. However, watching sports commentary shows (e.g., *ESPN's Sports Center*) and sports games was associated with feelings of anger towards Latinos. Research in this area provides some evidence that the portrayals of minorities in sports coverage may parallel their images in other domains.

The preponderance of research examining coverage of minorities and sports compare Black and White players, typically in sports game coverage. Research in this area finds that Blacks are discussed as physically dominating players that are naturally gifted athletes. On the other hand, Whites are portrayed as more intelligent and hardworking compared to their Black counterparts (Billings, 2004; Eastman & Billings, 2005; Rada, 1996; Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005). Less research has examined the portrayals of Latinos, but what little work there is on this topic suggests that Latinos (particularly internationally born players) are portrayed similarly to other genres (Eagleman, 2009), such that Latinos are portrayed as rule breakers. Other work by Mastro, Blecha, and Atwell Seate (in press) finds that news coverage emphasizes the negative consequences of crimes committed by Black athletes more so compared to crimes committed by White athletes. Moreover, this coverage is more likely to provide situational explanations for Whites' missteps, whereas coverage of Blacks tends to make internal attributions for their actions. It should be noted that Mastro and associates only examined coverage of Black and White athletes due to sample constraints. This work suggests that if the pattern of coverage highlighting the threatening behavior of minority

groups extends to sports commentary shows and games, that it is not surprising that consuming these images would be associated with feelings of threat towards Latinos.

In sum, the current study's findings provide support for the cultivation theory's original premise: television provides a homogenous set of messages and repeated exposure to these messages influences how individuals perceive reality. Recent extensions of cultivation suggest that this should also extend to genre specific viewing, but the current study did support that assertion. Next, both the theoretical and practical implications of the study are discussed.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The current project has several overarching goals. First, the current work aims to extend the scope of cultivation theory to include emotions. Secondly, this research intends to provide evidence that the media impacts intergroup outcomes via specific affective mechanisms. Finally, it is hoped that the results from this project will help to reconcile several diverse bodies of literature explaining intergroup processes. Study 1 was designed to specifically address the first goal and to provide empirical evidence for goals two and three.

Broadening the scope of cultivation theory, the current study provides evidence that media consumption is associated with creating and maintaining threat-related emotions toward minority groups. Previous research in this area has provided valuable insight into how media consumption influences stereotype formation about minority groups (e.g., Mastro et al., 2007) and how these stereotypes influence intergroup perceptions (e.g., Dixon, 2008b); however, not examining the emotional component of

this process has left a lacuna in the research. In light of recent intergroup research suggesting that emotions are an important aspect of intergroup outcomes (e.g., Johnson et al., 2009), understanding the role of media in this process is of the utmost importance. The absence of explicit research connecting media portrayals to feelings of threat toward minorities is surprising, because scholars have speculated for some time now that the media likely cultivates negative affect regarding several domains, including intergroup communication (see, Hoffner & Cohen, 2012). The current results extend the scope of cultivation theory to not only apply to cognitive mechanism, such as stereotypes, but to include affective mechanisms, as well. Although this extension to cultivation theory is an important one, the current study's overall pattern of findings provides valuable insight into the likely mechanisms that the media influences intergroup outcomes.

Recent extensions of intergroup contact theories, such as intergroup emotion theory and intergroup threat theory, among others, have begun to suggest that intergroup perceptions and behaviors are primarily determined by intergroup emotions (e.g., Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). This work draws from general theories of emotion which have suggested for some time that affect has primacy in predicting both cognitions and behaviors (see, Zajonc, 1998). Specifically, these theories argue that individuals can experience emotions on behalf of their social group through the process of self-categorization (see, Smith & Mackie, 2010). Emotions that are experienced by the individual on behalf of their social group are theorized to be highly predictive of both intergroup attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and behaviors (Cuddy et al., 2008). Communication research provides evidence that the media are important determinants of

the self-categorization process (e.g., Fujioka, 2005). In light of Study 1's findings, that media consumption is associated with threatening emotions about minorities, it stands to reason that media exposure activates these emotions and it is these emotions that influence intergroup outcomes. Media priming research finds that exposure to minorities in the media can activate stereotypes, which in turn influence intergroup outcomes (see, Roskos-Ewoldson et al., 2009). Media exposure likely activates emotions in a similar manner. Moreover, previous media exposure likely influences the extent that individuals experience these emotions on behalf of their group. Neither the above-specified theories of intergroup contact, nor mediated intergroup communication research, have directly explored these theoretical assumptions in one comprehensive model. Mediated intergroup communication research has begun to explore the role of affect in intergroup outcomes, but the vast majority of this work has been cross-sectional (e.g., Fujioka, 2011) and cannot speak to the causal relationships that are inherent in these theoretical postulations. Although theory and the findings from Study 1 provide evidence that this may be the case, there is a paucity of empirical evidence that allows more causal conclusions to be drawn. To that end, Study 2 will extend the findings of Study 1 to examine the process to which the media impact intergroup outcomes via specific affective components. Although these theoretical implications are important, the current study's findings have practical implications for intergroup relationships as well.

Positive relationships between various social group members have been shown to be an effective way to improve intergroup relations (see, Harwood & Joyce, 2012), this is particularly the case for intergroup friendships (Pettigrew, 1998). It hardly seems likely

that these relationships could develop if individuals experience threatened emotional reactions toward outgroup members. For example, if a Black person feels resentful and distrusting towards Asians, it would be unreasonable to assume that this individual would seek to have a meaningful, long-term friendship with a member of that group; however, it is precisely those relational characteristics that are thought to be essential in facilitating positive intergroup outcomes. Hence, the media may be a deleterious factor that inhibits positive intergroup relationships from forming.

Finally, a contribution that has both practical and theoretical implications is this study's use of non-Whites in intergroup perceptions. A majority of mediated intergroup research (e.g., Busselle & Crandall, 2002) has examined Whites' perceptions of racial minorities. Although this work provides a strong theoretical understanding into cultivation process, the lack of research incorporating racial minorities is problematic. The current study included racial minorities in the sample and found support for the notion that media consumption among non-group members, in general, was associated with threatening concepts towards Blacks, Latinos, and Asians.

Limitations and Conclusions

This study has several limitations. First, as with all cross-sectional research, causal claims should be interpreted with caution; however, the current study did statistically control for several important variables that help to refute the selective exposure argument, including both quality and quantity of intergroup contact and multiple demographic variables that have been associated intergroup perceptions.

Second, although using the student referral method did improve variability in several key ways (age and race), it is still a convenience sample.

In sum, the current study found support for the assertion that the media consumption plays a role in cultivating emotional concepts about minorities groups. These results indicate that threatening media messages creates and reinforces negative emotions toward racial minorities. Next, Study 2 examines whether discrete emotions mediate the relationship between exposure to intergroup threat via the media and intergroup bias.

VI. LITERATURE REVIEW STUDY 2

Cultivation theory provides evidence that media has the ability to create and strengthen cognitive associations in such a way that people's perceptions become congruent with the media landscape (see, Morgan et al., 2009; see, Shrum, 2009). Once these cognitive associations are created, they can be activated by both mediated and real-world scenarios (Devine, 1989; Dixon, 2006a). With regards to the media, priming research finds that even one-time media exposure can influence people's later behaviors and judgments related to the message's content (see, Roskos-Ewoldsen et al., 2009). Research supports this proposition in a variety of contexts including violence, political, health, and stereotyping (Roskos-Ewoldsen et al., 2009). As for stereotyping, research suggests that the media activates stereotypes influencing people's attitudes, judgments, and behaviors toward these group members (see, Mastro & Atwell Seate, 2012). Research in psychology and mass communication provides some evidence that the media also activates negative affect toward minority group members consistent with the tenets of media priming research. These affective responses are thought to mediate the relationship between message exposure and intergroup outcomes (e.g., Johnson et al., 2009).

When the assumptions of cultivation theory are coupled with insights from intergroup emotions theory the above relationship is likely moderated by media exposure and the communication of ingroup norms. Intergroup emotions theory postulates that

individuals adopt affective group norms about outgroup members that are consistent with those communicated by ingroup members (see, Smith & Mackie, 2010). Hence, media messages featuring ingroup members endorsing group affective norms may strengthen the affect experienced during media exposure. Cultivation research suggests that the relationship between media exposure and negative affect should be moderated by long-term media consumption with heavy consumers reporting stronger emotional reactions. Specifically, if individuals experience threat-related emotion based on previous media consumption (as found in Study 1) these emotions should be more accessible for individuals who consume more media that feature these negative images. The current study tests the proposed moderating relationships. Specifically, Study 2 investigates whether one-time exposure to a news story about immigration activates negative affect towards undocumented immigrants and tests whether discrete emotions mediate the relationship between news exposure and intergroup outcomes. This study also examines whether ingroup endorsement of emotional group norms moderates the relationship between news exposure and intergroup emotions and other intergroup outcomes. Finally, the current study tests whether long-term news consumption moderates the relationship between media exposure and experienced affect.

Media Priming and Stereotype Activation

Direct effects. Research examining the impact of media exposure on intergroup bias typically examines race perceptions regarding crime and culpability. For example,

Gilliam and Iyengar (2000) report that Whites are more likely to support punitive remedies for crime (e.g., the death penalty and three-strikes law) after exposure to a Black perpetrator of violent crime. Similarly, individual who watched a news segment featuring a Black suspect judged the suspect as more guilty, more likely to commit future crimes, and deserving a harsher punishment compared to a White suspect (Peffley et al., 1996). Mastro (2003) finds that Whites exposed to an ingroup criminal make more justifications for his actions compared to those exposed to an outgroup criminal. Mastro argues that this justification serves as a way to protect positive perceptions individuals have toward their ingroup. This work also suggests that there are positive identity-based outcomes associated with seeing the outgroup performing threatening behavior, such that Whites' exposure to a Latino criminal produced significantly higher self-esteem compared to exposure to a White criminal, although not consistently so. It is likely that these identity-restoration strategies help individuals cope with the anger and anxiety that arises from the threatening intergroup contact.

Long-term media exposure moderates media priming effects. Integrating insights from both cultivation theory and media priming, research suggests that long-term media exposure moderates the media priming effects discussed above (Dixon, 2006a, 2007; Dixon & Azocar, 2007). Specifically, research reveals that minorities-as-threats stereotypes are more accessible for media heavy consumers, with these individuals reporting stronger threat perceptions and protection mechanisms after being primed with threat-relevant messages compared to light media consumers. For example, Dixon (2006a) finds that heavy news consumers that were exposed to a crime news segment

featuring a majority of Black suspects or race-unidentified suspects perceived the world as a more dangerous place compared those viewing a majority White suspects or a non-crime news segment. Similarly, after exposure to a to a crime news segment featuring a majority of Black suspects, heavy news consumers were more likely to perceive a subsequent criminal as more culpable for his actions compared to the control condition (Dixon & Azocar, 2007).

This line of research provides a strong empirical foundation for understanding the role of cognition in the relationship between mediated threats and intergroup outcomes. Altogether, this work finds that consuming threatening images of minorities is associated with stereotype formation (e.g., Mastro et al., 2007), increased support for policies that protect the ingroup from these threats (e.g., Peffley et al., 1996), and positive identity-based outcomes, such as increases in self-esteem (Mastro, 2003). However, mediated intergroup research has not fully explored the causal nature of affect producing intergroup outcomes. Theories of intergroup emotions suggest that the outcomes previously reviewed are not just produced by the cognitive processes specified above, but have affective antecedents as well. Hence, to understand how the media impacts intergroup outcomes, mass communication scholars need to study the affective component of these outcomes. Recently, mass communication research has begun exploring how affect is associated with intergroup outcomes. This works provides some evidence that affect likely mediates the relationship between media exposure and intergroup outcomes, but the majority of the work has been cross-sectional in nature. The

next section reviews the research in mass communication examining media, affect, and intergroup outcomes.

Media, Affect, and Intergroup Outcomes

Mass communication research finds that affective responses to the media's threatening depictions of the outgroup play a pivotal role in understanding: (a) the formation and maintenance of negative attitudes toward minority group members (Fujioka, 2011; Fujioka et al., 2008), (b) retaliating behaviors toward the source of the mediated threat (Brader et al., 2008), and (c) support for race-related policies (Johnson et al., 2009; Ramasubramanian, 2010, 2011).

First, research provides evidence that consuming media that features outgroup members as threatening is associated with negative attitudes toward those groups (Fujioka, 2011; Fujioka et al., 2008). Research by Fujioka (2011) suggests that evaluating the affective tone of immigration news coverage as negative is associated with perceiving the outgroup as threatening. In this study, Fujioka had respondents rate the tone of Latino immigration news on a continuum ranging from positive to negative. Individuals perceiving the affective tone of as negative were likely to perceive Latino immigrants as an economic threat. Moreover, negative affective evaluations of the news were associated with negative attitudes toward Latino immigrants. Higher levels of perceived economic threat were also associated with more negative attitudes toward this group.

Consuming media that links minorities with threat is associated with affective responses that influence policy support in ways that would protect the ingroup (Brader et al., 2008) or harm the outgroup (Ramasubramanian, 2010, 2011). Research by Brader and

associates (2008) found that Whites felt more anxious after exposure to an immigration news story featuring a Latino immigrant compared with exposure to a European (White) immigrant. Moreover, these affective responses caused individuals to oppose immigration, support English-only laws, and send anti-immigration requests to their congressperson. A study by Johnson et al. (2009) finds that empathy experienced during media exposure influences policy support by mediating priming effects. These authors report that exposure to a Black stereotype (i.e., the jezebel) reduces Whites' empathy towards Blacks producing a reduction in support for policies that would help Black pregnant women in need. Similarly, exposure to stereotypical outgroup media exemplars influences support for affirmative action policies (Ramasubramanian, 2011). Specifically, this study finds that self-reported exposure to a negative outgroup exemplar is positively associated with people's stereotyped beliefs toward the outgroup (e.g., Blacks and Latinos are criminals). These stereotyped beliefs are associated with prejudicial feelings toward the outgroup, which in turn predicts a reduction in support for affirmative action policies.

The above research provides some evidence that affect influences media-related intergroup outcomes, including attitudes toward the outgroup, behavioral intentions, and policy support. It appears that affect likely mediates the relationship between media exposure and intergroup outcomes. The next section provides a theoretical overview of the relationship between affect, social perceptions, and behaviors to provide support for this claim.

Theoretical Understanding of Intergroup Threat

Intergroup scholars have articulated the importance of affect in the discussion of intergroup outcomes for some time now (e.g., Allport, 1954), although it has not been empirically tested until much more recently. Research in this area has explored how enduring affective states, termed mood, and interaction specific affect, termed emotion, influence intergroup processes (see, Forgas, 2008; see, Smith & Mackie, 2010). Emotion scholars lament that the study of the cognitive components have taken precedence over affect, particularly with regard to intergroup processes (Mackie et al., 2008) because cognitive properties of social perceptions are more easily measured compared to affective properties.

More recently, several major lines of theory and research have emerged examining the role of affect in intergroup outcomes (see, Smith & Mackie, 2010). The first line of research examines specific emotions that arise from intergroup interactions and how these interaction-related emotions predict intergroup attitudes and identity restoration strategies. Next, research rooted in both appraisal theory and social identity-based models investigates how deindividuation can lead individuals to experience emotion on behalf of their social group, with emotions predicting intergroup behaviors.

Intergroup threat theory. Intergroup threat theory (ITT; Stephan & Stephan, 2000) argues that intergroup encounters are more likely to result in negative affect because these interactions (as compared to intragroup interactions) typically have the necessary antecedents needed to produce threat perceptions, such as a history plagued by competition over scarce resources. ITT posits that intergroup outcomes are determined by both the individual's perception of intergroup threat and affective responses to that threat.

ITT's major premise is that realistic threats (i.e., competition over scarce resources), symbolic threats (i.e., threats to the group's system of meaning), intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes about outgroup members, work together in predicting negative attitudes toward outgroup members.

Research in this area finds that threatening intergroup contact, coupled with threat-related affect, negatively influences intergroup outcomes. For example, research by Stephan and associates (2002) suggests that interracial contact plagued by harassment, threats, and verbal abuse is associated with experiencing negative emotions during the interaction, such as being nervous, worried, threatened, uncomfortable, and less at ease. Individuals reporting more negative emotions also report more negative interracial attitudes. Similarly, individuals who report high level of intergroup anxiety are more likely to perceive outgroup members as threatening to their social group, which in turn is associated with negative intergroup attitudes (Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

Positive group distinctiveness can be a result of threatening intergroup contact, which is associated with ethnocentric reactions among majority group members, including identity-restoration strategies (e.g., Mastro, 2003). Research by Gonsalkorale, et al. (2007) suggests exposure to collectively threatening information about Asians (i.e., about Asians as a group and not a specific exemplar) is associated with greater stereotyping of this group among Whites. Collectively threatening information about the outgroup also increases Whites' collective self-esteem and leads to positive perceptions toward their racial group. Collective self-esteem is the feelings of self-worth that comes from an individual's social group membership. Threatening behavior allows for a

distinction to be made that favors the ingroup, which in turn leads to increases in collective self-esteem. The above research suggests that threatening intergroup contact invokes negative emotions, which increases intergroup bias and positive identity-restoration strategies.

Appraisal theories of emotion. Appraisal theories of emotion argue that individuals evaluate everything they encounter and these cognitive appraisals lead individuals to experience emotions (see, Clore & Ortony, 2008). Hence, from this perspective emotions mediate the relationship between cognitions and social perceptions and behaviors. Cognitive appraisals may be explicit or implicit depending on the situational context. When individuals evaluate stimuli in their environment, they ask questions like “Will this hurt me?” or “Will this help me?” and the answers to these questions, influence the emotions the individual will experience. In intergroup contexts these appraisals are likely to happen automatically, outside the perceiver’s control, because group categorization is thought to be a common, functional, and adaptive process (see, Smith & Mackie, 2010). In other words, a common way individuals appraise their environment is through basic evaluations that are determined by whether the object is similar or dissimilar to the individual. Objects that are determined to be similar to the self are likely to be appraised positively and objects that are dissimilar to the self are appraised negatively. These positive or negative appraisals allow individuals to experience specific emotions, such as anxiety, anger, and disgust. Based on this line of reasoning intergroup scholars have examined how these appraisals occur at the group level (Mackie et al., 2008).

Intergroup emotions theory (IET, see, Smith & Mackie, 2010) argues that through self-categorization into salient social groups individuals will cognitively appraise their environment as a group member. Self-categorization describes the process of individuals perceiving themselves as either a unique individual or as a member of varying social groups (see, Turner, 1999). Because one has many groups that can be activated at any given moment, the salient social group often depends on the communication context. Put another way, communication cues in the environment are an important factor as to whether a person will be individuated or deindividuated. Deindividuation occurs when group memberships are salient and individuals begin to see themselves as having group characteristics, hold beliefs that align with group, act in ways that they perceive group members should act, and perceive the self and the group as one entity. When individuals are deindividuated they perceive themselves as prototypical group members, evaluating stimuli in their environment, by asking questions like “Will this hurt/help my group?” These group-level appraisals are predicted to cause individuals to experience emotions on behalf of one’s group.

Group-level emotions are physiologically similar to individual-level emotions. For example, individuals experiencing anger on behalf of the group exhibit greater corrugator supercilii activity compared to baseline, which is physiologically equivalent to individual-level anger (Davis & Stephan, 2011). Because group-level emotions are functionally similar to that of individual-level emotions, IET theorizes that these emotions should have the same outcomes (e.g., fight or flight) as individual-level emotions, but on the group level. However, group-level emotions are theorized to be

more predictive of intergroup outcomes as compared to individual-level emotions (see, Smith & Mackie, 2010). This relationship is thought to occur because when individuals are categorized as group member appraisals occur at the group level and these appraisals do not impact individual-level emotions (Moons et al., 2009). Generally, IET predicts that if an intergroup encounter leads the (deindividuated) group member to experience group-level anger this should influence the individual to attack the group causing the anger, if their group is in a position of power. On the other hand, if the group is not in a position of power the theory would argue that the individual would retreat from the group causing the anger. Intergroup fear is thought to produce outcomes such as wanting to move away from the source of the fear and motivation to reduce contact with the group members. Research testing IET has been limited, but there are a few studies that offer support for its propositions.

Deindividuation causes individuals to experience group-level emotions that are normative to the salient group membership. A study by Ray and associates (Ray, Mackie, Rydell, & Smith, 2008) finds that (college student) participants report less anger and more respect towards the police when they are categorized as Americans compared to those who are categorized as students. Moreover, individuals reported more anger towards Muslims when categorized as Americans as compared individuals categorized as students. These authors argue that deindividuation provides emotional profiles of how prototypical groups members should feel about outgroup members.

Communication of emotional group norms changes the degree individuals experience emotion on behalf of their social group. Moons and associates (2009) found

that after individuals reported the level of various emotions that they were currently experiencing as individuals (e.g., happiness, sadness, anger) and as Americans, that participants who were told that a recent study found that average Americans experience high levels anger reported higher levels of group-level anger, but not individual-level anger. Participants also reported experiencing differing levels of emotions based on deindividuation at baseline, such that participants reported differing levels of emotions as an individual and as an American. This research suggests that group memberships can provide emotional norms that are different than individual emotions, leading individuals to experience emotions in accordance to group norms. Moreover, explicit communication of these group-level emotional norms influences group-level emotions of the norm provided, but does not influence other group-level or individual-level emotions.

IET's major premise is that the emotions individuals experience on behalf of their social groups predicts intergroup behaviors. Research by Leonard, Moons, Mackie, and Smith (2011) found that after exposure to a vignette about women buying a car and being told "her type does not like to negotiate" (p. 105) those experiencing higher levels of group anger (vs low group anger) reported higher collective action tendencies, such as speaking to the salesman and joining a group to stop this type of event from happening again. However, it is not just verbal communication context that provides cues about the emotional profile that should be salient to the perceiver; it is the stereotype perceptions provided by the target group that provide this information as well.

BIAS map research (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007) argues that the stereotypes individuals hold regarding outgroup members are predictive of what intergroup emotions will be experienced by the individual. Drawing from the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), this research argues that the two trait dimensions of stereotyping, competence (e.g., capable) and warmth (e.g., sincere), predict which intergroup emotions should be experienced by the individual (on behalf of their social group). For example, groups that are categorized as highly warm but incompetent (e.g., older adults) should illicit feelings of pity, which in turn produce active facilitative behaviors (e.g., helping behaviors). However, groups that are incompetent and low in warmth, such as illegal immigrants, should lead to feelings of disgust. These feelings of disgust are theorized to produce harming behaviors, such as support for institutional discriminatory policies.

In sum, the above research suggests that intergroup emotions are important in understanding intergroup attitudes and behaviors. ITT research suggests that threatening intergroup contact leads individuals to experience negative emotions, with these anxiety-related emotions predicting attitudes toward the outgroup and identity restoration strategies. IET research provides evidence that individuals experience group-level emotions that are associated with threats leading to behaviors that will protect their ingroup. IET research also suggests that communication of group emotional norms influences the degree that individuals experience intergroup emotions. According to BIAS map research the outgroup's stereotype content should produce distinct emotions that predict behavior.

Theoretical Implications for Mediated Threats

As previously mentioned, intergroup contact research typically discusses the positive implications of contact for intergroup relations, but because mediated contact very rarely has the characteristics needed to produce positive intergroup outcomes, Harwood (2010) suggests that mediated contact likely represents “the dark side” of this perspective (p. 151). This is not to say that mediated intergroup contact could not have positive implications for intergroup relations, but in light of contact analytic work suggesting that minority groups are typically associated with threatening images and themes (see, Hoffner & Cohen, 2012; see, Mastro, 2009), it just is not likely. Because mediated contact between social groups can be thought of as a specialized case of intergroup contact (Harwood, 2010), the assumptions rooted in IET, BIAS map research, and ITT would be expected to hold true in this context. Accordingly, the current section integrates insights from this literature to (a) provide insights into our understanding of both cultivation and media priming processes and (b) to elucidate the role of affect in mediated intergroup contact.

IET provides evidence that threatening intergroup contact influences individuals to become deindividuated (see, Smith & Mackie, 2010) causing individuals to experience group-level emotions. Mediated intergroup contact also makes social group memberships salient (Fujioka, 2005; Harwood & Roy, 2005), leading to outcomes associated with deindividuation (see, Mastro & Atwell Seate, 2012). Negative mediated intergroup contact is associated with negative group-level emotions (Ramasubramanian, 2010,

2011), as predicted by IET. The activation of negative group-level emotions should happen through the same processes as stereotype activation, such as those specified in media priming. This claim is supported by experimental research finds that a one-time exposure to threatening media images produces negative-intergroup emotions (Brader et al., 2007, Johnson et al., 2009). Hence, one-time exposure to threatening mediated intergroup contact should lead individuals to experience negative group-level emotions as predicted by IET. These emotions should be consistent with the stereotype content of the group portrayed in the media.

The relationship between media exposure and experienced group-level emotions should be strengthened by consuming media that features minority groups as threatening. Cultivation research finds that long-term media exposure strengthens the influence of one-time media exposure in ways that generally exacerbate intergroup bias (e.g., Dixon, 2006a). Because the media depicts minorities as antecedents of threats to the ingroup, individuals have learned negative emotional responses toward these group members (as shown in Study 1). Just as individuals can learn cognitive categories (such as stereotypes) through long-term exposure, individuals can learn to be fearful or anxious of racial minorities as well. Consuming a media diet plagued with threatening intergroup images should strengthen the relationship described above (e.g., Dixon & Azocar, 2007), if emotions are more accessible for heavy media consumers. Hence, media consumption should moderate the relationship between media exposure and experienced group-level emotions.

A basic tenet of IET is that communication of emotional norms influences the degree individuals experience emotions on behalf of their group. Recall that communication of ingroup emotional norms influences individuals' group-level emotional experiences, but does not influence individual-level emotions (Moons et al., 2009). The mass media are a likely way that individuals learn group emotional norms. With regards to news media, many issues are framed in terms of exemplars espousing their group's perspective on any given issue (see, Zillmann & Brosius, 2000), which likely includes information on how group members feel about the issue at hand. Providing support for this claim, Entman (1990) suggests the role of media in communicating emotional norms is paramount, arguing that pairing racial and ethnic minorities with intergroup threats and highlighting majority groups (e.g., Whites) fears likely influences the degree that individuals experience negative (group-level) emotions when individuals are deindividuated. Hence, media messages that feature ingroup members endorsing emotional norms should strengthen the group-level emotion experienced.

IET and BIAS map research find that group-level emotions influence intergroup behaviors. Research provides evidence that this theoretical proposition applies to mediated intergroup contact. For example, Brader et al. (2007) found that experiencing anxiety during mediated intergroup threat leads to information seeking about the threat topic. This research provides support for IET, finding that emotions arising from mediated intergroup threat influences intergroup behaviors.

ITT provides insight into the relationship between threatening intergroup contact via the media and intergroup attitudes and collective self-esteem. Media priming research finds that one-time media exposure to threatening intergroup images is sufficient to activate negative cognitions that are cultivated through both media exposure and real-world intergroup dynamics. ITT argues that social group members likely experience anxiety and anger toward outgroup members due to histories that are plagued by competition over resources and intergroup avoidance (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Hence, mediated contact should produce anxiety-related emotions and anger that impact attitudes toward the outgroup and identity restoration strategies, respectively.

In sum, theory and research provides evidence for the claim that affect is essential to our understanding about what produces intergroup bias. The reviewed literature suggests that group-level emotions influence both intergroup attitudes and behaviors. The current study seeks to test these propositions in the context of news coverage regarding immigration. The next section provides an overview of the intergroup dynamics associated with illegal immigration in the United States and proposes the current study's hypotheses.

The Current Study and Hypotheses

Illegal immigration is a predominant threatening theme in the media landscape (Kim et al., 2011). Moreover, it is an important topic on the U.S. policy agenda. Research by the Pew Center (2011) found that Americans have strong, yet conflicting, views on immigration, such that they both heavily support tougher border patrol and favor creating ways that make it easier for undocumented immigrants to receive American citizenship.

These data also indicate that the major reason Americans are opposed to illegal immigration is due to the economic threat associated with this issue, including straining limited government resources and taking jobs away from native-born citizens. According to Pew, immigration is also associated with physical threats, including perceptions of increased crime, as well as symbolic threats, including threatening Americans' customs and way of life. This suggests that immigration is a topic that is associated with all major forms of intergroup threat. The current study explores how immigration news coverage influences majority group members' attitudes and behaviors. To this end, the following is proposed:

H1: Exposure to an immigration news story that features physical, economic, and symbolic threats will lead to: (a) negative attitudes toward illegal immigrants, (b) increases in collective self-esteem, (c) behavioral tendencies that protect the self and the ingroup, such as information seeking and sharing about the threatening outgroup, and (d) support for policies that favors U.S. citizens, more so than exposure to a story featuring immigration without mention of intergroup threats, and a story that does not feature immigration.

IET posits that communicating ingroup emotional norms influences group members to experience emotions in accordance with the group norm (Moons et al., 2009). Thus, media messages that feature an ingroup member endorsing the emotional group norm should strengthen the emotions experienced by the individual. To test this assertion, the following is proposed:

H2: Exposure to an immigration threat should lead to greater negative emotions when the story features ingroup endorsement of emotional norms compared to when the news segment does not feature an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms.

Because ingroup norm endorsement should produce greater negative emotions and emotions have primacy in social perceptions, it stands to reason that the relationship proposed in H1 should be moderated by ingroup norm endorsement.

H3: The relationship between exposure to a news story about illegal immigration and intergroup outcomes (predicted in H1) will be moderated by an ingroup member norm endorsement, such that more negative intergroup outcomes will be reported when the ingroup member is endorsing the threatening emotional norms.

Research in mass communication provides evidence that the relationships posed in H1 may be mediated by emotions (e.g., Brader et al., 2007). Moreover, ITT, IET, and BIAS map research provide evidence that intergroup threats are associated with negative emotions, such as anger and anxiety, and these emotions influence both attitudes (e.g., Stephan et al., 2002) and behaviors toward outgroup members (Leonard et al., 2011). Hence, the following prediction is offered:

H4: The relationship between exposure to a threatening news story about illegal immigration and intergroup outcomes (predicted in H1) will be mediated by negative emotions. Specifically, the relationship between intergroup threats and attitudes should be mediated by anxiety (**H4a**). The relationship between intergroup threats and identity restoration should be mediated by anger (**H4b**).

The relationship between exposure to illegal immigrants and intergroup behaviors should be mediated by feelings of disgust (**H4c**).

Because research provides evidence that the news portrays immigration topics as threatening (Conway et al., 2007), consistent with cultivation theory, it is likely that increased news consumption will be associated with negative emotional responses to illegal immigration. Hence, the following is proposed:

H5: The mediational relationship predicted in H4 will be moderated by news consumption. More specifically, the path between exposure to immigration threat and negative emotions should be moderated by news consumption, such that the relationship between experimental condition and intergroup emotion should be the strongest when news consumption is high.

VII. METHOD STUDY 2

Participants

Four-hundred and forty four participants were recruited from communication courses at a large southwestern university. Because this study is examining intergroup perceptions toward immigration in the United States all non-United States citizens and Latinos were excluded from the analyses ($N = 70$). Please see Appendix E for supplemental analyses for Latino participants. Participants were compensated with extra course credit. Participants mostly self-identified as White (88%); however, 4.8% identified as Asian/Pacific Islander, 4.8% identified as African-American/Black, and 2.4% as Other. The average age of the participants was 20.14 ($SD = 1.24$) and a majority were female (71.1%).

Procedure

Participants came to a computer lab in groups of 1-10 to complete the experiment, and were randomly assigned to experimental condition (see below). First, participants watched a news segment that contained a distracter segment (about the weather) and the experimental manipulation. After watching the news segment, participants completed a questionnaire ascertaining demographic information and the measured variables. After completing the questionnaire, the participants were debriefed about the purpose of the study.

Experimental Manipulation

Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (Immigration: Threat, No-threat) X 2 (Ingroup Emotional Norm Endorsement: Present, Absent) plus 1 (Control) experimental design. The news segment used for the experimental manipulation was adapted from actual immigration news reports (i.e., Lamm & Harrison, 2010; Solís, 2010). The news segment was produced by the local public media affiliate news studio. The actor who played the news anchor was the same in all conditions. In the threat condition the story discussed the negative implications of illegal immigration including increases in crime, threats to U.S. culture, and threats to the economy, which research suggests are common in this type of news (Kim et al., 2011). The no-threat condition discussed immigration in a non-threatening way. Specifically, this story discussed the positive cultural consequences of immigrants to the local community. The second factor, ingroup endorsement of emotional norms, was manipulated by either featuring, or not featuring, an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norm of the story. In other words, the ingroup member endorsed the emotions elicited by the threat (e.g., “I don’t think people really understand how angry we all are about seeing the number of immigrants coming into [our community]. Our schools systems and financial services are already extremely overburdened and the tax-payers cannot take it anymore. We are getting angry”). The control condition watched a non-intergroup news segment about the weather.

Manipulation Check

Participants were asked to rate the tone of each news segment (1 = Negative to 7 = Positive).

Perceptions of the News Anchor and News Segment

Participants rated how professional they perceived both the news segment ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.65$) and the news anchor ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.51$) on a seven-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree and 7 = Strongly Agree).

Moderator

Television news consumption. To measure television news consumption participants were asked how often they watched certain types of news (e.g., Fox News, CNN, MSNBC). These items were average ($M = 1.64$, $SD = .60$) Responses ranged from “Never” to “Multiple Times a Day” on a seven-point scale.

Mediators

Discrete emotions about immigrants. Discrete emotional responses were measured using items from Ramasubramanian (2010). Specifically, participants were asked to: “Please look at each of the following adjectives and indicate how well they describe your feelings toward undocumented immigrants in general. Please be frank in your opinions.” Responses ranged from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree” on a seven-point scale. These items included *anxiety* ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.58$), *anger* ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.50$), and *disgust* ($M = 2.60$, $SD = 1.60$).

Dependent Variables

Attitudes toward immigrants. Participants were asked a series of questions about their attitudes toward undocumented immigrants adapted from Ommundsen and Larsen (1997). A factor analysis (principal axis factoring) was used and two separate

factors emerged (based on .60/.40 loadings): a *human rights factor* and a *policy factor*. The *human rights factor* consisted of three items ($\alpha = .75$, $M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.56$). An example item from this factor included, “Undocumented immigrants have rights, too”. The *policy factor* consisted of three items ($\alpha = .77$, $M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.36$). An example item from this factor follows: “Undocumented immigrants are breaking the law”. Responses ranged from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree” on a seven-point scale.

Policy support. The two policy support items used in this study were adapted based on previous immigration research (Brader et al., 2007). The first item asked participants if they would be like to email their congressperson about decreasing the number of legal immigrants coming into the U.S. Specifically, the question asked, “There are currently several laws before Congress that would substantially decrease the number of legal immigrants that come to this country. Would you like to us to send an email message to your members of Congress indicating either your support or opposition to these reforms?” The responses ranged from “Yes, I support these reforms; Yes, I oppose these reforms; and No.” The second item asks participants whether they wanted to sign a petition to support an English only law, specifically: “There is a movement trying to get an amendment added to the Constitution making English the official language of the United States, meaning government business would be conducted in English only, would you like to sign that petition?” Responses were “Yes” and “No”.

Information seeking. To measure information seeking, participants were asked, “There are many organizations that put out information about immigration. Would you be

interested in receiving information from one of these groups?” A list of six organizations was provided and the participants selected the ones (if any) they wanted to receive information from via email. The items were summed ($M = .68$, $SD = 1.13$).

Information sharing. To assess information sharing individuals rated how likely they would be to share this news story, interpersonally with friends, through email, and through social networking sites. Responses ranged from “Very Unlikely” through “Very Likely” on a seven-point scale. These items were averaged ($\alpha = .71$; $M = 1.99$, $SD = 1.06$).

Collective-esteem. Collective-esteem was measured using the private sub-scale from the Luhtanen and Cocker (1990) collective-self esteem scale. An example item includes “In general, I’m glad to be an American”. Responses ranged from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree” on a 7-point scale. These items were averaged ($\alpha = .76$; $M = 6.24$, $SD = .93$).

Statistical Analyses

Hypotheses 1-3. To assess whether experimental condition influenced attitudes toward illegal immigrants, collective-esteem, and information sharing behaviors a series of 2 X 2 ANOVAs and OLS regressions were conducted. Because the current study incorporates an off-set experimental design, the two step approach is appropriate. First, the 2 X 2 ANOVAs allowed mean comparisons to be made between the fully-factored experimental conditions. When results from the ANOVAs indicated that there were mean differences, 95% confidence intervals of the estimated means were used to determine which means were significantly different. Second, OLS regression analyses compared the

mean differences between the fully factored experimental conditions and the control condition. For these regression analyses four dummy coded variables, coded such that the control condition is the reference category, were entered together as a block, comparing each experimental condition with the control condition.

However, several of the behavioral outcomes used in the current study are not appropriately tested by the above-specified analysis plan. Specifically, information seeking (H1c) is measured by having participants request information from various sources about immigration. Because this is a count variable, Poisson regression was used. Poisson regression is the most appropriate statistical technique because a count variable has a distribution that is truncated at zero at the lower bounds and this technique takes this lower boundary constraint into account, allowing for unbiased estimators (Cameron & Trivedi, 1998). First, the outcome was regressed on the fully factored set of experimental conditions. The first term represented the threat factor, the second term represented the norm endorsement factor, and the third term was the multiplicative interaction term between the two experimental factors. In addition, the policy support outcomes (H1d) are measured at the nominal level; hence, binomial and multinomial logistic regressions were used, following the same procedure as information seeking. Next, a separate regression (either Poisson or logistic) was computed to compare the experimental conditions with the control.

Hypotheses 4-5. The conditional indirect effects proposed in H4 and H5 were assessed in regression. Specifically, the conditional indirect effects were tested using the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2012). The use of this macro is advantageous as it provides

both the direct and conditional indirect effects of the independent, mediator, and moderator variables in one model. Moreover, it uses bootstrapping techniques for the standard errors, which is the most appropriate way to compute these values. For the current analyses the 95% confidence intervals for all effects used 5000 bootstrapped samples. Specifically, model four was used to test the indirect effect and model nine was used to ascertain the conditional indirect effects.

Similar to that of H1- H3, the mediational impact of two of the behavioral measures cannot be assessed with the PROCESS macro. Specifically, the PROCESS macro can only be used if the outcome is binary or continuous. To test the mediational impact of experiment condition via intergroup emotions, the Baron and Kenny (1986) logic will be applied in both a Poisson regression (for information sharing) and a multinomial logistic regression (for emailing one's congressperson).

VIII. RESULTS STUDY 2

Preliminary Analyses

Manipulation check. To assess whether individuals rated the threat condition as more negative compared to the no-threat condition an independent samples t-test was conducted. Those in the no-threat condition rated the tone of the news segment more positively ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 1.44$) compared those in the threat/negative condition ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.33$), $t(308) = 12.56$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = 1.44$.

Perceptions of the news segment and news anchor. Two separate one-way ANOVAs were calculated to ensure that individuals perceived the news segment and the anchor as equally professional across all five conditions. Neither the news segment ($F(4, 369) = 1.43$, $p > .05$), nor the anchor's ($F(4, 369) = 1.46$, $p > .05$) professionalism significantly differed based on experimental condition.

The following analyses begin with the test of the direct effects of experimental condition on intergroup outcomes. Next, the mediational and indirect effects are examined. Please see Table 5 for the zero-order correlations between the continuous dependent variables and mediator variables.

Hypothesis Testing

Direct Effects of Experimental Condition on Intergroup Outcomes

Attitudes toward undocumented immigrants. To test the assertion that experiment condition influenced attitudes toward undocumented immigrants (H1a and

H3) two separate 2 X 2 ANOVAs were conducted. As previously stated, there are two factors of attitudes that were examined in the current study, the human rights factor and the policy factor. As predicted in H1a, those who were exposed to the immigration threat condition reported lower levels on the human rights measure ($M = 3.61, SD = 1.56$) compared to those in the no-threat condition ($M = 4.11, SD = 1.54$) ($F(1, 306) = 8.14, p < .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03, \text{Cohen's } d = .32$). Please see Table 6. Hypothesis 3 predicted that this relationship should be moderated by the presence of an ingroup member endorsing the emotion norms of the story, such that more negative attitudes will be reported when the group member is endorsing the threatening emotional norm. The interaction between the immigration threat and ingroup norm endorsement was not significant ($F(1, 306) = 2.82, p = .09, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$). Please see Table 7 for the means of the human rights factor as function of experimental condition. To compare the fully-factored experimental conditions to the control condition an OLS regression analysis was used. The block of experimental conditions was significant ($F(4, 369) = 2.87, p < .05$). As predicted those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition reported lower levels on the human rights factor compared to the control ($\beta = -.17, t = -2.45, p < .05$). No other conditions were significantly different compared to the control. Please see Table 8 for the OLS regressions comparing experimental conditions with the control condition for immigration attitudes, collective self-esteem, and information sharing.

Experimental condition did not predict individuals' attitudes toward policy (H1a). ANOVA results indicate that neither exposure to the immigration threat ($F(1, 306) =$

1.17, $p > .05$) nor the interaction between the exposure to the immigration threat and the ingroup norm endorsement factors ($F(1, 306) = 1.76, p > .05$) predicted individual's policy attitudes. Table 9 provides the means for the policy factor as a function of experimental condition. Similarly, regression analyses indicate that experimental condition did not predict policy attitudes ($F(4, 369) = 1.35, p > .05$). However, it should be noted that although the block was not statistically significant, individuals in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition reported higher levels of policy support compared to the control ($\beta = .15, t = -2.23, p < .05$). Taken together, these results provide modest support for H1a and cautiously support H3.

Collective self-esteem. Hypothesis 1b predicted that exposure to an immigration threat would increase collective self-esteem. This relationship should be moderated by ingroup norm endorsement, such that the effect of the threat condition would be exacerbated by the presence of an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norm. Those exposed to the immigration threat condition did not report higher collective self-esteem compared to those in who were exposed to a non-threatening immigration news segment ($F(1, 306) = .87, p > .05$). However, there was a significant interaction between the immigration threat and ingroup norm factors ($F(1, 306) = 4.59, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$). Please see Table 10 collective self-esteem means based on experimental condition. Results indicated that the presence of an ingroup member increased collective-self esteem for those exposed to the immigration threat; however, for those who were exposed to the non-threatening segment the opposite pattern emerged. Exposure to an ingroup member

endorsing a non-threatening emotional norm resulted in lower self-esteem compared to those who did not see an ingroup member endorsing the non-threatening emotional norm. Next, regression analyses revealed experimental conditions predicted collective self-esteem ($F(4, 369) = 3.11, p < .05$). Generally speaking, those in the control condition reported lower levels of collective-esteem than those in the experimental conditions. Specifically, there was a positive association between exposure to the mediated intergroup threat and collective self-esteem for individuals in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($\beta = .21, t = 3.10, p < .01$) and those in no-immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($\beta = .19, t = 2.75, p < .01$). A similar pattern emerged for those in the no-immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition, with the findings only approaching traditional levels of significance ($\beta = .12, t = 1.96, p = .07$). The above results provide partial support for H1b and H3.

Information sharing and seeking. Hypothesis 1c predicted that exposure to immigration threats would result in increased information sharing and seeking behaviors. With regards to information sharing, there was a marginally significant effect for the immigration threat factor ($F(1, 306) = 3.50, p = .06$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, Cohen's $d = .20$), such that those in the immigration threat condition were more likely to share the news story with others ($M = 2.06, SD = 1.06$) compared to those in the no-threat condition ($M = 1.85, SD = 1.01$). The interaction between the threat factor and ingroup norm endorsement was not significant ($F(1, 306) = .05, p > .05$). Table 11 provides the means for information sharing based on experimental condition. The regression analyses indicated

that there were no differences between the experiment conditions and the control ($F(4, 369) = 1.12, p > .05$).

It was also predicted that those exposed to immigration threat would seek out information more so than those in the no immigration threat condition, with an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norm strengthening the effect of exposure to the intergroup threat. Poisson regression analyses indicated that this model does not account for any significant variation in information seeking ($\chi^2(3) = 1.64, p > .05$). Results indicated that as a block the experimental conditions, including the control condition, did not account for a significant amount of variation in information seeking ($\chi^2(4) = 6.03, p > .05$). It should be noted that two of the conditions were significantly different from the control. Individuals in the no-threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition were less likely to seek out information compared to the control, ($\chi^2(1) = 5.13, B = -.51, p < .05$). A similar pattern emerged for those in the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($\chi^2(1) = 3.78, B = -.43, p = .05$). H1c and H3 were not supported.

Policy support. To test whether experimental condition predicted policy support items binary and multinomial logistic regression analyses were conducted. First, participants were asked if they would like to sign a petition supporting “English only” laws. A binary logistic regression indicated that the neither the main effect for threat ($\chi^2(1) = .52, B = -.23, p > .05$) nor the interaction between threat and ingroup norm endorsement ($\chi^2(1) = .59, B = -.07, p > .05$) predicted individuals level of policy support. Analyses showed that approximately half of the participants supported the law in both the

immigration threat ($n = 65$) and the no-immigration threat condition ($n = 73$). The experimental conditions were not significantly different compared to the control ($\chi^2(4) = 1.60, p >.05$). Again, results show that approximately half of the participants in the control condition also supported the legislation.

Participants were also asked if they would like to send an email to their congressperson regarding a law that would decrease the number of immigrants that are allowed in the U.S. each year. It was predicted that those in the immigration threat condition would be more likely to support these laws compared to those in the no-threat condition, particularly for those in the exposed to the ingroup member endorsing the threatening emotional norms. Experimental condition did not predict policy support ($\chi^2(6) = 7.10, p >.05$). Approximately one third of the participants emailed their congressperson in support of the law ($n = 119$), regardless of experimental condition. As a block, experimental condition did not predict participants emailing their congressperson, indicating no significant differences between the experimental conditions and the control condition ($\chi^2(8) = 9.50, p >.05$). However, those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement conditions were less likely to email their congressperson supporting the law compared with the control ($\chi^2(1) = 4.37, B = -.81, p <.05$). These results do not support H1d or H3.

Emotions toward undocumented immigrants. Hypothesis 2 predicted that those exposed to intergroup threat would report more negative emotions toward undocumented immigrants compared to those in the no-threat condition. It was also predicted that this

relationship should be moderated by ingroup norm endorsement, such that the presence of an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms espoused in the news story would strengthen the effect of exposure to the intergroup threat. Specifically, it was hypothesized that experimental condition would impact feelings of anxiety towards undocumented immigrants. Results demonstrated that those in the immigration threat condition ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.60$) reported more anxiety towards undocumented immigrants compared to those in the no-threat condition ($M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.56$) ($F(1, 306) = 5.60$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, Cohen's $d = .27$). The interaction between the threat factor and the ingroup norm endorsement factor was not significant ($F(4, 369) = 2.86$, $p > .05$). Please see Table 14 for the means for anxiety towards undocumented immigrants based on experiment condition. As a block the experimental conditions accounted for a significant proportion of the variability in anxiety ($F(4, 369) = 2.49$, $p < .05$). However, only those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition reported more anxiety compared to those in the control ($\beta = .13$, $t = 1.66$, $p = .06$), but only marginally so. Please see Table 14 for the OLS regressions comparing experimental conditions with the control condition for all intergroup emotions.

It was predicted that those in the immigration threat condition would report more anger compared to those in the no-threat condition. Results indicated that those in the intergroup threat condition reported marginally lower levels of anger ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 1.52$) compared to those in the no-threat condition ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.53$) ($F(1, 306) = 3.29$, $p = .07$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, Cohen's $d = -.20$). A significant main effect emerged for

ingroup norm endorsement, such that those who viewed the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norm (regardless of threat level) reported more anger towards undocumented immigrants ($M = 3.22, SD = 1.63$) compared to those who did not view the ingroup member endorse the emotional norms ($M = 2.84, SD = 1.40$) ($F(1, 306) = 5.11, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, Cohen's $d = -.25$). However, this was qualified by an immigration threat by ingroup norm endorsement interaction ($F(1, 306) = 3.85, p = .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$). Those in the no-threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 3.53, SD = 1.66$) had higher levels anger compared to those in the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 2.83, SD = 1.49$, Cohen's $d = -.44$) and those in the no-threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 2.81, SD = 1.35$, Cohen's $d = -.48$). Please see Table 16 for the mean comparisons for anger based on experimental conditions. Regression results revealed that experimental conditions accounted for a significant amount of variability in feelings of anger towards undocumented immigrants ($F(4, 369) = 3.11, p < .05$). Those in the no-threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition reported more anger compared to those in the control ($\beta = .20, t = 2.95, p < .01$).

Finally, it was predicted that those in the threat condition would experience greater feelings of disgust towards undocumented immigrants compared to those in the no-threat condition, with this relationship being moderated by ingroup norm endorsement. Results indicated that there was a main effect for the threat factor ($F(1, 306) = 9.28, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$). Those in the immigration threat condition ($M = 2.91, SD = 1.54$) reported more disgust compared to those in the no-threat condition ($M =$

2.36, $SD= 1.65$), Cohen's $d = .34$. The interaction between the threat and ingroup norm endorsement was not significant ($F (1, 306) < 1, p > .05$). Please see Table 17 for the mean comparisons for disgust based on experimental conditions. Next, we compare the experimental conditions to the control. The block is significant ($F (4, 369) = 2.76, p < .05$). Those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition reported more disgust towards illegal immigrants compared to the control ($\beta = .13, t = 1.94, p = .05$). A similar pattern emerges for those in the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($\beta = .12, t = 1.72, p = .09$), but this finding only approached statistical significance.

Conditional Indirect Effects of Experimental Condition on Intergroup Outcomes

Hypothesis 4 predicted that the relationships in H1 (a-d) and H3 should be mediated by emotions toward undocumented immigrants. Remember H2 predicted that the presence of an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norm of the news story should strengthen the experienced intergroup emotion. Hypothesis 5 predicted that this mediational relationship should be moderated by news exposure. To test these conditional indirect hypotheses, the PROCESS macro was used in SPSS (Hayes, 2012). Specifically, H4a predicts that the effect of exposure to the mediated intergroup threat on attitudes towards illegal immigrants should be mediated by anxiety. H4b predicts that the effect of exposure to the mediated intergroup threat on collective self-esteem should be mediated by anger, and H4c predicts that the effect of exposure to the mediated intergroup threat

on intergroup behaviors should be mediated by disgust. The current section only reports the indirect effects of experimental condition on intergroup outcomes, unless direct effects are different than those presented above. Significant indirect effects were ascertained by using 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals of the unstandardized coefficients. Please see Figure 1 for the hypothesized model.

Attitudes toward undocumented immigrants. H4a predicted that anxiety would mediate the relationship between exposure to an intergroup threat and attitudes toward undocumented immigrants. Hypothesis 5 predicted that mediational relationship predicted should be moderated by previous news consumption. Remember there are two factors of attitudes being explored in the current study: attitudes regarding undocumented immigrants' human rights and attitudes toward immigration policy. With regards to the human rights factor, results indicated there is a direct effect of the threat factor on attitudes ($B = -.38, t = -2.23, p < .05$), but not anxiety ($B = -.33, t = -.99, p > .05$). Please see Table 17 for the all indirect and conditional indirect findings. There was a two-way interaction between the threat factor and television news consumption ($B = 2.68, t = 2.04, p < .05$). Results demonstrated for those in the immigration threat condition that news consumption was associated with marginally increased levels of anxiety ($B = 1.73, t = 1.76, p = .08$), whereas for those in the no-threat condition the opposite trend emerged ($B = -1.23, t = -1.30, p > .05$). Results indicated that there was an indirect effect of the threat factor on human rights attitudes through feeling of anxiety ($B = -.10, CI = -.23$ through $-.02$). Results suggest that there were also conditional indirect effects of the threat factor

on the outcome. Specifically, there was an indirect effect of immigration threat on human rights attitudes only for those who were exposed to the ingroup member endorsing the emotional normed and consumed average or above average levels of television news. This occurs at both the mean level of television news consumption ($B = -.18$, $CI = -.37$ through $-.05$) and at one standard deviation above the mean ($B = -.27$, $CI = -.50$ through $-.11$). Table 18 provides the conditional indirect effects of the threat factor on human rights attitudes for both levels of ingroup norm endorsement and for three levels of television news consumption (i.e., one standard deviation below the mean, the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean).

The immigration threat factor did not have a direct impact on attitudes toward policy ($B = .09$, $t = .56$, $p > .05$). However, anxiety did predict policy attitudes ($B = .18$, $t = 3.62$, $p < .01$). Results indicated that there was an indirect effect of the threat factor on policy rights attitudes through feeling of anxiety ($B = .07$, $CI = .01$ through $.17$). Similar to that of human rights attitudes, there is a conditional indirect effect of the threat factor on policy attitudes. Again, exposure to the threat factor resulted in increased negative attitudes toward policy attitudes for individuals with higher levels of television consumption and who were exposed to the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms. This occurs at both the mean level of television news consumption ($B = .12$, $CI = .03$ through $.27$) and at one standard deviation above the mean ($B = .19$, $CI = .07$ through $.37$). Generally speaking, these results provide support for H4a and H5. Please see Table 19 for the conditional indirect effects of the threat factor on policy attitudes.

Collective self-esteem. It was argued that anger would mediate the relationship between experimental condition and collective self-esteem. Results indicated that neither the threat factor ($B = -.01, t = -.48, p > .05$) nor anger towards undocumented immigrants predicted collective self-esteem ($B = -.00, t = -.11, p > .05$). The indirect effect of the threat factor was not significant ($B = .00, CI = -.003$ through $.004$). Hypothesis 4b and H5 were not supported.

Information sharing. Hypothesis 4c predicted that the relationship between exposure to intergroup threat and information sharing would be mediated by disgust towards undocumented immigrants. The direct effect of the threat factor on information sharing was not significant ($B = .06, t = 1.48, p > .05$). However, feelings of disgust towards undocumented immigrants predicted information sharing ($B = .03, t = 2.19, p < .05$). Results indicated that there was an indirect effect of the threat factor on information seeking through feeling of disgust ($B = .02, CI = .002$ through $.04$). There was a conditional indirect of the threat factor on information sharing. Again, this indirect effect occurs at both level of ingroup norm endorsement, at average levels of television consumption and higher. More specifically, for individual who were exposed to the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms this relationship occurs at both the mean level of television news consumption ($B = .02, CI = .002$ through $.05$) and at one standard deviation above the mean ($B = .03, CI = .003$ through $.07$). The same pattern emerged for those individuals who were not exposed to the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms. Specifically, this relationship occurs at both the mean level of television news

consumption ($B = .02$, $CI = .001$ through $.04$) and at one standard deviation above the mean ($B = .03$, $CI = .002$ through $.05$). Please see Table 20 for the conditional indirect effects of the threat factor on information sharing. These results provide fairly weak support for H4c and H5.

Support of English-only laws. It was hypothesized the relationship between exposure to intergroup threat and support of English-only laws would be mediated by feelings of disgust toward undocumented immigrants (H4c). The direct effect of the threat factor on policy support was not significant ($B = -.38$, $Z = -1.61$, $p > .05$). However, feelings of disgust towards undocumented immigrants predicted policy support ($B = .22$, $Z = 2.91$, $p < .01$). Results indicated that there was an indirect effect of the threat factor on support of English-only laws through feeling of disgust ($B = .12$, $CI = .03$ through $.27$). Results also indicate that there were conditional indirect effects of the threat factor on policy support. The impact of the immigration threat factor on policy support is positive at the mean level of television news consumption and at one standard deviation above the mean. This relationship occurred at both levels of the ingroup norm endorsement factor. Specifically, when the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norm was absent, the threat factor impacted policy support at the mean level of television news consumption ($B = .10$, $CI = .01$ through $.28$) and at one standard deviation above the mean ($B = .17$, $CI = .03$ through $.43$). Similarly, when the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norm was present, the threat factor impacted policy support at the mean level of television news consumption ($B = .15$, $CI = .03$ through $.36$) and at one standard deviation above the mean ($B = .21$, $CI = .06$ through $.49$). Please see Table 21 for the

conditional indirect effects of the threat factor on policy support. The results provide moderate support for H4c and H5.

Emailing one's congressperson in support of immigration decreases. It was proposed that experimental condition would impact behavioral outcomes through feelings of disgust toward undocumented immigrants (H4c). Exposure to the intergroup threat marginally predicted emailing one's congressperson in support of immigration decreases compared to not emailing one's congressperson ($B = -.47, \chi^2 = 3.40, p = .07$), indicating that those in the threat condition were less likely to email their congressperson. Feelings of disgust predicted an increase in the emailing one's congressperson ($B = .32, \chi^2 = 15.73, p < .001$), such that as disgust increased so did the likelihood of emailing one's congressperson in support of decreasing immigration. A Sobel test reveals that the mediational model is not significant ($Z = -1.39, SE = .09, p > .05$). These results do not support H4c or H5.

Information seeking. It was argued that the relationship between experimental condition and information seeking should be mediated by feelings of disgust toward undocumented immigrants. Poisson regression analyses indicated that the threat factor did not predict information seeking ($B = .02, \chi^2(1) < 1, p > .05$); however, disgust predicted information seeking ($B = .09, \chi^2(1) = 5.14, p < .05$). A Sobel test reveals that the mediational model is not significant ($Z = .13, SE = .009, p > .05$). These results do not support H4c or H5.

IX. DISCUSSION STUDY 2

The current study investigated the mechanisms through which mediated intergroup threats influenced attitudes toward the outgroup, collective self-esteem, information sharing and seeking behaviors, and policy support in the context of immigration. Integrating insights from social identity, appraisal-based theories of intergroup emotion, and cultivation theory, this study provides evidence that mediated intergroup threats impact immigration attitudes, information sharing, and support for English-only laws both directly and indirectly through intergroup emotions. These direct and indirect effects were moderated by previous television news consumption and the presence of an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms presented in the news segment. Contrary to predictions exposure to an intergroup threat via the media did not indirectly influence collective self-esteem, information seeking, and emailing one's congressperson in support of immigration decreases through intergroup emotions. Taken together, the current work suggests that the causal impact of the media on intergroup outcomes is complex, such that media characteristics and individual differences work together to influence the extent that group members experience intergroup emotions, which in turn predicted intergroup outcomes.

Attitudes towards Immigration

Mass communication research provides an abundance of evidence that exposure to mediated threats directly influences intergroup outcomes (e.g., Peffley et al., 1996),

including attitudes toward outgroups (e.g., Fujioka, 2011). The current study builds on this work demonstrating that exposure to threatening information about the outgroup in the news influenced attitudes toward undocumented immigrants' human rights. However, exposure to such threats in the media did not directly predict attitudes toward immigration policy.

IET argues that communication of emotional norms impacts the extent individuals experience emotions on behalf of their social group. A common way that individuals learn how prototypical group members should perceive group-relevant issues is through exposure to the news media's use of exemplars discussing the position of one's ingroup (Zillmann & Brosius, 2000). Ultimately then, ingroup members endorsing an intergroup threat featured in the news should strengthen the direct effect of exposure to intergroup threats. The current study found support for this proposition. Having an ingroup member endorse the emotional norm about the immigration threat influenced individual's attitudes toward immigrants' human rights. When the ingroup member supported the position that immigrants coming to the United States illegally were not a threat to Americans, this resulted in more favorable attitudes toward human rights. Conversely, when the ingroup exemplar's statement underscored the threat that immigrants have to Americans this produced more negative attitudes toward immigrants' human rights. In other words, not only did the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms associated with the threat have a negative impact on human rights attitudes (as predicted by IET), but seeing an ingroup member endorsing a non-threatening view of immigration positively influenced these attitudes. Supporting previous intergroup contact theory research this provides clear

evidence that the media could have a positive influence on intergroup relations, given a different set of intergroup portrayals becoming more normative.

Generally speaking, intergroup contact research finds that non-threatening contact between members of various social groups can improve intergroup attitudes (Harwood & Joyce, 2012). Scholarship provides evidence that that positive contact via the media can also lead to positive intergroup relations (e.g., Ortiz & Harwood, 2007). Regarding immigration, research finds that media portrayals tend to focus on the symbolic, economic, and physical threats immigration poses to majority group members (i.e., Americans) (e.g., Kim et al., 2011). Should portrayals of this group become more positive, this could potentially improve the majority group's perceptions of this group. In this way, it seems that ingroup members communicating an emotionally positive perspective about the outgroup serves as a specific form of extended intergroup contact, with the same beneficial outcomes. Neither exposure to the immigration threat nor ingroup norm endorsement predicted policy attitudes. Results suggest for all outcomes associated with immigration policy that exposure to intergroup threat only influenced these outcomes indirectly through intergroup emotions.

Exposure to immigration threats in the news produced feelings of anxiety towards undocumented immigrants. Specifically, when exposed to threatening depictions of immigration, viewers reported more intergroup anxiety compared to individuals who were not exposed to the immigration threat. Moreover, those exposed to the immigration threat that featured an ingroup member advocating the threat experienced more anxiety compared to those who watched a news story that did not feature an intergroup threat.

Previous news consumption also influenced the extent to which individuals viewing threatening information about the outgroup experienced intergroup anxiety. The more individuals watched television news, the more anxiety they felt when watching the threatening immigration news segment. This is consistent with previous (mediated) intergroup communication research that finds that previous news consumption makes constructs (typically stereotypes) featured in the news more accessible to heavy news consumers (e.g., Dixon, 2006a). Study 1 extended this line of research to include emotional responses. The current study's findings imply that not only can people learn emotions through the media, but these emotions are more accessible for heavy viewers. The previous findings indicate that both having an ingroup member endorse the emotion norm of the intergroup threat and previous television news exposure influenced the extent individuals experience emotions about the outgroup; hence, it seemed conceivable that they would also impact how anxiety influences attitudes toward immigration.

Threatening information about the outgroup produced unfavorable immigration attitudes through feelings of intergroup anxiety. This relationship was influenced by the presence of the ingroup member endorsing the (negative) emotions associated with immigration and television news consumption. For heavy news consumers, viewing an ingroup member discuss immigration in a threatening way influenced immigration attitudes via feelings of intergroup anxiety. The indirect effects for the intergroup threat only occurred for those who have the highest levels of television news consumption. Providing support for cultivation theory's claims that heavy media consumers perceive their world similarly to that of the television world, these findings additionally

demonstrate that heavy media consumers experience emotions that are consistent with the emotional norms portrayed on television. Taken together, these findings extend existing research by providing evidence that previous media exposure influences intergroup outcomes, not only by activating stereotypes, but through activating emotions as well. Existing research has shown that after being exposed to a threatening outgroup member in the news, heavy news consumers report more negative intergroup outcomes. For example, research by Dixon and Azocar (2007) found that after being exposed to a majority of Black criminal suspects in the news, heavy news consumers reported that Blacks did not face structural limitations for success. In general, this work suggests that the (typically negative) stereotypes individuals have of the outgroup are more accessible for heavy media consumers; hence, when these individuals are exposed to threatening outgroup member portrayals they are more likely to use those stereotypes in subsequent judgments and behaviors. Hence, the current work implies that previous media exposure likely influences the causal nature of one-time media exposure in several ways. First, based on past research (e.g., Dixon, 2006a), media consumption activates stereotypes about outgroup members. Second, previous media consumption also indirectly influences one-time exposure by activating emotions about the outgroup member, with these emotions affecting intergroup outcomes.

Collective Self-Esteem

Social identity research suggests that for majority group members the media provides a prime opportunity for ingroup benefitting intergroup comparisons (Mastro & Atwell Seate, 2012). Viewing an outgroup member performing threatening behavior in

the media allows (majority group) consumers to make these comparisons in ways that lead to positive perceptions of their ingroup and negative perceptions of the outgroup. Positive group distinctiveness is associated with ethnocentric reactions among majority group members, including increases in self-esteem (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008). For example, Mastro (2003) found Whites exposed to a Latino criminal reported higher levels of self-esteem compared to Whites exposed to an ingroup criminal. These findings provide evidence that threatening behavior allows for a distinction to be made that favors the ingroup, which in turn leads to increases in self-esteem. Research finds that there is a parallel trend for collective self-esteem. Gonsalkorale and associates find that after being exposed to threatening information about the outgroup (in this study Asians) individuals reported increased levels of collective self-esteem. Ethnocentric reactions to media portrayals likely have emotional components that coincide with the dominant themes of outgroup portrayals; however, research has not explicitly tested this proposition.

The current work finds that exposure to immigration threat, along with having an ingroup member endorse the threatening emotional norms of this issue predicted collective self-esteem. Specifically, those who viewed the threatening message, with an ingroup member advocating the story's negative position, reported higher self-esteem compared to those who just viewed the threatening news segment. The opposite pattern emerges for those who were not exposed to the intergroup threat, such that having an ingroup member endorse the non-threatening emotional norm was associated with a decrease in collective self-esteem. Those who viewed the threatening news segment with the ingroup exemplar and those who viewed the non-threatening news segment with no

ingroup exemplar reported higher levels of collective self-esteem compared to those who did not view a threatening news segment. In general, it seems that exposure to topic of immigration, regardless of threat level, led to an increase in collective-esteem. This intuitively makes sense based on the basic tenets of social identity theory. Media portrayals of immigration focus on the threat illegal immigration has on majority groups members, including the reasons why immigrants come to the United States to take away resources away from the ingroup (Kim et al., 2011). Because of this, it is likely that the topic of immigration prompts identity salience for majority group members (i.e., Americans) because it allows for positive intergroup comparisons to be made that benefit the ingroup. IET and ITT would also predict that another likely ethnocentric reaction to this threatening information would be feelings of anger toward the outgroup (Smith & Mackie, 2010).

Contrary to IET research, experimental condition did not predict feelings of intergroup anger. Individuals who viewed a non-threatening news segment with the ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms experienced more intergroup anger compared to those who viewed a news segment highlighting the immigration threat, those who viewed the non-threatening news segment and those who did not view a story about immigration. This is perplexing because IET posits that intergroup contact that is associated with symbolic, physical, and economic threats should produce feelings of intergroup anger (e.g., Moon et al., 2009). Intergroup anger did not predict individual's collective self-esteem, nor did anger mediate the relationship between viewing a threatening news story about immigration and collective self-esteem. Although, these

finding are contrary to hypotheses based on previous theory and research, this may be explained by the fact that anger was highest for those who were exposed to an immigration story that was not framed as a threat to the ingroup. Research rooted in social identity theory helps to shed light on why anger was not associated with threatening intergroup contact, as suggested by IET.

Social identity gratification research finds that individuals seek out media messages that portray their group favorably and avoid media messages that portray their group negatively (Abrams & Giles, 2007; Harwood, 1999). Seeing an outgroup member negatively portrayed in the media positively impacts an individual's sense of identity (Mastro, 2003), but it seems equally plausible that seeing an outgroup member being portrayed positively serves as a (social) identity threat. Choosing media that show the outgroup negatively, likely reaffirms perceptions that their group's vitality is strong and provides positive identity-based outcomes, like collective self-esteem. Hence, seeing an ingroup member discussing the outgroup positively was possibly perceived as threatening to the participants' sense of identity and perceptions of their group's vitality and these identity threats triggered feelings of anger towards the outgroup. Because the current study did not measure perceptions of group vitality this interpretation is speculative, however, future research should examine how positive portrayals of outgroup members impact perceptions of one's group vitality.

Intergroup Behaviors

In general, viewing the media's depiction of an immigration threat did not directly influence intergroup behaviors, but it did influence behaviors indirectly through feelings

of disgust towards undocumented immigrants. Predictions rooted in BIAS map research suggested that because undocumented immigrants are perceived as low on both competence and warmth, the two dimensions of stereotype content, stereotypes associated with this group should produce contempt-related emotions, specifically, feeling of disgust. This work further argues that feelings of intergroup disgust, in turn, produce behaviors that harm the outgroup such as supporting institutional discriminatory policies. The current study tested whether feelings of disgust predicted both individuals supporting several different immigration policies and information sharing and seeking behaviors. Findings modestly support BIAS map theorizing; individuals exposed to immigration threat experienced higher levels of disgust towards undocumented immigrants compared to those who viewed an immigration story without mention of these threats and those who do not view an immigration news story. Feelings of disgust did predict intergroup behaviors.

Information sharing was influenced directly by exposure to the intergroup threat and indirectly influenced by exposure to the threat through feelings of intergroup disgust. First, individuals who viewed the threatening news segment were more likely to share it compared to those were exposed to an immigration news story that did not feature the intergroup threat. Next, the more individuals experienced intergroup disgust the more likely there were to share the news segment. Heavy news consumers were also more likely to share the news segment compared to light viewers after they watched the threatening news segment featuring an ingroup member because of the intergroup disgust they felt. Although these findings were modest, they cautiously extend previous

intergroup research, providing some evidence that intergroup disgust predicts communicative behaviors that signals threat to other ingroup members. These findings are interesting for several reasons. Research provides evidence that high-arousal emotions do increase the propensity to share information in the news (Berger & Milkman, 2012). More specifically, Berger and Milkman (2012) found that individuals were more likely to share (online) *New York Times* articles that invoked strong emotions (both positive and negative). The current study extends this work demonstrating that this relationship also applies to intergroup emotions. Other work finds that information that is shared by others can sometimes increase perceptions of message credibility (Bashein & Markus, 1997). In other words, watching a news story that was shared by a member of one's social network may increase the perceived believability and truthfulness of a message. It stands to reason that a message that is shared may have a stronger impact on intergroup outcomes, through increased credibility perceptions. Interpersonal communication may further increase the impact of information that is shared digitally. New media (including both social networking sites and email) allows individuals to provide commentary about the information they share to those in their social network. The commentary that is provided would likely further strengthen both the message's credibility and extent to which it evokes high arousing emotions. As previous research suggests, this could influence the impact of the message on intergroup perceptions. Although the current study did not ask individuals to report what other types of information they would share with the news segment, this would provide valuable insight into the role of interpersonal communication in media effects. Hence, future research

should examine the impact of mediated interpersonal contact on information sharing behaviors in response to intergroup threats.

As previously mentioned, viewing intergroup threats influenced policy-related outcomes indirectly through emotions toward undocumented immigrants. Exposure to the immigration news segment influenced support of English-only laws through feelings of intergroup disgust. Feelings of intergroup disgust increased the likelihood of supporting English-only laws. Moreover, when heavy news consumers viewed the threatening news segment, they were more likely to support English-only laws because of the intergroup disgust they experienced. Interestingly, the presence of the ingroup member did not influence the indirect relationship between immigration threat exposure and English-only policy support, as was the case with the policy attitudes. Supporting English-only laws is a specific way to protect the ingroup from a symbolic threat. Remember, symbolic threats refer to threats to a social group's system of meaning, including language and other important principles including religious customs. Perhaps because this policy is associated with a specific and commonly known symbolic threat regarding immigration, the presence of the ingroup member was not needed.

Similarly, viewing a threatening news story about immigration did not influence people's information seeking behaviors or their willingness to email the congressperson to support decreases in immigration. However, the more individuals experienced intergroup disgust the more likely they were to request information about immigration and email their congressperson to support immigration decreases in the United States. As previously mentioned, findings suggested that exposure to immigration threats only

influenced support of English-only laws indirectly for heavy news consumers through feelings of intergroup disgust. It may be that viewing the immigration threat increased information seeking and emailing one's congressperson indirectly through feelings of intergroup disgust as well; however, because of the level of measurement for these outcomes the conditional indirect effect was not able to be ascertained.

A major limitation of the current study was not being able to test the conditional indirect effects of intergroup disgust on information seeking and emailing one's congressperson in support for immigration decreases. Future research should measure these in different ways, so the conditional indirect effects of media exposure can be ascertained. For example, information seeking could be measured by placing immigration information in the research setting and having the researcher make note of the participants who took any of the materials. Or future studies could have the participants email their congressperson and content analyze their messages to see if the information shared in the news story was used in their argument on why immigration should either be increased or decreased.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The current study took a social identity, appraisal-based approach to understanding the influence that mediated ingroup threats have on intergroup outcomes. Overall, this work provides valuable insight into the how categorization into meaningful social groups influences the media's impact on intergroup relations. First, results demonstrate that threatening contact via the media leads individuals to experience discrete intergroup emotions which influences several classifications of intergroup

outcomes, including attitudes toward the outgroup, information sharing behaviors, and policy support. Second, results imply that both previous television news exposure and message characteristics, specifically the presence of an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms, influence the self-categorization process by providing information about how group members should feel about the issue, which influenced both intergroup emotions and outcomes. Next, these findings broaden the scope of the psychological appraisal-based theories tested, demonstrating that these theoretical perspectives also apply to mediated forms of intergroup threat. Finally, these findings imply that media messages that evoke intergroup emotions are influential in policy support.

Emotional component of mediated threats. Results provide solid evidence that exposure to mediated intergroup threat caused negative attitudes and retaliatory behaviors toward the outgroup through specific affective mechanisms. Specifically, intergroup anxiety produced a reduction in favorable attitudes toward immigrants' human rights and harsher attitudes toward immigration policy. Similarly, intergroup disgust led individuals to support policies would protect the ingroup's customs, such as supporting English-only laws. Intergroup disgust was also associated with information sharing behaviors; warning other ingroup members of the impending intergroup threat. These findings suggest that deindividuation influences individuals' responses to media messages in ways that meet their social identity needs. This in itself is not new, research has suggested for some time that individuals' group memberships are a determining factor in understanding the (intergroup) outcomes associated with media exposure (e.g., Fujioka, 2005). However, these findings also imply that a primary way that deindividuation influences (mediated)

intergroup processes is through discrete emotions. Taken together, this work suggests that the prototypical emotional responses of the media viewer provide specific information about how and to what extent specific classifications of intergroup outcomes will be influenced by media exposure.

It is important to note that other group relationships must be taken into account when examining the above-specified relationship between intergroup emotions and intergroup outcomes. For example, IET argues that group status is predictive of which emotions are produced via deindividuation. For example, a symbolic threat may produce anger when it is performed by a low status group, but when it is performed by a higher status group it will likely produce fear. The current study provides insight into how the threatening actions of a lower status group influence higher status viewers' intergroup emotions. But in light of both theory and research suggesting that group relevant constructs (like status) work in tandem with the stereotyped perceptions of the outgroup in eliciting other emotional responses which predict markedly different intergroup behavior (such as pity producing helping behaviors), future research would be benefitted by examining how media's portrayals influence other domains.

The influence of message characteristics and individual differences on the direct and indirect effect of exposure to mediated threats. Results from this study demonstrate that the effects of exposure to intergroup threats via the media are influenced by both message characteristics and previous media exposure. Specifically, a majority of the current findings suggest that having an ingroup member endorsing the emotional norms advocated in the news segment influenced both the direct and indirect effects of

exposure to threatening intergroup contact via the media in ways that benefitted one's social group. This provides clear evidence that message characteristics (i.e., the ingroup exemplar), gives viewers insight into how prototypical group members should perceive and respond to the (ingroup) threatening message. This interpretation dovetails with existing intergroup research incorporating insights from both exemplification and framing theories. In general, exemplification theory research suggests that information provided by exemplars is more easily recalled compared to base-rate information (see, Zillmann & Brosius, 2000); however, the group membership of the exemplar influences how consumers interpret this message. For example, Gibson and Zillmann (2000) found that Whites who read a news story about a fictitious disease featuring an outgroup exemplar overestimated the outgroup's risk of contracting the disease. In this instance the outgroup exemplar influenced the perception who is being influenced by the fictitious disease. For Whites, this interpretation of the media is beneficial to the ingroup because their perception keeps their racial group unharmed. Similarly, other research suggests that the group membership of those portrayed in the media serve as a visual frame, providing information about how the message should be interpreted (e.g., Abraham & Appiah, 2006). For example, both the gender and race of sports commentators influenced perceptions of the commentator as well as the credibility of the message, in ways that supported stereotypes (Mastro, Atwell Seate, & Blecha, 2012). Specifically, messages were perceived as less credible and the commentator was perceived as less knowledgeable when the visual race and gender cues were not congruent with the sport featured in the news segment. The current study builds off of this work demonstrating

that exemplars not only influence how a message should be interpreted, but they can also provide information about how prototypical group members feel about the issue presented. These emotions, in turn, produced (ingroup protective) attitudes and behaviors, such that those who were exposed to the ingroup member typically reported more negative attitudes toward the outgroup, higher collective self-esteem, and were more likely to support policies that protect the ingroup. Not only did ingroup norm endorsement help to determine the previously specified intergroup outcomes, but previous television news exposure was found to be an important determinant as well.

Accessibility of intergroup emotions. Extending the scope of cultivation theory to include emotions, the current study's findings connect long-term media exposure with the formation and maintenance of emotional reactions toward outgroup members. Specifically, Study 1 showed that media are an important way that individuals learn what emotions are associated with specific outgroups in certain contexts. In other words, the media's threatening depiction of outgroup members influences what emotions should be salient when people are deindividuated as an ingroup member. Intergroup cultivation research finds that the mass media "create consensually shared social perceptions of groups" (Mastro & Atwell Seate, 2012, p. 362), which in turn influence intergroup relations. However, the current study integrates insights from this line of reasoning with appraisal-based models of intergroup emotions finding that the emotional reactions learned (in part) from the mass media also influence intergroup outcomes.

Results demonstrate that previous news consumption influenced intergroup outcomes by making emotions more accessible to news viewers. Cultivation theory

claims that heavy media consumers (typically television viewers) perceive their world in a way that is congruent with that which is shown on television. Media scholars (e.g., Dixon, 2006a) have found that previous television news consumption moderates the influence of one-time exposure to threatening messages, with heavy media users reporting more negative intergroup outcomes. It is thought that (negative) stereotypes are more accessible for heavy news consumers and these individuals are more likely to use stereotypes in subsequent judgments because of this increased accessibility. Study 2 extended the research in this area by showing that previous news consumption influences the extent the media influences intergroup outcomes through discrete emotions. Specifically, results show that emotions are also more accessible for heavy television news consumers, influencing the extent to which exposure to mediated threat influenced intergroup outcomes through discrete emotions. Consistent with previous intergroup research, there were more negative intergroup outcomes associated with heavy news consumption, including increases in unfavorable intergroup attitudes and behaviors that protect the ingroup and harm the outgroup.

Mediated intergroup threats. The theories of intergroup emotions that were tested in the current study predominantly examine interpersonal conceptions of intergroup interactions (Moons et al., 2009). Recent intergroup contact theorizing suggests that although mediated intergroup contact impacts intergroup outcomes, this form of contact has inherently different characteristics than its face-to-face counterpart (Harwood, 2010). The differences between these two forms of contact should be addressed in our theoretical understanding of these phenomenon (Harwood, 2010). For

example, having a media character self-disclose may not trigger the same levels of empathy toward the outgroup as face-to-face self-disclosure by an outgroup member. Research examining threatening mediated contact has not taken into account how message characteristics and individual differences influence intergroup outcomes (e.g., Davis & Stephan, 2011). Notably, the basic tenets of these theories do apply to media's depiction of intergroup threats, but findings imply that individual differences and message characteristics are important determinants of these processes. Taken together, this social identity, appraisal-based perspective provides valuable insight into the role of media in intergroup processes, but future research should examine what other specific message characteristics influence these indirect relationships.

Implications for policy. Finally, an implication that has both practical and theoretical importance is the role of emotion in policy decisions. Exposure to the immigration threat did not directly impact attitudes toward immigration policy or policy support behaviors; however, exposure did indirectly impact attitudes toward policy and policy support through feelings of intergroup anxiety and intergroup disgust, respectively. This implies that to get individuals involved in political discourse, media messages need to more strongly evoke emotions. Although these findings are important for scholarship, they are also valuable for politicians, political pundits, and concerned citizens alike, because it seems that individuals are more likely supporting legislation because of the emotions they experience and not just because of the facts of the issue. In other words, it appears that as long as individuals experience strong (and likely negative) emotions with

a given policy issue, individuals may discriminate against other groups to protect what they see as their group's best interest.

Limitations

A major limitation of this study was inability to recruit more racial/ethnic minorities to participate. First, a sizable proportion of Latinos ($n = 50$) was recruited for the current study, but preliminary analyses indicated that they were systematically different from non-Latinos (including other racial minorities); however, there were not enough Latinos to treat ethnicity as a between-subjects factor in the statistical analyses. Future research would be greatly benefitted by examining how Latinos perceive and respond to immigration news coverage. Second, although other racial/ethnic minorities were retained for the current study, the majority of the sample was White. This ultimately limits the generalizability of the current study's findings.

Another major limitation of the current study was how information seeking and policy support were measured, because their level of measurement did not allow the indirect effects of media viewing to be assessed. Information seeking was measured by having participants request information from various organizations that provide immigration information, making Poisson regression the most appropriate statistical technique to use. Similarly, one of the policy support items was measured using a three category outcome, making multinomial logistic regression the most appropriate statistical analysis. The macro used to ascertain the conditional indirect effects of experimental condition on intergroup outcomes (PROCESS) does not allow the use of count variables or nominal variables with more than two levels to be used as outcomes for conditional

indirect effects. As previously mentioned, future research should measure policy support in such a way that the condition indirect effects can be assessed.

A final limitation of current study was the use of single items to measure the intergroup emotions used in the current study. Although single items measures have been used in previous intergroup research to measure affective responses (e.g., Fujioka, 2011), future research should use a variety of items and techniques to measure intergroup emotions.

Conclusion

Individuals understand their social world, in part, by their social group memberships. The media's representations of these social groups have been shown to influence a variety of outcomes, including policy decisions, intergroup attitudes, and learning stereotypes about outgroup members. Study 1 extends this line of research by demonstrating that long-term media consumption was associated with reporting threatening emotions toward outgroup members. In light of these findings (and previous research that consistently documents that minorities are portrayed in the media as threatening to majority group members), it is not surprising that the preponderance of intergroup communication research finds that both long-term and one-time media exposure is negatively associated with intergroup harmony. Study 2 sought to build on this work examining how a social identity made salient through threatening intergroup media exposure influenced the above outcomes in the context of illegal immigration to the United States. Study 2's findings revealed that exposure to intergroup threats via the media led to negative intergroup outcomes via discrete emotions. Intergroup anxiety was

associated with unfavorable attitudes toward immigration, including more negative attitudes toward immigrants' human rights and stricter attitudes toward immigration policy. Intergroup disgust predicted support for policies that protected ingroup and willingness to share the news segment with others. This study found no evidence that intergroup anger influenced collective self-esteem.

The findings from both Study 1 and Study 2 suggest that to fully understand the role of media in intergroup processes, scholars need to take both message characteristics and individuals differences into account because they both influence how social group members respond to threatening intergroup messages. Results indicate that media messages that feature an ingroup member endorsing the emotions that are associated with the intergroup threat provide information about both the types and the extent to which emotions should be experienced by prototypical group members. Because Study 1 found that emotional concepts were associated with media consumption, Study 2 tested whether the influence of exposure to intergroup threat was influenced by previous television news consumption. Findings provided clear evidence that previous media consumption influenced the extent to which exposure to mediated threat negatively impacted intergroup outcomes. Taken together, the current study's social identity appraisal-based approach provided valuable insights into the role of media and emotion in intergroup processes.

APPENDIX A:
TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics Segmented by Each Racial Category

Variables	Non-Blacks (<i>N</i> = 247)	Non-Latinos (<i>N</i> = 221)	Non-Asians (<i>N</i> = 240)
Quantity of Black Contact	<i>M</i> = 2.65 (.91)		
Quality of Black Contact	<i>M</i> = 5.16 (1.56)		
Quantity of Latino Contact		<i>M</i> = 3.02 (.92)	
Quality of Latino Contact		<i>M</i> = 5.22 (1.53)	
Quantity of Asian Contact			<i>M</i> = 2.76 (.93)
Quality of Asian Contact			<i>M</i> = 5.28 (1.52)
Anxiety-Related Emotions toward Blacks ($\alpha = .87$)	<i>M</i> = 2.17 (1.33)		
Distrust-Related Emotions toward Blacks ($\alpha = .69$)	<i>M</i> = 2.42 (1.37)		
Anger towards Blacks	<i>M</i> = 1.87 (1.44)		
Anxiety-Related Emotions toward Latinos ($\alpha = .91$)		<i>M</i> = 2.11 (1.22)	
Distrust-Related Emotions toward Latinos ($\alpha = .76$)		<i>M</i> = 2.02 (1.26)	
Anger towards Latinos		<i>M</i> = 1.86 (1.38)	
Anxiety-Related Emotions toward Asians ($\alpha = .91$)			<i>M</i> = 1.73 (1.16)
Distrust-Related Emotions toward Asians ($\alpha = .77$)			<i>M</i> = 1.73 (1.19)
Anger toward Asians			<i>M</i> = 1.15 (1.15)
Daily Television Consumption	<i>M</i> = 9.05 (2.73)	<i>M</i> = 9.08 (2.73)	<i>M</i> = 9.14 (2.78)
Print News Consumption	<i>M</i> = 1.74 (.71)	<i>M</i> = 1.74 (.68)	<i>M</i> = 1.73 (.72)
Television News Consumption	<i>M</i> = 1.99 (.76)	<i>M</i> = 1.96 (.70)	<i>M</i> = 2.01 (.76)
Drama	<i>M</i> = 2.38 (1.15)	<i>M</i> = 2.45 (1.17)	<i>M</i> = 2.39 (1.17)
Comedy	<i>M</i> = 2.52 (1.16)	<i>M</i> = 2.52 (1.17)	<i>M</i> = 2.53 (1.18)
Soap Operas	<i>M</i> = 1.24 (.75)	<i>M</i> = 1.25 (.77)	<i>M</i> = 1.23 (.73)

Talk Shows	$M = 1.83 (1.09)$	$M = 1.81 (1.07)$	$M = 1.83 (1.08)$
Sports Games	$M = 2.53 (1.32)$	$M = 2.52 (1.26)$	$M = 2.54 (1.33)$
Sports Commentary Shows	$M = 2.08 (1.45)$	$M = 2.03 (1.35)$	$M = 2.08 (1.44)$

Table 2

Media Consumption and Discrete Emotions toward Blacks among Non-Blacks: Partial and Zero-Order Correlations (N = 247)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Anger towards Blacks	-	.67**	.83**	.10	.02	.14**
2. Anxiety-Related Emotions toward Blacks	.61**	-	.75**	.16**	-.04	.11**
3. Distrust-Related Emotions towards Blacks	.81**	.72**	-	.10	-.03	.10+
4. Daily Television Consumption	.10	.17**	.10+	-	-.01	.30**
5. Print News Consumption	.00	-.05	-.04	.00	-	.23**
6. Television News Consumption	.11*	.06	.09	.31**	.19**	-

Note: + $p = .05$ * $p < .05$ ** = $p < .01$, one-tailed.

The partial correlations are below the diagonal and the zero-order correlations are above the diagonal. The partial correlations control for race (White/Non-White), sex, age, quantity of interpersonal contact with Blacks, and quality of interpersonal contact with Blacks.

Table 3

Media Consumption and Discrete Emotions toward Latinos among Non-Latinos: Partial and Zero-Order Correlations (N = 221)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Anger towards Latinos	-	.80**	.88**	.10	-.05	.06
2. Anxiety-Related Emotions toward Latinos	.80**	-	.89**	.16**	-.08	.06
3. Distrust-Related Emotions towards Latinos	.87**	.88**	-	.10	-.09	.07
4. Daily Television Consumption	.11+	.15*	.10	-	-.01	.34**
5. Print News Consumption	-.05	-.04	-.08	.01	-	.16**
6. Television News Consumption	.06	.06	.06	.34**	.14*	-

Note: + $p = .05$ * $p < .05$ ** = $p < .01$, one-tailed.

The partial correlations are below the diagonal and the zero-order correlations are above the diagonal. The partial correlations control for race (White/Non-White), sex, age, quantity of interpersonal contact with Latinos, and quality of interpersonal contact with Latinos.

Table 4

Media Consumption and Discrete Emotions toward Asians among Non-Asians: Partial and Zero-Order Correlations (N = 240)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Anger towards Asians	-	.69**	.77**	.10	.06	.07
2. Anxiety-Related Emotions toward Asians	.63**	-	.75**	.12**	-.02	.08
3. Distrust-Related Emotions towards Asians	.72**	.69**	-	.08	.07	.14*
4. Daily Television Consumption	.12*	.13*	.09	-	-.02	.30**
5. Print News Consumption	.04	-.00	.06	.00	-	.22**
6. Television News Consumption	.02	.07	.12*	.31**	.18*	-

Note: + $p = .05$ * $p < .05$ ** = $p < .01$, one-tailed.

The partial correlations are below the diagonal and the zero-order correlations are above the diagonal. The partial correlations control for race (White/Non-White), sex, age, quantity of interpersonal contact with Asians, and quality of interpersonal contact with Asians.

Table 5

Zero-Order Correlations between Immigration Attitudes, Collective Self-Esteem, Information Sharing, and Intergroup Emotions

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Human Rights Attitudes	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Policy Attitudes	-.49**	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. Collective Self-Esteem	-.20**	.20**	--	--	--	--	--
4. Information Sharing	-.02	-.03	-.05	--	--	--	--
5. Intergroup Anger	.22**	-.19**	-.00	.04	--	--	--
6. Intergroup Anxiety	-.27**	.23**	.06	.14**	-.10	--	--
7. Intergroup Disgust	-.36**	.29**	-.00	.12*	-.17**	.53**	--

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Table 6

Mean Differences between the Threat Conditions for Immigration Attitudes, Collective Self-Esteem, Information Seeking, and Information Sharing

	Threat	No-Threat
Human Rights Factor	3.61 _a	4.11 _b
Policy Factor	5.12	5.18
Collective Self-Esteem	6.29	6.32
Information Sharing	2.06	1.85
Information Seeking	.71	.73

Note. Means in the same row with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals.

Table 7

Means for Attitudes toward Undocumented Immigrants' Human Rights as a Function of Experimental Conditions

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	3.40 _a	3.81 _a
No Ingroup Threat	4.20 _b	4.02 _{ab}

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating perceiving undocumented immigrants as having more human rights.

Table 8

OLS Regressions Comparing Experimental Conditions to the Control Condition for Attitudes toward Immigration, Collective Self-Esteem, and Information Sharing

	Human Rights Attitudes			Policy Attitudes			Collective Self-Esteem			Information Sharing		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>
Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	-.64	.26	-.17*	.52	.25	.15*	.11	.04	.21**	-.01	.06	-.01
Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	-.23	.25	-.06	.28	.23	.09	.03	.03	.06	-.02	.06	-.02
No-Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	.11	.27	.03	.17	.23	.05	.06	.04	.12	-.09	.06	-.10
No-Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	.02	.19	.00	.29	.23	.09	.09	.03	.19**	-.09	.06	-.10
Omnibus <i>F</i> -Test (4, 369)	2.87*			1.35			3.11*			1.12		

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$.

Table 9

Means for Attitudes toward Immigration Policy as a Function of Experimental Conditions

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	5.40	5.16
No Ingroup Threat	5.02	5.20

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating support for stricter immigration policy.

Table 10

Means for Collective Self-Esteem as a Function of Experimental Conditions

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	6.45	6.12
No Ingroup Threat	6.26	6.39

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating higher levels of collective self-esteem as Americans.

Table 11

Means for Information Sharing as a Function of Experimental Conditions

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	2.08	2.04
No Ingroup Threat	1.83	1.88

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating higher likelihood for sharing the news segment.

Table 12

Mean Differences between the Threat Conditions for Emotions toward Undocumented Immigrants

	Threat	No-Threat
Anger	2.88	3.19
Anxiety	3.14 _a	2.71 _b
Disgust	2.91 _a	2.36 _b

Note. Means in the same row with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals.

Table 13

Means for Feelings of Anxiety towards Undocumented Immigrants as a Function of Experimental Conditions

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	3.20	2.47
No Ingroup Threat	2.95	3.07

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more reported anxiety.

Table 14

OLS Regressions Comparing Experimental Conditions to the Control Condition for Intergroup Emotions

	Anger			Anxiety			Disgust		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	.15	.25	.04	.50	.28	.13+	.53	.27	.13+
Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	.06	.29	.02	.37	.26	.10	.46	.27	.12+
No-Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	.77.	.26	.20**	-.22	.27	-.06	-.18	.27	-.05
No-Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	.08	.25	.02	.25	.26	.07	.05	.27	.02
Omnibus <i>F</i> -Test (4, 369)	3.11*			2.49*			2.76*		

Note: + = $p < .10$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Table 15

Means for Feelings of Anger towards Undocumented Immigrants as a Function of Experimental Conditions

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	2.92 _{ab}	2.83 _a
No Ingroup Threat	3.53 _b	2.81 _a

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more reported anger.

Table 16

Means for Feelings of Disgust towards Undocumented Immigrants as a Function of Experimental Conditions

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	2.95	2.88
No Ingroup Threat	2.24	2.47

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more reported disgust.

Table 17

Direct and Indirect Effects of Experimental Condition on Attitudes toward Immigration, Collective Self-Esteem, Information Sharing, and English-Only Law Support

	X-M	M-Y	Direct X-Y	Indirect X-Y (mediation)	X-M Moderated by TV Viewing	X-M moderated by Norm Endorsement
Human Rights Attitudes (Anxiety)	-.33	-.26**	-.38*	-.10*	2.68*	.52
Policy Attitudes (Anxiety)	-.33	.18**	.09	.07*	2.68*	.52
Collective Self- Esteem (Anger)	.18	-.00	-.01	.00	-1.40	-.53
Information Sharing (Disgust)	.07	.03*	.06	.02*	2.15	.22
English Only Support (Disgust)	.07	.22**	-.38	.12*	2.15	.22

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, Mediator variable is in parentheses.

Table 18

Conditional Indirect Effect of Exposure to Immigration Threat as a Function of Ingroup Norm Endorsement and Television News Consumption on Human Rights Attitudes

Ingroup Norm Endorsement	Television News Consumption	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Lower Limit Confidence Interval	Upper Limit Confidence Interval
Absent	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	.05	.08	-.09	.22
Absent	.19 (<i>M</i>)	-.04	.07	-.19	.08
Absent	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	-.14	.09	-.35	.01
Present	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	-.08	.09	-.27	.08
Present	.19 (<i>M</i>)	-.18	.08	-.35	-.05
Present	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	-.27	.10	-.50	-.11

Note: Television news consumption was a quantitative moderator. The above values are at one standard deviation below the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean. Television news consumption was positively skewed and has been transformed.

Table 19

Conditional Indirect Effect of Exposure to Threat as a Function of Ingroup Norm Endorsement and Television News Consumption on Policy Attitudes

Ingroup Norm Endorsement	Television News Consumption	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Lower Limit Confidence Interval	Upper Limit Confidence Interval
Absent	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	-.04	.06	-.16	.06
Absent	.19 (<i>M</i>)	-.03	.05	-.05	.14
Absent	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	.10	.07	-.01	.26
Present	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	.06	.06	-.05	.20
Present	.19 (<i>M</i>)	.12	.06	.03	.27
Present	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	.19	.08	.07	.37

Note: Television news consumption was a quantitative moderator. The above values are at one standard deviation below the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean. Television news consumption was positively skewed and has been transformed.

Table 20

Conditional Indirect Effect of Exposure to Immigration Threat as a Function of Ingroup Norm Endorsement and Television News Consumption on Support for Information Sharing

Ingroup Norm Endorsement	Television News Consumption	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Lower Limit Confidence Interval	Upper Limit Confidence Interval
Absent	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	.01	.01	-.01	.03
Absent	.19 (<i>M</i>)	.02	.01	.001	.04
Absent	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	.03	.01	.002	.05
Present	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	.01	.01	-.01	.05
Present	.19 (<i>M</i>)	.02	.01	.002	.05
Present	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	.03	.01	.003	.07

Note: Television news consumption was a quantitative moderator. The above values are at one standard deviation below the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean. Both information sharing and television news consumption were positively skewed and have been transformed.

Table 21

Conditional Indirect Effect of Exposure to Threat as a Function of Ingroup Norm Endorsement and Television News Consumption on Support for English-Only Laws

Ingroup Norm Endorsement	Television News Consumption	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Lower Limit Confidence Interval	Upper Limit Confidence Interval
Absent	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	.04	.07	-.08	.20
Absent	.19 (<i>M</i>)	.10	.07	.01	.28
Absent	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	.17	.10	.03	.43
Present	.05 (-1 <i>SD</i>)	.08	.09	-.05	.30
Present	.19 (<i>M</i>)	.15	.08	.03	.36
Present	.32 (+1 <i>SD</i>)	.21	.11	.06	.49

Note: Television news consumption was a quantitative moderator. The above values are at one standard deviation below the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean. Television news consumption was positively skewed and has been transformed.

Table 22

Zero-Order Correlations between Immigration Attitudes, Collective Self-Esteem, Information Sharing, and Intergroup Emotions for Latinos

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Human Rights Attitudes	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Policy Attitudes	.40**	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. Collective Self-Esteem	-.15	.02	--	--	--	--	--
4. Information Sharing	.20	.11	-.43**	--	--	--	--
5. Intergroup Anger	-.08	-.25	.09	.12	--	--	--
6. Intergroup Anxiety	-.29*	-.24	-.20	.12	.65**	--	--
7. Intergroup Disgust	-.21	-.19	-.12	.08	.38**	.44**	--

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Table 23

Means for Attitudes toward Undocumented Immigrants' Human Rights as a Function of Experimental Conditions for Latinos

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	5.33	5.38
No Ingroup Threat	5.23	5.83

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating perceiving undocumented immigrants as having more human rights.

Table 24

OLS Regressions Comparing Experimental Conditions to the Control Condition for Attitudes toward Immigration, Collective Self-Esteem, and Information Sharing for Latinos

	Human Rights Attitudes			Policy Attitudes			Collective Self-Esteem			Information Sharing		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>
Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	-.15	.67	-.04	.19	.84	.03	.03	.50	.01	-.32	.23	-.22
Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	-.10	.59	-.03	-1.18	.74	-.24	-.88	.44	-.31	-.23	.20	-.17
No-Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	-.25	.52	-.08	.79	.66	.19	-.30	.39	-.12	-.21	.18	-.19
No-Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	.35	.52	.11	.74	.66	.17	-.37	-.39	-.15	-.13	.18	-.12
Omnibus <i>F</i> -Test (4, 45)		.29			1.83			1.15			.72	

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$.

Table 25

Means for Attitudes toward Immigration Policy as a Function of Experimental

Conditions for Latinos

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	3.80	2.43
No Ingroup Threat	4.40	4.35

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating support for stricter immigration policy.

Table 26

Means for Collective Self-Esteem as a Function of Experimental Conditions for Latinos

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	6.20	5.29
No Ingroup Threat	5.87	5.80

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating higher levels of collective self-esteem as Americans.

Table 27

Means for Information Sharing as a Function of Experimental Conditions for Latinos

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	1.87	2.29
No Ingroup Threat	2.50	2.30

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating higher likelihood for sharing the news segment.

Table 28

Means for Feelings of Anger towards Undocumented Immigrants as a Function of Experimental Conditions for Latinos

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	2.60	1.86
No Ingroup Threat	1.50	1.70

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more reported disgust.

Table 29

OLS Regressions Comparing Experimental Conditions to the Control Condition for Intergroup Emotions for Latinos

	Anger			Anxiety			Disgust		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β
Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	-.29	.73	-.06	.24	.21	.17	.36	.22	.25
Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	-1.03	.64	-.24	.04	.18	.04	.17	.19	.14
No-Threat/Ingroup Endorsement	-1.39	.57	-.38*	-.30	.16	-.29+	-.12	.17	-.11
No-Threat/No-Ingroup Endorsement	-1.19	.57	-.32*	-.13	.16	-.12	-.03	.17	-.02
Omnibus <i>F</i> -Test (4, 45)		2.14+			1.78			1.23	

Note: + = $p < .10$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$.

Table 30

Means for Feelings of Anxiety towards Undocumented Immigrants as a Function of Experimental Conditions for Latinos

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	3.00	2.43
No Ingroup Threat	1.50	2.00

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more reported disgust.

Table 31

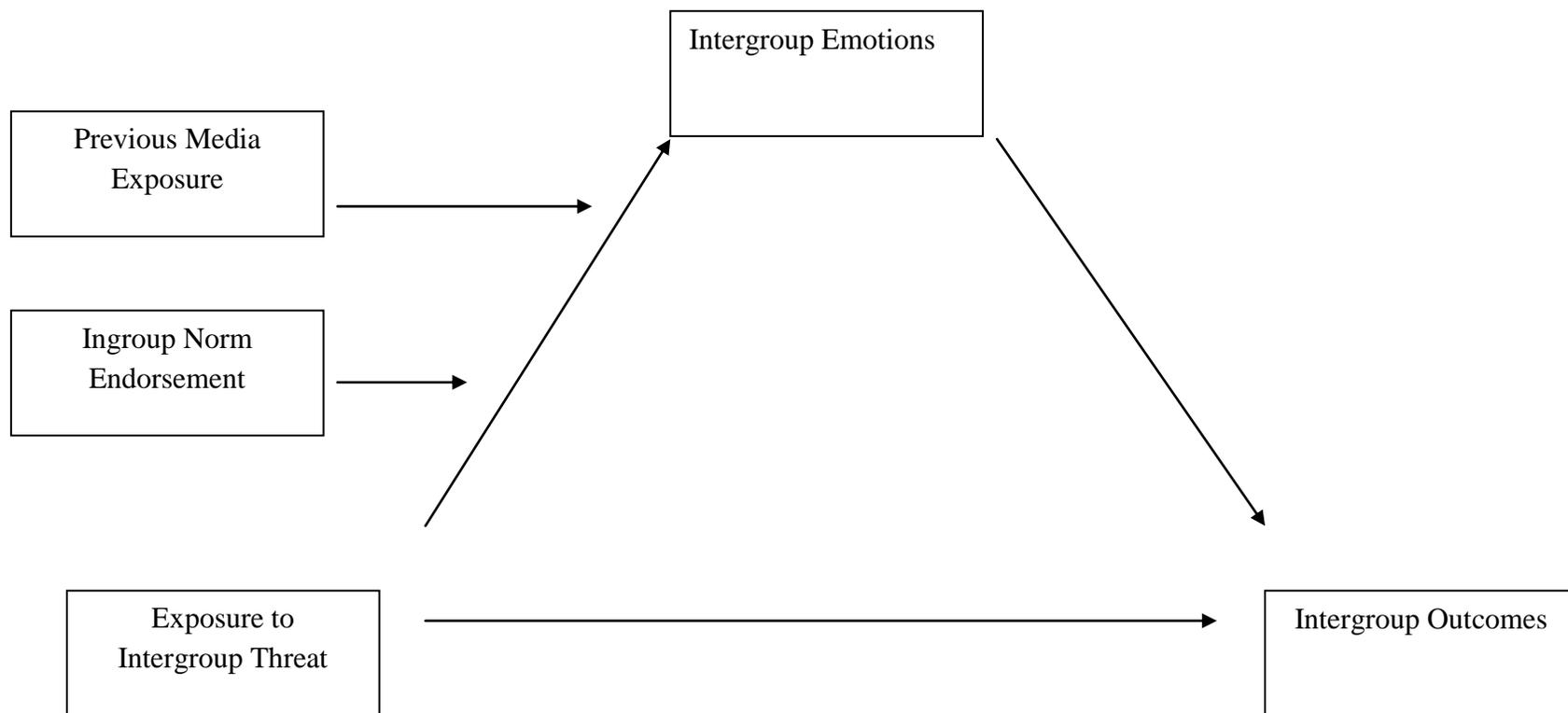
Means for Feelings of Disgust towards Undocumented Immigrants as a Function of Experimental Conditions for Latinos

Variable	Ingroup Member Present	Ingroup Member Absent
Ingroup Threat	3.00	2.29
No Ingroup Threat	1.50	1.80

Note. Means with different subscripts differ at $p < .05$ based on 95% confidence intervals. Scores could range from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more reported disgust.

Figure 1

Hypothesized Mediation Relationship between Experimental Condition, Television News Consumption, Intergroup Emotions and Intergroup Outcomes



APPENDIX B:

DISCLAIMER FORMS STUDY 1 and STUDY 2

Communication, Media Use, and Social Perceptions (Study 1)

Title of Project: Communication, Media Use, and Social Perceptions

You are being invited to voluntarily participate in a research project examining communication, media use, and social perceptions. The purpose of the study is to understand more about how communication and media use is related to social perceptions. You have been asked to participate in this study because you are acquainted with a student enrolled at the University of Arizona. Approximately 200 individuals will be enrolled in this study.

If you agree to participate, your participation will involve completing an online questionnaire, which will take about 30 minutes to finish. You may choose not to answer some or all of the questions. You will need to provide your name to receive a gift card for participating in the study, though it will not be linked with your responses in any way. At the end of the questionnaire, you will be asked to provide a code number that will link you to the student who referred you to participate in this so s/he will receive extra credit in their communication course. Each individual is assigned his/her own code number, so please make sure that you carefully enter your code number so your participation is accurately recorded. Upon complete of this questionnaire, you will be eligible to receive a \$5.00 gift card in appreciation for your participation.

Any questions you have will be answered and you may withdraw from the study at any time. There are no known risks from your participation and no direct benefit from your participation is expected. There is no cost to you except for your time and you will be compensated by receiving a gift card. Only the principal investigator and her co-investigator will have access to the information that you provide. In order to maintain your confidentiality, your name will not be revealed in any reports that result from this project. Your name will also not be linked directly to your survey responses to protect anonymity. All personal information you disclose will only be used to enable me to provide you with your gift card.

You can obtain further information from the principal investigators Anita Atwell Seate, M.A., at aatwell@email.arizona.edu or the faculty supervisor, Dana Mastro, PhD,

mastro@email.arizona.edu. If you have questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may call the University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program office at (520) 626-6721.

By clicking on the submit button below, you are giving your consent to participate in the study. No other records (e.g., your signature) will be asked for regarding your consent. Any additional identifying information (e.g., your name) asked for during the course of the study will be deleted, in order to ensure anonymity, once credit or other compensation has been awarded for your participation.

Thank you.

Anita Atwell Seate

aatwell@email.arizona.edu

520-626-8681

Disclaimer Form

Perceptions of Local News (Study 2)

Title of Project: Perceptions of Local News

You are being invited to voluntarily participate in the above-titled research study. The purpose of the study is to understand more about how people perceive television news. You are eligible to participate because you are a student in the class that is offering credit for this project and you are 18 years of age or older.

If you agree to participate, your participation will involve watching a news segment and completing a questionnaire, which will take about 30 minutes to finish. You will come to our computer lab, watch a news segment, and give your thoughts about the news stories you watch. You may choose not to answer some or all of the questions. Your name will need to be provided to receive credit for participating in the study, though it will not be linked with your responses in any way.

Any questions you have will be answered and you may withdraw from the study at any time. There are no known risks from your participation and no direct benefit from your participation is expected. There is no cost to you except for your time and you will be compensated with extra credit points in your class in exchange for your participation. By this time you should have been informed of the number of points that you will receive; if you are uncertain about this, please ask the investigator or your instructor.

Only the principal investigator and will have access to the information that you provide. In order to maintain your confidentiality, your name will not be revealed in any reports that result from this project. Your name will also not be linked directly to your survey responses to protect anonymity. All personal information you disclose will only be used to enable me to provide you with your extra credit in the course.

You can obtain further information from the principal investigators Anita Atwell Seate, M.A., at aatwell@email.arizona.edu or the faculty supervisor, Dana Mastro, PhD, mastro@email.arizona.edu. If you have questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may call the University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program office at (520) 626-6721.

By clicking on the continue button below, you are giving your consent to participate in the study. No other records (e.g., your signature) will be asked for regarding your consent. Any additional identifying information (e.g., your name) asked for during the course of the study will be deleted, in order to ensure anonymity, once credit or other compensation has been awarded for your participation.

Thank you.

Anita Atwell Seate

aatwell@email.arizona.edu

520-626-8681

APPENDIX C:
MEASURES STUDY 1 AND STUDY 2

Study 1

Genre-Specific Television Consumption

Please rate the extent you watch the following genres of media:

	Never				Very Often		
1. Network Television News	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Local Television News	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Internet News	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Print News	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Dramas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Situational Comedies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Soap Operas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Talk Shows	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Sports Games	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Sports Commentary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Overall Daily Television Consumption

In the past six months, how many hours of TV did you usually watch during each of the following four **time periods** on a **weekday** [Saturday/Sunday] ?

	<i>(1) in the morning (6 a.m. to noon)</i>	<i>(2) in the afternoon (noon to 7 p.m.)</i>	<i>(3) in the evening (7 p.m. to 11 p.m.)</i>	<i>(4) at night (11 p.m. to 6 a.m.)</i>
• never	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• up to 1 hr.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• 1 hr. to 2 hrs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• 2 hrs. to 3 hrs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• 3 hrs. to 4 hrs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• 4 hrs. to 5 hrs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• 5 hrs. to 6 hrs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• more than 6 hrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Print news consumption

In the past six months, how often did you usually read newspaper (**in a week**)?

Never 1 day 2 days 3 days 4 days 5 days 6 days 7 days a week

Emotions towards minorities

Please look at each of the following adjectives and indicate how well they describe your feelings towards [Blacks, Latinos, and Asians] in general. Please be frank in your opinions.

	Not at All				Very Much		
11. Fear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Happiness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Anger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Uneasy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Anxiety	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Pity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Disgust	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Proud	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Comfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Empathy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Threat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Irritated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Resentful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Contact with Minorities**Quantity**

	Never/No Contact				Often			
Please rate the extent that you have had interpersonal contact with (Blacks, Latinos, Asians).	1	2	3	4				

Quality

	Very Unpleasant				Very Pleasant			
1. Please rate the nature of interaction with (Blacks, Latinos, Asians).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Political ideology

	Conservative				Liberal			
2. With regard to social issues, how would you describe your political affiliation?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. With regard to financial issues, how would you describe your political affiliation?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Demographics:

Age: _____

Sex: Female Male**Race/Ethnicity:** African-American/Black Asian or Pacific Islander Latino/Hispanic Native-American White /Caucasian Unknown / Other _____

Annual Income:

What is your household's annual income?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$10, 000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000-\$30,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,001-\$50,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,001-\$70,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$70,001-\$90,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> More than \$90,000 |

Measures Study 2

Attitudes toward Illegal Immigrants

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
4. Illegal immigrants should not benefit from citizen's tax dollars.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Illegal immigrants should be eligible for welfare.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. The United States is overpopulated with illegal immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Illegal immigrants have rights, too.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Illegal immigrants provide the United States with a valuable human resources.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Illegal immigrants should not be discriminated against.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Illegal immigrants are taking advantage of the United States' policies and procedures.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Patrols at our borders should be increased to keep illegal immigrants out.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Illegal immigrants are breaking the law.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Illegal immigrants contribute to the decline of society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Our country should allow anyone and everyone in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. The government should pay for the care and education of illegal immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Policy Support

<p>1. There are currently several laws before Congress that would substantially decrease the number of legal immigrants that come to this country. Would you like to us to send an email mess to your members of Congress indicating either your support or opposition to these reforms?</p>	<p>Yes-I support these reforms</p> <p>Yes- I DO NOT support these reforms</p> <p>No</p>
<p>2. There is a movement trying to get a amendment added to the Constitution making English the official language of the United States, meaning government business would be conducted in English only, would you like to sign that petition?</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>No</p>

Behavioral Intentions

	Very Unlikely				Very Likely		
1. How likely would you be to share this story with others through email?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. How likely would you be to share this story on a social networking site (like Facebook)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. How likely would you be to discuss this story with a friend or family member?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. There are many organizations that put out information about immigration. Would you be interested in receiving information from one of these groups?				Yes			
				No			

Collective self-esteem

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
1. I often regret I am American.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. In general, I am glad to be an American.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Overall, I often feel that being an American is not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I feel good about being an American.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Manipulation Check:

	Negative					Positive	
1. Please rate the overall tone of the second news segment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Perceptions of the News Anchor and News Segment:

	Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree	
1. The news segment was professional.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. The news anchor was professional.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Demographics

Age: _____

Sex: Female Male**Citizenship:**Are you a United States citizen? Yes No**Race/Ethnicity:** African-American/Black Asian or Pacific Islander Latino/Hispanic Native-American White /Caucasian Unknown / Other _____

APPENDIX D:
NEWS SCRIPTS

1. News Version: Immigration Threat/Ingroup Member Endorsing the Emotional Norms Present
 - a. Segment 1 (Same for All Conditions)
 - i. News Opener
 - ii. News Anchor: KUAT news at 5:00 starts right now. Good evening, I'm Loren Jones. Our top story tonight: Monsoons hit Tucson. Last night's storms left widespread damage across Pima County leaving more than 27, 000 homes and businesses without power. Tucson electric power worked around the clock last night to restore services.
 - iii. Inserted News Clip
 - iv. News Anchor: These power outages come at a time of record high temperatures in Tucson—leaving many without power to cool their homes. Here are KUAT's tips to stay cool: Reduce outdoor activity from 10:00 am to 6:00 pm.; Drink plenty of water and avoid sodas and coffees; Watch for symptoms of heat exhaustion including hot and dry skin and confusion.
 - b. Segment 2 (Experimental Manipulation)
 - i. News Anchor: Despite these record temperatures, issues surrounding immigration drew hundreds to an anti-immigration rally at the U of A mall today. The rally drew an estimated 300 people to discuss what could be done about immigration issues in southern Arizona.
 - ii. Visual of Rally/News Anchor Voice-Over: Individuals attending the rally were against the presence of undocumented workers in Tucson, and all agreed about the desirability of mass deportations and new laws that make it harder to stay in the U.S and eventually gain citizenship.
 - iii. Ingroup Member 1 (at rally): I don't think people really understand how angry we all are about seeing the number of undocumented workers coming into Tucson. Our schools systems and social services are already extremely overburdened and we just can't take it anymore. We are getting angry.
 - iv. News Anchor: Feelings of those at the rally are supported by a new study published this week by researchers at the U of A. According to this study, southern Arizona has been negatively

impacted by the increased presence of undocumented workers. Tucson has seen an increase in violent crime, including murder, since the immigration of undocumented workers reached its peak in 2000. The Tucson workforce has also suffered from the cheap manual labor these individuals provide—jobs that native-born citizens just aren't competitive for. Tucson's once vibrant art community has been affected by Mexican art being brought over the border and being sold at much cheaper prices, which they can't compete with.

- v. Visual of School Campus/News Anchor Voice-Over: U of A students themselves are also impacted, with U of A reporting a 10% decrease in scholarships because of the reduction in tax money U of A receives from the state. Some argue this reduction is based on the burden of undocumented workers to the state's finances.
 - vi. Ingroup Member 2(at rally): I was shocked at the burden these people put on the student body. I am really angry about how the students are being affected.
 - vii. News Anchor: Next on KUAT News at 5:00, Andrew Spiceland gives you your five day forecast.
2. News Version: Immigration Threat/Ingroup Member Endorsing the Emotional Norm Absent
- a. Segment 1 (Same for All Conditions)
 - i. News Opener
 - ii. News Anchor: KUAT news at 5:00 starts right now. Good evening, I'm Loren Jones. Our top story tonight: Monsoons hit Tucson. Last night's storms left widespread damage across Pima County leaving more than 27, 000 homes and businesses without power. Tucson electric power worked around the clock last night to restore services.
 - iii. Inserted News Clip
 - iv. News Anchor: These power outages come at a time of record high temperatures in Tucson—leaving many without power to cool their homes. Here are KUAT's tips to stay cool: Reduce outdoor activity from 10:00 am to 6:00 pm.; Drink plenty of water and avoid sodas and coffees; Watch for symptoms of heat exhaustion including hot and dry skin and confusion.
 - b. Segment 2 (Experimental Manipulation)
 - i. News Anchor: Despite these record temperatures, issues surrounding immigration drew hundreds to an anti-immigration

- rally at the U of A mall today. The rally drew an estimated 300 people to discuss what could be done about immigration issues in southern Arizona.
- ii. Visual of Rally/News Anchor Voice-Over: Individuals attending the rally were against the presence of undocumented workers in Tucson, and all agreed about the desirability of mass deportations and new laws that make it harder to stay in the U.S and eventually gain citizenship.
 - iii. News Anchor: Feelings of those at the rally are supported by a new study published this week by researchers at the U of A. According to this study, southern Arizona has been negatively impacted by the increased presence of undocumented workers. Tucson has seen an increase in violent crime, including murder, since the immigration of undocumented workers reached its peak in 2000. The Tucson workforce has also suffered from the cheap manual labor these individuals provide—jobs that native-born citizens just aren't competitive for. Tucson's once vibrant art community has been affected by Mexican art being brought over the border and being sold at much cheaper prices, which they can't compete with.
 - iv. Visual of School Campus/News Anchor Voice-Over: U of A students themselves are also impacted, with U of A reporting a 10% decrease in scholarships because of the reduction in tax money U of A receives from the state. Some argue this reduction is based on the burden of undocumented workers to the state's finances.
 - v. News Anchor: Next on KUAT News at 5:00, Andrew Spiceland gives you your five day forecast.
3. News Version: No-Immigration Threat/Ingroup Member Endorsing the Emotional Norms Present
 - a. Segment 1 (Same for All Conditions)
 - i. News Opener
 - ii. News Anchor: KUAT news at 5:00 starts right now. Good evening, I'm Loren Jones. Our top story tonight: Monsoons hit Tucson. Last night's storms left widespread damage across Pima County leaving more than 27, 000 homes and businesses without power. Tucson electric power worked around the clock last night to restore services.
 - iii. Inserted News Clip

- iv. News Anchor: These power outages come at a time of record high temperatures in Tucson—leaving many without power to cool their homes. Here are KUAT’s tips to stay cool: Reduce outdoor activity from 10:00 am to 6:00 pm.; Drink plenty of water and avoid sodas and coffees; Watch for symptoms of heat exhaustion including hot and dry skin and confusion.
- b. Segment 2 (Experimental Manipulation)
- i. News Anchor: Despite these record temperatures, issues surrounding immigration drew hundreds to a pro-immigration rally at the U of A mall today. The rally drew an estimated 300 people to discuss what could be done about immigration issues in southern Arizona.
 - ii. Visual of Rally/News Anchor Voice-Over: Individuals attending the rally were supportive of the presence of undocumented workers in Tucson, and were all against mass deportations and new laws that make it harder to stay in the U.S and eventually gain citizenship.
 - iii. Ingroup Member 1 (at rally): News Anchor: I think that people assume we are all angry about undocumented workers coming to Tucson, but we aren’t. On the contrary, most of us are proud and happy to share our community with those individuals who bring so much cultural diversity to our great city.
 - iv. News Anchor: Feelings of those at the rally are supported by a new study published this week by researchers at the U of A. According to this study, southern Arizona has been positively impacted by the increased presence of undocumented workers in our state. Tucson’s residence benefitted from the affordable manual labor these individuals provide—jobs that native-born citizens will no longer take. Tucson’s vibrant artist community has also flourished due to the rich culture that undocumented individuals bring with them from Mexico, with many local artists an increase in sales.
 - v. Visual of School Campus/News Anchor Voice-Over: U of A students themselves are also impacted, with U of A reporting a 10% increase in scholarships because of research grants U of A receives due to the diversity these individuals bring to campus.
 - vi. Ingroup Member 2(at rally): I was shocked at the benefits these individuals give to the student body. I am really happy about how the students are being benefitted.

- vii. News Anchor: Next on KUAT News at 5:00, Andrew Spiceland gives you your five day forecast.
4. News Version: No-Immigration Threat/Ingroup Member Endorsing the Emotional Norms Absent
- a. Segment 1 (Same for All Conditions)
 - i. News Opener
 - ii. News Anchor: KUAT news at 5:00 starts right now. Good evening, I'm Loren Jones. Our top story tonight: Monsoons hit Tucson. Last night's storms left widespread damage across Pima County leaving more than 27, 000 homes and businesses without power. Tucson electric power worked around the clock last night to restore services.
 - iii. Inserted News Clip
 - iv. News Anchor: These power outages come at a time of record high temperatures in Tucson—leaving many without power to cool their homes. Here are KUAT's tips to stay cool: Reduce outdoor activity from 10:00 am to 6:00 pm.; Drink plenty of water and avoid sodas and coffees; Watch for symptoms of heat exhaustion including hot and dry skin and confusion.
 - b. Segment 2 (Experimental Manipulation)
 - i. News Anchor: Despite these record temperatures, issues surrounding immigration drew hundreds to a pro-immigration rally at the U of A mall today. The rally drew an estimated 300 people to discuss what could be done about immigration issues in southern Arizona.
 - ii. Visual of Rally/News Anchor Voice-Over: Individuals attending the rally were supportive of the presence of undocumented workers in Tucson, and were all against mass deportations and new laws that make it harder to stay in the U.S and eventually gain citizenship.
 - iii. News Anchor: Feelings of those at the rally are supported by a new study published this week by researchers at the U of A. According to this study, southern Arizona has been positively impacted by the increased presence of undocumented workers in our state. Tucson's residence benefitted from the affordable manual labor these individuals provide—jobs that native-born citizens will no longer take. Tucson's vibrant artist community has also flourished due to the rich culture that undocumented individuals bring with them from Mexico, with many local artists an increase in sales.
 - iv. Visual of School Campus/News Anchor Voice-Over: U of A students themselves are also impacted, with U of A reporting a

10% increase in scholarships because of research grants U of A receives due to the diversity these individuals bring to campus.

- v. News Anchor: Next on KUAT News at 5:00, Andrew Spiceland gives you your five day forecast.

5. News Version: Control Condition

a. Segment 1 (Same for All Conditions)

- i. News Opener
- ii. News Anchor: KUAT news at 5:00 starts right now. Good evening, I'm Loren Jones. Our top story tonight: Monsoons hit Tucson. Last night's storms left widespread damage across Pima County leaving more than 27, 000 homes and businesses without power. Tucson electric power worked around the clock last night to restore services.
- iii. Inserted News Clip
- iv. News Anchor: These power outages come at a time of record high temperatures in Tucson—leaving many without power to cool their homes. Here are KUAT's tips to stay cool: Reduce outdoor activity from 10:00 am to 6:00 pm.; Drink plenty of water and avoid sodas and coffees; Watch for symptoms of heat exhaustion including hot and dry skin and confusion.

b. Segment 2 (Experimental Manipulation)

- i. News Anchor: As we're all looking for ways to beat the heat, local veterinarians are urging animal lovers to also remember their pets. Workers at the Central Animal Hospital on Speedway said at their location alone, they've seen a steady increase in animals who seem to be suffering from heat stroke.
- ii. Visual of Veterinarian Office/News Anchor Voice-Over: Dr. Jeff Miller at Central Animal Hospital said up to 80% of animals who suffer from heat stroke die, so protecting your pet during this heat wave is important. He encourages pet owners to make sure their pets have adequate shade and plenty of fresh water. He also recommends keeping them inside during the hottest part of the day. These are just a few ways that you can protect your pet. So if you plan on catching some rays or are just trying to keep cool this Summer, make sure you keep the safety of your pets in mind. Dr. Miller also suggests that if you think your pet is suffering from heat stroke, the safest thing to do is splash some cool water on them and head to the vet right away.

- iii. News Anchor: Next on KUAT News at 5:00, Andrew Spiceland gives you your five day forecast.

APPENDIX E:
SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES FOR LATINO PARTICIPANTS

Rationale

The current study takes a social identity, appraisal-based perspective to help uncover the implications of mediated intergroup threats on attitudes and behaviors regarding immigration in the United States. The news segment used in the current study discussed individuals illegally immigrating to the United States from Mexico. Being an American and being Latino are not orthogonal categories and this news story could have activated either identity for Latino participants. However, research and theory provide evidence that race is one of the most salient categories for members of minority groups because of its frequent activation (Devine, 1989; Fujioka, 2005; Turner, 1999). Hence, Latinos in this sample were systematically different than other racial groups because their American identity was not likely salient. This section investigates the direct effects of experimental condition on the immigration attitudes, collective self-esteem, policy support items, and emotions toward undocumented immigrants. Table 22 provides the bivariate correlations for all continuous dependent variables and intergroup emotions. Because of the small sample size ($N = 50$) the indirect effects cannot be ascertained.

Method

The same procedure, stimuli, and outcome measures, as Study 2 were used, with the exception of policy attitudes. The measures included human rights attitudes ($\alpha = .70$,

$M = 5.47$, $SD = 1.28$), policy support, information sharing ($\alpha = .86$; $M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.28$), information seeking ($M = .98$, $SD = 1.32$), collective self-esteem ($\alpha = .77$; $M = 5.91$, $SD = .99$), anger towards undocumented immigrants ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.50$), anxiety towards undocumented immigrants ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 1.30$), and disgust towards immigrants ($M = 1.96$, $SD = 1.38$). The policy factor consisted of two items because one of the items used in Study 2 was not consistent with this factor ($\alpha = .87$, $p < .05$, $M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.72$).

Statistical Analyses

The same statistical analyses as Study 2 were employed, with the exception of English-only laws. Results revealed that there was a lack of variability in the outcome; hence, statistical analyses could not be conducted. Analyses showed that most individuals did not support the law (i.e., 82%, $n = 41$).

Results

Hypothesis Testing

Attitudes toward undocumented immigrants. Results suggested that neither exposure to mediated threat ($F(1, 28) < 1$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$) nor the interaction between mediated threat and ingroup norm endorsement ($F(1, 28) < 1$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$) predicted human rights attitudes. See Table 23 for the means for the human rights measure as a function of experimental condition. To compare the fully-factored experimental conditions to the control condition an OLS regression analysis was used. The block of experimental conditions was not significant ($F(4, 45) < 1$, $p > .05$). Please see Table 24 for the OLS regressions comparing experimental conditions with the control condition for immigration attitudes, collective self-esteem, and information sharing.

However, exposure to mediated threat did predict policy attitudes ($F(1, 28) = 4.21, p = .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .13$). Individuals not exposed to the immigration threat reported harsher policy attitudes ($M = 4.38, SD = 1.35$) compared to those who were exposed to the immigration threat ($M = 3.11, SD = 1.83$). The interaction between mediated threat and ingroup norm endorsement was not significant ($F(1, 28) = 1.16, p > .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .04$). Although the results were not statistically significant, it seemed that those in the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition had the least harsh attitudes toward immigration policy. Please see Table 25. To compare the fully-factored experimental conditions to the control condition an OLS regression analysis was used. The block of experimental conditions was not significant ($F(4, 45) = 1.83, p > .05$). Although the block was not significant, results showed that individuals in the control condition reported stricter policy attitudes compared to those in the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($\beta = -.24, t = -1.59, p > .05$). Those in both the non-immigration threat/ingroup norm condition ($\beta = .19, t = 1.20, p > .05$) and the non-immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($\beta = .17, t = 1.12, p > .05$) reported stricter policy attitudes compared to the control.

Collective self-esteem. Experimental condition did not predict collective self-esteem. Specifically, neither the effect of exposure to the immigration threat ($F(1, 28) < 1, p > .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$), nor the interaction between exposure to mediated threat and the ingroup member endorsing the emotion norm ($F(1, 28) < 1, p > .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .05$) predicted collective self-esteem. Although not statistically different, it appeared that those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 6.20, SD = .77$)

reported higher levels of collective self-esteem compared to those in the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 5.29, SD = .93$). Please see Table 26. To compare the fully-factored experimental conditions to the control condition an OLS regression analysis was used. As a block the experimental conditions did not account for a significant proportion of variability in collective self-esteem ($F(4, 45) = 1.15, p > .05$). However, those in immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition reported lower collective self-esteem compared to the control ($\beta = -.31, t = -2.00, p = .05$).

Information sharing and seeking. Experimental condition did not predict information sharing. Specifically, neither the effect of exposure to the immigration threat ($F(1, 28) < 1, p > .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$), nor the interaction between exposure to mediated threat and the ingroup member endorsing the emotion norm ($F(1, 28) < 1, p > .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$) predicted information sharing behaviors. It seemed that those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 1.87, SD = .77$) were less likely to share the news segment compared to those in the non-immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 2.50, SD = 1.42$). Please see Table 27. Next, we compare the fully factored experimental condition with the control. The block was not significant ($F(4, 45) < 1, p > .05$). Although the block was not significant, results revealed that those in the experimental conditions were less likely to share the news segment compared to those in the control condition. Specifically, those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm condition ($\beta = -.22, t = -1.40, p > .05$), the immigration threat/ no-ingroup norm condition ($\beta = -.17, t = -1.05, p > .05$), and the non-immigration

threat/ingroup norm condition ($\beta = -.19, t = -1.17, p > .05$) seemed less likely to share the news segment compared to the control condition.

To test whether experimental condition predicted information seeking Poisson regression analyses were conducted. The Poisson regression revealed that the neither the main effect for threat ($\chi^2(1) = 2.09, B = .94, p > .05$) nor the interaction between threat and ingroup norm endorsement ($\chi^2(1) = .33, B = -.54, p > .05$) predicted individuals' level of information seeking. A separate Poisson regression was conducted to examine whether the experimental conditions were significantly different compared to the control condition. As a block, experimental condition did not predict information seeking ($\chi^2(4) = 5.31, p > .05$). However, it does appear that individuals exposed to the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm condition were more likely to seek out immigration information compared to the control ($\chi^2(1) = 3.17, B = 1.09, p = .08$).

Policy support. Participants were also asked if they would like to send an email to their congressperson regarding a law that would decrease the number of immigrants that are allowed in the U.S. each year. Experimental condition did not predict policy support ($\chi^2(6) = 2.48, p > .05$). As a block, experimental condition did not predict participants emailing their congressperson, indicating no significant differences between the experimental conditions and the control condition ($\chi^2(8) = 5.29, p > .05$). Analyses revealed that a majority participants would either email their congressperson in opposition of immigration reform ($n = 23$) or would not email their congressperson at all ($n = 19$).

Emotions toward undocumented immigrants. Exposure to the immigration threat did not significantly predict anger toward undocumented immigrants ($F(1, 28) = 2.35, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .08$). However, results suggested that those in the immigration threat condition ($M = 2.17, SD = 1.34$) reported more anger compared to those in the non-threat condition ($M = 1.60, SD = .94$). The interaction between immigration threat and ingroup norm endorsement was not significant ($F(1, 28) = 1.32, p > .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .04$). Results showed that those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition reported higher levels of anger ($M = 2.60, SD = 1.52$) compared to those in the non-threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 1.50, SD = .85$). Please see Table 28. As a block, experimental condition did not predict a significant amount of variability in feelings of anger toward illegal immigrants ($F(4, 45) = 2.14, p = .09$). Although the block was not significant, it seemed that those experimental conditions reported lower levels of anger compared to the control condition. Specifically, this occurred in the immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($\beta = -.24, t = -1.62, p = .11$), the non-immigration threat/ingroup norm condition ($\beta = -.38, t = -2.46, p < .05$), and those in non-immigration threat/no-ingroup norm condition ($\beta = -.32, t = -2.10, p < .05$). Please see Table 29 for the OLS regressions comparing experimental conditions with the control condition for all intergroup emotions.

Exposure to mediated intergroup threat did predict feelings of anxiety toward undocumented immigrants ($F(1, 28) = 7.67, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .22$). Those in the threat condition ($M = 2.71, SD = .88$) reported more anxiety compared to those in the non-threat condition ($M = 1.75, SD = 1.12$). The interaction between immigration threat and

ingroup norm endorsement was not significant ($F(1, 28) = 2.02, p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$). Although the interaction was not significant, it appeared that those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 3.00, SD = .71$) experienced more anxiety compared to individual in the non-immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 1.50, SD = .97$) and the non-immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.25$). Please see Table 30. As a block, experimental condition did not predict a significant amount of variability in feelings of anxiety toward illegal immigrants ($F(4, 45) = 1.78, p > .05$). Although the block was not significant, results revealed that those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition reported higher levels of anxiety compared to the control condition ($\beta = .17, t = 1.13, p > .05$) while those in the non-immigration threat/ingroup norm condition ($\beta = -.29, t = -1.87, p > .05$) experienced lower levels of anxiety compared to the control condition.

Exposure to mediated intergroup threat did predict feelings of disgust toward undocumented immigrants ($F(1, 28) = 4.67, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$). Those in the immigration threat condition ($M = 2.64, SD = 1.51$) reported more disgust compared to those in the non-threat condition ($M = 1.65, SD = 1.14$). The interaction between immigration threat and ingroup norm endorsement was not significant ($F(1, 28) = 1.12, p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$). Although the interaction was not significant, results suggested that those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 3.00, SD = 1.51$) experienced more disgust compared to individual in the non-immigration threat/ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 1.50, SD = .92$) and the non-

immigration threat/no-ingroup norm endorsement condition ($M = 1.80, SD = 1.32$).

Please see Table 31. As a block, experimental condition did not predict a significant amount of variability in feelings of disgust toward illegal immigrants ($F(4, 45) = 1.23, p > .05$). Although the block was not significant, results revealed that those in the immigration threat/ingroup norm condition ($\beta = .25, t = 1.62, p > .05$) were experienced higher levels of disgust compared to the control.

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