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Social Identity Threat in Response to Stereotypic Film Portrayals: Effects on Self-Conscious Emotion and Implicit Ingroup Attitudes

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Disadvantaged ethnic groups are often portrayed stereotypically in film, but little is known about how such portrayals affect members of those groups. Two experiments examined the affective and attitudinal reactions of Mexican and European Americans to stereotypic film clips of Latinos. Results of Study 1 revealed that stereotypic films cue negative affect among Mexican Americans, regardless of the realism of the portrayals. In Study 2, both Mexican and European Americans felt more self-conscious when another ingroup member openly laughed at negative Latino stereotypes in a comedy. Across both studies, the importance of ethnic identity exacerbated negative reactions to stereotypic clips and predicted somewhat more negative implicit group attitudes among Mexican Americans. In contrast, group pride mitigated affective costs and predicted greater enjoyment of stereotypical film clips among European Americans. The implications for the role of mass media in creating social identity threat for disadvantaged ethnic groups are discussed.

Winston Churchill once said “a joke is a very serious thing.” For groups targeted by racial humor this may be especially true. Mass media representations in the United States often portray ethnic minorities through the lens of distinct stereo-

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types (Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yarchi, 2015). Sometimes these fictional characterizations are stereotypic but fit within the dramatic arc of the story. At other times, the stereotypicality of groups is used as a comic foil. Such one-dimensional depictions of groups play a role in the transmission of cultural stereotypes by inaccurately representing behaviors, preferences, and traits within a group. The research reported here examined whether stereotypic media portrayals also take a psychological toll on the groups who are portrayed. We tested whether such portrayals can elicit social identity threat, activate more negative ingroup attitudes, and cue negative emotional reactions such as vicarious shame for Mexican Americans. We also examined social contexts that might lead members of the European American majority to experience vicarious shame or guilt for their own group's role in condoning the stereotyping of Latinos in America.

Social Identity Threat

Social contexts can contain reminders that one's social identity is culturally devalued in society, thereby arousing social identity threat (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Such identity threats can cause detrimental physiological responses, disrupt cognitive processing, and shift one's preferences in ways that can ironically confirm group differences in behavior and performance (see Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008, for a review). Although most research on social identity threat focuses on situations where individuals are evaluated based on stereotypes about their group, observations of others confirming negative stereotypes can also cue vicarious social identity threat (e.g., Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Davies, Spencer, Quinn, & Gerhardstein, 2002). For example, even brief exposure to stereotypic Native American sports mascots can temporarily lower self-esteem among Native American students (Fryberg, Markus, Oyerserman, & Stone, 2008), and the absence of Native Americans in the media can limit the aspirations of Native American children (Leavitt, Covarrubias, Perez, & Fryberg, 2015). Such research hints at how the media can cue social identity threat for members of stigmatized ethnic groups.

In this article, we sought to integrate research on social identity threat, self-conscious emotions, and implicit group attitudes to identify the psychological consequences of exposure to stereotypical media depictions. Specifically, we examined the degree to which stereotypical representations of Mexican Americans in film can elicit social identity threat for Mexican American viewers. Past studies have shown that Latinos are consistently underrepresented in the popular media relative to their proportion of the population (for a meta-analysis see Mastro & Tukachinsky, 2012). When they are represented, Latinos are depicted in a narrow range of roles, often type-cast as criminals (e.g., *Children Now*, 2004) or as passionate, hypersexual "Latin lovers" (Berg, 1990). Furthermore, compared with characters from other ethnic groups, Latinos are more commonly characterized as

having low social status, lower intelligence, and a heavy accent (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007). Such stereotypical depictions could potentially elicit social identity threat among Mexican American viewers.

We reasoned that if stereotypical media portrayals elicit social identity threat for groups targeted by those stereotypes, these feelings of threat might manifest emotionally as shame, an emotion associated with a sense of lower status (Keltner, 1995) and a concern about how one is viewed by others (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). Although shame is thought to signal a sense of being personally flawed and a fear of having that flaw made public (Tangney et al., 1996), shame is also elicited when others' actions tarnish the image of one's group (Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005). For example, Mexican Americans feel shame when merely recollecting times when they observed other ethnic ingroup members engage in stereotypic behaviors (Schmader & Lickel, 2006). One goal of the present research was to test the hypothesis that stereotypic portrayals of Mexican Americans in film, even those that are seen as entertaining, would elicit feelings of shame among Mexican American viewers.

A second goal was to assess whether these same portrayals would activate a more negative implicit attitude toward one's ethnic identity. According to social identity theory, people are motivated to have a positive attitude toward their social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Although the importance of and pride in group membership can be explicitly felt, people also can have implicit attitudes toward social groups that they do not explicitly acknowledge, but that can be activated by the social context and can subsequently bias judgment, behavior, and decision-making (Greenwald et al., 2002). Whereas advantaged group members generally show an implicit preference for their own group, socially disadvantaged groups members sometimes show more positive implicit attitudes toward higher status outgroups (Baron & Banaji, 2009; Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002). Surprisingly, very little research speaks directly to the genesis of weaker implicit ingroup biases among ethnic minority groups. However, it is often assumed that the exposure to stereotypic representations in the media plays an influential role. Thus, the current studies examine these effects under controlled laboratory conditions to ascertain if Mexican Americans who experience social identity threat in response to stereotypic film portrayals also exhibit a more negative implicit attitude toward their ethnic group.

Current Research

In this article, we report the results of two experiments examining Mexican Americans' experiences of social identity threat (operationalized as the activation of negative implicit associations to the ingroup and consciously experienced feelings of shame) when viewing stereotypical portrayals of Latinos in film. We also investigated several personal and situational moderators of these effects.

Realism of the Film Portrayal

We sought to identify Mexican Americans' reactions to different levels of realism in film. In some media depictions, Latino characters are portrayed in a one-dimensional way for comedic effect whereas others offer representations of Latinos through a more realistic lens. The former depictions seem more offensive and might thus elicit a stronger emotional reaction. However, because the realistic depictions represent greater confirmation of group stereotypes, they could send the stronger signal of one's devalued status in society. No prior study has explored the implications of these two types of portrayals. However, Fryberg et al. (2008) showed that American Indians experience lower self-esteem both in response to sports mascots that are cartoon caricatures of Indians and also when the mascot offers a more human representation of a historically admired Indian chief. Such evidence suggests that the emotional penalty of stereotypes in the media could be felt regardless of the realism of the representation.

Identification

We also sought to examine facets of group identification as moderators of these effects. The cognitive centrality or importance of a social identity might signal the perceptual and affective salience of identity relevant cues, whereas pride in one's group connotes the positivity of one's attitude toward membership in that group. Although these two facets of group identification are often positively correlated (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), past research has shown that Mexican Americans feel greater shame in response to an ingroup member acting stereotypically to the extent that being Latino was important to their self-definition, but reported less shame to the extent they felt pride in their ethnicity (Schmader & Lickel, 2006).

Social Context

The third moderating variable considered was the social context while watching a stereotypic film clip. We reasoned that others who laugh at comedic stereotypic portrayals provide a social cue that condones the offensiveness of the representation. However, the ethnicity of those others might matter. According to Shapiro and Neuberg (2007), people can be concerned about confirmation of group stereotypes in their own eyes or in the eyes of either the ingroup or the outgroup. On the one hand, research on social identity threat often assumes that minorities are concerned about confirming stereotypes in the minds of the outgroup. However, research on group-based emotion has suggested that vicarious shame might be an important signal of ingroup norm violation that helps alert a person to police the behavior of their ingroup (Schmader, Croft, Scarnier, Lickel, & Mendes, 2012). These two theoretical frameworks thus make competing

hypotheses about whether affective costs for Mexican Americans will be stronger when the ingroup or the outgroup appears to endorse stereotypic content in film.

Among European American participants tested in Study 2, our predictions were more exploratory. European Americans can experience social identity threat in contexts which seem to confirm the perception that European Americans are racist (Richeson & Shelton, 2012), and report negative emotional reactions when they witness racial prejudice (Schmader et al., 2012). Thus, European American participants might also experience these self-conscious emotions in response not to the stereotypic content of the film clip itself, but in response to an ingroup member who seems to take delight in the stereotyping of Latinos in film.

To test these hypotheses, we conducted two studies in which Mexican American (Studies 1 and 2) and European American (Study 2) participants watched a brief film clip depicting a young Latino man stereotypically. In Study 1, Mexican American participants either watched an unrealistic comedic clip, a realistic dramatic clip, or no clip. In Study 2, Mexican American and European American participants only watched the comedic clip but believed that another ethnic ingroup member or outgroup member was openly enjoying the stereotypic portrayal in the clip. In both studies, we measured participants' emotional reactions to the clip, state self-esteem, and implicit attitudes toward Latinos and White Americans and examined facets of group identification as moderators of people's experience of stereotyping in film.

Study 1

Method

Participants and procedure. A total of 126 Mexican American undergraduate students (78 female, 48 male) at a large southwestern university participated for either course credit or \$10. Data were excluded from 13 participants who did not complete the initial pretesting and 2 others who experienced a computer error, resulting in a final sample of 111. Participants watched a short film clip in a private cubicle and made ratings of the film, the characters, and themselves. In both studies, only measures relevant to the present summary are reported; information on other exploratory measures (e.g., implicit self-esteem) can be obtained from the first author. The 30-minute computerized survey randomly assigned participants to one of the three film clip conditions: realistic drama ($n = 37$), unrealistic comedy ($n = 39$), or no-video control ($n = 35$). After completing their session, students were fully debriefed regarding the nature of the study.

Materials

Video clips. The two video clips were chosen from feature films to depict stereotypes of Mexican Americans in one of two ways: (1) as a legitimate feature of the storyline used to promote character development in a dramatic film (realistic drama), or (2) as a comedic device used to ridicule and objectify the character in a comedic film (unrealistic comedy). Both clips were abstracted from two English-language, contemporary, U.S. feature films and edited to create a 5-minute clip featuring the same Mexican American actor as a central figure. In the realistic drama clip (abstracted from *Come and Take it Day*, 2001), the Mexican American male lead character is engaged in a serious but friendly conversation with a Mexican American female coworker of romantic interest. Both are casually dressed. Discussion topics range from personal goals to family members and friends. The themes of criminality and educational challenges are focal points of the dialogue. The characters are at a festival, which is present in the background.

In the unrealistic comedy clip (abstracted from *Next Friday*, 2000), the male lead is engaged in a conversation with a Mexican American female character of sexual interest as well as with other male friends. The dialogue is marked by the use of slang and cursing, with neither character demonstrating articulate speech. The discussion focuses on crime, money, and sex and the characters are exaggerated. The male characters are dressed in urban, gang-inspired attire and the female character is provocatively clad. A party can be heard in the background. In an initial pilot test ($n = 79$), the two clips were rated as equivalently stereotypic, comprehensible, and interesting, all p 's $> .05$; but differed in ratings of the realism, $t(77) = 3.95, p < .05, r = .41$, and believability, $t(77) = 3.41, p < .05, r = .36$, of the characters.

Perceptions of the video. In the main study, participants were asked to make ratings on a 5-point scale of: (1) the stereotypicality of the main character (3 items, $\alpha = .90, M = 3.64, SD = .99$), (2) how engaging the clip was to watch (3 items, $\alpha = .78, M = 3.72, SD = .87$), (3) how negative the portrayal was (2 items, $\alpha = .68, M = 3.61, SD = .91$), and (4) how realistic the portrayal was (9 items, $\alpha = .88, M = 2.71, SD = .83$).

Ethnic group identification. Group identification was measured in an initial mass survey, with the identity importance (e.g., My racial group is an important reflection of who I am, $M = 4.45, SD = 1.39$) and group pride (e.g., I feel good about my racial/ethnic group, $M = 5.97, SD = 1.14$) subscales adapted from Luh-tanen and Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale. Each subscale includes four items rated from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7).

Trait self-esteem. The pretest also included Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item scale ($\alpha = 0.82$, $M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.14$), for use as a covariate in all analyses of self-esteem effects.

Affective responses. Emotional reactions to the video were assessed on the following dimensions: shame, anger, guilt, and positive affect using items from prior research (Schmader & Lickel, 2006). Shame ($\alpha = 0.85$, $M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.82$) was measured with four items including: ashamed, humiliated, embarrassed, and disgraced. Anger ($\alpha = 0.90$, $M = 2.98$, $SD = 2.10$) was assessed with four items: angry, disgusted, outraged, and offended. Guilt ($\alpha = 0.84$, $M = 2.31$, $SD = 1.63$) was assessed with the items: guilty, regret, remorseful, and apologetic. Finally, ratings for good and happy were averaged to assess positive emotional responses ($\alpha = 0.93$, $M = 4.45$, $SD = 2.61$). All responses were rated on a 9-point scale from not at all (1) to very intensely (9).

State Self-esteem. State self-esteem (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991) was measured in terms of social self-esteem (7 items, e.g., I worry about what other people think of me—reverse scored, $\alpha = 0.86$, $M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.28$) and performance self-esteem (7 items, e.g., I feel confident about my abilities, $\alpha = 0.85$, $M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.17$). Responses were rated on a 7-point scale from not at all (1) to very much (7), with higher scores representing a more positive self-evaluation.

Implicit attitudes toward Latinos. Implicit ethnic attitudes were measured using an implicit association test (IAT; Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003). The IAT is a computer-based program that measures the relative strength of association between a target ethnicity (here, characteristically Latino and European American names) and an evaluative concept (good and bad words) using response latencies in a series of timed categorization trials. In this IAT, participants completed a series of practice and test blocks. The two critical blocks contained 40 trials each and required participants to categorize ethnicity and valenced stimuli simultaneously. On the first critical block, participants categorized "Good" and "Latino" stimuli together with one response key and "Bad" and "White" stimuli were categorized with another response key. On the second critical block, they categorized "Good/White" with one key and "Bad/Latino" with a different key. The mapping of labels to left/right keys were counterbalanced across participants. Data were scored so that higher numbers indicated more positive implicit associations with Latinos (i.e., average reaction times to White/Good—Latino/Good).

Results

Manipulation Checks and Ratings of the Film Clips

As in the pilot study, the two clips were rated as equally stereotypic ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 3.60$, $SD = .87$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = 3.72$, $SD = 1.21$), $t(74) = .47$, $p = .64$, $d = .11$, and both means were significantly higher than the scale midpoint of 3, t 's > 3.71 , $p < .01$. Participants also rated the two clips as similarly engaging to watch ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 3.68$, $SD = .96$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = 3.97$, $SD = .90$), $t(74) = 1.36$, $p = .18$, $d = .32$. Importantly, the realistic clip ($M = 3.25$, $SD = .86$) was rated as more realistic than the comedic clip ($M = 2.31$, $SD = .76$), $t(74) = -5.07$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.18$; and the comedic clip ($M = 4.37$, $SD = .69$), was seen as a more negative portrayal than the realistic clip ($M = 3.32$, $SD = .81$), $t(74) = 6.10$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.42$.

Consequences of Viewing Stereotypic Portrayals

We first tested for overall differences between the three experimental conditions with a series of one-way ANOVAs for each dependent measure. We then examined facets of group identification as potential moderators.

Affective responses. Results revealed that positive affect (partial $\eta^2 = .33$), shame (partial $\eta^2 = .13$), guilt (partial $\eta^2 = .10$) and anger (partial $\eta^2 = .18$) were all significantly affected by condition, all F 's (2, 108) > 14.45 , all p 's $< .01$ (see Figure 1). Post hoc tests revealed that participants' reports of positive affect ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 3.31$, $SD = 2.10$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = 3.55$, $SD = 2.60$), shame ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 3.27$, $SD = 1.84$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = 3.22$, $SD = 1.96$), and anger ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 3.59$, $SD = 1.98$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = 3.55$, $SD = 2.36$) did not differ between those who watched the comedic or the dramatic video, but participants in both film conditions reported significantly less positive affect ($M_{\text{control}} = 6.64$, $SD = 1.59$) and more shame ($M_{\text{control}} = 1.86$, $SD = 1.19$), and anger ($M_{\text{control}} = 1.68$, $SD = 1.14$) compared to the no clip control condition. In addition, the dramatic ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 2.10$) clip elicited more guilt than both the comedic clip ($M = 1.98$, $SD = 1.15$) and the control condition ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 1.28$), which did not differ. Thus, both clips elicited a negative emotional reaction; the realistic portrayal of Latino stereotypes also elevated guilt.

Self-esteem. In contrast to these clear effects on emotion, results of a one-way ANCOVA (with trait self-esteem as a covariate) indicated that participants' performance ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 5.78$, $SD = 1.04$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = 5.32$, $SD = 1.13$; $M_{\text{control}} = 5.16$, $SD = 1.27$; partial $\eta^2 = .05$) and social self-esteem ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 5.21$, $SD = 1.22$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = 4.81$, $SD = 1.35$; $M_{\text{control}} = 5.02$, $SD = 1.30$; partial

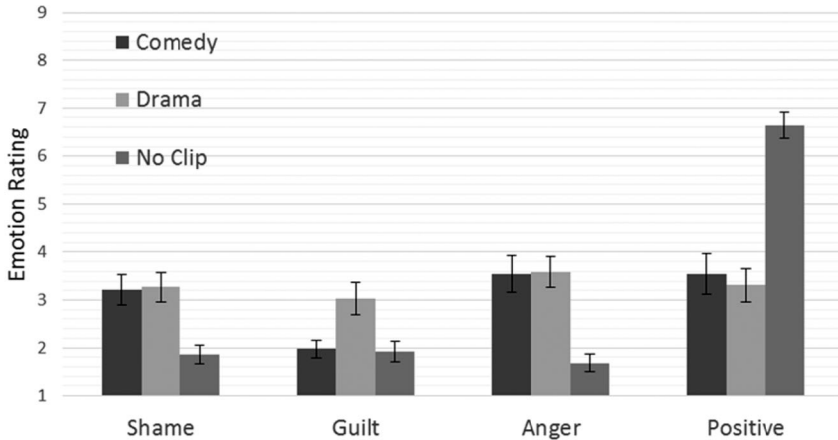


Fig. 1. Emotional reactions of Mexican Americans to stereotypic film clips in Study 1.

$\eta^2 = .02$) scores were not significantly affected by condition, F 's < 2.77, p 's > .07.

Implicit attitudes. Results of the ANOVA examining participants' implicit ingroup attitudes found no statistically significant effect ($M_{\text{dramatic}} = 0.01$, $SD = 0.55$; $M_{\text{comedic}} = -0.07$, $SD = 0.51$; $M_{\text{control}} = 0.17$, $SD = 0.43$), $F(2, 108) = .52$, $p = .13$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. However, as we will report below, group identification was an important moderator of implicit attitudes.

The Moderating Role of Group Identification

Although our initial analyses revealed that Mexican American participants felt shame and other negative emotions after viewing stereotypic portrayals of their group, we expected different facets of group identification to moderate these effects. Thus, we next conducted a series of hierarchical regression analyses including film clip (0 = comedic, 1 = dramatic), identity importance (mean centered), and group pride (mean centered) on Step 1 of the analysis. The interaction terms representing film clip by identity importance and film clip by group pride were entered on Step 2 of the analysis. This basic analysis was repeated for each of our primary outcome measures. We focused these analyses only on participants who watched one of the two clips because the ANOVA results confirmed that participants in these conditions had an affective reaction compared to the control condition and our goal was to assess these variables as predictors of the intensity of that reaction.

Affective responses. Analysis of participants' affective responses to the films revealed that though positively related to one another, $r = .56$, $p < .001$, identity importance and group pride moderated emotional reactions in different ways. Pride in one's Latino identity predicted significantly less shame, $\beta = -.34$, $p = .01$, less anger, $\beta = -.33$, $p = .02$, and less guilt, $\beta = -.29$, $p = .03$, but was unrelated to positive affect, $\beta = 0.12$, $p = .40$. None of the portrayal by group pride interactions were significant. In contrast, identity importance predicted somewhat more shame, $\beta = .25$, $p = .07$, and significantly more anger, $\beta = .29$, $p = .04$, but was not related to guilt, $\beta = .11$, $p = .40$, or positive affect, $\beta = -.12$, $p = .41$. There was also a significant interaction between film clip and identity importance in predicting positive affect, $\beta = .40$, $p = .04$. Simple slope analysis showed that identity importance predicted somewhat less positive affect in response to the comedic clip, $\beta = -.35$, $p = .053$, but was unrelated to positive affect in response to the realistic clip, $\beta = .23$, $p = .30$. No other interactions were significant, all p 's $> .10$. These patterns generally suggest that the centrality of ethnicity to self-definition is related to a somewhat more negative affective response to both stereotypic portrayals, whereas group pride is related to having a less negative reactions to these clips.

Self-esteem. When predicting self-esteem variables (including trait self-esteem as a covariate on Step 1), neither identity importance nor group pride had main or interactive effects on either self-esteem variable, all p 's $> .10$. However, in analyses that control for group identification, the type of clip predicted self-esteem. Participants who watched the comedic video reported lower performance self-esteem, $\beta = .25$, $p = .03$, and somewhat lower social self-esteem, $\beta = .19$, $p = .097$, than those who had watched the realistic video.

Implicit ingroup attitudes. Identity importance, $\beta = -.17$, $p = .23$, group pride, $\beta = .02$, $p = .89$, and condition, $\beta = .09$, $p = .47$, were all nonsignificant main effects in the model predicting participants' implicit positive attitudes toward their ingroup. However, there was a significant film clip by identity importance interaction, $\beta = .45$, $p = .02$, but only a marginally significant film clip by group pride interaction, $\beta = -.38$, $p = .07$. Simple slope analyses revealed that identity importance predicted having less positive implicit attitudes toward the ingroup after watching a comedic clip, $\beta = -.43$, $p = .02$, but not after watching the dramatic clip, $\beta = .22$, $p = .30$ (see Figure 2, panel A). These findings offer some suggestion that negative comedic portrayals of ingroup stereotypes might activate a more negative implicit attitude toward the ingroup to the extent that ethnicity is an important aspect of self-definition.

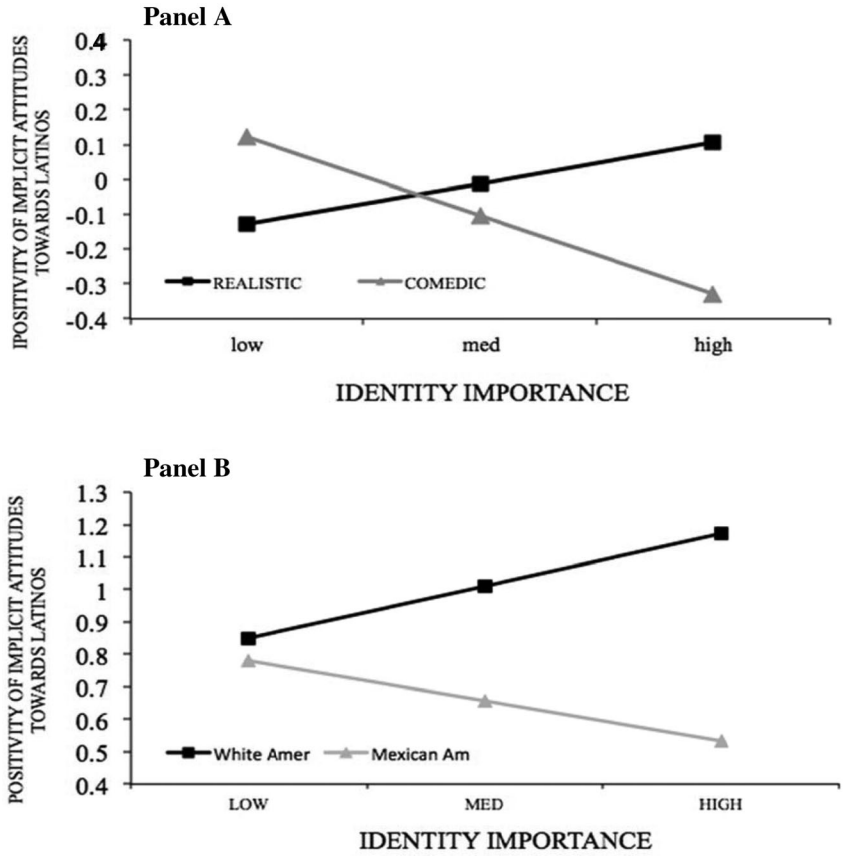


Fig. 2. Panel (A) Identity importance predicts more negative implicit attitudes toward Latinos after watching the comedic but not the realistic clip in Mexican American participants in Study 1. Panel (B) Identity importance predicts somewhat more negative implicit attitudes toward Latinos among Mexican Americans but not among European Americans in Study 2.

Study 2

Results of Study 1 demonstrate that Mexican Americans have a negative emotional response to stereotypic film portrayals of their ethnic ingroup, regardless of the realism of those portrayals. Feelings of anger and shame were similarly elevated in response to stereotypic film clips, in spite of the fact that these clips were recognized as being entertaining and engaging to watch. Study 1 also revealed that feeling proud of one’s ethnicity buffers the effect of watching stereotypic portrayals on negative affect. At the same time, the importance of ethnicity to self-definition can enhance the emotional and psychological costs and elicit more negative

implicit group attitudes, especially to very negative and unrealistic portrayals. These findings replicate past evidence that different facets of group identification can both sensitize and buffer one from collective threats to social identity (Schmader & Lickel, 2006).

In Study 1, we were somewhat surprised that participants' emotional responses to the comedic clip were not more negative given the offensive and inaccurate representations this clip embodied. We reasoned, however, that watching a movie is typically a social event, where other people's reactions represent another input to one's emotional experience. Thus, in Study 2, we expanded our focus to consider how both European and Mexican Americans react to the same unrealistic comedic clip used in Study 1, as a function of whether another ingroup or outgroup member seems to be enjoying the film. One goal of this study was to explore whether the social identity threat that Mexican Americans experience in response to comedic portrayals is exacerbated by the ingroup or the outgroup seeming to endorse this offensive content by laughing at it. A second goal of Study 2 was to explore whether European Americans exhibit self-conscious affect when their ingroup laughs at outgroup stereotypes in film, due perhaps to a concern that this reaction confirms the stereotype that European Americans are racist.

Method

Participants and procedure. A total of 85 undergraduate students (24 males, 61 females) at a large southwestern university participated for course credit or \$10. One participant who did not indicate ethnicity was excluded from analyses, leaving 53 Mexican American and 31 European American participants randomly assigned to condition in a 2 (participant ethnicity) $\times$ 2 (confederate's group status: ingroup, outgroup) between-subjects design.

Participants completed the session in a private cubicle but were led to believe that another participant (a confederate) was in an adjacent cubicle. The two cubicles were connected via an audio-visual system that allowed the participants to see and hear the confederate during the entire session. All participants watched the same comedic portrayal of Latino stereotypes used in Study 1 and believed that the confederate would be watching this clip as well. The ethnicity of the confederate was manipulated using prerecorded videos of a Mexican or European American individual, matched in sex to the participant and given a prototypical Mexican or European American name. These videos of the confederates were prerecorded so that the confederate appeared to laugh or giggle at several key stereotypic "jokes" during the clip. After watching the clip, participants completed the same measures collected in Study 1 and were debriefed.

Measures. As in Study 1, measures of identity importance and group pride were collected in an initial pretest. After watching the film clip, participants again

rated the clip for stereotypicality, negativity, and realism. Measures of shame, guilt, anger, positive emotions, and social self-esteem were again collected. Implicit positive attitudes toward Latinos (vs. Whites) were also measured and scored with a two standard deviation penalty (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003).

As a check on their perceptions of the confederate, participants also rated the overall positivity of the confederate's reaction to the film on a 5-point scale (4 items, $\alpha = .62$, $M = 2.58$, $SD = .84$). In addition, stigma consciousness scale was also assessed in the earlier mass survey to control for individual differences in this variable (Pinel, 1999; 10 items, e.g., My being Latino/a does not influence how people act with me, $M = 3.55$, $SD = 0.99$). Trait and performance state self-esteem were not included in this study.

Results

Manipulation checks and perceptions of the film clips. An initial series of 2 (outgroup vs. ingroup confederate) $\times$ 2 (Mexican American vs. European American) ANOVAs on ratings of the clip revealed no main or interactive effects of the confederate's group status on how negative, stereotypical, or realistic the clip was perceived to be, F 's < 1.83 , p 's $> .17$, partial $\eta^2 < .022$. However, Mexican Americans ($M = 2.68$, $SD = .76$) perceived the clip to be slightly more realistic than did European Americans ($M = 2.34$, $SD = .68$), $F(1, 84) = 4.06$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. Participants thought that the confederate's reactions to the film were moderately positive regardless of condition, F 's $< .10$, p 's $> .75$, partial $\eta^2 < .001$.

Mean Differences in Outcome Variables

Affective responses. A series of 2 (confederate group status) $\times$ 2 (participant ethnicity) between-subjects ANOVAs on affective reactions revealed that, regardless of ethnicity, those who watched the clip with an ingroup member laughing at Mexican American stereotypes reported significantly more shame ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.78$) and marginally more guilt ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.26$) than did those who watched the clip with an outgroup member ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 2.06$; $M = 1.78$, $SD = 1.42$, respectively), $F(1, 84) = 4.46$, $p = .04$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$ and $F(1, 84) = 3.04$, $p = .09$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, respectively. In addition, across conditions, Mexican Americans reported marginally more shame ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 2.20$) than did European American participants ($M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.38$), $F(1, 84) = 2.92$, $p = .09$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. Neither interaction was significant, F 's < 1.30 , p 's $> .25$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, and there were no effects on participants' ratings of anger or positive affect, all F 's $< .88$, p 's $> .35$, partial $\eta^2 < .001$. These results suggest that both Mexican and European American participants felt greater shame (and

somewhat more guilt) when an ingroup member openly enjoyed the stereotypic portrayal.

Social self-esteem. Analysis of social self-esteem also revealed that, regardless of participants' ethnicity, those who watched the clip with an ingroup member ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.25$) reported significantly less social self-esteem than those who watched the clip with an outgroup member ($M = 5.87$, $SD = 1.13$), $F(1, 84) = 10.49$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$. The lack of an interaction with ethnicity, $F(1, 84) = .22$, $p > .67$, partial $\eta^2 = .002$, suggests that both European and Mexican Americans felt more self-conscious (i.e., lower self-esteem) when their ingroup openly laughed at stereotypic portrayals of Mexican Americans.

Implicit attitudes toward Latinos. Analysis of participants' implicit attitudes yielded only a main effect of ethnicity: Mexican American participants ($M = .62$, $SD = .54$) showed significantly less positive implicit associations with Latinos than did European American participants ($M = .92$, $SD = .60$), $F(1, 84) = 5.34$, $p = .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. No other effects were significant, all F 's < 0.29 , p 's $< .59$, partial $\eta^2 < .004$.

The moderating role of group identification. To test our hypotheses about the role of group identification in moderating participants' responses to watching the clip, we conducted a series of hierarchical regression analyses including confederate group (0 = outgroup, 1 = ingroup), participant ethnicity (0 = Mexican American, 1 = European American), identity importance (mean centered), and group pride (mean centered) on Step 1. We also included stigma-consciousness (mean centered) on this step to control for individual differences in a propensity to view oneself as stigmatized. Then, in separate analyses, we tested each two-way interaction involving either group pride or identity importance on Step 2. We adopted this approach to conserve power given our somewhat small sample size, which also precluded us from testing three-way interactions. This basic analysis was repeated for each outcome measure.

Affective responses. Analyses of affective responses yielded only one significant interaction between participant ethnicity and identity pride predicting positive affect, $\beta = .33$, $p = .03$. Simple slope analyses revealed that European Americans, $\beta = .40$, $p = .02$, but not Mexican Americans, $\beta = -.10$, *ns*, higher in group pride reported a more positive emotional reaction to the comedic clip. No other effects involving identification variables were significant, p 's $> .05$.

Social self-esteem. Although identity importance did not predict greater shame among Mexican Americans (as in Study 1), analysis of social self-esteem revealed that, across the whole sample, those higher in identity importance reported

significantly lower social self-esteem, $\beta = -.22, p = .04$, whereas those higher in identity pride reported significantly higher social self-esteem, $\beta = .24, p = .03$. Stigma consciousness was a significant covariate, $\beta = -.22, p = .04$.

Implicit attitudes. Finally, analysis of implicit attitudes revealed a participant ethnicity by identity importance interaction, $\beta = .24, p = .054$, (See Figure 2, panel B). Replicating the pattern in Study 1, identity importance predicted somewhat less positive implicit attitudes toward Latinos among Mexican Americans, $\beta = -.22, p = .09$. In contrast, identity importance was not related to implicit attitudes towards Latinos among European Americans, $\beta = .28, p = .22$. In addition, at low levels of identity importance (1 *SD* below the mean), there were no ethnic differences in positivity of implicit attitudes towards Latinos, $\beta = .048, p = .78$. But at high levels of identity importance (1 *SD* above the mean), Mexican Americans showed significantly lower positive implicit attitudes toward Latinos than did European Americans, $\beta = .53, p = .003$.

Discussion

The goal of this article was to examine whether negative stereotypic portrayals of Latinos in film can elicit social identity threat by cuing self-conscious feelings and negative implicit ingroup attitudes among Mexican American and European American viewers. We also explored the predictive effects of different facets of ethnic identification within these groups. Several findings are noteworthy. First, as shown in Study 1, Mexican Americans experience negative emotional reactions, including shame, guilt, anger, and less positive affect, after watching stereotypic portrayals of their ingroup. These emotional reactions were similarly negative regardless of whether the clip presented an unrealistic and extremely negative caricature of the group for comedic effect or a more realistic dramatic portrayal that explores stereotypes of Latinos in America. In Study 2, when the viewing context was more social, these feelings of shame and general self-consciousness (i.e., low social self-esteem) were exacerbated when the ingroup seemed to be enjoying a stereotypic portrayal. Together these results point to the ways in which both comedic and realistic portrayals of negative Latino stereotypes can elicit affective markers of social identity threat among Mexican American viewers.

Across both studies, we also saw evidence that the affective and cognitive facets of group identification can differentially predict the emotional responses one has to stereotypic film content. Similar to evidence from past research (Schmader & Lickel, 2006), the importance of ethnicity to self-definition seems to magnify the meaning of group-relevant events. Mexican Americans higher in identity importance felt more anger and somewhat more shame (Study 1), and lower social self-esteem (Study 2) after watching a negative stereotypic portrayal

of their ingroup. At the same time, pride in one's ethnicity can buffer ethnic minorities from these negative affective costs.

In addition to documenting the emotional costs of stereotypic portrayals for Mexican Americans, we also found in Study 2 that European Americans experience a sense of shame and self-consciousness when watching stereotypic films in the context of other ingroup members who take delight in the stereotyping of a disadvantaged ethnic outgroup. This effect is consistent with past research on vicarious shame (Lickel et al., 2005; Schmader et al., 2012) showing that European Americans exhibit negative self-conscious affect when they witness others confirming stereotypes that their ingroup is racist. However, it should be noted that these feelings of shame might also have been minimized by hearing another Mexican American student laugh at and thus seem to condone this stereotyping. In either case, given the greater power of ethnic majority members to police and prevent stereotyping in the media, these negative emotional reactions from European Americans have the potential to curtail future demand for offensive stereotypic content. At the same time, not all European Americans exhibit this response to stereotyping in film; those who feel great pride in their White identity reported greater positive affect after viewing the stereotypic portrayal regardless of cues from the social context.

The final but perhaps most compelling and consistent finding across these two studies is evidence that watching this short 5-minute film clip portraying Latinos in a negative and stereotypic manner seemed to also alter, at least temporarily, the implicit attitudes that highly identified Mexican Americans have toward their own ethnic group. In both studies, watching the highly negative, comedic and unrealistic film clip elicited a more negative implicit association toward Latinos for Mexican American participants who had earlier said that their ethnic identity was an important aspect of self-definition. Such findings seem to suggest that the affective salience of these negative caricatures could have the power to shape implicit associations in a more negative way. Members of ethnic minority groups often show a far less positive implicit attitude toward their ethnic identity than do members of majority groups toward their ingroup (Baron & Dunham, 2009). Other evidence suggests that such implicit ingroup attitudes are influenced by cultural information about the relative social status of ingroups and outgroups (Dunham, Baron, & Banaji, 2006). The effects of this brief laboratory manipulation might therefore provide a snapshot of how negative media portrayals shape these less positive ingroup attitudes when accumulated over time and exposure.

Given the prolific use of negative stereotypic portrayals in the media (Tukachinsky et al., 2015) and emerging evidence showing that these portrayals can negatively affect disadvantaged minority groups, policy-makers might consider their role in curtailing these effects (Castañeda, Fuentes-Bautista, & Baruch, 2015). As a first step, research findings like those reported here can be used to raise awareness about the subtle but pernicious role that the media can play in shaping people's implicit attitudes toward social groups, including their own. Armed with

this evidence, a rating system could be introduced to identify films (and television programming) that represent groups in an unrealistically stereotypic fashion. Such policies already exist to protect viewers from sexual or violent content that is age-inappropriate. And Sweden has recently launched a campaign that aims to alert viewers to sexist content in movies (CBCnews, 2013), suggesting that rating systems for a number of dimensions can be developed. Of course, additional research is needed to evaluate the effectiveness of these viewer warning systems for changing audience viewing habits or the internalization of stereotypic content.

Although the results of these studies provide a compelling look at the extent to which stereotypes in film can cue social identity threat for disadvantaged ethnic groups, there are several limitations to be mentioned. First, in an effort to examine effects in a controlled experimental context, we limited our investigation to only two film clips which specifically portrayed Mexican Americans. Although these two clips in Study 1 were matched on as many dimensions as possible (including the same actor playing the focal role), it is still possible that idiosyncratic features of these clips contributed to effects. Specifically, the realism difference between the two clips is confounded with the number of Mexican American characters shown and the negativity of content. More research is needed with a diversity of media examples from not just film but also television drama, comedy, and news to establish the generalizability of these effects to other movies but also other kinds of media. Furthermore, generalization of these effects to other disadvantaged minority groups beyond Latinos should be a priority. Furthermore, we were only able to examine immediate consequences to these media representations. It is unclear how long these effects last or the cumulative effect to repeated exposures over time. More importantly, future studies are needed that look at repeated exposure to stereotypic content to establish how stereotypic portrayals shape more negative implicit group attitudes among disadvantaged minorities. Furthermore, larger studies with greater power to test higher level interactions might reveal that group pride could buffer people against developing these negative implicit group attitudes. There were hints to this pattern in Study 1, but the overall interaction was only marginally significant. More research on larger samples is needed.

The stereotypes we have of different groups provide easy heuristics for processing complex social information. However, biased representations of different groups into different roles and behaviors create self-fulfilling prophecies that can constrain the options and opportunities for members of disadvantaged groups. The media plays an important role in representing and recreating these cultural patterns of inequality. It is our hope that the findings reported here will inspire future research aimed at examining experimentally the role of stereotypic media portrayals in cuing self-conscious affect and promoting more negative implicit attitudes toward one's ethnic group for those who are socially disadvantaged. With clear evidence of the psychological tax that these representations exact on ethnic minority groups, policy-makers can be better informed of the need to regulate stereotypic content in the media.

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