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Television Viewing and Latino Stereotypes

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TELEVISION VIEWING AND LATINO STEREOTYPES

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family and friends.

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Abstract

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Over the course of a modern lifetime, television viewing accounts for a significant amount of information taken in by viewers. Within that consumption lies a potential problem. Viewers may learn erroneous messages about people and the world. Since television has characterized Latinos in ways that have emphasized cultural stereotypes, viewers may learn to perceive them in a corresponding manner. A questionnaire was administered to a sample of 403 students from five universities and two community colleges located in Northern California. The respondents completed a seventy-one item questionnaire. Five key variables were utilized to measure relationships between them. The key variables included: learning about Latinos from television, positive perceptions of Latinos, negative Latino stereotypes, willingness to communicate with Latinos, and self-esteem. Frequency, correlation, and regression analyses indicated that there was significant interplay between the key variables. The results revealed an association between learning about Latinos from television and negative Latino stereotypes. Similarly, lower willingness to communicate with Latinos was associated with negative Latino stereotypes. However, higher willingness to communicate with Latinos was associated with positive perceptions of Latinos. Likewise, willingness to communicate with Latinos was positively associated with self-esteem. A multiple regression analysis indicated that learning about Latinos from television and lower willingness to communicate with Latinos were

predictors of negative Latino stereotypes. Conversely, a second regression analysis indicated that higher willingness to communicate with Latinos and positive interaction with Latinos were predictors of positive perceptions of Latinos.

Keywords: Latinos, Stereotypes, Ethnocentrism, Willingness to Communicate, Self-esteem

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CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

Viewing television seems to be America's favorite hobby. The time that Americans spend viewing television exceeds their time spent on other leisure activities (Krantz-Kent, 2018). Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi asserted in 2002 that individuals in the industrialized world spend more time viewing television than anything else besides work and sleep (p. 76). According to The Nielsen Company (2020), American adults viewed over four hours of television daily (not including content viewed on other devices). Along with the advent of increasingly powerful portable devices, the amount of viewing has also been impacted by the growing use of streaming services. The Nielsen Total Audience Report (2020) reported that adult viewers spent half of their day connected to media, and that nearly six hours of that time was spent watching video on multiple devices, including traditional television. As researchers fine-tune methodologies to differentiate viewership statistics across different media (e.g., television, computers, tablets, and phones), surely they will find that consumption is increasing. That amount of television content consumption presents a significant problem.

The potential for people to learn erroneous notions about the world from television is the general problem. Most television programs use fictional content such as stereotypes to entertain vast audiences. American media, including television, has a history of propagating and maintaining cultural stereotypes. Newsreels, print media, and motion pictures that preceded television used particular images of Mexicans, typically of dignitaries, to convey messages that belied reality by largely excluding poor and indigenous communities (Johnson, 1999). The lack of Mexican families, artists, intellectuals, or professionals shown in the newsreels perhaps "set

up patterns" that television adopted (Johnson, 1999, p. 429). As television evolved, the use of cultural stereotypes became common. Torres (2015) asserts that since approximately the 1950s, television produced "race as a spectacle" and "race as a problem," and that race became commodified towards the second millennium (p. 395). For example, the stereotypical Mexican Bandido was literally caricatured to advertise corn chips (Dirks & Mueller, 2007, p. 120). Throughout the decades, cultural stereotypes have been used for entertainment, advertisements, and commercials, yet they were not very controversial. However, according to Pettersson and Hannelius (2021), a rebranding movement began in 2020. They found that consumers in the US and in the Nordics had mixed feelings about the changes. It was not until recently that the popular Aunt Jemima product line, based on the Black cook/servant stereotype (Thompson, 2015), was finally rebranded (McEvoy, 2020), demonstrating that demand for change has been sluggish. American minorities lacked representation in early television, and their occasional inclusion often entailed negative stereotypes. Those images likely became internalized by audiences (to some extent) after repetitive exposure.

Stereotypes, due to their facile nature, can become an impulsive way for people to learn about cultures that are unfamiliar to them. Gorham (1999) referred to stereotypes as racial myths, implicating mainstream media in the maintenance of those myths through their constant broadcasts (p. 237). According to Tan, Dalisay, Zhang, Han, and Merchant (2010), although they deemphasize frequency, those portrayals are problematic because people can develop stereotyped views when they are presented loaded messages that they perceive as realistic and believable. People may become more credulous of stereotyped content when they lack interpersonal and intercultural communication. Hinner (2020) explains that successful intercultural communication entails "sufficient knowledge of the culture and one's counterpart so

that the appropriate behavior and communication can be employed for the situation at hand" (p. 50). This does not suggest that only some people learn stereotypes from viewing television. All viewers are susceptible to television's influence. Considering television's pervasive use of stereotypes and potential to influence, various issues arise. This study examines one.

The specific problem is that television seems to be reluctant to end its use of Latino stereotypes. As a result, people may learn stereotypes about Latinos from television that can become ingrained and difficult to change. Presumably, cultural stereotypes are intentionally overemphasized in television for certain purposes, such as ratings. Unpopular shows are more likely to get cancelled, therefore television reflects society's values and sensibilities at particular times. Celebrities' off-camera behavior can result in cancellation. For example, Roseanne Barr and Paula Dean's shows were cancelled after it was revealed that they used racially insensitive language (Singh, 2018). Swift consequences are likely to ensue in overt cases of racism. This demonstrates that contemporary American society has certain expectations for social decorum, especially when it pertains to racial discourse. However, Bonilla-Silva (2006) asserts that nuanced, colorblind racism is the kind of discrimination that is now more commonly used in the US, making it somewhat difficult to recognize with certitude. For example, casting Latinos as gardeners seems harmless, perhaps even realistic, but the implication is that all Latinos look, behave, and live a certain way. Similarly, but more troubling, stereotypes that paint Latinos in especially negative ways, such as being violent, may affect the way people perceive and interact with them.

Through negative stereotypes, television may imply to its audiences that American Latinos are not good or true Americans, since Latino portrayals are often stereotypes of otherness. This is problematic because of the potential ramifications that Latinos may

experience. Some negative stereotypes, such as the dangerous Latino criminal, have the potential to encourage stigmatization. Consequently, communication may suffer and further harm intercultural relations. Conversely, positive television portrayals (e.g., hardworking, being family oriented) can also affect perceptions of Latinos. However, positive portrayals seem to have the potential to encourage intercultural communication, unlike negative stereotypes. Still, when people learn about Latinos from television, they do not receive factual information. In order to obtain a better understanding of Latinos without overgeneralizing them, people must be willing to communicate with them interpersonally. Positive interpersonal communication allows people to view each other as individuals. For example, McKay, Block, and Park 2015) found that nondisabled students who received intervention training that entailed meaningful interaction, showed significantly more positive attitudes towards children with disabilities than students who did not receive the awareness intervention. A lack of positive communication is presumed to contribute to negative perceptions.

Purpose of the Thesis

It is important to monitor the current issue, especially as the country becomes more diverse and reflective. The purpose of this thesis is to obtain a snapshot of current perspectives on Latinos based on television portrayals that they may have observed. Although television has gone through some positive changes, such as the increased inclusion of more positive African American portrayals, it still largely excludes Latinos and tends to portray them negatively (Sanborn & Harris, 2019, p. 116). Several studies discuss the scarcity of Latinos in television, and the likely use of stereotyped Latino portrayals (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Roman, 2000; Tukachinsky et al., 2015; Rivadeneyra, 2006). For example, the hit sitcom *Modern Family* included themes of diversity, yet it emphasized the Latina protagonist's heavy Spanish

accent and frequent malapropisms (Casillas, Ferrada, & Hinojos, 2018). Although arguably lighthearted, *Modern Family* contributes to the catalog of television's Latino stereotypes. However, no single character or show is responsible for promoting Latino stereotypes, so no particular show was referenced in the questionnaire. Instead, respondents used their own frames of reference (based on their general television viewing) to complete the questionnaire.

The study's theoretical framework primarily drew from Social Cognitive Theory and Cultivation Theory. Those theories posit that people learn from television. The survey was designed to assess the current status of television's Latino stereotype usage by measuring the extent that respondents learned about Latinos from television and their perceptions of Latinos (positive and negative/stereotyped). Whereas positive perceptions indicate generally positive views of Latinos, negative perceptions indicate the degree of stereotyped beliefs held. Willingness to communicate with Latinos and self-esteem were also measured to find how they associate with perceptions. There were several specific objectives for the study. One key objective was to measure the extent that college students (a sample of 403 respondents) learned about Latinos from television. Another goal was to measure the extent of the respondents' positive and negative (stereotyped) perceptions of Latinos. The questionnaire focused on the following five key variables: learning about Latinos from television, positive perceptions of Latinos, negative Latino stereotypes, self-esteem, and willingness to communicate with Latinos. It is expected that the key variables will have significant interplay between them. Six hypotheses were proposed to help guide the study and to find expected associations between the variables. Statistical analyses were conducted to demonstrate that self-esteem, willingness to communicate, and learning about Latinos from television have roles in the way people view Latinos.

Defining Key Terms

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are widely held, often fixed, and oversimplified generalizations about people or things. Walter Lippmann (1965) is credited with coining the term *stereotypes*, he referred to them as "pictures in our heads," and as "shortcuts."

Latino/as

Latino/as are Spanish-speaking people who are descendants from a wide range of Latin-American countries. A Latino is a "person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). This term is often used interchangeably with "Hispanic." When used to refer to Latinos in general, Latino includes both genders (Bautista & Chapa, 1987), otherwise *Latina* is used to refer to women in particular.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism "is the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (Sumner (1906). Kinder and Kam describe ethnocentrism as a "mental habit" that includes "a predisposition to divide the human world into in-groups and out-groups" (2010, p. 8).

Willingness to Communicate

Willingness to communicate (WTC) is a person's disposition to engage in communicative behavior with other people. It is generally a personality based predisposition to communicate. While a person's willingness to communicate is believed to be largely inherent, context can also affect the extent (McCroskey & Baer, 1985).

Self-esteem

Self-esteem is a subjective evaluation that people make about themselves. It is "a personal judgment of the worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself" (Coopersmith, 1967, p. 5). Rosenberg (1965) described self-esteem by noting that, "we conceive of the self-image as an attitude toward an object…people have attitudes toward objects, and that the self is one of the objects toward which one has attitudes" (p. 5).

Socialization

Socialization is the process of raising a person through the values, customs, and attitudes of their particular culture. Berger and Luckmann (1967) describe socialization as becoming a member of society through a two-step process called primary and secondary socialization.

Significance of the Study

Examining the issue of television stereotypes and discussing how communication can be a bridge for intercultural relations is beneficial to American society. If people rely on television to learn about others, they make themselves susceptible to misinformation. Attributing qualities to people based on generalizations strips individuals of their dignity and can affect their networks and employment as well (Emerson & Murphy, 2014). A better way to learn about people is to communicate with them directly while refraining from generalizing their behavior and attributing it to their respective ethnic/cultural groups. Although in-group members may have more nuanced cultural experience, no individual is representative of their entire ethnicity/culture. When people learn about others from television, they may subsequently behave according to those learned notions. In view of that, television is not merely entertainment. Television could teach people about the world, so it has the potential to affect viewers' perceptions. However, learning about the world indirectly is not negative in itself (e.g., nonfiction books, academic

articles, documentaries). In fact, much of our knowledge is acquired through a multitude of sources, making the source of information crucial. Television's tendency to oversimplify people and the world for entertainment is concerning.

The combination of entertainment and bigotry has a lengthy history in the United States. For example, minstrel shows ridiculed Black people from the early 19th century until well into the 20th century (Byrd, 2009). Minstrelsy entailed grotesquely stereotyped portrayals that included the use of blackface. Byrd argues that the genre is actually "a foundation of the national culture" (p. 77). Byrd's article suggests that the racism embedded in minstrelsy permeated, and thus influenced American mainstream culture. Although minstrel style shows eventually lost popularity, American media has had other examples of racially insensitive entertainment. For example, early films portrayed Native Americans as bloodthirsty savages who wreaked havoc on innocent settlers (Robertson, 2015). Similarly, early Westerns glorified White cowboys, while they portrayed Mexicans as grimy Bandidos (bandits). The Bandido was a common stereotype from the Wild West period that portrayed Mexicans as cunning outlaws (Pettit, 1980). The assumed wildness of the Wild West was mythologized through the lens of the American imagination that included its own heroes and villains. Although there was violence in the "Wild West," Anderson and Hill asserted that "property rights were protected and civil order prevailed" (1979, p. 10). They concluded by somewhat alluding to tall tales: "it appears in the absence of formal government, that the western frontier was not as wild as legend would have us believe" (Anderson & Hill, 1979, p. 27). However, based on those legends, the Wild West was a chaotic environment where Mexicans and Native Americans were villainous. Those myths were recycled in the American imagination but took different forms to ease political anxieties (Swanson, 2011), where the narratives retain the dichotomy of good vs bad. For example, that

division has been quite stubborn and is visible in politics. Although political animosity is not new, the divide between democrats and republicans appears to be growing as they accuse each other of being "the bad guys." However, Trump not only vilified democrats in the 2016 presidential campaigns, he also characterized Latinos as a major threat to the U.S. economy and national security through the media (Gonzalez, 2019).

During tense political times, American media has been harsh towards those they perceived as enemies of the state. For example, anti-Japanese propaganda demonized Japanese people during World War II, including Japanese Americans who were suspected to be saboteurs after the attack on Pearl Harbor (Stone & Kuznik, 2014). Approximately 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans, 70% of who were American citizens, were evacuated and sent to internment camps because they allegedly represented a threat (Stone & Kuznik, 2014, p. 96). People were arrested and sent to labor camps, essentially for being of Japanese ancestry. More recently, after the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001, anti-Muslim/Arab views (including against American Arabs and Muslims) were exacerbated by American media that often portrayed them as "woman-haters, barbarians, violators of human rights, and terrorists" (Melhem & Punyanunt-Carter, 2019). The terrorist attack was a horrible consequence of a grim reality that continues to simmer. According to Astor (2009), since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, there has been a large public demand to secure the Mexican/American border and has "led to the intensification of efforts by social actors to frame unauthorized immigration as a matter of national security" (p. 5). This suggests that the issue of immigration was further politicized (and weaponized) by nativists who have been staunchly against immigration, especially from Latin America.

The issue of immigration in the United States has been and continues to be politically divisive. Lu and Nicholson-Crotty state that "opinions are highly polarized," with some

Americans in favor of "more restrictive policies," and others "arguing that immigrants are the foundation for America's unique character" (2010, p. 1312). There have been shifts in stances on immigration policy during a relatively short period, especially since the early twentieth century. De Genova (2004) explains that The Bracero Program (1942-1964) was a guest worker program that seemingly welcomed immigrant laborers because of their economic exploitability as cheap labor. De Genova also points out that before World War II there were mass deportations that included US born children of immigrants (2004, p. 164). During World War II, a labor shortage prompted the Bracero guest worker program that permitted foreign workers temporary employment in the U.S. This was a reversal from the 1930s. Moreover, the war had ended in 1945, yet the program did not end until 1964 (De Genova, 2004). A deportation campaign called Operation Wetback resulted in the deportation of millions (exact number is not known) of Mexicans and Latino workers in the 1950s (Garciá, 1980). Mandeel (2014) asserts that "the United States benefited more than Mexico from the Bracero Program and that, in human terms, it did incalculable damage to those Mexicans who participated in it" (p. 183). While the program seemed mutually beneficial, it benefitted some more than others.

Decades later, another major immigration policy was enacted. This time, in a somewhat paradoxical effort to curb unauthorized migration, qualifying immigrants were allowed to stay in the country. Reagan's 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) granted amnesty eligibility to undocumented immigrants who entered the country prior to 1982 (Kossoudji & Cobb-Clark, 2000). The passage of IRCA under a republican president seems incongruous considering recent conservative stances on immigration. Although the act benefited many Latinos, it implied that no more were welcomed. Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark (2000) estimated that Mexican immigrant workers would have earned 24 percent more in wages by 1992, had they

been legal since they began working in the U.S. (p. 90). Furthermore, Lee (2018) reports that employment prohibitions were bypassed through loopholes that classified undocumented workers as "independent contractors." The abundance of work, the demand for cheap labor, and workers overstaying due to their employer's enticement (contracted or not), contributed to what was commonly viewed as a unilateral problem (De Genova, 2005, p. 165).

Foley (2014) expanded on the culpability:

> employers formed a powerful farm bloc in American politics, with support on Capitol Hill, and few politicians wanted to risk arousing the wrath of American farmers. Rather than confront the problem at its source— the employer— the United States concentrated its efforts instead on cat- and- mouse apprehensions and deportations. (p. 124)

However, unlike the Bracero Program and IRCA's apparent benevolence, outright exclusionary policies reveal latent attitudes towards foreigners. For example, during Trump's MAGA campaign, "the Latino immigrant archetype served as the scapegoat for nearly everything that was wrong with the U.S." (Gonzalez, 2019, p. 51).

Evidently Mexican and other Latino immigrants living in the US have been treated like commodities. Thus, Latino presence in the US is mostly welcomed when they can be exploited economically. Consequently, Latinos who have had the misfortune of losing their employment or suffered injuries that placed them on public assistance (not all qualify), are then viewed as invasive burdens on society (a common stereotype), despite their overall economic contribution. Sherman, Trisi, Stone, Gonzales, and Parrott (2019), however, assert that "immigrants contribute to our communities in ways that go far beyond their impacts on the economy" (p. 1). Their contribution includes: high employment rates, income and sales tax contributions, filling in worker shortages, and increasing native worker's wages (Sherman et al., 2019). While not all immigrants are from Mexico or anywhere else in Latin America, Latinos are often associated with illegal immigration, and are the targets of the stereotype "illegal aliens." Lu and Nicholson-

Crotty argue that "stereotypes are a significantly larger predictor of ethnicity-specific immigration preferences relative to general attitudes about immigration" (2010, p. 1312). Beliefs about certain people mattered most to those who preferred strict immigration policies. Lu and Nicholson-Crotty's study indicates that "the impact of stereotypes is significantly larger when citizens are asked to focus on Latin American rather than on overall levels of immigration" (2010, p. 1326).

Considering Latinos' migration histories into the U.S., negative television portrayals can exacerbate difficult circumstances. For example, poverty among American Latinos continues to be barrier for upward mobility. According to Semega, Fontenot, and Kollar (2017) Latinos had a poverty rate of 19.4% in 2016. The Latino poverty rate hovered around 19% in 2017, indicating stagnation (Noe-Bustamante, Flores, & Shah, 2019). As far as educational attainment, 71% of foreign born Latinos had high school or less, compared to 47% of U.S. born Latinos in 2017 (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2019). Despite improvements in academic achievement, including a promising all-time dropout low, Latinos still dropped out of school more than other ethnic groups (Gramlich, 2017). In addition, Gramlich points out that Latinos were less likely to attain a four year college degree. Lacking education and social capital, coupled with employment discrimination, places Latinos in a precarious situation. The majority of Latinos living in the US were native-born, while 33% were foreign-born, and only 64% of Latino adults were English proficient as of 2017 (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2019). However, there is always the possibility of improvement.

American society is at a point when discussions about race are occurring more frequently. However, not everyone agrees on how we should proceed as a country, but as they did in the 1960s, Americans need to come together in order to progress. The civil rights movement of the

1960s was an arduous journey for American minorities and their White allies, yet together they demanded social progress and achieved sweeping social changes. Such changes are not easily achieved. As Tufekci wrote in *Twitter and Teargas*, "the civil rights movement in the United States succeeded because of the courage, persistence, and dignity of millions of participants" (2018, p. 61). The civil rights movement demonstrates that when Americans come together, even against strong opposition, positive changes are possible.

While Americans have attained significant social progress, racial discrimination still occurs in the US. For example, hate crimes in the US have increased to their highest degree in a decade, and offenses against Latinos have followed that trend (Allam, 2020). In addition, police violence against minorities continues to be an issue that has resulted in explosive confrontations between protestors and police throughout the nation. Such political issues are ongoing, and are yet to be resolved. Those problems suggest that a lack of intercultural discourse can contribute to social instability. In contrast to such intense issues, television seems trivial, but its effects should not be ignored because they have the potential to influence people in a way that impacts race relations. The author asserts that incremental psychological changes can result in biased thinking that may contribute to larger problems.

Part of the cycle of racism can be attributed to racial stereotypes and their promotion. If Americans take a closer look at practices that promote such views, they can begin to confront those conceptions and make changes. In academia, as well as other spheres, the philosophy of DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) is increasingly gaining traction. The promotion of DEI is simply adhering to the American notion of freedom and equality, then channeling it to all spheres of American life. For that reason, Americans should be motivated to be part of this movement.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Latinos

Latinos collectively make up 18.5% of the United States population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Since Hispanics or Latinos are persons of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race, classifying them is not simple. Latino identity is complicated because of the various cultures that are encompassed by their panethnic label. Since Latinos are such a diverse group, not only racially but also culturally, it is helpful to highlight tendencies to overgeneralize this large demographic. Identity is a complex process, such that, Latinos in the US have been known to identify as "White." Census categories shifted throughout the 20th century, and at times classified Mexican Americans and other Latinos as White (Gross, 2003; Rumbaut, 2009). The U.S. Census Bureau (2019) defines White as "A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa." That definition is quite broad, and some Latinos fit within that description, making their identity flexible.

Until the 1960s, identifying as Spanish/European/White was a way for many Latinos to receive rights denied to people of color, yet they experienced discrimination regularly (Gross, 2003). In the 2000 Census, over half of Latinos in Texas (58%) and Florida (75%) identified as White (Rumbaut, 2009, p. 13). Rumbaut suggests that a significant number did not identify as Latinos due to a historically derived stigma associated with being "non-white" (2009, p. 14). In addition, Rumbaut argues that racial designation "is largely the sociopolitical accretion of past intergroup contacts and struggles," and that it was used to "establish the boundaries and thus the identities of victors and vanquished" (2009, p. 1). Furthermore, Rumbaut asserts that race

creates an “us” vs “them,” and is accompanied by “superiority and inferiority,” and also “taxonomies of social worth or stigma” (2009, p. 1). Thus, discrimination and inconsistent official labels likely impacted Latino identity.

Since race is ambiguous for Latinos, some may use that ambiguity to their advantage. However, many more Latinos do not enjoy that privilege. The preference for whiteness is prevalent throughout Latin America and in the US, where increased degrees of whiteness afford people more opportunities (Vasquez, 2010). While all Latinos have become an integral part of American society, their assimilation is not straightforward. This may be because of racial makeup and other variables such as geographic location and national histories (Pérez, 2009). Considering that Mexican Americans have been in the US since at least the early 19th century, or that Puerto Rico has been a US territory since 1898, time does not seem to be the largest factor for assimilation. Azhar, Alvarez, Farina, and Klumpner (2021) assert that “White supremacy leads to the differential racialization of minorities in the United States where lighter-skinned Asian Americans, African Americans, and Latinos may, in some contexts, be provided some degree of proximal whiteness” (p. 3). Likewise, Bonilla-Silva emphasized that assimilation for American Latinos tends to be conditional, specifically that “racialization of these groups is different from that of people of European descent” (2006, p. 196). Nonetheless, Latinos are loosely categorized, yet are assumed to be homogenous.

The tendency to homogenize Latinos is exhibited by the way television portrays them. This can result in the conflation of Latinos with Mexicans. Although Latino can be a unifying label, its ambiguity can also make it paradoxically exclusive (e.g., Black or Indigenous Latinos). Latinos with African ancestry are often considered Black due to their skin tone, such as in the case of Afro-Cubans (Pérez, 2009). Similarly, Latinos of primarily indigenous ancestry are

commonly considered Native American or the misnomer "Indio" (Indian), popularized by Columbus who, through navigational errors, mistakenly assumed he had landed somewhere in the Indian Ocean when he reached the Caribbean Islands (Stannard, 1992, p. 62). Typically, Latino characters in television are based on Mexican and Mexican American stereotypes. For example, drug-cartel members, Bandidos, field workers, "illegal aliens," tequila or beer drinking machos, gardeners, gangbangers, maids, sexpots, and mariachis are some of the stereotypes that have been used in television to portray Latinos. Likewise, Mexican food is often portrayed as the quintessential Latino food and often includes tacos, beans, and tortillas. This occurred in the 1950s show *I Love Lucy*, when Mexican food was referenced instead of Cuban food (Kirschen, 2013), as if all Latinos have the same diet. Furthermore, the show emphasized the male protagonist's (Ricky Ricardo) thick Spanish accent, a characteristic often attributed to Latinos. Kirschen discussed the formulaic humor of the show and points out that the laugh track was inserted mostly after Mr. Ricardo made linguistic errors (2013, p. 744). Classic shows like *I love Lucy,* perhaps inadvertently, helped set a tone for the way Latinos were to be subsequently shown in television, especially as heavily accented foreigners. When a person of color has a Spanish accent, the assumption may be that they are of Mexican ancestry. However, this does make some sense due to U.S. demographics.

The largest Latino group in the US is of Mexican descent, making up approximately 62% of the Latino population (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2019). The sizable Mexican American population, along with American audiences' familiarity with Mexican culture, and the ambiguity of Latino identity, makes the label "Latino" convenient. American television seems to have found the epitome of Latino identity in Mexican stereotypes because America's Latino stereotypes are primarily based on Mexican stereotypes. Thus, in television, "Mexican" can

serve as a substitute for "Latino" similar to the way "Chinese" may be conflated with the panethnic label "Asian." Such broad categories are convenient for studies or government reports such as the Census. However, minorities may also self-identify broadly out of a sense of a general commonality. Kiang's (2008) study on ethnic self-labeling found that out of a sample of 242 young American adults from Chinese backgrounds, 42% identified with the label "Asian American." That study suggests that broad labels are preferred ways to self-identify and, by extension, preferred ways to identify others (e.g., Asian, Black, Latino, and White), especially in competitive, heterogeneous societies such as the U.S. However, hasty labeling corresponds with heuristic thinking where quickly drawn information tends to be impulsive, as suggested by Shrum (2009, 2017). This may help explain why Latinos are imagined to "look Mexican."

Mexican identity is based on Mestizaje (i.e., racial mixture). The notion of Mestizaje gained prominence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries "as a key component of the ideological myth of formation of the Mexican nation" (Moreno Figueroa, 2011, p. 1). Mestizo, extolled by Mexican philosopher Vasconcelos (1925), means to be of mixed race, especially of Amerindian and European descent. Vasconcelos (1925) referred to mestizos as La Raza Cosmica (The Cosmic Race). Vasconcelos and his like-minded contemporaries inspired many, including Mexican intellectuals and artists like Diego Rivera, but ironically Eurocentric eugenicists as well (Manrique, 2016). Consequently, Mestizaje can be used to cloak racism and colorism, similar to the way colorblind ideology could. According to Moreno Figueroa, Mestizaje is a key component to the "ideological myth of Mexicaness," which appears neutral, but is actually "highly loaded," and serves to either include people when convenient or exclude them when inconvenient (2011, p. 1). Mestizaje (a broad categorization), can thus allow room

for inclusion, but also for exclusion. Since there are political reasons for identity, people may select identities that are influenced by the political climate.

Despite discrimination or oppresion, blending in is not always the urge or preference, especially for Latinos with strong ethnic identities. Some Mexican Americans who prefer a more independent identity, sometimes refer to themselves as *Chicanos*. Alaniz and Cornish, the authors of *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano Identity and Resistance*, define Chicanos as "US-born or long-term US residents of Mexican origin" (2008, p. 24). The label Chicano is similar to Mexican American, but is instead a purposefully selected identity that derives from the 1960s political movements. Chicano identity was utilized by Mexican American youth who "rejected externally imposed labels" (Alaniz & Cornish, 2008, p. 25). Similarly, as demonstrated by the complex nature of identity within people who are of Mexican descent, other Latinos have their own nuanced racial/cultural identities. The ambiguity of Latino identity necessitates a commonality. In order to locate that commonality, it is helpful to discuss language.

A common misnomer applied to Latinos is "Spanish." Most Latin American countries use Spanish as their official language, with some exceptions (e.g., Portuguese in Brazil). However, their use of the Spanish language does not make them Spanish. However, a citizen of Spain, is certainly considered Spanish, ergo Spanish is a nationality that does not apply to Latinos. Conversely, Spaniards are not considered Latinos, however they are considered Hispanics because Spain is where the Spanish language derives. Thus, Hispanics are people whose native language is Spanish. While the term "Hispanic" refers to people who are native Spanish speakers, including Spaniards, "Latino" refers to people with Latin American ancestry, but excludes "individuals of Spanish national origin outside the Western Hemisphere" (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987, p. 61)). They explain that Latinos descend from Latin American

countries regardless of their race, culture, or language (Bautista & Chapa, 1987). The overlapping layers of identity may be why "Latino" and "Hispanic" are often conflated and used as synonyms. Still, the two terms are commonly used interchangeably (Martínez & Gonzalez, 2020). This study purposefully utilizes the term "Latino" because Latin American histories have key commonalties, namely colonization and political oppression (Alcoff, 2005; Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987). Given the technical distinction between "Hispanic" and "Latino," the latter is more applicable to this study.

Ethnocentrism

Hammond and Axelrod (2006) define ethnocentrism as "a nearly universal syndrome of attitudes and behaviors, typically including in group favoritism." (p. 926). The authors explain that the in-group views itself as virtuous and superior, while out-groups are thought of as "contemptible and inferior" (2006, p. 926). While discussing ethnocentrism, they note that, "evidence suggests that a predisposition to favor in-groups can be easily triggered by even arbitrary group distinctions and that preferential cooperation within groups occurs even when it is individually costly" (Hammond & Axelrod, 2006, p. 926). Kinder and Kam (2010) explain in their book *Us Against Them: Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion* that defining ethnocentrism is not simple. The authors take a triadic approach to help explain ethnocentrism. They suggest that a proper definition should address ethnocentrism's nature, origins and consequences, thereby demonstrating the complexity of such phenomena. According to Kinder and Kam, ethnocentrism is a "mental habit" that includes "a predisposition to divide the human world into in-groups and out-groups" (2010, p. 8). In addition, they note that out-group members are assumed to be "unworthy of trust, dangerous, and more" (Kinder & Kam, 2010, p. 8). The authors assert that, "Ethnocentrism is a quantity, not a kind," making all people "more or

less ethnocentric" (Kinder & Kam, 2010, p. 8). While it makes sense that in-groups may fear out-groups who present a threat, we should consider that American Latinos lack political power and resources to present a reasonable sense of such imminent danger, making assumed fears irrational. Moreover, many Latinos are proud Americans who have bravely served in the US military despite facing discrimination (Vélez-Ibáñez, 2018). If not out of fear, ethnocentrism occurs for other reasons, such as entertainment where outgroups are presented in undignified ways. This makes American media, including television, partially responsible for stoking xenophobia.

Ting-Toomey and Chung (2012) explain that ethnocentrism promotes in-group narcissism and the perception that outgroup members are insignificant or inferior (p. 14). Ethnocentrism entails egocentric perspectives of the world that can be sustained through correspondingly myopic messages found in television programming. Accordingly, Cultivation Theory suggests that prolonged exposure to certain media messages encourages heuristic thinking (i.e., mental shortcuts) (Busselle & Van Den Bulck, 2020, p. 74). Ethnocentrism is learned and sustained through socialization agents, including electronic media like television. In addition to television, cultural background highly affects ethnocentrism, as Berg (2002) stresses: "What the culture has already defined for us, however, is not neutral facts, objective rules of language, and cultural customs. The dark underside of socialization is that these come encrusted with attitudes and biases, which sometimes have dire consequences" (p. 24). Together, television viewing coupled with certain cultural expectations (based on ethnocentric views) can promote the normalization of cultural stereotypes. Even historical accounts that are hardly unbiased can give people the sense that somehow they were on the right side of history. Lippmann addressed "history" by stating "For what operates in history is not the systematic idea

as a genius formulated it, but shifting imitations, replicas, counterfeits, analogies, and distortions in individual minds" (1965, p. 69). Similarly, ethnocentric attitudes, despite their origin, promote biased views that manifest themselves in hasty generalizations about members of other ethnicities.

Ethnocentric attitudes, are often expressed by negatively stereotyping outgroups, but they can also be expressed through exclusionary practices. For example, despite the assumption that Mexican television is representative of the Mexican population, fair skinned actors are overrepresented in it, masking the fact that most Mexican people (and Latinos) are people of color (varied shades of tan and brown). Glascock and Ruggiero's (2004) content analysis of Spanish-Language television found that, "Lighter skin characters were more likely to play major roles, were more fit and younger, and more likely to be upper class than their darker skin counterparts" (p. 390). Casting actors of primarily European ancestries has been virtually an industry standard in the U.S. and abroad. In their article entitled *Making Gueras: Selling White Identities on Late-night Mexican Television*, Winders, Jones, and Higgins (2005) explain an "obsession with light skin found across telenovelas, movies and sales pitches within a much longer history of whiteness and desire that emerge, in large part, through Mexico's experiences of European conquest and colonization" (p. 77). The authors associate globalization and media, such as infomercials, big-box stores' global appeal, and the legacy of colorism in Mexico, with such products. Hunter (2007) defines colorism as "a process that privileges light-skinned people of color over dark in areas such as income, education, housing, and the marriage market" (p. 237). European colonialism, including its use of slavery, is a root cause of inequality and discrimination that is expressed through colorism in the Americas (Hunter, 2007, p. 238). Hunter emphasizes that "Racism is a larger, systemic, social process and colorism is one

manifestation of it" (2007, p. 238). Consequently, ethnocentrism's influence has been pervasive, and affects some people more than others, including their roles in society.

Stereotypes

Lippmann (1965) suggested that stereotypes allow people to cognitively organize a vast and complicated world. A false notion of reality is what Lippmann referred to as a "counterfeit of reality" or a "pseudo-environment." The "pseudo-environment" is comprised of human nature and conditions (1965, p. 16). This indicates how socialization informs behavior. Accordingly, indirect information prompts people to imagine things prior to experiencing them which becomes their "process of perception" (1965, p. 59). In addition, Lippmann wrote that "All strangers of another race proverbially look alike to the visiting stranger" (1965, p. 54). Unfamiliarity, thus leads to degrees of generalization. Moreover, stereotypes are described as the cognitive component of racism, while prejudice is the affective component, and discrimination is regarded as the behavioral aspect (Weiner & Craighead, 2010, p. 1276). Although all stereotypes are inaccurate generalizations, they do not necessarily need to be mean spirited.

Occasionally people make "positive" assumptions about others without much reflection on the veracity of the thought. For example, the stereotype of "the model minority" is not seemingly negative, but it can veil the fact that Asian Americans experience considerable racism (Azhar et al., 2021). Viewing stereotypes as either positive or negative can be misleading. In a study about Latina characters, McLaughlin, Rodriguez, Dunn, and Martinez (2018) found that exposure to such characters was related to more favorable feelings towards Latinas. However, they also found that the favorability increased stereotypes that generalized Latinas as hyper-sexual and melodramatic (McLaughlin et al., 2018). In the case of Latinos in general, there are several seemingly innocuous stereotypes that often are associated with them. Some of the most

common “positive” stereotypes about Latinos are that they are hard-working, family oriented, and religious. However, positive portrayals seem to place Latino characters at the periphery, suggesting that they there may be a preference to see them portrayed negatively. While there may be some truth to “positive” or negative stereotypes, they certainly do not apply to the entire group. Emerson and Murphy discussed so-called positive stereotypes in the workplace and concluded that “positive stereotypes suggest to minorities that others consider their group membership to be diagnostic of who they are” (2014, p. 510). Moreover, people differ on what is positive, and what is negative. Although some generalizations about people seem positive, they are nonetheless stereotypes that have the potential to cause harm.

Negative stereotypes, on the other hand, are ideas that people hold about others when they expect them to be uniformly objectionable. The stereotyped person is assumed to be a certain way that is attributable to their particular group, especially their ethnicity. Boulding (1956) described our “subjective knowledge” as mental images that are reorganized as people take in messages (p. 3). That “knowledge” is accessed and guides behavior. Furthermore, Boulding (1956) described the meaning of messages as potential changes in our images, thus mental images are in constant flux as meanings are attached to them. The ambivalent sociopolitical relationships between the U.S. and Latin America, have created negative images about Latinos that align with negative stereotypes shown on television.

However, some common stereotypes about Latinos can be contradicted by intercultural communication or easily accessible public information. For example, Gramlich (2017) reports that there are now more Latinos enrolling in college than ever before. Furthermore, Gramlich reported that a record 3.6 million Latinos enrolled in college in 2016, which indicates a growing interest in higher education among Latinos. Such promising statistics can challenge beliefs about

Latinos and education. Similarly, the fact that the majority of American Latinos are citizens contradicts the stereotype that Latinos are "illegal" immigrants. Stubborn views about the world demonstrate, as Lippmann notes, that "our images of how things behave are simpler and more fixed than the ebb and flow of affairs" (1965, p. 73). In a study on stereotypes about White men, Conley, Rabinowitz, and Rabow (2010) found that some the most commonly held stereotypes among Asians, Blacks, and Latinos, were that White males are arrogant and racist (p. 76). However, Whites of various social classes have struggled alongside minorities to create positive social changes in the U.S. That fact refutes the stereotype that Whites are naturally racist. While it is true that everyone has the right to think what they choose to, it is important to understand that stereotypes are part of a larger discriminatory structure. Although minorities can hold stereotypes and be prejudiced, they, like any other American, can contribute to racism in varying degrees (Roberts & Rizzo 2020, p. 2). However, Roberts and Rizzo argue that since Whites hold the most power in the U.S., they stand to gain the most from such a structure (2020, p. 2). As a result, negative stereotypes have the potential to affect minorities in a manner that does not affect Whites.

Stereotypes are not only degrading, they can affect the way people are treated in daily life. There are stereotypes about gender, race, ability, age, and more that can affect social and employment opportunities. The added dimension of foreignness, as in the case of accents, can further marginalize people. Asking Latinos where they are originally from, can subtly insinuate that they are not actually American. Likewise, complementing Latinos (or other minorities) on their English skills can have an undertone that implies essentialist views. Moreover, Akomolafe (2013) explains that not all foreign accents are perceived negatively, such as French and Australian accents. Conversely, non-European foreigners' so-called "low status" accents have

been found to be barriers for employment and promotion (Akomolafe, 2013, p. 13). The stereotype that Latinos do not speak English proficiently or have "funny accents," can limit employment opportunities for Latinos. Latino television characters typically use heavy accents, creating the impression that Latinos are unintelligent or foreign. Since otherness is often attributed to people with foreign accents, it is especially problematic when considering an "American political climate that has become increasingly suspicious of people of color who are deemed to be foreigners" (Azhar et al., 2021, p. 3). Portrayals of Latinos with thick Spanish accents essentially relegates them to what Tuan (1998) referred to as "forever foreign."

There are numerous definitions for stereotypes that fundamentally describe them as generalizations about people, especially those from outgroups. More specifically, stereotypes can be understood as "exaggerated pictures we create about a group of people on the basis of our inflexible beliefs and expectations about the characteristics or behaviors of the group" (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012, p. 309). Similarly, Dong and Murillo argue that "Stereotypes are an individual's perceptions and interpretations that are connected closely with prejudice and discrimination" (2007, p. 35). The current study is primarily concerned with the negative and potentially fixed kinds of stereotypes learned from television. Ting-Toomey and Chung refer to those forms of stereotyping as inflexible or mindless stereotypes (2012, p. 167). While cultural differences do actually exist, such as individualistic and collectivistic value patterns (see Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012), television stereotypes can reduce entire groups of individuals to mere ethnic caricatures. Individual identity, despite any assumed cultural characteristics, is too complex and cannot be represented accurately by stereotypes.

Socialization

Socialization is a process of learned human identity and social behavior, or as Harro succinctly described it: "how to be" (2000, p. 46). Early socialization occurs via agents such as friends, neighbors, and family through interpersonal interaction. That notion reasons that people are not born with notions about the world. Thus, people are not born members of a society, they must undergo learning processes in order to become members (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p.129). Parents or guardians have an important roles in the socialization process because they model behavior for their children. For example, parents teach their children how to regulate emotions. Eisenberg, Cumberland, and Spinrad (1998) found that, "parental negative emotionality and negative reactions to children's expression of emotion are associated with children's negative emotionality and low social competence" (p. 241). In a different study, children whose mothers had more diverse friendships showed less racial biases than children whose mothers had less diverse friendships (Pahlke, Bigler, & Suizzo, 2012). Thus, parental world views are likely to be adopted by their children. Similarly, school, friends, and neighbors are other agents that contribute to socialization. Accordingly, various factors, such as family, socioeconomic status, neighborhood, and schools contribute to peoples' uniqueness, but also set cultural tones that can be prejudiced. If parents or other socialization agents describe the world in biased ways, and those notions align with content shown in television, people are more likely to accept those ideas as reality. This could be compounded for those who tend to rely on television to learn about other ethnicities.

Although television can be a supplemental source for learning (as Social Cognitive Theory and Cultivation Theory suggest), and is a form of socialization, learning from it lacks interpersonal interaction that is important for socialization. However, learning can also occur

vicariously (Bandura, 2001). As a result, television viewing can create undesired effects in children. For example, whereas slower paced children's shows, such as *Mister Rogers* or *Sesame Street* (which entail some simulated interaction), stimulated imaginative play (Singer & Singer, 1976), fast-paced children's shows were found to inhibit imaginative play and suppress creativity (Singer & Singer, 1981). This suggests that children are indeed cognitively affected by television viewing, and that the content dictates the effects. Furthermore, Chaffee, Nass, and Yang (1990) suggest that novices, such as adolescents, immigrants, and children are more susceptible to the socialization effects of television (p. 283). Gerbner (1998) warned that, "For the first time in human history, children are born into homes where mass produced stories can reach them on the average of more than seven hours a day" (p. 176). However, even educated adults can be affected by television. For example, Lee, Bichard, Irey, Walt, and Carlson (2009) conducted a study on college student's perceptions and television viewing that revealed biases learned from heavy viewing, particularly that "respondents who were heavy viewers of television exhibited more negative stereotypes" (p. 107). Their study found "that participants credited Caucasians with the most positive traits (and least negative) when compared to the other ethnic groups" (Lee et al., 2009, p. 107). Negative stereotypes were thus associated with heavy television viewing. Their study also indicates a general deference towards Whites, and generally negative views towards minorities. The socialization effects from television may then assist everyday racism where discrimination is downplayed and appears "normal."

The dimension of economics also complicates socialization because many contextual aspects are encompassed by socioeconomic status. Dunkeld, Wright, Banerjee, Easterbrook, and Slade (2020) found that children's overall well-being was affected by television's frequent

commercials, and they note that consumer culture becomes a coping strategy for distress. Roberts and Rizzo (2020) explain the connection between economics and racism, stating that:

> Just as capitalism advantages the wealthy (e.g., those with the most resources can create and regulate norms, policies, and institutions that reinforce income inequality), American racism advantages White Americans (e.g., those with the most social and economic power can create and regulate norms, policies, and institutions that reinforce racial inequality). (p. 2)

That reality affects Latinos, especially those who have fewer financial resources and less social capital. According to Bourdieu's (1986) theory of social capital, people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds tend to have less social capital (networks) which affects their social habitus (a disposition based on social station). Those who join the workforce hastily, without any training or college education, likely limit their children's potential. That pattern can become a cycle that limits socioeconomic opportunities. Saenz, Ponjuan, and Institute for Higher Education Policy (2011) report that Latino males are more likely to join the workforce immediately after high school and forgo college. Generally, educated workers tend to earn more over a lifetime (Tamborini, Kim, & Sakamoto, 2015). Furthermore, higher earning workers are more optimistic about macroeconomics than lower earning workers (Das, Kuhnen, & Nagel, 2020). As a result, high socioeconomic status individuals are more inclined to invest in the stock market, and purchase homes, goods, and cars (Das et al., 2020). Thus, socioeconomic status is tied to socialization and contributes to contexts thereof.

Whereas people learn how to become members of their respective cultures through primary socialization, secondary socialization encompasses how individuals interact within society through role-specific and institutionally reinforced rules and norms (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, pp. 138-147). This makes racial and cultural identity largely acquired social constructs. Although the United States is a racially diverse country, and is praised as "a melting

pot," race continues to be divisive. Complacency by downplaying discrimination prolongs a more just society and overlooks the complex reality of minority socialization. Berger and Luckmann (1967) discuss our socially constructed world, suggesting a collective agency. Socialization, then, is flexible and can be guided. For example, laws change based on evolving standards. In addition, many people try on different identities that shift throughout life. However, American minorities are sometimes compelled to shift between their ethnic and American identities, especially when confronted with racial stereotypes. For example, Erba (2018) found that Latino college students who identified heavily with their Latino heritage, were affected by stereotyped images, and changed their behavior to counter those notions (i.e., identity threat). However, not all television programming includes overt stereotypes when they portray Latinos.

Some television shows and commercials, portray a colorblind society where race is not emphasized. There are limitations to that sort of simulacra within entertainment narratives, especially those that paint American life as a utopian collage of intercultural harmony. Berg (2002) comments on the notion of cultural pluralism often espoused in entertainment media, noting that there is a contradiction:

> They seemingly celebrate ethnic Americans by showing that their traditions, practices, and core believes contribute to--and in fact are identical with--established American values. But the assimilation narrative allows marginalized groups only some, not all, of the vaunted American traits. (p. 114)

Thus, a colorblind approach, whether in television or reality, risks patronizing minorities by ignoring their ethnicities altogether, while simultaneously denying them unconditional assimilation. Socialization is an ongoing process that can sway people to behave in certain ways, similar to the way behavior changes depending on context. Similarly, television can sway people

to think and behave in certain ways. Socialization, including that acquired from television, as significant as it is externally, can also impact intrapersonal aspects.

Self-esteem

Self-esteem is a dynamic psychological phenomenon that is also referred to as self-concept, self-image, and self-evaluation. Rosenberg (1965) described self-esteem as an attitude taken towards oneself, similar to the way one would have an attitude towards an object. Coopersmith (1967) expanded on the notion, while emphasizing individual agency, noting that self-esteem entails "the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself," and also that "it expresses an attitude of approval and indicates the extent to which an individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy" (p. 4). Coopersmith summarizes self-esteem by stating that "self-esteem is a personal judgment of the worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself" (1967, p. 5). Likewise, McCroskey, Richmond, Daly, and Falcione (1977) described self-esteem's significant role, by noting that, "the perceptions one has of self significantly affects attitudes, behaviors, evaluations, and cognitive processes" (p. 269). This intrapersonal evaluation is affected by various aspects of our experiences that ebb and flow throughout life, and is manifested externally. Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) discuss "collective self-esteem," where self-esteem is considered in a more communal sense. Through the concept of collective self-esteem, they argue that social identity via group membership can flow down to the individual, thereby making self-esteem reliant on demographical membership (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Ortiz and Behm-Morawitz (2015) stress that stereotypical portrayals of Latinos on television can become internalized, and threaten Latinos' self-esteem (p. 96).

Consequences of racism are not strictly psychological, they can also be expressed physically. Physical changes based on Eurocentric beauty standards are commonly sought after around the globe, as in the case of "aesthetic" surgeries. For example, Gulbas (2013) discusses how a preference for whiteness among Venezuelan women can motivate them to undergo surgery or skin lightening to comply with Eurocentric beauty standards shown on television (p. 32). The study suggests that exposure to racially based beauty standards have the potential to affect people profoundly. Similarly, Winders et al. (2005) discuss *White Secret*, a popular skin lightening product sold in Mexico. Winders et al. comment: "If whitening once required sexual reproduction to produce progressively lighter bodies through 'constructive miscegenation', White Secret condenses that procedure into a two-week process that needs only one body to work its wonders" (2005, p. 86). Moreover, television often excludes dark-skinned or Indigenous Latinos, much less places them in positions of power and wealth. Darker-skinned actors are often relegated to negative or lowly depictions. For example, Berg (2002) comments on the bandido's darker skin: "At best, as an Other he is different and perhaps suspect because of that; at worst, he presents a threat to the dominant society's purported racial purity" (p. 40). Harris (2008) explains that colorism works in a way similar to racism, but skin-tone dictates opportunities, rather than race alone. Furthermore, Harris discusses the problem with intermixing as a solution to racism in the 21st century, citing the color-based stratification found throughout Latin America where racism operates differently (2008, p. 62). Hunter (2007) commented that "a light-skinned Mexican American may still experience racism, despite her light skin, and a dark-skinned Mexican American may experience racism and colorism simultaneously," thereby emphasizing the intersectionality experienced by many Latinos.

Moreover, Appel and Weber's (2017) meta-analysis of 33 experiments found support for stereotype threat theory (induced self-consciousness). Bang and Reece's (2003) content analysis of 813 children's commercials found that Latinos were more likely to have minor roles. Such studies help underscore television's Latino stereotypes and their potential to cause varying degrees of psychological distress. Since self-esteem is an important aspect of personal and cultural identity that entails, political, psychological, and even physical ramifications, it should be considered a significant variable. Rivadeneyra, Ward, and Gordon (2007) found that deeper involvement and greater exposure to television was associated with lower self-esteem, which in turn may impact willingness to communicate. If non-Latino television viewers develop negative perceptions of Latinos or have low self-esteem themselves, we can expect them to have low WTC as well. The current study considers self-esteem (among all participants) because part of willingness to communicate is presumed to be dictated by self-esteem. Considering self-esteem's potential to influence interpersonal communication, this study hypothesizes that:

H1: Self-esteem will have a positive relationship with willingness to communicate with Latinos.

Theoretical Framework

Social Cognitive Theory

Bandura updated his Social Learning Theory to Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) by emphasizing cognitive functions such as motivation, efficacy, choice, and agency (Krcmar, 2020). SCT improves on behaviorism by addressing the "more nuanced questions of motivation, efficacy, choice, and agency" (Krcmar, 2020, p. 100). The notion of agency transcended the previously assumed automaticity that classical or operant conditioning entailed (simple reward and punishment dictates behavior). SCT explains learned behavior and cognition as agentic processes, stressing intentionality and forethought (Bandura, 1999). The theory considers people

agentic operators, as opposed to "hosts of brain mechanisms orchestrated by environmental events" (Bandura, 1999, p. 22). Bandura explains that, "Personal agency operates within a broad network of social structural influences," and that, "In these agentic transactions, people are producers as well as products of social systems" (1999, p. 21). Bandura emphasizes this by stating that, "Persons are neither autonomous agents nor simply mechanical conveyors of animating environmental influences" (1999, p. 22). SCT is based on triadic reciprocal causation, "in which personal factors in the form of cognitive, affective and biological events, behavioral patterns, and environmental events all operate as interacting determinants that influence one another bidirectionally" (Bandura, 1999, p. 21, 23). Furthermore, Bandura addressed the potential for electronic mass media to teach people about "human values, styles of thinking, behavior patterns and sociostructural opportunities and constraints" (1999, p. 25). Therefore, people can learn about the world from viewing (observing) television. Through their own agency, people obtain environmental cues that can motivate their behavior in an ongoing cycle.

SCT considered that personal, environmental, and behavioral determinants are "interrelated and cannot be isolated from one another" (Krcmar, 2020, p. 101). There are four "pre-conditions" that are part of learning by imitation (Krcmar, 2020). These four "human capacities" include symbolization, self-regulation, self-reflection, and vicarious capability (Bandura, 2001). In addition, SCT entails four processes that occur during observational learning, they are: attention, retention, motor reproduction, and motivation (Bandura, 2001). Attention to specific information is a necessary first step for modeling observed behavior, and thus a primary requirement for learned behavior. Without attention to modeled behavior, the imitation process cannot occur (Krcmar, 2020). Retention is the second process in observational learning. The "plasticity" of cognitive structures allow symbolic encoding that is retained and

recalled through memory (Bandura, 2001, p. 266). Once a stimulus is observed and recalled, the ability to produce an action based on an observed mental concept is available for reenactment or motor reproduction (Bandura, 2001, p. 272). Finally, some type of motivation is required to complete the process of observational learning. Motivation is driven by three incentive motivators: direct, vicarious, and self-produced (Bandura, 2001, p. 274). The agentic aspect of SCT thus allows more complex mental processing. For example, people may choose particular media that appeals to them, including media that confirms their expectations. This suggests that consumers are not passive consumers that simply learn from television. Bandura (1999) explains this cyclical process with his triadic reciprocal causation model.

Similarly, Tan and Nelson (1997) developed a cognitive-functional theory for their study on television socialization and value acceptance. Television's socialization effects were measured across a diverse sample of 415 high school students. They found that the greater a value's functionality was rated, the more likely it was accepted. Perceived utility was a motivational factor to accepting values that offered some type of reward. However, reward and punishment factors (that occur to varying degrees depending on context), do not automatically cause motivational effects. Not all observed behavior is reproduced simply because of reward or punishment (Bandura, 2001, p. 274). This is notable because cognition and subsequent behavior are too complex to reduce to precise causes, making SCT a viable way to examine abstract media effects which typically involve both internal and external variables.

Cultivation Theory

While SCT stresses the interplay between individual cognitive functions, behavior, and environmental cues, Cultivation Theory (Gerbner, 1986), aimed to "examine the impact these messages and this message system had on society by analyzing the relationship between

television viewing and reality perception" (Busselle & Van Den Bulck, 2020, p. 69). Cultivation is concerned with long term effects that exist at the macro level. Morgan, Shanahan, and Signorielli (2009) describe Cultivation, noting that:

> What is most likely to cultivate stable and common conceptions of reality is, therefore, the overall pattern of programming to which total communities are regularly exposed over long periods of time. That is the pattern of settings, casting, social typing, actions, and related outcomes that cuts across programs types and viewing modes and defines the world of television. (p. 36)

The more time that viewers spend watching television, the more likely their views will align with those shown on television (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986). Social norms, violence, and other potentially instructive themes are constantly appearing in television programs. The cumulative effect is difficult to locate, if not impossible, making Cultivation Theory methodologies unappealing to studies attempting to pinpoint a cause and effect (see Potter, 2014).

Cultivation theory derives from sociology and focuses on media insofar as television's macro-level or ecological effects (Busselle & Van Den Bulck, 2020). Cultivation theory suggests that cumulative exposure "to media overtime gradually shapes our view of the world and our social reality" (Sanborn & Harris, 2019, p. 34). In addition, cultivation entails mainstreaming, that is, the "homogenization of people's divergent perceptions of social reality into a convergent belief" (Sanborn & Harris, 2019, p. 34). If stereotypes are mainstreamed, they can normalize distorted beliefs that seem like common sense. Although cultivation has its critics, such as Potter (2014), it is a one of the most cited theories in communication studies making it an "all-time favorite" (Valkenburg & Oliver, 2020, p. 22). Potter (2014) discusses possible weaknesses of cultivation theory, stressing its lack of precision, methodological issues, and the theory's broadness. Still, Potter acknowledges that the "amount of television viewing is

consistently related to all kinds of cultivation indicators across all kinds of people and across a wide variety of cultures and countries" (2014, p. 1031). Moreover, there is support for cultivation theory, such as Tsay-Vogel, Shanahan, and Signorielli's (2018) study on Facebook use, privacy, and self-disclosure. Their study found that social networking sites (SNSs) had both socializing and cultivation roles that contributed to "more relaxed privacy attitudes, which subsequently led to greater self-disclosure in both online and offline contexts" (Tsay-Vogel et al., 2018, p. 141). In a different study, Melhem & Punyanunt-Carter (2019) found that a sample of college students perceived television portrayals of Arabs as realistic, while (ironically) recognizing that the portrayals were stereotypical. Cultivation Theory helps guide such studies, including the present one. Although it is predicted that television viewing in the classical sense (i.e., from a television set) will decline, "new media also provide content not that discernibly different for standard TV fare" (Shrum, 2017, p. 10). Cultivation Theory will continue to be useful well into the future, even as electronic mediums shift and more content is created. Taken together, SCT and Cultivation Theory provide a way to understand how television stereotypes may impact audience perceptions. Considering television's historical portrayal of Latinos, the potential to learn vicariously from television (as discussed within SCT), and the prolonged exposure to particular messages (as discussed within Cultivation Theory), leads the study to its second hypothesis:

H2: Learning about Latinos from television increases negative Latino stereotype perception.

Willingness to Communicate

Communication is vital to interpersonal relationships. MacIntyre (1994) notes that willingness to communicate is an "important variable underlying the interpersonal communication process… this construct offers potentially strong explanatory power because it

is, in essence, and intention to initiate a behavior" (p. 135). People communicate with each other to establish and maintain their relationships. While miscommunication occurs occasionally, interpersonal communication is the way in which people collaborate to find solutions to problems, or to bond positively. However, there must be communication in the first place in order to establish positive relationships. Willingness to communicate indicates the extent that a person is willing to engage in communicative behavior with other people, and it can vary substantially. The Willingness to Communicate scale captures the "general predisposition toward being willing or unwilling to communicate" (McCroskey & Baer, 1985, p. 6). Like many other intrinsic qualities, willingness to communicate depends on the individual. Those who have higher willingness to communicate tend to have more positive relationships with other people (McCroskey & Baer, 1985). Those with less willingness to communicate tend to have fewer relationships, and are thus more likely to hold distorted perceptions of other people. Harris (2017) found that WTC with Mexicans was negatively related to ethnocentricity. It is presumed that WTC with Latinos will yield similarly auspicious outcomes because a lack of interpersonal communication coupled with learning about Latino from television can presumably contribute to negative views.

According to MacIntyre (1994), perceived competence and communication apprehension are strong predictors for WTC (p. 137). Communication apprehension (CA) is related to introversion and self-esteem, while perceived competence is understood to be affected by CA and introversion (p. 138). Accordingly, WTC can be partly attributed to self-esteem, a variable that is considered in the current study. However, WTC is not strictly intrapersonal. There are other variables to consider, such as context and affective factors. Contextual variables, such as intercultural communication and setting, may further impact willingness to communicate. For

example, some people are more willing to talk with Latinos, and the number of people present also affects WTC (e.g., individual, small group, large group). However, it is also worth noting that there are some possible limitations to consider regarding the measurement of WTC. One potential issue to consider is the quality of communication once the initial phase occurs (MacIntyre, 1994, p. 139). After the initial phase there is no guarantee that communication will be positive. Another possible issue with WTC is the potential anxiety that may be induced by forced communication (MacIntyre, 1994, p. 139-140). Neither of the two potential issues pertain to this study, since no actual communication was measured. While WTC may not be an exact measure for every intrapersonal or external aspect that may affect communication, it suffices for this study because it effectively captures the intention to interact.

The willingness to communicate scale can help the study assess one of the key variables. However, another dimension was added to that scale for a more focused form of WTC. In addition to the original WTC scale wording, the dimension of *Latino* was introduced. For example, participants may select the extent that they are willing to communicate with a group of Latino strangers, rather than people in general. This modification may help capture participants' overall willingness to communicate with Latinos. Considering that willingness to communicate can lead to positive communication, and that positive communication could affect perceptions, the study hypothesizes the following:

H3: Willingness to communicate with Latinos will be positively related to positive perceptions of Latinos.

H4: Willingness to communicate with Latinos will be negatively related to negative Latino stereotypes.

Contact Hypothesis

Allport's Contact Hypothesis (1954) suggests that there is hope for intercultural communication and the reduction of cultural stereotypes. Contact Hypothesis suggests that stereotype reduction is possible through intercultural communication, given ideal conditions, such as similar socioeconomic statuses between groups (Allport, 1954). More specifically, Ellison, Shin, and Leal (2011) stipulate that people of approximately equal status, under noncompetitive, cooperative environments, with support from authority figures, and institutional deterrents for noncompliance, should result in positive contact (p. 939). Dong and Murillo assert that, "personal contact is critical to the development of a better understanding of other ethnicities" (2007, p. 41). Their study found that personal contact with Latinos was correlated with more positive views about them. Conversely, they found that those who relied on television to learn about Latinos had more negative stereotypes about Latinos. A meta-analysis based on 27 intergroup studies found support for Contact Hypothesis, however the results indicated stronger support when the targets of prejudice were people with disabilities and weaker support when entailing ethnic minorities (Paluck, Green, & Green, 2019). Considering television's potential to influence and WTC's presumed effect on perceptions, this study hypothesizes that:

H5: Learning about Latinos from television and willingness to communicate with Latinos act as predictors of negative Latino Stereotypes.

H6: Willingness to communicate with Latinos and high-quality interaction with Latinos act as predictors of positive perceptions of Latinos.

Summary

Dixon (2020) warns that "our personal identities can become tied to our perceptions of our own group in relation to other groups" (p. 249). When negative television stereotypes are factored in, intercultural communication becomes even more vulnerable. According to a study

by Tukachinsky, Mastro, and Yarchi (2017), Latinos had less “warm feelings” when exposed to negative representations of Latinos, whereas positive characterizations increased in-group warm feelings. More recently, Punyanunt-Carter, Oviedo, and Melhem (2019), found that a sample of 381 undergraduates from a prominent Southwestern university with a substantial Latino population, generally perceived television Latinos negatively. Numerous studies indicate that negative stereotypes about Latinos are still prominent in television programming. If television's negative Latino stereotypes impacted Latinos themselves, it is reasonable to expect others to perceive Latinos negatively as well. While television content may not be saturated with negative cultural portrayals, based on the literature, it appears to be an ongoing problem. While the literature discussed facets related to the 5 key variables, it is not known how those variables will affect each other.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Sample

This study surveyed 403 college students who were between the ages of 18 and 64. College students were ideal respondents for the study because they learn to think critically, and were thus expected to process information with care. All of the participants were currently attending college during the time of the survey. The sample was obtained from five West Coast universities and two West Coast community colleges. College students are generally a diverse group, so their views provide a balanced perspective for the study. Various schools within the seven selected institutions were invited to participate. Unfortunately, not all departments participated. The communication, psychology, humanities, and history departments indicated more willingness to participate than others, and likely constituted most of the sample. Therefore, the sample, was a convenient sample. The exact contributions are not known because participation was anonymous. Respondents completed the questionnaire online. No paper questionnaires were provided due to restrictions imposed by COVID-19.

Procedure

This study was reviewed and approved by the researcher's institutional review board prior to any data collection. In total, 403 participants who were at least 18 years old and attending college completed an anonymous, self-administered questionnaire that they accessed electronically through a link. Survey participation was designed to be anonymous; it is not known how many participants were from each of the seven schools that made up the sample. The researcher invited participants solely through email. Professors from the seven institutions were contacted electronically by the researcher for invitation. The email invitation included a

brief overview of the study, requirements for participation, the participant's rights, the researcher's contact information, and a Qualtrics link that directed participants to the online questionnaire. Those who responded and were willing to participate shared the questionnaire link with their students. The two requirements for participation in the study were a minimum age of eighteen and current enrollment in college. Incomplete questionnaires were excluded from the final dataset. The approximated time for questionnaire completion was fifteen minutes, although there was no time limit set. This study did not provide any type of material payment to participants.

Measurement

A questionnaire was designed to measure the five key variables. The questionnaire was developed with Qualtrics software. It included five sections that consisted of seventy-one total items. Sixty questions were multiple choice 5-point Likert scale items that measured the five key variables, while nine items were demographical questions (e.g., what is your age?) and personal experience (e.g. How would you describe your interaction with Latinos?). The sixty items that used a 5-point Likert scale were positively oriented, except for five items from the Rosenberg Self-esteem scale that were later recoded (see section 4). The Likert scales values were oriented in the following order: 1 indicated "strongly disagree," 2 indicated "disagree," 3 indicated "neither agree nor disagree," 4 indicated "agree," and 5 indicated "strongly agree." The higher the cumulative mean for each scale, the higher the level of the variable measured. The independent variables were: learning about Latinos from television, willingness to communicate with Latinos, and self-esteem. The dependent variables were positive perceptions of Latinos and negative Latino stereotypes.

Section one measured the independent variable learning about Latinos from television. This section included eight television viewing items that assessed the extent that viewers learned about Latinos from television viewing (e.g., I have learned about Latina/os from watching news reports). Presumably, people learned about Latinos from television in general, though the items 3, 4, and 5 specified the types of programming (i.e., news, crime dramas, and comedies). A composite variable named *Learn_TV* was created to run analyses in SPSS. The variable measured the extent that people learn about Latinos from television. Items 9 and 10, the last questions of section one, measured general beliefs about television's use of stereotypes, and whether other people learned stereotypes from television. More specifically, item 9 assessed the extent that participants thought television included cultural stereotypes. Item 10 assessed the extent that participants thought that other people learned stereotypes from television.

Section two measured the dependent variables positive perceptions of Latinos and negative Latino stereotypes. In order to measure those variables, two composite variables named *Positive_St* and *Negative_St* were created to run analyses in SPSS. The variables had corresponding scales that consisted of ten items each. The twenty items between those two scales included positive views about Latinos and some negative stereotypes about Latinos that perhaps respondents have seen in television. The two scales were meant to capture positive and negative views about Latinos. The 10-item scale *Positive_St* measured positive views about Latinos (e.g., Latinos are responsible people). The other 10-item scale *Negative_St* measured negative views based on stereotypes about Latinos (e.g., Latinos are into committing crime). The Positive Perceptions of Latinos and Negative Stereotypes scales were combined in the questionnaire to avoid acquiescence bias.

Section three measured the independent variable willingness to communicate with Latinos. This study utilized a modified version of McCroskey and Baer's (1985) Willingness to Communicate scale. However, rather than measuring WTC alone, it instead measured participants likeliness to interact with Latinos in various contexts based on the original scale (e.g., Talk with a Latino police officer). This scale included 20 items like the original. A composite variable called *WTC_L* was created to measure the variable in SPSS analyses.

Section four measured the independent variable self-esteem. This section included the Rosenberg (1965) self-esteem scale, and was used to measure participant's general self-worth. The higher the score, the higher the self-esteem. Conversely, a lower score meant lower self-esteem. In order to calculate self-esteem using all ten items, items 2, 5, 6, 8, and 9, were recoded to reverse their negative orientation to a positive orientation. Thus a score of 5 on any of these items were instead scored as 1; a score of 4 on any of these items were instead scored as 2; a score of 3 on any of these remained as a score of 3; a score of 2 on any of these items were instead scored as 4; and a score of 1 on any of these items were instead scored as 5. A composite variable called *Self_Esteem* was created to run analyses in SPSS.

Section five obtained the participants' demographical data such as their age, ethnicity, gender, parental educational achievement, and political views. In addition, six questions were included to assess: whether they had a significant amount of personal interaction with Latinos in the past or not, the quality of interaction with Latinos they had in the past, whether they viewed Spanish programming or not, the approximate time spent viewing television, their academic knowledge about Latinos, and the extent that their parents influenced their views. The six additional questions gave the study more information that was not captured by the key variables.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter discusses the results found through the SPSS analyses. The results will be discussed in the following order: demographic information, analyses of the independent and dependent variables, two multiple regression analyses, two frequency analyses, and the hypothesis testing results.

Demographic Information

The sample for this survey consisted of 403 respondents (N = 403) who attended seven different tertiary educational institutions located in Northern California. Four of the institutions were Universities: one private (University of the Pacific), and four public (Stanislaus State, Sacramento State, UC Davis, and UC Merced). Two of the institutions were community colleges (San Joaquin Delta College and American River College). The survey was self-administered and completely anonymous, therefore the researcher dis not obtain specific figures on the quantity of respondents that came from each particular institution. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 64, and the mean age was 24, while 19 was the mode. Among the participants' ethnicities, 85 identified as Asian, 15 as Black or African American, 175 as Hispanic/Latino, 84 as White, 32 reported other for their ethnicity, and 12 did not answer (missing). Of the 403 participants, 92 were male, 293 were female, 7 selected other, and 11 did not answer (missing). The participants also indicated their political preferences. There were 48 conservatives, 126 moderates, 175 liberals, 42 selected other, and 12 did not answer (missing). In addition, participants reported their parent's educational attainment levels, specifically the parent with the higher level. As far as parental education, 53 had less than a high school, 157

had a high school diploma, 33 had some vocational training, 96 had a 4-year degree, 54 had a master's degree or higher, and 10 respondents did not answer (missing).

Independent Variables and Dependent Variables

The scales utilized in this study had moderate to high Cronbach's Alpha. Table 1 includes the reliability scores of the five key variables. The independent variable named Self-esteem utilized the Rosenberg Self-esteem scale. It included ten items and had a Cronbach's Alpha of .88. The independent variable named willingness to communicate with Latinos utilized a modified version of McCroskey's & Baer's Willingness to Communicate scale and included 20 items. The WTC scale had a Cronbach's Alpha of .96. The independent variable named learning about Latinos from television included 8 items and had a Cronbach's Alpha of .82. The two dependent variables, positive perceptions of Latinos and negative Latino stereotypes, each included ten items and had Cronbach's Alpha of .87 and .79, respectively.

Table 1
Reliability of Scales: Learning About Latinos From Television, Positive Perceptions of Latinos, Negative Latino Stereotypes, Willingness to Communicate With Latinos, and Self-Esteem

Variables	Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
Learning about Latinos from television	.82	8
Positive perceptions of Latinos	.87	10
Negative Latino stereotypes	.79	10
Willingness to communicate with Latinos	.96	20
Self-esteem	.88	10

Table 2 shows the means, standard deviations, and number of participants for each of the five key variables. The independent variable willingness to communicate with Latinos had a mean score of (M = 4.4) and a standard deviation of .68. The independent variable self-esteem had a mean score of (M = 3.55) and a standard deviation of .79. The independent variable learning about Latinos from television had a mean score of (M = 3.01) and a standard deviation of .77. The dependent variable positive perceptions of Latinos had a mean score of (M = 4.00) and a standard deviation of .59. The dependent variable negative Latino stereotypes had a mean score of (M = 2.5) and a standard deviation of .60.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Variables

Variables	M	SD	N
Willingness to Communicate (with Latinos) (IV)	4.4	0.68	403
Self-esteem (IV)	3.55	0.79	403
Learning about Latinos from Television (IV)	3.01	0.77	403
Positive perceptions of Latinos (DV)	4.00	0.59	403
Negative Latino Stereotypes (DV)	2.5	0.60	403

Correlation Analysis

A correlation analysis was run to find associations between the five key variables. Willingness to communicate with Latinos was associated with all of the variables, except for

learning about Latinos from television. The analysis reveals that willingness to communicate with Latinos was positively correlated with positive perceptions of Latinos ($r = .48$, $p < .01$). Willingness to Communicate with Latinos was positively associated with self-esteem ($r = .20$, $p < .01$). Willingness to Communicate with Latinos was inversely related to negative Latino stereotypes ($r = -.38$, $p < .01$). Moreover, positive perceptions of Latinos was positively associated with self-esteem ($r = .14$, $p < .01$). However, positive perceptions of Latinos was inversely related to negative Latino stereotypes ($r = -.51$, $p < .01$). Finally, learning about Latinos from television was positively related to negative stereotypes ($r = .29$, $p <. 01$). Table 3 indicates all of the associations between the five key variables found in the analysis.

Table 3
Correlation Analysis of the Five Key Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Willingness to communicate with Latinos	4.4	0.68	(-)	.497**	-.381**	.185**	-.036
2. Positive perceptions of Latinos	4.0	0.59		(-)	-.518**	.150**	-.057
3. Negative Latino stereotypes	2.5	0.60			(-)	.032	.311**
4. Self-esteem	3.55	0.79				(-)	-.006
5. Learning about Latinos from television	3.01	0.77					(-)

** correlation is significant, $p < .01$
* correlation is significant, $p < .05$

The correlation analysis revealed associations between the five key variables that support the first four hypotheses. This suggests that when people learn about Latinos from television they tend to have more negative views about Latinos. Conversely, when people are willing to

communicate with Latinos, they tend to have more positive views about Latinos. In addition, when people have higher self-esteem, they tend to have more willingness to communicate with Latinos. Figure 1 shows several key associations.

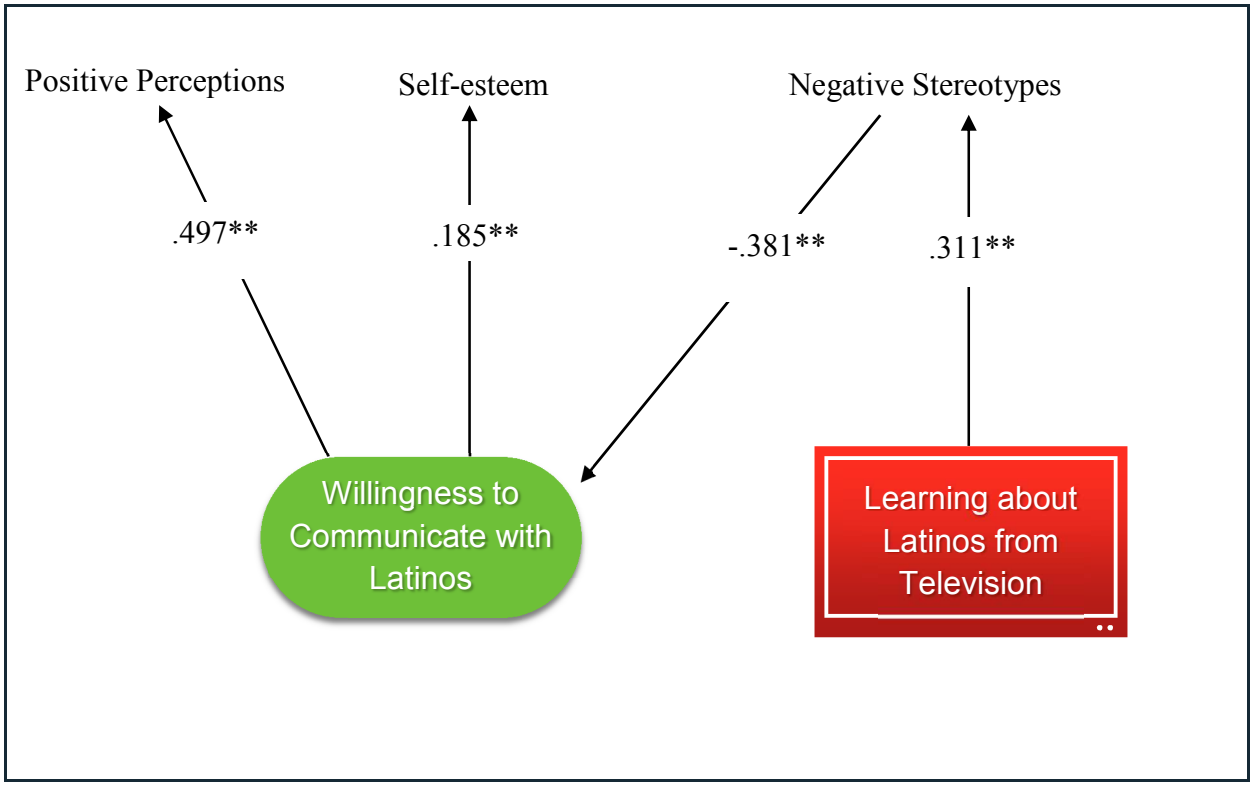

Figure 1. Correlation analysis of key variables.
** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed).

Regression Analyses

Two analyses were conducted to find the predictive value of some key variables on perceptions. One multiple regression analysis was run to find predictor variables for negative Latino stereotypes. The variables learning about Latinos from television and willingness to communicate with Latinos were coupled as a model to find if they predict negative Latino stereotypes. A moderate but significant equation was found: $F(2, 400) = 60.79$, $p < .001$. The

analysis also indicated an R-square value of .233, demonstrating the model's predictive capability. Thus, a variance of 23% in negative Latino stereotypes was explained by Willingness to Communicate with Latinos and learning about Latinos from television. The model shows that increases in learning about Latinos from television and decreases in willingness to communicate with Latinos work together (inversely) to increase negative Latino stereotypes. Table 4 shows the beta weights for the analysis.

Table 4
Multiple Regression Analysis of Learning About Latinos From Television and Willingness to Communicate With Latinos as Predictors of Negative Latino Stereotypes

Predictor Variables	B	SE	β	t	p
Learn_TV	.23	.03	.30	6.79	.00
WLC_L	-.33	.04	-.37	-8.44	.00

A second multiple regression analysis was run to find predictor variables of positive perceptions of Latinos. The variables willingness to communicate with Latinos and quality of interaction with Latinos were coupled as a model to find if they predict positive perceptions of Latinos. A significant regression equation was found: $F(2, 390) = 106.92$, $p < .001$. The analysis also indicated an R-square value of .35. Therefore, a variance of 35% in positive perceptions of Latinos was explained by willingness to communicate with Latinos and quality of interaction with Latinos. The second multiple regression analysis was stronger than the first analysis, it and indicates that willingness to communicate and high quality interaction with Latinos were fairly

strong predictors of positive perceptions of Latinos. Both analyses show the ability to predict positive and negative perceptions of Latinos. Table 5 shows the beta weights for the analysis.

Table 5
Multiple Regression Analysis of Willingness to Communicate With Latinos and Quality of Interaction With Latinos as Predictors of Positive Perceptions of Latinos

Predictor Variables	B	SE	β	t	p
WLC_L	.30	.04	.34	7.64	.00
Quality of interaction with Latinos	.31	.04	.36	8.08	.00

Frequency Analyses

The two following tables show frequency statistics from items Q9 and Q10. These items helped assess the respondent's general beliefs about the potential for television to teach audiences cultural stereotypes. The sample indicated, by and large (92%), that they believed that television includes cultural stereotypes, and that people learn stereotypes from television. With such a large consensus on these questions, two things are clear. One indication is that the sample believes that television includes cultural stereotypes. The second indication is that the sample believes that people learn stereotypes from television. It is worth considering that perhaps there was some bias in the responses. In research that entails topics such as stereotypes, it is expected that some participants may not be as willing as others to be candid with their answer choices, despite anonymity. For that reason, the author believed that items Q9 and Q10 would supplement the study. Surveys can give a snapshot of perceptions at a moment in time, but it is difficult, if not impossible to prevent biased answers. Table 6 refers to Item 9 which asked

respondents to mark the extent that they thought television included cultural stereotypes. Table 7 refers to Item 10 which asked respondents to mark the extent that they thought people learned stereotypes from watching television.

Table 6
Frequency Analysis of Q9: I Think That Television Includes Cultural Stereotypes

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	3	.7	.7	.7
Somewhat disagree	9	2.2	2.2	3.0
Neither agree nor disagree	18	4.5	4.5	7.4
Somewhat agree	85	21.1	21.1	28.5
Strongly agree	288	71.5	71.5	100.0
Total	403	100.0	100.0	

Table 7
Frequency Analysis of Q10: I Think That People Learn Stereotypes From Watching Television

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Somewhat disagree	7	1.7	1.7	3.5
Neither agree nor disagree	17	4.2	4.2	7.7
Somewhat agree	125	31.0	31.0	38.7
Strongly agree	247	61.3	61.3	100.0
Total	403	100.0	100.0	

One type of bias is called social desirability bias, where respondents do not indicate their true answers “in order to be perceived in a “better light”” (Wrench, Thomas-Maddox, Richmond, and McCroskey, 2019). Additionally, third-person effect is when people think that: “(1) persuasive messages and other media influences can affect behavior, and (2) other people are more vulnerable than we are ourselves to such media influence” (Sanborn & Harris, 2019, p.

31). Furthermore, Sanborn and Harris note that "the third-person effect lead people to consistently underestimate the media's influence on their own lives, even as they loudly decry its corrupting manipulation on others" (p. 31). Still, the correlation and regression analyses revealed significant results, but perhaps not as pronounced as possible.

Hypothesis Testing Results

The first hypothesis predicted that self-esteem would be positively related with willingness to communicate with Latinos. Based on the correlation analysis, the results indicate a moderate but statistically significant ($r = .20$) association. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was supported. The second hypothesis predicted that Learning about Latinos from television is associated with increased negative Latino stereotypes. Based on the correlation analysis, the results indicate that there was a significant association ($r = .311$) between learning from television and negative stereotypes. In fact, the results indicate that learning about Latinos from television was associated only with negative Latino stereotypes. Therefore, hypothesis 2 was supported. The third hypothesis predicted that willingness to communicate with Latinos would have a positive relationship with positive perceptions of Latinos. Based on the correlation analysis, the association between willingness to communicate with Latinos and positive perceptions of Latinos was the strongest ($r = .457$) among the other relationships. Therefore, hypothesis 3 was supported. The fourth hypothesis predicted that willingness to communicate with Latinos would be inversely related to negative Latino stereotypes. Based on the correlation analysis, there was a significant negative relationship ($r = -.381$) between the variables, thus hypothesis 4 was supported. The fifth hypothesis predicted that learning about Latinos from television and willingness to communicate with Latinos were predictors of negative Latino Stereotypes. A regression analysis confirmed this, and found that 23% of the variance in

negative Latino stereotypes was attributed to learning about Latinos from television and willingness to communicate with Latinos, therefore hypothesis 5 was supported. The sixth (and final) hypothesis predicted that willingness to communicate with Latinos and high-quality interaction with Latinos were predictors of positive perceptions of Latinos. The regression analysis indicated that 35% of the variance of positive perceptions of Latinos was predicted by willingness to communicate with Latinos and high-quality interaction with Latinos, thus hypothesis 6 was supported.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Implications of the Study

Prior research found that negative Latino stereotypes were commonly shown in television programs. The results of this study seem to support that presumption despite improved diversity in entertainment. The most considerable implication is that people learn negative stereotypes about Latinos from television. The six hypotheses and their results are discussed to help unpack the implications of the study.

The literature suggests that television has the potential to transmit biased messages to the public and to lower self-esteem (especially of stereotyped groups). The study inferred that such factors consequently affect willingness to communicate and perceptions. The first hypothesis predicted that self-esteem would be positively related to willingness to communicate with Latinos. While there were no significant differences in self-esteem between the groups of the sample, overall self-esteem was nonetheless positively associated with positive perceptions and WTC. People with higher self-esteem seem to have more willingness to communicate with Latinos. The more that people are willing to communicate, the more likely they seem to have positive perceptions of Latinos. People who develop low self-esteem may be reluctant to communicate, making self-esteem a considerable variable for intercultural communication. Factors that affect self-esteem should be prioritized in school and other sources of socialization to help people improve their self-image.

The second hypothesis essentially projected that people learn negative stereotypes about Latinos from television. The correlation analysis supports that presumption. This determines that television still includes stereotypes about Latinos that portray them in a negative ways, and

that people adopt those notions. Although television has improved diversity, it appears that Latinos are still represented in unappealing ways. That is not only in contrast to the vaunted discourse about equality and inclusion, it also implies a bias against Latinos. It is worth researching why Latinos are underrepresented in American entertainment media, and why they are stereotyped when they do land roles.

The third and fourth hypotheses predicted that willingness to communicate with Latinos would be positively related to positive perceptions of Latinos, and negatively related to negative stereotypes. Both hypotheses are supported, indicating that their complementary inferences are valid. Therefore, the more that people are willing to communicate with Latinos, the more positive their perceptions tend to be, while the inverse also seems to be the case. However, it is worth noting that overall willingness to communicate with Latinos had a high mean score. This suggests that the sample was willing to interact with Latinos, despite the stereotypical views they may hold. The fifth hypothesis projected that Learning about Latinos from television and willingness to communicate with Latinos act as predictors of negative Latino Stereotypes. The regression analysis supports this hypothesis, and explains 23% of the variance. The analysis shows that learning about Latinos from television, along with a reluctance to communicate, significantly affects negative Latino stereotype perception. Conversely, the sixth hypothesis projected that willingness to communicate with Latinos and high-quality interaction with Latinos act as predictors of positive perceptions of Latinos. This is supported, and a substantial 35% of the variance is explained by the model. The model implies that when people are willing to engage in positive intercultural communication, positive perceptions are significantly more likely, just as Contact Hypothesis posits. The regression analyses combined the presumptions of the key variables to demonstrate that, together, they impact perceptions. This aligns with

Bandura's triadic reciprocal causality, where personal factors, behavior, and environment affect each other bidirectionally. That model is appropriate for understanding media effects (e.g., stereotypes) because of the cyclical nature between media consumption and behavior.

Interestingly, two frequency analyses reveal that 93% of the sample believes that television includes cultural stereotypes, and 92% of the sample believes that people learn stereotypes from television. This suggests that perhaps some social desirability bias occurred during the survey. Respondents overwhelmingly believe that television includes cultural stereotypes, and that others learn stereotypes from television, yet the results indicate moderate support for the hypotheses. Nonetheless, the analyses collectively imply that people learn negative stereotypes about Latinos from television, and that consequently, people may be less willing to communicate with those they perceive in a negative way. The findings also suggests that when people communicate interpersonally, they tend to have more positive views about each other. While it is not implied that friendships are likely to occur after contact, communication does seem to provide an opportunity for common ground.

Contact hypothesis predicts a reduction in negative cultural perceptions when intercultural communication between people of approximately equal socioeconomic status engage positively. That theory, along with social cognitive theory and cultivation theory, were instrumental for developing a theoretical framework for this study. The results support those theories by showing that negative perceptions of Latinos can decrease as people's willingness to communicate increases. Likewise, the study demonstrates that when people learn about Latinos from television, they tend to have more negative perceptions of them. The analyses reveal moderate but significant associations between the key variables. Some of the key variables also indicate predictive capability. While the findings ultimately imply that there are still negative

Latino stereotypes shown on television, and that people learn stereotypes from viewing, the sample indicated a high overall mean score for positive perceptions of Latinos. Conversely, the sample indicated a relatively low mean score for negative Latino stereotype perception. Despite having found significant associations between the variables, the results indicate that the sample was largely willing to communicate with Latinos and generally had positive views about Latinos. Viewpoints can change depending on communication, self-esteem, and prosocial behavior, so improvement is possible.

Television does include some positive portrayals about Latinos, such as being family oriented and hard-working. However, television is no substitute for intercultural communication, although it can promote empathy and unity. Various studies have indicated that self-esteem can be affected by the manner in which television and other media portray marginalized people. People who are not willing to communicate with others, and instead learn from sources such as television, make themselves susceptible to information that may be misleading or entirely false. This is only part of the problem with negative television stereotypes, especially because they are instantly broadcasted to millions of people around the globe. Television's stereotypes can be persuasive. Media scholars have consistently postulated that people can learn from viewing media such as television (e.g., Bandura, 1999; Gerbner et al., 1986; and Tan et al., 1997). People see images in television that give them only a kernel of truth, yet they may attribute stereotypes freely. That can be a vicious cycle that may have long term effects.

Limitations and Future Research

There were some challenges that presented themselves while conducting a research project during a pandemic. COVID19's shut down was an unprecedented event that presented some significant challenges to the study. The main challenge was the data collection aspect. During COVID-19, many students had to endure challenges that came with remote learning, likely making them less enthusiastic about participating in a research study. Conducting a research study during such times made it difficult to gain participants, much less obtain completed questionnaires. Another challenge was the high number of incomplete questionnaires. Seventy-six questionnaires had to be removed from the data set because they did not meet the 80% completion threshold needed to include them. While it was a challenge to communicate electronically, the limitation became a learning moment for the author. It is critical know how to communicate electronically as it is to communicate in person. The researcher learned how to communicate more effectively while connecting to people strictly remotely, and was able to obtain the desired number of respondents.

Another limitation that came with this study was a lack of diversity in the sample. There was a lack of male conservative participation. Most participants were female (75%), Hispanic (45%), and Liberal (45%). Although the hypotheses were supported, the study did not obtain an anticipated evenly distributed sample from which to draw more generalizable conclusions. However, t-tests indicated no significant differences between two of those groups (i.e., gender and ethnicity). The exception was political preference. The conservative respondents held less positive perceptions of Latinos, more negative stereotypes, and were less willing to communicate with Latinos when compared to other groups in t-tests. Presumably, had the sample included more conservative perspectives, the hypotheses would have had even stronger support. For

future studies, it is recommended that the sample is more evenly distributed to bring out some of substantial implications that the study sought. The final limitation to the study was the use of a modified scale. This study utilized McCroskey & Baer's Willingness to communicate scale, but customized it to focus on Latinos. While it proved to be an instrumental scale, it is not known who among the participants had low willingness to communicate in general, as opposed to lacking willingness to communicate with Latinos. However, a lack of willingness to communicate in general would likely result in similar outcomes as demonstrated by two previous pilot studies.

Conclusion

Television portrayals seem to affect perceptions. The findings indicate that Latinos are negatively portrayed in television, and that people likely learn negative stereotypes about Latinos from television. The multiple associations between the key variables suggest that people tend to have more positive views about Latinos when they are willing to interact with them, as opposed to learning about them from television. Despite their perceptions, respondents indicated high willingness to communicate with Latinos. This is a promising find because if people rely on television to learn about each other, they may avoid communication. Current television programming appears to have more cultural inclusion in mind, but its messages can be mixed. As they have in the past, politics and world events can influence media, especially during difficult times. It is up to society to guide media towards positivity. Television's tendency to stereotype people and the world should not discourage positive interaction. Taste in entertainment is a reflection of society. People seem to behave in response to media, but they can forget that they are affecting it in return. Therefore, people have more agency than they may take responsibility for, so positive changes are feasible.

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Television Viewing and Latino Stereotypes Questionnaire (Imported from Qualtrics)

Dear Participant,
The Communication Department at the University of the Pacific would like to thank you for taking part in this survey; we understand that your time is very important. With your help, the data being collected will be used in research pertaining to television stereotypes.

This questionnaire should take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Completing the questionnaire indicates your consent to participate. Your involvement in this study is voluntary and anonymous. There are no known risks beside those that occur in everyday living. You may withdraw from the study at any point. We encourage you to be completely honest when answering the questions. You must be at least 18 years old to participate in this study.

If you have any questions about your rights as research study participant, you may contact the University of the Pacific Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (209) 946-3903. Alternatively, you can contact the Principal Investigator (Gustavo Rivera) at g_rivera7@u.pacific.edu or the faculty project advisor (Qingwen Dong) at qdong@pacific.edu.

Thank you for your time and contribution to our research.

Sincerely,
University of the Pacific
Department of Communication

Start of Block: Television Viewing

The following items are about learning from television. Please indicate the extent that you have learned from television viewing.

Q1 I have learned about differences between people of different cultures from watching television.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q2 Shows that I have viewed on phones, tablets, or computers taught me things about Latina/os that I did not know.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q3 I have learned about Latina/os from watching news reports.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q4 TV crime dramas gave me insights into Latino culture.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q5 I have learned about Latina/o personality from TV comedies.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q6 Watching television is a great way for me to learn about ordinary Latina/os.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q7 Television has taught me that people behave in a way that is consistent with their culture.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree

- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q8 I have learned about differences between Latinos (e.g., Mexican, Cuban, Brazilian, etc.) from television.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q9 I think that television includes cultural stereotypes.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Q10 I think that people learn stereotypes from watching television.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Somewhat agree
- ○ Neither agree nor disagree
- ○ Somewhat disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Start of Block: Perceptions

Q11-20 Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Latina/os are friendly people.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os abuse government benefits and financial assistance (e. g. , welfare)	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are good neighbors.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os do not speak English proficiently.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are competent leaders.	○	○	○	○	○
Latinos are sexist (toxic masculinity).	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os have high intellectual capacity.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are promiscuous (into casual sex).	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are loyal partners.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os have difficulty following American laws.	○	○	○	○	○

Q21-30 Perceptions continued

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Latina/os are into committing crime.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are ethical.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os have violent tendencies.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os care about American values.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os drink alcohol excessively.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are responsible people.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are hard workers.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are good for manual labor.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os have high academic achievement.	○	○	○	○	○
Latina/os are immigrants.	○	○	○	○	○

Start of Block: Willingness to Communicate

Q31-40 Below are situations in which a person might choose to communicate or not to communicate. Select your willingness to communicate based on the following scenarios.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Talk with a Latina/o attendant at an information desk.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o doctor.	○	○	○	○	○
Present a talk to a group of Latina/o strangers.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o acquaintance while standing in line.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o hairdresser/barber.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk in a large meeting of Latina/o friends.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o lawyer.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk in a small group of Latina/o strangers.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o friend while standing in line.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o police officer.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk in a large meeting of Latina/o acquaintances.	○	○	○	○	○

Continued (Q41-50)

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Talk with a Latina/o stranger while standing in line.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o politician.	○	○	○	○	○
Present a talk to a group of Latina/o friends.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk in a small group of Latino acquaintances	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o car salesperson.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk in a large meeting of Latina/o strangers.	○	○	○	○	○
Talk with a Latina/o about your spouse (or girl/boyfriend).	○	○	○	○	○
Talk in a small group of Latina/o friends.	○	○	○	○	○
Present a talk to a group of Latina/o acquaintances.	○	○	○	○	○

Start of Block: Self-esteem

Q51-60 Next is a list of statements dealing with feelings about your self-esteem. Please select the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	○	○	○	○	○
At times, I think I am no good at all.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	○	○	○	○	○
I am able to do things as well as most other people.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	○	○	○	○	○
I certainly feel useless at times.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least equal to others.	○	○	○	○	○
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	○	○	○	○	○
I often feel that I am a failure.	○	○	○	○	○
I take a positive attitude toward myself.	○	○	○	○	○

Start of Block: Demographics

Demographics and Personal Experience

D1 What is your age?

_____

D2 What is your ethnicity?

- ○ Asian
- ○ Black or African American
- ○ Hispanic/Latino
- ○ White
- ○ Other (please specify) _____

D3 What is your gender?

- ○ Female
- ○ Male
- ○ Other (please specify) _____

D4 What is the highest level of education attained by either of your parents? (Select for the parent with the higher level)

- ○ Less than high school
- ○ High school graduate
- ○ Vocational training
- ○ 4 year degree
- ○ Master's degree or higher

D5 How would you describe your political views?

- ○ Conservative
- ○ Moderate
- ○ Liberal
- ○ Other (please specify) _____

D6 I have had a significant amount of personal interaction with Latinos in the past years.

- ○ No
- ○ Yes

D7 How would you describe your interaction with Latinos?

- ○ Very Positive
- ○ Somewhat positive
- ○ Neither positive nor negative
- ○ Somewhat negative
- ○ Very Negative

D8 Do you watch Spanish television shows (without captions or dubbed)?

- ○ No
- ○ Yes

D9 How much time do you spend viewing television daily (including all electronic devices)?

- ○ over 6 hours
- ○ Between 4-6 hours
- ○ Between 2-4 hours
- ○ Up to 2 hours
- ○ None

D10 Do you read about Latino culture, history, art, etc.

- ○ A great deal
- ○ A lot
- ○ A moderate amount
- ○ A little
- ○ None at all

D11 To what extent have your parents shaped your views?

- ○ A great deal
- ○ A lot
- ○ A moderate amount
- ○ A little
- ○ None at all

End of Questionnaire

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Participant,

The Communication Department at the University of the Pacific would like to thank you for taking part in this survey; we understand your time is very important. With your help, the data being collected will be used in research pertaining to television stereotypes.

This survey should take approximately fifteen minutes to complete. You must be at least eighteen years old to participate in this study. Completing the questionnaire indicates your consent to participate in this study. We encourage you to be completely honest when answering the questions. Your involvement in this study is completely voluntary and anonymous. You may withdraw from this study at any point. There are no known risks associated with participation in this study beside those occurring in everyday living.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of the Pacific Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (209) 946-3903. Alternatively, you can contact the Primary Investigator (Gustavo Rivera) at g_rivera7@u.pacific.edu or the faculty project advisor (Qingwen Dong) at, qdong@pacific.edu.

Thank you for your time and contribution to our research.

Sincerely,
Gustavo Rivera
University of the Pacific
Department of Communication

APPENDIX C: IRB APPROVAL

TO: Gustavo Rivera
FROM: Sandy Ellenbolt, IRB Administrator
DATE: Feb 24, 2021 4:39:44 PM PST
RE: IRB Approval Protocol, IRB2021-28 - Television Viewing and Latino Stereotypes

Your proposal entitled "Television Viewing and Latino Stereotypes," submitted to the University of the Pacific IRB has been Approved. Your project received an Exempt review.

This approval is effective through February 23, 2022.

NOTE: Your IRB approved consent document with the official stamp of IRB approval dates can be found in Cayuse IRB. You are required to only use the stamped version of this consent form by duplicating and distributing to subjects. (Online consent should replicate approved consent document). Consent forms that differ from approved consent are not permitted and use of any other consent document may result in noncompliance of research.
It is your responsibility according to the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services regulations to submit updates to the IRB. All further reporting for your study can be submitted through Cayuse IRB. Please be aware that procedural changes or amendments must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to implementing changes. Changes may NOT be made without Pacific IRB approval except to eliminate apparent immediate hazards. Revisions made without prior IRB approval may result in noncompliance of research. To initiate the review process for procedural changes, complete Protocol Revision Form.
Best wishes for continued success in your research. Feel free to contact our office if you have any questions

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Human Subjects Protection
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3601 Pacific Avenue Stockton, CA 95211
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