

MEDIA EXPOSURE AND EFFECTS ON SOCIAL COGNITIONS

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ABSTRACT

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The media, which is comprised of mass media and social media (Bennett, 1982; Carr & Hayes, 2015), is a powerful tool that reflects as well as change's public opinion and social cognitions (Fan & Pedrycz, 2017; Bandura, 2002). Research posits that Black and Latino individuals are more likely to be portrayed negatively in the media (Dixon, Weeks & Smith, 2019; Dixon et al., 2003; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Dixon, 2017). Thus, media exposures can cultivate real-world stereotypical views of individuals within these ethnic/racial groups (Haft & Zhou, 2021; Han & Budarick, 2018) and shapes individual's self-view (Tsfati, 2007). White individuals, on the other hand, are more socialized to be colorblind to matters of race and may have greater self-presentational concerns with appearing racist (Bloch, Taylor & Martinez, 2019; Miller, O'Dea & Saucier, 2021). The current study expands on prior research by analyzing whether race-related media coverage would predict perceptions of discrimination, depression, and stereotype confirmation concerns within Black, White, and Latino participants. Participants were 156 individuals (46% Black; *M* age = 39.38 years) who were surveyed in a local community hospital waiting room or through email contact in Queens, NY from January to April 2018. Results found that the number of race-related stories was negatively correlated with depressive symptoms among Black participants and stereotype confirmation concerns among Latino/a participants. For White participants, on the other hand, the frequency of race-related stories was positively associated with stereotype confirmation concerns. Findings highlight the importance of additional research for a clearer understanding of media's effects on psychological well-being of all people.

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INTRODUCTION

The media reflects and influences public opinion. The term media encompasses both mass media and social media. Mass media is an umbrella term encompassing a wide range of communications such as the press, radio and television, cinema and the record industry that reach a large number of people (Bennett, 1982). On the other hand, while it has been difficult to define social media, a common definition refers to “digital technologies emphasizing user-generated content or interaction. Often social media are referred to by channel characteristics, either identifying directionality of messages or using specific tools like Facebook or twitter to exemplify modes of interaction” (Carr & Hayes, 2015, p. 47).

The beginning of the virtual world started in the late 1970's with the first use of the word internet and continued to revolutionize online mass media presence, which was officially cultivated in the 1990's (Carlson, 2005). Social media is a tool that has become increasingly popular and greatly influences our society at large and is an internet-based technology that is used to facilitate the spread of knowledge and allows users to create, edit and interact with different information online and this can also include news media (Majchrzak, Faraj, Kane & Azad, 2013). The rise of online media as an online presence has increased by 7% as of 2015 with about 65% of the American adult population and 90% of the young adult population utilizing social media (Perrin, 2015). Social media has also become a source for individuals to receive news from. In the general population, 51% of people get their news from social media and between 16–25-year old's, 91% get their news from social media with 44% being daily readers, 38% being weekly readers,

9% reading seldomly and another 9% having never used social media to access the news (Bergström & Belfrage, 2018).

Today, with the rapid advances in technology and the way information is facilitated online media has changed public opinion. Media can broadcast an onslaught of information quickly, influencing society at large, without receiving much influence back from the audience, thus, creating a closed system with little contrary information that goes against the norm (Fan & Pedrycz, 2017). Coupled with this, while the media is a source of information, there is also a lot of misinformation that spreads quickly. For example, with the current COVID-19 pandemic, posts from the CDC (US Center of Disease control) and WHO (World Health Organization) achieved several hundred thousand engagements, however, information involving conspiracy theories received over 52 million (Mian & Khan, 2020).

Malicious content such as racism also spreads just as quickly in the media as misinformation. For example, research on hate clusters online, which are extremist groups with mainstream platforms that create hate speech against other ethnic groups, found about 50% of links from these groups can be accessed across multiverse platforms such as Facebook (Velásquez et al., 2021). This research speaks to how easy it is for the public to be negatively influenced by the media. These media communications can perpetuate stereotypes (Guo & Harlow, 2014).

Interacting with the media and getting information from the media is done in a habitual manner which requires limited conscious awareness or capacity to initiate or maintain (Khang, Han & Ki, 2014). Greater use increases the likelihood that we are influenced by the media.

Social cognitive theory can provide insight into the ways media affects individuals. Social cognitive theory is a theory of human behavior that emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between the environment and social factors that influence our personal behaviors (Schunk & Usher, 2019). For example, what we view online mirrors our real-world views; such that social media rejection effects individual self-esteem and perception (Firth et al., 2019). Thus, with the habitual nature of the media and wide consumption, what we are exposed to in the media can influence our individual perceptions, thought processes and behaviors. As I will review in the following sections, research has examined the relations of media exposure to perceptions of ethnic groups by both minority and majority group individuals. Additional research is needed to examine the impact of media consumption on our behaviors and perceptions. This study builds on prior research on media consumption to examine the impact of race-related media consumption on the wellbeing and health of individuals.

Media Portrayal of Ethnic Groups

Prior research on the way ethnic groups are presented and viewed in the media has shown that there are extensive differences in the way these groups are portrayed. These portrayals influence the way groups are viewed and may promote discrimination. For example, in a random sample of local television news programming, Black and Latino adults were significantly more likely than white individuals to be portrayed as lawbreakers, while whites were more likely to be seen as defenders (Dixon & Linz, 2000). Although FBI crime reports indicate that crime rates in the border towns of the U.S. have been flat for the past decade, the image of Mexicans in the media promotes a

Mexican threat narrative that reinforced public beliefs that Mexican individuals commit crimes in the U.S., including border crimes, (Aquirre, Rodriguez & Simmers, 2011).

Research has also shown that media influences our social cognitions, which is how we perceive and respond to the world, including our views of ourselves, others, and the world. (Bandura, 2002). Cultivation theory which postulates that TV viewers can form inaccurate views about crime and the criminal justice system from exposure to erroneous messages and images given in the media (Pollock, Tapia & Sibila, 2021). Thus, when minority groups are overwhelmingly stereotyped in the media, these perceptions have effects on real-world behavior and may increase risk that members of these groups could be targeted for negative treatment. For example, following the attack on 9/11, many Muslims experienced islamophobia and stereotyping in the media, which led to the greater population viewing them as outsiders and as terrorists (Li & Zhang, 2021).

Research supports the notion that white individuals are portrayed more positively in the media (Dixon, Weeks & Smith, 2019; Dixon et al., 2003; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Dixon, 2017). Even when different racial groups commit similar crimes, the word usage in the media shows a difference. Arab-Americans are quickly and more likely to be considered terrorists for their crimes. In contrast Whites or white-supremacist groups are more likely to be labeled as “mass shooters” or portrayed as mentally ill in the media (D’Orazio & Salehyan, 2018).

However, with the current climate of the media reporting more about injustices against minority groups, more current research has focused on the fear of white individuals being viewed as racist (DeSante & Smith, 2020; Kuntsman & Fitzpatrick,

2018). The literature suggests that white women, more than men, feel empathy towards people who have experienced racism. White individuals who had a higher understanding of institutional racism felt guilt and shame regarding their whiteness. In contrast, individuals with lower levels of racial awareness were more fearful of other races (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). When white individuals are knowledgeable of white privilege beliefs and have a higher fear of appearing racist, they are more likely to act on this by supporting causes, joining movements, and displaying behaviors that combat racist ideologies. Many of these individuals will become allies with minority groups to not appear racist. For example, researchers have found that to protect their self-image, many white individuals who have higher white privilege beliefs and greater self-presentational concerns with appearing racist will act on this by displaying greater support for the Black Lives Matter movement and other methods of protests to disrupt the social hierarchies (Miller, O’Dea & Saucier, 2021). This fear of appearing racist leads to many white people adopting a strategic tendency toward colorblindness by not discussing race in social interactions, particularly when talking with black people, to appear less prejudiced (Apfelbaum, Sommers & Norton, 2008).

Consequences of Media Portrayal on Minority Groups

Research on the discriminatory ways that different ethnic groups are perceived in the media overwhelmingly supports the framing theory and the framing effect, an example of the effects of media on social cognition. The framing theory is the process by which we develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient our thinking about an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Coupled with this, the framing effect refers to the

process by which media communication influences individual frames and attitudes (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Negative framing in media stimulated negative cognitive responses toward immigration, increased the salience of immigration as a problem, generated a negative attitude toward immigration, and induced greater disagreement with positive beliefs about the consequences of immigration for the country (Igartua & Cheng, 2009). Specifically, the media's portrayal of immigration places it in a negative light, focusing more on illegality and criminal behavior. These portrayals lead to more hostile attitudes towards immigration and greater support for punitive immigration policies (Farris & Mohamed, 2018). Negative news portrayal of immigrants increased stereotypic attitudes in the public in a sample of individuals at a political campaign dealing with immigration (Schemer, 2012).

Findings on the effects of media on attitudes towards immigration highlight speaks to the influence of media on public perception. When a group is portrayed negatively in the media, public opinion of the group will mirror this and be negative as well.

The importance of media in shaping attitudes towards others was corroborated in another research study. When Latino representation on television increased, these depictions cultivated real-world stereotypical views of Latinos. When an individual consumed media that depicted Latinos as criminals, their real-world views of Latinos aligned with the media that they were exposed to (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz & Ortiz, 2007). Another study found that implicit associations further shape judgments. These authors highlighted the ways in which implicit visual imagery of a black person placed

alongside stories that were race-neutral influenced the way white participants perceived how different populations are affected by issues. Implicit racial images of blacks primed racial stereotypes about blacks and led to stronger association of blacks having the social problems addressed in the stories (Abraham & Appiah, 2006).

Prior research further highlights how salient the media is and how what audiences are exposed to in the media, plays out in the real-world and aids in discrimination and prejudice (Haft & Zhou, 2021; Han & Budarick, 2018). For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, biased headlines in the media focusing on Asian Americans as the cause of the spread of the virus and former president Donald Trump naming covid the “Chinese virus” resulted in more stigmatization and racial prejudice, higher blame, and a surge in hate crimes against Asian Americans (Cho et al., 2020; Tessler, Choi & Kao, 2020). Thus, the media is a powerful tool that can alter the way groups are perceived and treated due to biased headlining.

Media Portrayal and Ethnic Identity

Prior research supports the notion that media influences and has an impact on public perception of minority ethnic groups. However, there is reason to believe that media portrayal also influences the racial identities of the minority groups that are being targeted. In a sample of Arabs, hostile media perceptions and perceived influence of media coverage affected their perceived image and their social alienation. When media perception was more negative, they viewed their own image in the population as negative and felt more alienated (Tsfati, 2007). This same finding was replicated when considering other minority groups. For example, when Latino/a individuals were portrayed more negatively in the media, favorable in-group attitudes decreased. Negative portrayal of

blacks in the media was also negatively associated with black's in-group attitudes (Tukachinsky, Mastro & Yarchi, 2017).

Little is known about the racial/ethnic identity of white youth. Some evidence suggests that white youth are racially socialized to not discuss race and to be colorblind with regards to race. Colorblindness refers to individuals minimizing the role that race plays to not be labeled as racist (Bloch, Taylor & Martinez, 2019). Many white individuals do not learn about race until they are away from home and able to have more diverse experiences (Loyd & Gaither, 2018).

Some white individuals exhibit a fear of being perceived as racist, and to appease their guilt, will support movements that aid in the fight for minority rights. With the current climate, research has shown that this fear has led to activism burnout, exhaustion, frustration, and hopelessness (Gorski, 2018). This illuminates the depth of media portrayal. Not only does it influence the public, but it also has internal effects on the group that is targeted.

Expected Outcomes of Media Portrayal

Although media has positive effects, including helping people and stay informed, negative media portrayal of minority ethnic groups has detrimental outcomes on well-being. Racism and discrimination are associated with poorer mental health including depression, low self-esteem, anxiety, psychological stress. Racism has been associated with poorer general and physical health (Paradies et al., 2015).

Racism may also affect social cognition. In a study conducted with an ethnically diverse population, researchers found that exposure to racism also affects relational schemas, such that participants had more concerns about interacting with others, concerns

about rejection and invalidation, mistrust, and more social vigilance (Mikrut et al., 2022). For the current study, we are interested in understanding the ways in which race-related media content affects mental health and social cognition.

The Current Study

The current study expands on prior research to examine race-related media coverage and its impact on a personal level. We aimed to analyze whether race-related media coverage would predict perceptions of discrimination, depression, and stereotype confirmation concerns. We hypothesized that the availability of race-related media would result in higher perception of discrimination, more stereotype threat concerns and more symptoms of depression in the sample.

METHODS

Race-related media stories were collected for each day from January 2018 to April 2018 to determine if the frequency of race related stories was related to individuals' social cognition and mental health, data were collected from a sample of individuals participating in another study at a local hospital medical center. Analyses examined relations of frequency of race-related stories over a five- day period to participants' scores on measures of discrimination, depression, and stereotype confirmation concern on the fifth day. Other measures were collected from participants but are not reported here.

Participants

The data came from 156 participants who were surveyed in a local community hospital waiting room or through email contact in Queens, NY from January to April 2018. 46% of the study identified as Black, 21% identified as Latino, 15% identified as White, 9% identified as Other, 4% identified as Asian and 3% identified as Native American. 67% of study participants were female with an average age of 39.38 (range 18–85).

Procedures

For this study, media coverage of race-related stories was tracked through daily identification of race-related stories from 12 of the following news outlets- Twitter, Snapchat, Google News, The New York Times, MSNBC, Fox News, Denver Post, Politico Colorado, 9 News Colorado, Indianz, Colorado Public Radio, and 12 New York- for the period of January to April 2018. To identify race-related stories, research assistants assessed all the news stories published in the top 10/trending stories list or on the front page of the news media outlets and looked for key terms in story headlines and

within the stories. The topics referenced: immigration, healthcare, voting restrictions, historical events with current implication, crime, terrorism, white supremacy/nationalism, education, police brutality/mistreatment, civil rights protests, culture, politics, personal (isolated events), business, workplace, neighborhood/community, media, hate crime/speech and ambiguous. The race-related stories were categorized according to codes that distinguished the subject matter of each story and included the group(s) mentioned in the story, for example, White Supremacy, Black History, Latino Culture, etc. Two research assistants worked together to verify counts of the stories, the races/ethnicities that were associated with each story and the codes attached to the story.

The participant data used was from a study that was done simultaneously with the current study from January to April 2018. Media scores for each day was compared with participant levels of perceived discrimination, depression, and stereotype confirmation.

Measures

Perceived discrimination was assessed through self-report survey responses from participants using the Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version (Brondolo et al., 2005). This measure was used to assess lifetime and past week self-report of exposure to discrimination. This is a 70-item questionnaire with five scales and four subscales- threat/harassment, stigmatization, social exclusion, and discrimination at work and included a lifetime exposure total score. Responses for each item were rated on a 5-point Likert-like scale with 1 indicating that the event never happened and 5 indicating that the event happened very often. Brondolo and colleagues reported a test-retest reliability ranging from .52 to .66 and there is evidence that this measure has high validity in a sample of multiethnic Asians (Kwok et al., 2011).

Depression was assessed through self-report survey responses from participants using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale- Review and Revision (Eaton et al., 2004). The CESD-R consists of 20 items that reflect the DSM-IV criteria for depression. Participants are prompted to reflect how depression symptoms within the past week or so. There were 5 response options provided such as: “not at all or less than 1 day,” “1-2 days,” “3-4 days,” “5-7 days,” and “nearly every day for 2 weeks.” Scores for this measure range from 0 to 80 with scores of 16 or higher indicating high rates of depression. Investigations done by Eaton et al (2004) suggest that this measure has good psychometrics.

Stereotype confirmation concerns were assessed with the Stereotype Confirmation Concerns Scale (Contrada et al., 2001). This is an 11-item measure that is used to assess participants’ fears that they are confirming stereotypes. Participant’s rate, over the past 3 months, how frequently they have had these stereotype concerns. Items are rated on a 7-point Likert-like scale from 1 meaning never to 7 meaning always. Scores range from 11 to 77 with higher scores indicating greater concerns. This measure had good internal consistency, $\alpha = .91$ (Contrada et al., 2001).

Analysis

A 5-day rolling average of the number of stories in each category (i.e., Latino-related stories or all race-related stories) was created using Proc Expand SAS 9.4. PROC Corr in SAS 9.4 was used to generate correlations between the frequency of all race-related stories and the frequency of Latino-related media coverage and self-report survey responses of perceived discrimination, stereotype confirmation concerns and depression. The frequency of Latino-related stories was assessed first due to salient topics during this

study's time period (2016-2019) involving DACA and the border wall. The frequency of Black-related stories and Native-American stories will be assessed in the future.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics (Table 1) and Outcome Correlations (Table 2)

Descriptive statistics of study participants are available in Table 1. Sixty-eight percent of the sample was female. Participants had a mean age of 39 ($SD= 12.85$), ranging from ages 18 to 85. There was an average of 17.53 total race-related stories in the media ($SD= 4.65$) and an average of 2.13 ($SD= 0.92$) Latino-related stories in the media. The majority of the sample was Black, with 46% identifying as Black, 5% identifying as Asian, 21% identifying as Latino, 3% identifying as Native American, 9% identifying as Other, and 15% identifying as White. For the current study, results came from Black, White, and Latino participants. Intercorrelations were conducted among outcome variables (Table 2) and indicated that participant lifetime discrimination was positively correlated with participant recent discrimination, stereotype confirmation concerns was positive correlated with lifetime discrimination and recent discrimination; and depression was positively correlated with lifetime depression, recent depression, and stereotype confirmation concerns.

Media Stories and Outcomes by Race (Table 3)

To address the effects of media coverage of race-related topics and perception of discrimination, stereotype confirmation concerns and depressive symptoms, correlations between study variables were conducted (Table 3). Results separated by race are presented in Tables 3a, 3b and 3c.

For Black participants, there was a negative correlation between depression and total number of race-related stories ($r(70) = -.27, p = 0.03$) and with the number of Latino-related stories ($r(70) = -.25, p = 0.03$). For Latino participants, the effects were in

the same direction ($r = -.21$) but did not reach significance. In contrast, for Whites, there was a positive relation between the frequency of race-related media stories and depression, although the effects did not reach significance.

For Latino participants, stereotype confirmation concerns was *negatively* associated with total number of race-related stories ($r(32) = -0.39, p = 0.02$). For White participants, stereotype confirmation concerns was *positively* associated with the total number of race-related stories ($r(23) = .42, p = 0.04$). The relation of the frequency of race-related media was not related to stereotype confirmation concerns for Black individuals.

There were no relations of the frequency of media stories to perceived lifetime or recent discrimination for any group.

DISCUSSION

Previous studies have demonstrated that the media is a powerful tool which can influence discriminatory behavior and social cognitions, including increase stereotyping and one's self-identity (Firth et al., 2019; Haft & Zhou, 2021; Han & Budarick, 2018; Tukachinsky, Mastro & Yarchi, 2017). I extended this research to examine the relationship between the frequency of reporting of race-related stories and individual levels of discrimination, depression, and stereotype confirmation concerns. I examined race/ethnicity differences in these effects.

Prior research found that when portrayed negatively in the media, individuals felt alienated and viewed themselves and their group identity more negatively in the real world (Tsfati, 2007; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz & Ortiz, 2007). Other research indicates that higher rates of prejudice and discrimination led to depression (Paradies et al., 2015). In contrast the current study found that when there were more race-related stories in the media, Black participants experienced lower levels of depression and Latino participants experienced lower levels of stereotype confirmation concerns. Although we expected to find that more race related stories would lead to higher rates of depression within these groups as demonstrated in other bodies of work, it is possible that seeing their race/ethnicity being acknowledged in the media might be empowering and reduced hopelessness; and might also signify that their struggles are being acknowledged and receiving attention.

White participants, on the other hand, experienced more stereotype confirmation concerns when the total number of race-related stories in the media was higher. This finding was corroborated in prior research, which stated that White individuals are less

likely to discuss race and are more likely to engage in color blindness due to their fear of appearing racist (Gorski, 2018; Apfelbaum, Sommers & Norton, 2008). Discussions of race in the media may prompt White individuals to worry that they are being perceived as contributors to racial injustice and activate concerns about stereotypes that White individuals are prejudice.

Strengths and Contributions

The current study contributes to the literature by identifying how the type of media consumed daily may impact social cognitions and person-level schemas in Black, White and Latino individuals. Unlike previous research focused on the ways different groups are perceived in the media and its impact cognitively and individually, the current study coded the collection of race related stories and the types of media consumed which has been a detailed, time consuming and novel analysis of media coverage. Coding of the frequency of stories consumed by topic and day has been helpful in allowing researchers to get a full picture of the types of stories that were salient during a specific time period and the ways this may play a part in outcomes such as discrimination, stereotype confirmation concerns and depression. By coding for the frequency of media coverage, the study was able to separate stories by race and assess the types of media that focused on Black individuals and that focused on Latino individuals

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations of this study suggest directions for future research. The current study was limited in that the sample size was small (N= 156). A larger sample size would allow for the data to be generalizable to a greater population outside of the current test participants. The study was also limited to examining media stories and participant

responses across a 4-month span. Future research should collect longitudinal data to determine, for example, whether there was a relationship between number of race related stories and depression, discrimination, and stereotype confirmation concerns even at different stages of development, considering that the vast majority of younger-aged populations utilize social media more than older adults (Perrin, 2015). The current study is also correlational in design to test the research question; however, correlation does not equal causation. Future research should utilize an experimental design to draw causal conclusions about the impact media has on depression, discrimination, and stereotype confirmation concerns within different ethnic groups. The current study is also in the process of coding the frequency of Black-related stories and Native-American related stories within the same time period which can be looked at in the future.

Nonetheless, the current study contributed to the literature by focusing on identifying whether the number of the race related stories in the media was associated with discrimination, depression and stereotype confirmation concerns in Black, White and Latino participants. The study results have implications for how these groups perceive themselves based on the type of media consumed regularly and how the media may impact their psychological well-being. Black and Latino individuals may not always be negatively affected by race-related media, and, in some cases, it can be empowering. White individuals, on the other hand, may have more negative reactions to stories about race-related, which can possibly reinforce schemas around being racist. The current study provides insights pertaining to the rapid and influential effects of media on person-level outcomes. A clearer understanding of media's effects on psychological well-being of all people is needed

Table 1.

Descriptive of Study Participants

Variables	N	Frequency	%	Mean (SD)
# of Latino related stories	156			2.13 (0.92)
Total # of race-related stories	156			17.53 (4.65)
Age	151			39.38 (12.85)
Gender				
Female		106	67.95	
Male		50	32.05	
Race				
Asian		7	4.52	
Black		72	46.45	
Latino		33	21.29	
Native American		5	3.23	
Other		14	9.03	
White		24	15.48	

Table 2.

Correlations Among Outcome Variables

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Lifetime discrimination	-----			
2. Recent discrimination	0.62***	-----		
3. Stereotype confirmation concerns	0.32***	0.30***	-----	
4. Depression	0.42***	0.40***	0.41***	-----
Mean (SD)	1.68 (0.60)	0.56 (0.70)	2.23 (1.33)	1.70 (0.76)

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. N = 156.

Table 3.

Correlation of Media Stories and Outcomes by Race

3a. Black Participants

Variables	# of Latino-related stories	Total # of race-related stories	Mean (SD)
1. Lifetime discrimination	-0.17	-0.22	1.78 (0.53)
2. Recent discrimination	-0.05	-0.07	0.67 (0.74)
3. Stereotype confirmation concerns	-0.15	-0.09	2.34 (1.37)
4. Depression	-0.27*	-0.25*	1.74 (0.76)
Mean (SD)	2.09 (0.98)	17.42 (4.89)	-----

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. N = 72.

3b. Latino Participants

Variables	# of Latino-related stories	Total # of race-related stories	Mean (SD)
1. Lifetime discrimination	0.30	0.26	1.63 (0.64)
2. Recent discrimination	0.00	0.01	0.46 (0.61)
3. Stereotype confirmation concerns	-0.26	-0.39*	2.19 (1.16)
4. Depression	-0.19	-0.21	1.55 (0.75)
Mean (SD)	2.26 (0.91)	17.70 (4.82)	-----

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. N = 33.

3c. White Participants

Variables	# of Latino-related stories	Total # of race-related stories	Mean (SD)
1. Lifetime discrimination	-0.11	0.11	1.54 (0.65)
2. Recent discrimination	-0.24	-0.05	0.39 (0.57)
3. Stereotype confirmation concerns	0.16	0.42*	2.08 (1.54)
4. Depression	0.33	0.33	1.78 (0.69)
Mean (SD)	2.03 (0.75)	17.07 (3.41)	-----

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. N = 24.

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