Cultivating Adulthood Prejudice toward Black Americans and Low-Income Individuals through Childhood Social Media Use: A Retrospective Approach

Shay Xuejing Yao, Nikki McClaran, Morgan E. Ellithorpe, David Ewoldsen, and Fashina Alade

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Author Note

Shay Xuejing Yao, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Communication, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA, 30303, U.S., shayyao@gsu.edu

Nikki McClaran, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication, Arizona State University, Phoenix, AZ, 85004., mcclaran@asu.edu

Morgan E. Ellithorpe, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Communication, University of Delaware, Newark, DE, 19716, U.S., mellitho@udel.edu

David Ewoldsen, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Media & Information, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, 48823, U.S., ewoldsen@msu.edu

Fashina Alade, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Advertising & Public Relations, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, 48823, U.S., aladefas@msu.edu

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Shay Xuejing Yao, Department of Communication, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA, 30303, U.S. Email: shayyao@gsu.edu

Abstract

Previous research has linked lifetime media use with intergroup prejudice. Our studies extend previous findings by linking current intergroup prejudice (race, social class) with retrospectively reported media use in specific life stages (childhood, adolescence, adulthood). Across two surveys (n = 293; n = 369), we found childhood social media use, but not adolescence or adulthood social media use, significantly predicted participants' current prejudicial attitudes toward Black individuals and low-income individuals, mediated through social dominance orientation. Additionally, overall lifetime social media use was associated with positive and negative racial attitudes through social dominance orientation. However, findings with lifetime TV use were mixed. Neither of indirect effects between overall lifetime TV use, social dominance orientation, and racial attitudes (or income egalitarianism) was statistically significant. Further, neither of these indirect effects with TV use in specific life stages was significant. Overall, the present findings call for attention on contemporary media in addition to traditional media in cultivation research.

Keywords: cultivation theory, television use, social media use, prejudice, race, income equality

Cultivating Adulthood Prejudice toward Black Americans and Low-Income Individuals through Childhood Social Media Use: A Retrospective Approach

Prejudice based on race and social class remains a serious issue in our society, with far-reaching consequences for individuals and communities alike. Extensive research has found racial and ethnic minorities to frequently face discrimination in access to opportunities such as healthcare and employment (Michaels et al., 2022; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Research has also shown that people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to experience discrimination in a variety of settings, for example, in the criminal justice system and in education (Friedman & Pattillo, 2019; Bhatia et al., 2011). These social issues have also garnered significant attention in the fields of media effects and media psychology as mass media can be both a source of and a catalyst for change in people's prejudicial beliefs (Bissell & Parrott, 2013). The present research builds off this body of literature and focuses on the cultivation effects of media use on outgroup prejudice toward Black Americans and low-income individuals. Specifically, two studies were conducted to explore how television and social media use at different life stages impact racial (Study 1) and social class (Study 2) prejudice.

Cultivation theory has long been used to demonstrate television's influence on viewers' beliefs about society (Gerbner & Gross, 1976), such as in shaping prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes (Ortiz & Behm-Morawitz, 2015). Scholars have extended cultivation effects to social media (Tsay-Vogel et al., 2018) but more research is needed to investigate how social media use contributes to the specific issue of intergroup prejudice. Hermann et al. (2020) recently found Facebook use to cultivate positive attitudes toward ethnic minorities, suggesting social media use as a potentially beneficial influence on racial beliefs. In general, however, media use has often been found to cultivate negative intergroup attitudes (e.g., Dixon, 2008; Atwell Seate et al.,

2018) particularly toward Black Americans as negative and stereotypical portrayals are commonly observed in mass media (e.g., Monk-Turner et al., 2010).

An important yet often ignored component of cultivation theory is that certain periods of life tend to be marked with greater media influence than others (Roskos-Ewoldsen et al., 2004). For example, college students' retrospective TV use during childhood has been found as particularly relevant for existing racial norm perceptions (Ellithorpe et al., 2018). However, there is a shortage of current research that directly compares how media exposure in different life stages cultivates racial bias and prejudicial beliefs, especially through different media modalities. The present research questions how TV and social media use at different periods of life, including childhood, adolescence, and adulthood years, influence racial and social class prejudice.

Of particular interest when considering intergroup prejudice is the role that social dominance orientation (SDO) may play. Understood as the perceptions that a person's in-group (defined as the social group to which the person belongs) is and should be considered superior to others, SDO has been found as a main mechanism for why people hold different forms of prejudice (Whitley, 1999). Regarding cultivation, the often stigmatized portrayal of Black people in the media (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Dixon & Azocar, 2007) may heighten SDO, leading to increased racial prejudice. For example, a content analysis of local television news in the Los Angeles area found programming to overrepresent Black individuals as lawbreakers when compared to the population's crime rate (Dixon & Linz, 2000). It should be noted that although this pattern was not found to replicate in a more recent analysis of the same type of media (Dixon, 2017), the author notes that the portrayal of Black individuals as "brutes" may have shifted to other media, such as sports coverage. Other research has found stereotypical depictions

of Black individuals as violent, lazy, and intellectually inferior, among other negative characteristics (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Indeed, a longitudinal study of White and Black preadolescents found television use to negatively predict self-esteem for Black boys and girls but not for White boys, further suggesting that a stigmatized portrayal of the Black population in television media exists (Martins & Harrison, 2012). In accordance with cultivation theory, repeated exposure to such biased representation is likely to not only influence Black individuals' perceptions of themselves but also to influence out-group audiences' views, such as by strengthening prejudicial beliefs (Graves, 1999).

The present study also recognizes social class as another target of prejudice that should be considered. The importance of studying social class prejudice as a separate-but-related issue from racial prejudice has been highlighted by prior scholars (Weeks & Lupfer, 2004). Previous research has recognized low-income individuals to be underrepresented in media or misrepresented with negative stereotypes (e.g., taking advantage of the welfare system; Bullock et al., 2001; Rose & Baumgartner, 2013). Research has also labeled other forms of stereotypes toward low-income individuals, such as perceptions of this social group as being uneducated, lazy, and lacking motivation (e.g., Valencia, 1997). These negative portrayals of the working class in media may potentially cultivate audiences' preference for equality between social classes, and in turn contribute to their acceptance of class prejudice. We therefore offer SDO as a potential mediator between media use and both racial and social class prejudice. Taken together, the following hypotheses and research questions guided the present research (see Figure 1 for the conceptual model):

H1a: TV use at different life stages (childhood, adolescence, and adulthood) will be associated with increased racial and social class prejudice.

H1b: Lifetime TV use will be associated with increased racial and social class prejudice.

RQ1a: Does social media use at different life stages (childhood, adolescence, and adulthood) influence racial and social class prejudice?

RQ1b: Does lifetime social media use influence racial and social class prejudice?

RQ2: Are the relationships mentioned in H1 and RQ2 mediated by social dominance orientation?

Study 1

Method

Participants & Procedure

Undergraduate students were recruited from a large Midwestern university to complete the 20-minute online survey for course credit. As the current study was concerned with out-group racial prejudice toward Black Americans, Black participants completed a filler survey which included no race-related questions and therefore were excluded from data analysis. Among the non-Black participants who took the survey (n = 408), 28.2% were removed for failing attention check questions, resulting in a final sample size of 293 participants (61% female; M_{age} = 19.85, SD_{age} = 1.42; $range_{age}$ = 18 to 28). Participants identified as being White (75%), Asian (15%), Middle Eastern (2%), Hispanic/Latino (2%), and other (5%). Both studies in the present research were approved by the Institutional Review Board at Michigan State University.

Measures

See Table 1 for descriptive statistics of all measures.

Attitudes toward Black people were measured by the Positive and Negative Attitudes toward Blacks scale (Katz & Hass, 1988). Participants indicated their level of agreement (-5 =

strongly disagree; +5 = *strongly agree*) to 10 positive (e.g., “This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in Black culture”) and 10 negative (e.g., “Blacks should take the jobs that are available and then work their way up to better jobs”) statements, in randomized order. The items were averaged to form an index for each attitude valence where a higher mean for the positive items reflected stronger positive racial attitudes and a higher mean for the negative items reflected stronger negative racial attitudes.

Social dominance orientation was measured by the Social Dominance Orientation scale (Pratto et al., 1994) which was designed to capture individuals’ general preference of group-based hierarchy. Participants were asked to indicate how they felt (-3 = *extremely negative*; +3 = *extremely positive*) about 16 statements (e.g., "some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups"). Responses were averaged to form an index, where a higher score reflected stronger preference of group-based hierarchy. Items were randomized.

Television use across life stages was measured with a modified version of the Lifetime Television Exposure scale (Riddle, 2010). Participants were asked to retrospectively report how often (0 = *almost never*; 10 = *almost always*) they watched television (i.e., live TV, recorded programs, and streamed TV programs) on weekdays and weekends during their childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Ten questions for each life stage were asked such as “How often do you watch television in the morning on weekdays?” Responses were used to create a weighted average for television use at each of the three life stages.[1] To test the role of overall lifetime television use on intergroup prejudice, the three life stages were weighted for a lifetime television use index based on the length of each considered life stage.[2]

[1] Cronbach α is not available for this measure as it is a weighted index.

[2] The same weighing formula was used as in Riddle (2010).

Social media use across life stages was measured with identical items as in *television use across life stages* with one change: participants were asked to report their social media use (e.g., Facebook, Reddit, YouTube) instead of television use (e.g., "How often did/do you use social media during the day on Saturday?)

Political orientation was measured by asking participants to identify on a scale ranging from (-3) *very liberal* to (+3) *very conservative* where they would place their views.

Results

Structural equation modeling (SEM) with the Lavaan package (Version 0.6-12; Rosseel, 2012) in R (Version 4.2.1) was used to analyze the data. To test the effects of media use during the three life stages on participants' interracial attitudes, two separate models were tested: one model with the three scales for TV use as the exogenous variables ($\chi^2(18) = 34.82$, $p = .01$, RMSEA = .06, CFI = .98, and TLI = .93) and the other with the three scales for social media use as the exogenous variables ($\chi^2(18) = 40.74$, $p = .002$, RMSEA = .07, CFI = .97, and TLI = .91; see Table 4 for path results). Two additional models were tested to see whether lifetime media use influenced participants' interracial attitudes (one with lifetime TV use as the exogenous variable and the other with lifetime social media use as the exogenous variable; see Table 5 for path results). Across the four models, TV and social media use were not included together in the same model due to concern of multicollinearity. Saturated models were used and therefore no model fit indices are available to report. Missing data was addressed with full information maximum likelihood within model building. Coefficients presented here are unstandardized, bias-corrected, and are reported with 5,000 bootstrap samples. Participants' race, age, and political orientation were included as covariates in all four models. Because race is a nominal

variable with multiple categories, we recoded the variable with dummy coding to be included in the analysis. See Table 2 for a correlation matrix of all Study 1 variables.

As seen in Table 4, television use did not significantly predict racial attitudes directly or through SDO for any life stage, therefore H1a was not supported. To answer R1a, social media use was found to not directly predict racial attitudes for any life stage. To answer R2, childhood social media use significantly predicted current racial attitudes through SDO. That is, greater (retrospectively reported) social media use during childhood was associated with less positive attitudes toward Black individuals, mediated through SDO. Similarly, with SDO as the mediating mechanism, an increase in participants' childhood social media use was associated with more negative attitudes toward Black individuals. No significant relationships were found for adolescence or adulthood social media use on racial attitudes.

When testing the effects of combined lifetime media use, TV use did not directly predict racial attitudes, thus H1b was not supported. Lifetime TV use also did not indirectly predict racial attitudes but lifetime social media use significantly predicted positive and negative racial attitudes through SDO (RQ2; see Table 5). Interestingly, the directionality of using childhood social media use and lifetime social media use to indirectly predict racial attitudes was the opposite – an increase in lifetime social media use was associated with less SDO, which was in turn associated with more positive and less negative attitudes toward Black people. Additionally, lifetime social media use directly and positively predicted racial prejudice toward Black people regardless of the influence of SDO, answering RQ1b. To test whether the present findings replicate for different forms of prejudice, a second study was conducted with a different intergroup prejudice measure (i.e., social class prejudice).

Study 2

Method

The recruiting procedure from Study 1was replicated in Study 2.[3] A total of 401 participants finished the 20-minute online survey. Those who failed the attention check questions were removed from data analysis, which left a final sample of 369 participants. Participants (n = 369) were mostly female (61%), an average of 19.99 years of age (*SD* = 1.68; range = 18 to 30) and identified as being White (66%), Asian (14%), Black (8%), more than one race (6%), and Hispanic/Latino (2%).

Measures

All measures from Study 1 were used in Study 2 except for the Positive and Negative Attitudes toward Blacks scale which was replaced with items assessing participants' intergroup prejudice toward income. See Table 1 for descriptive statistics of all measures.

Intergroup prejudice was operationalized by assessing income egalitarianism (i.e., support for income equality) and income inegalitarianism (i.e., support for income inequality) (Kluegel & Smith, 2017). Participants indicated their level of agreement (-5 = *strongly disagree*; +5 = *strongly agree*) to four items measuring *income egalitarianism* (e.g., "Income should be more equal, because every family's needs for food, housing, and so on, are the same") and seven items measuring *income inegalitarianism* (e.g., "If income were equal, nothing would motivate people to work hard"). Items were randomized and responses to each scale were averaged to form an index.

Results

See Table 3 for a correlation matrix of all Study 2 variables.

[3] Study 1 participants were excluded from the recruitment pool for Study 2.

As in Study 1, two sets of SEM models were tested. One set of models used either the three TV use scales ($\chi^2(6) = 11.31$, $p = .08$, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .99, and TLI = .97) or the three social media use scales ($\chi^2(6) = 17.68$, $p = .01$, RMSEA = .07, CFI = .99, and TLI = .94) as the exogeneous variables, the other set used either lifetime TV use or lifetime social media use as the exogenous variable.[4] In all four SEM models, SDO was tested as a mediator and income egalitarianism and income inegalitarianism as outcome variables. In general, the results of Study 2 replicated Study 1 findings: neither income egalitarianism nor income inegalitarianism beliefs were predicted by television use at any life stage (H1a was not supported), but both were predicted by childhood social media use through the mediator of SDO (RQ2; see Table 4). Specifically, greater childhood social media use was associated with stronger SDO beliefs, which was in turn associated with decreased beliefs about income equality and increased beliefs about income inequality. Childhood social media use was also found to directly predict income (in)egalitarianism even when parsing out the effects of SDO (RQ1a), though with opposite directionality: participants who reported more social media use as a child indicated stronger beliefs of income equality and weaker beliefs of income inequality. Additionally, although TV use did not predict income (in)egalitarianism through SDO at any life stage, adolescence TV use significantly and directly predicted both income egalitarianism and income inegalitarianism. H1a was partially supported.

As seen in Table 5, when testing lifetime media use as the predictor of income (in)egalitarianism, lifetime TV use was significantly and directly associated with income egalitarianism, partially supporting H1b. The path between lifetime TV use and income egalitarianism was also found to be mediated through SDO (RQ2). Relatedly, lifetime social

[4] These latter two models are saturated models and by definition have perfect global model fit.

media use was associated with stronger beliefs of income egalitarianism (RQ1b), this relationship is also mediated through weaker belief in SDO (RQ2). Neither of the indirect paths between lifetime social media use and income (in)egalitarianism were statically significant.

General Discussion

Across two studies, childhood social media use was significantly associated with participants' current beliefs regarding different forms of prejudice. Specifically, retrospectively reported childhood social media use was associated with current preference for one's in-group (operationalized as social dominance orientation), which in turn contributed to the strength of racist and classist ideologies. This set of findings aligns with previous literature which argues childhood media use to play an important role in forming overall attitudes toward minority groups (Roskos-Ewoldsen et al., 2004). Surprisingly, television use at any life stage (childhood, adolescence, and adulthood) was not found to predict current prejudicial attitudes toward race. For social class prejudice, only adolescence TV use was associated with income (in)egalitarianism beliefs. The collective findings from both studies lends support for calls advocating a shifting view of cultivation theory that emphasizes contemporary media over, or at least in addition to, traditional media (Nevzat, 2018).

In Study 2, adolescence TV use significantly predicted income (in)egalitarianism. The more a participant thought they watched TV during their adolescent years, the more egalitarian and less inegalitarian attitudes they reported toward low-income individuals. However, this pattern was not found with childhood and adulthood TV use. A possible explanation may relate to the nature of adolescence and what is being watched. Whereas children's media are unlikely to explore societal issues of wealth and power, these themes may be more prevalent in TV watched by adolescents. Coupled with the greater financial dependence adolescents experience during

these years, which has been shown to influence perspectives of wealth (Li & Tsang, 2016), media exposure during this time may be particularly influential in the formation and reinforcement of income (in)egalitarianism beliefs. Future research should replicate the current research to cross-validate these findings.

Furthermore, Study 2 found childhood social media use to directly predict prejudice, but in the opposite direction of its indirect effect through SDO. Without consideration of SDO, childhood social media use played a positive role in participants' current beliefs about income equality. That is, the more participants reported using social media in childhood, the more equality-oriented their beliefs were as adults, except for those whose social media use contributed to a social dominance orientation, which strongly predicted more prejudiced beliefs. However, such a pattern did not show in Study 1 when testing racial attitudes as the outcome. This set of findings indicates the need for a more detailed understanding of social media content during participants' childhood. Both study samples include young adults (i.e., a mean age of about 20 years), who would have experienced childhood during the late 2000s and/or early 2010s. Future research should consider content analyzing social media content during that period and test cultivation effects by modeling media content and media use together as the predictors.

When looking at lifetime media use as a whole, lifetime television use significantly predicted SDO in Study 2, which also directly predicted income egalitarianism. Lifetime TV was also significantly associated with income egalitarianism when mediated by SDO. Overall, this set of findings indicates lifetime TV to be related to positive attitudes toward low-income individuals. These findings are inconsistent with existing literature on media portrayals of poverty, which tends to find negative depictions of this social group (e.g., Rose & Baumgartner, 2013). Additionally, the positive impact of lifetime TV use on attitudes toward low-income

individuals only exhibited through increased income egalitarianism but not decreased income inegalitarianism. This pattern also did not exhibit with racial attitudes in Study 1. Therefore, we recommend interpreting this set of results with caution and call for a replication of the present research with different samples.

Lifetime social media use both directly and indirectly predicted positive interracial attitudes as well as beliefs about income equality. Overall, social media use across lifespan played a positive role in combatting intergroup prejudice, which contradicts our findings of the negative role played by childhood social media use alone on intergroup attitudes. This inconsistency may be explained by the recent use of social media platforms as an amplifier of social movements (Cox, 2017; Freelon et al., 2016; Mundt et al., 2018). Indeed, social media and other digital platforms have been considered essential for contemporary social movements as they allow activist groups to broaden their reach and impact (Freelon et al., 2016). The Black Lives Matter movement is a prime example of how social media can mobilize and spread information related to a social cause (Mundt et al., 2018). Considered the largest U.S. movement to date (Buchanan et al., 2020), Black Lives Matter primarily used social media platforms and hashtag activism to coordinate protests and share stories about the injustices faced by Black Americans (Cox, 2017). In context to our results, the Black Lives Matter movement would have first started when most of our participants were in their adolescence. Thus, it is possible that the presence of content related to race and other social issues may be more prevalent on social media now than when in childhood, explaining why lifetime social media use, but not childhood social media use alone, was positively associated with intergroup attitudes. That said, more research is needed to empirically test our speculation.

Limitation & Future Research

Despite the interesting and consistent findings across two studies, the present research has limitations. First, the correlational analyses in the present research only provide preliminary evidence for the relationship between childhood social media use and adulthood prejudice. The current approach is limited when interpreting causality, but aims to provide future directions for this line of research. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and causality between childhood media use and adulthood prejudice, it is recommended to conduct experimental testing or longitudinal research using non-retrospective data. For instance, studies focusing on the relationship between social media use and prejudice should involve children or adolescents as participants, tracking them over an extended period. By doing so, we can be more confident about whether the connection between social media use and prejudice emerges early in life and determine the age at which it begins to develop. This approach enables us to shed light on the formation of the social media use-prejudice link and its timeline of development.

Another limitation lies in the use of retrospective self-report for measuring media use across life stages. We used Riddle's (2010) Lifetime Television Exposure scale for this measure which relies on participants' long-term memory. The potential reliability issue of retrospective measures is addressed in the scale's structure by cueing participants to recall specific daily routine within a particular life stage (Riddle, 2010). Past studies using retrospective self-report methods with different operationalizations (e.g., close-ended vs. open-ended questions) also have very similar findings on the recall of emotional reactions to mass media during childhood (Harrison & Cantor, 1999; Hoekstra et al., 1999). To ensure the robustness and reliability of the current findings, future research should employ a diverse range of methods to cross-validate the results obtained from the existing study. One possible direction for further investigation is the

administration of surveys to individuals in different stages of life, encompassing childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

The present findings may be stamped by the age group of our samples, both of which include young adults (age between 18 and 30). When our participants were in their childhood, limited social media platforms were available (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) and many of them were in early stages of development. Thus it is possible that social media content back then possessed its own distinct characteristics. However, a sample with older adults would have had zero exposure to social media in their childhood (e.g., *Myspace* launched in 2003). Although our undergraduate student samples reported relatively low levels of social media exposure during childhood, it would be even more difficult to study social media cultivation effects in an adult sample with an older average age. There is also the concern on generalizability of using convenience samples (e.g., undergraduate student samples). Therefore, we are cautious when interpreting and applying the present findings to the general public. We would also strongly recommend future research to explicitly consider age group as a factor on cultivation effects between different types of media use. One possible direction would be utilizing samples with different age cohorts and comparing the long-term effects between TV use and social media use.

In Study 1, we excluded Black participants from data analysis as Black people were the target group of that study, but in Study 2, we included all participants regardless of their income level. This was due to the nature of our samples, wherein college students were expected to have low personal income which would limit the variation of the measure. However, future research should consider other income factors such as household income as a proxy for college students' personal income. The current measures of media use may fail to capture the nuances of media content. Consistent with much cultivation research (e.g., Atwell et al., 2018), we measured

overall media use for television and social media across three life stages. The preliminary results of this approach showed interesting patterns, but more research is needed to better understand how exposure to types of media content may cultivate different domain-specific beliefs.

Several paths with attitudes toward Black people as the dependent variable were not statistically significant, which may partially be explained by the measurement instrument (Katz & Hass, 1988). The scale may no longer accurately measure attitudes toward a racial outgroup, given the significant shifts in societal norms and attitudes over the past few decades. Additionally, social desirability bias may have affected participants' responses to the scale items, making it challenging to accurately capture true attitudes toward this target outgroup. Moving forward, it is recommended for researchers to consider or to develop alternative measures that account for the changing nature of attitudes toward Black people in contemporary society.

In two of the tested models, media use (TV and social media) across three life stages were parallel exogenous variables, which means the three media use variables were allowed to covary. Although in reality media use across life stages are expected to correlate with each other, this model design may potentially have an issue of multicollinearity. We computed variance inflation factors (VIF) for variables in all models tested and found VIFs ranged from 1.03 to 2.43, which are all considerably closer to one (i.e., no two predictors are highly correlated; unlikely to have multicollinearity issue) than to five (i.e., at least two predictors are highly correlated; likely to have multicollinearity issue). Thus, we believe the possibility of multicollinearity causing issues is low but we caution the readers when interpreting the results. Future research should seek innovative research design as well as data analysis methods when studying media use across lifespan. Additionally, the percentage of initial participants who failed attention check questions were considerable (28%) in Study 1. We did not find any systemic

differences in demographics of those participants who passed and those who failed at attention checks, but we still recognize the level of missing data as a limitation and recommend future research to utilize novel approaches to address this issue.

Conclusion

The current research provided insight on the influence of childhood social media use on prejudicial attitudes in adulthood and emphasized social dominance orientation as an important mechanism in this line of research. Overall, our findings highlighted the emerging importance of social media in cultivation research and calls for more research that continues to explore how contemporary media may work similarly or divergently to traditional media in cultivating media users' beliefs and attitudes.

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Figure 1

Conceptual Model

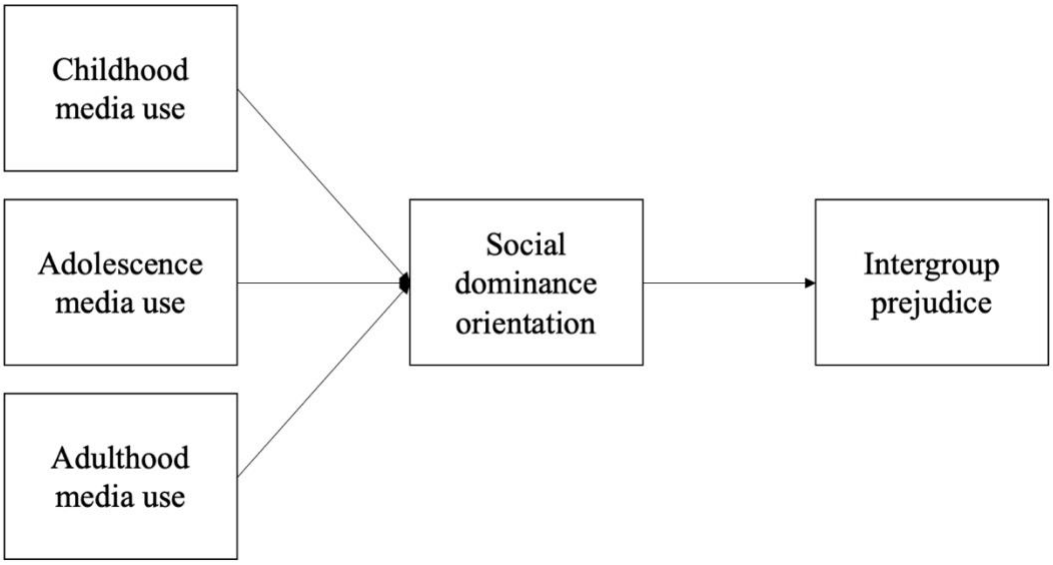

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Study 1 & 2

Variables	Measurement scale	Study 1			Study 2		
		M	*SD*	Cronbach's α	*M*	*SD*	Cronbach's α
Positive attitudes toward Blacks	-5=strongly disagree, +5=strongly agree	1.43	1.70	.86	-	-	-
Negative attitudes toward Blacks		-1.68	1.74	.85	-	-	-
Income egalitarianism		-	-	-	0.47	2.32	.86
Income inegalitarianism		-	-	-	0.07	2.50	.93
Social dominance orientation	-3=extremely negative, +3=extremely positive	-1.82	.99	.92	-1.47	1.09	.92
Childhood TV use	0=almost never, 10=almost always	4.53	2.34	-	4.80	2.13	-
Adolescence TV use		4.15	2.26	-	4.54	2.13	-
Adulthood TV use		4.63	2.49	-	5.18	2.41	-
Lifetime TV use		4.45	2.01	-	4.91	1.88	-
Childhood social media use		0.91	1.86	-	1.09	2.02	-
Adolescence social media use		7.13	2.44	-	7.09	2.32	-
Adulthood social media use		7.61	2.26	-	7.66	2.10	-
Lifetime social media use		6.33	1.85	-	6.37	1.73	-
Political orientation	-3=very liberal, +3=very conservative	-0.63	1.55	-	-0.50	1.57	-

Table 2

Correlation Matrix for Study 1

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1)Positive attitudes toward Blacks	-											
(2)Negative attitudes toward Blacks	-.54[a]	-										
(3)Social dominance orientation	-.54[a]	.60[a]	-									
(4)Childhood TV use	.05	-.08	-.05	-								
(5)Adolescence TV use	.02	-.14[c]	-.11	.49[a]	-							
(6)Adulthood TV use	.03	-.08	-.11	.24[a]	.67[a]	-						
(7)Lifetime TV use	.04	-.11	-.12[c]	.53[a]	.88[a]	.92[a]	-					
(8)Childhood social media use	-.19[b]	.18[b]	.29[a]	.12[c]	.16[b]	.10	.14[c]	-				
(9)Adolescence social media use	.16[b]	-.20[a]	-.18[b]	.38[a]	.30[a]	.15[b]	.28[a]	.02	-			
(10)Adulthood social media use	.20[a]	-.16[b]	-.19[a]	.29[a]	.15[b]	.18[b]	.22[a]	-.07	.74[a]	-		
(11)Lifetime social media use	.16[b]	-.16[b]	-.15[b]	.37[a]	.26[a]	.19[a]	.29[a]	.13[c]	.91[a]	.93[a]	-	
(12)Political orientation	-.62[a]	.45[a]	.41[a]	-.03	-.01	.02	.00	.08	-.05	-.02	-.02	-

[a]$p<.001$; [b]$p<.01$; [c]$p<.05$

Table 3

Correlation Matrix for Study 2

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1)Income egalitarianism	-											
(2) Income inegalitarianism	-.53	-										
(3)Social dominance orientation	-.34[a]	.54[a]	-									
(4)Childhood TV use	.13[c]	-.02[c]	-.04	-								
(5)Adolescence TV use	.15[b]	-.05[b]	-.04	.36[a]	-							
(6)Adulthood TV use	.06	-.03	-.08	.12[c]	.69[a]	-						
(7)Lifetime TV use	.12[c]	-.04[c]	-.07	.40[a]	.89[a]	.92[a]	-					
(8)Childhood social media use	.10[c]	.04[c]	.33[a]	.13[c]	.16[b]	.13[b]	.17[b]	-				
(9)Adolescence social media use	.13[c]	-.02[c]	-.14[b]	.34[a]	.19[a]	.11[a]	.20[a]	.00	-			
(10)Adulthood social media use	.15[b]	-.02[b]	-.16[b]	.24[a]	.04	.07[c]	.11[c]	-.09	.75[a]	-		
(11)Lifetime social media use	.17[a]	-.02[a]	-.10[c]	.33[a]	.14[b]	.12[a]	.19[a]	.14[b]	.91[a]	.93[a]	-	
(12)Political orientation	-.45[a]	.58[a]	.53[a]	-.07	.07	.03	.03	.04	-.11c	-.10	-.10	-

[a]$p<.001$; [b]$p<.01$; [c]$p<.05$

Table 4

Direct and Indirect Effects of Media Use across Three Life Stages

Models with TV Use	Study 1	Study 2
	Coeff.	Coeff.
Childhood TV use→SDO	-.002[-.06, .05]	-.02[-.08, .03]
Adolescence TV use→SDO	-.003[-.07, .07]	.03[-.05, .11]
Adulthood TV use→SDO	-.03[-.08, .03]	-.05[-.12, .01]
SDO→positive racial attitudes	**-.62[-.79, -.44]**	-
SDO→negative racial attitudes	**.74[.57, .90]**	-
SDO→income egalitarianism	-	**-.27[-.50, -.03]**
SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	**.74[.52, .95]**
Childhood TV use→positive racial attitudes	.03[-.05, .10]	-
Childhood TV use→negative racial attitudes	-.01[-.09, .07]	-
Childhood TV use→income egalitarianism	-	.02[-.09, .13]
Childhood TV use→income inegalitarianism	-	.08[-.03, .19]
Adolescence TV use→positive racial attitudes	-.04[-.14, .06]	-
Adolescence TV use→negative racial attitudes	-.06[-.15, .04]	-
Adolescence TV use→income egalitarianism	-	**.25[.11, .40]**
Adolescence TV use→income inegalitarianism	-	**-.17[-.32, -.03]**
Adulthood TV use→positive racial attitudes	.02[-.06, .10]	-
Adulthood TV use→negative racial attitudes	.03[-.06, .11]	-
Adulthood TV use→income egalitarianism	-	-.09[-.21, .04]
Adulthood TV use→income inegalitarianism	-	.08[-.04, .26]
Childhood TV use→SDO→positive racial attitudes	.00[-.03, .04]	-
Childhood TV use→SDO→negative racial attitudes	-.00[-.04, .04]	-
Childhood TV use→SDO→income egalitarianism	-	.003[-.02, .01]
Childhood TV use→SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	.01[-.03, .05]
Adolescence TV use→SDO→positive racial attitudes	.00[-.04, .05]	-
Adolescence TV use→SDO→negative racial attitudes	-.00[-.05, .05]	-
Adolescence TV use→SDO→income egalitarianism	-	.01[-.01, .04]
Adolescence TV use→SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	.02[-.07, .03]
Adulthood TV use→SDO→positive racial attitudes	.02[-.02, .05]	-
Adulthood TV use→SDO→negative racial attitudes	-.02[-.06, .02]	-
Adulthood TV use→SDO→income egalitarianism	-	.01[-.00, .04]
Adulthood TV use→SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	-.02[-.07, .02]
R^2	Positive racial attitudes: 49% Negative racial attitudes: 44%	Income egalitarianism: 24% Income inegalitarianism: 41%
Models with Social Media Use		
Childhood social media use→SDO	**.13[.07, .21]**	**.16[.11, .21]**
Adolescence social media use→SDO	-.03[-.09, .03]	-.02[-.07, .05]
Adulthood social media use→SDO	-.04[-.12, .02]	-.03[-.09, .04]
SDO→positive racial attitudes	**-.55[-.73, -.37]**	-
SDO→negative racial attitudes	**.72[.55, .90]**	-
SDO→income egalitarianism	-	**-.45[-.69, -.22]**

Models with Social Media Use (cont.)	Study 1	Study 2
	Coeff.	Coeff.
SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	**.86[.63, 1.09]**
Childhood social media use→positive racial attitudes	-.05[-.14, .03]	-
Childhood social media use→negative racial attitudes	.01[-.10, .11]	-
Childhood social media use→income egalitarianism	-	**.23[.12, .33]**
Childhood social media use→income inegalitarianism	-	**-.11[-.21, -.002]**
Adolescence social media use→positive racial attitudes	-.04[-.15, .05]	-
Adolescence social media use→negative racial attitudes	-.06[-.16, .04]	-
Adolescence social media use→income egalitarianism	-	-.03[-.15, .10]
Adolescence social media use→income inegalitarianism	-	.04[-.09, .15]
Adulthood social media use→positive racial attitudes	.10[-.00, .21]	-
Adulthood social media use→negative racial attitudes	.01[-.11, .11]	-
Adulthood social media use→income egalitarianism	-	.13[-.02, .27]
Adulthood social media use→income inegalitarianism	-	.05[-.09, .18]
Childhood social media use→ SDO→positive racial attitudes	**-.06[-.12, -.03]**	-
Childhood social media use→SDO→negative racial attitudes	**.08[.04, .15]**	-
Childhood social media use→SDO→income egalitarianism	-	**-.07[-.12, -.03]**
Childhood social media use→SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	**.14[.09, .20]**
Adolescence social media use→ SDO→positive racial attitudes	.01[-.02, .04]	-
Adolescence social media use→ SDO→negative racial attitudes	-.01[-.06, .03]	-
Adolescence social media use→ SDO→income egalitarianism	-	.02[-.02, .04]
Adolescence social media use→SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	-.02[-.07, .04]
Adulthood social media use→SDO→positive racial attitudes	.03[-.00, .07]	-
Adulthood social media use→SDO→negative racial attitudes	-.04[-.09, .01]	-
Adulthood social media use→SDO→income egalitarianism	-	.01[-.02, .05]
Adulthood social media use→SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	-.02[-.09, .03]
R^2	Positive racial attitudes: 50% Negative racial attitudes: 43%	Income egalitarianism: 26% Income inegalitarianism: 43%

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation. Coeff. = coefficients. 95% confidence intervals are presented in the square brackets next to each coefficient. Coefficients with confidence intervals that do not contain zero are bolded.

Table 5

Direct and Indirect Effects of Lifetime Media Use

	Study 1	Study 2
	Coeff.	Coeff.
Models with TV Use		
Lifetime TV use→SDO	-.04[-.08, .01]	**-.05[-.10, -.003]**
SDO→positive racial attitudes	**-.62[-.78, -.44]**	-
SDO→negative racial attitudes	**.96[.81, 1.12]**	-
SDO→income egalitarianism	-	**-.28[-.50, -.05]**
SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	**.74[.52, .96]**
Lifetime TV use→positive racial attitudes	-.001[-.08, .08]	-
Lifetime TV use→negative racial attitudes	-.03[-.11, .05]	-
Lifetime TV use→income egalitarianism	-	**.16[.03, .29]**
Lifetime TV use→income inegalitarianism	-	-.04[-.15, .07]
Lifetime TV use→ SDO→positive racial attitudes	.02[-.01, .05]	-
Lifetime TV use→ SDO→negative racial attitudes	-.02[-.06, .01]	-
Lifetime TV use→ SDO→income egalitarianism	-	**.01[.001, .39]**
Lifetime TV use→ SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	-.04[-.08, .005]
R^2	Positive racial attitudes: 49% Negative racial attitudes: 45%	Income egalitarianism: 24% Income inegalitarianism: 41%
Models with Social Media Use		
Lifetime social media use→SDO	**-.06[-.12, -.002]**	-.03[-.09, .03]
SDO→positive racial attitudes	**-.59[-.76, -.42]**	-
SDO→negative racial attitudes	**.73[.57, .90]**	-
SDO→income egalitarianism	-	**-.27[-.49, -.04]**
SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	**.74[.53, .96]**
Lifetime social media use→positive racial attitudes	**.09[.002, .17]**	-
Lifetime social media use→negative racial attitudes	-.06[-.14, .02]	-
Lifetime social media use→income egalitarianism	-	**.17[.03, .30]**
Lifetime social media use→income inegalitarianism	-	.07[-.05, .19]
Lifetime social media use→ SDO→positive racial attitudes	**.04[.002, .08]**	-
Lifetime social media use→ SDO→negative racial attitudes	**-.04[-.09, -.002]**	-
Lifetime social media use→ SDO→income egalitarianism	-	**.01[.01, .03]**
Lifetime social media use→ SDO→income inegalitarianism	-	-.02[-.07, .03]
R^2	Positive racial attitudes: 49% Negative racial attitudes: 45%	Income egalitarianism: 24% Income inegalitarianism: 42%

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation. Coeff. = coefficients. 95% confidence intervals are presented in the square brackets next to each coefficient. Coefficients with confidence intervals that do not contain zero are bolded.