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Abstract

The article investigates majority group viewing of minority language media, with a particular focus on examining (a) motivations for viewing, (b) associations between viewing and stereotypes, and (c) the moderating effects of local minority language vitality and direct interpersonal contact. Among Finnish-speaking Finns (the majority group), traditional motivations (e.g., diversion) as well as intergroup motivations (e.g., seeking contact with the outgroup culture) were found to statistically predict Swedish language television viewing, and Swedish language television viewing predicted more positive stereotypes of Swedish-speaking Finns (the minority group). This latter effect was moderated by vitality, such that it was stronger in areas of *higher* Swedish (outgroup) vitality: The authors had predicted that the effect would be stronger in areas of *lower* vitality. The results are discussed in terms of intergroup contact theory and the effects of local variation in group vitality on the potential for media to influence intergroup attitudes, including the role of perceived threat from a large local minority population.

Keywords

intergroup contact theory, ethnolinguistic vitality, uses and gratifications, Finland, Swedish language, minority language media, cultivation theory

This article provides insight into how mediated intergroup contact is associated with intergroup bias in a bilingual ethnolinguistic setting. Specifically, we focus on how

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attributions of positive (relative to negative) stereotypic traits to the Swedish-speaking minority (vs. the Finnish-speaking majority) vary in terms of Swedish TV use among Finnish-speaking youth in Southern Finland. Thus, we present some of the first data examining majority use of *minority* language media and the statistical effects of such use on perceptions of the minority group. We explore the majority group's motivations for using minority language media and present a preliminary model linking motivations, majority use of minority media, ethnolinguistic vitality, interpersonal contact, and intergroup bias. We begin by discussing the specifics of the bilingual context in which our work is grounded.

Swedish in Southern Finland

Finland is a bilingual country, with Finnish and Swedish as national languages. Today, 290,000 persons speak Swedish as their mother tongue (about 5.4% of the total population of the country; Finnäs, 2010). Southern Finland, including the subregions Turunmaa/Åboland and Uusimaa/Nyland, is one of the three regions of the country that are bilingual, populated by both Finnish speakers and Swedish speakers. However, although Swedish speakers make up the overwhelming majority on the autonomous Åland Islands (90%) and a slight majority in the region Ostrobothnia (52%), the southern coast of Finland is dominated by the Finnish language, and Swedish is the mother tongue of only 12% of the inhabitants. This is mostly because of two reasons: first, during post-World War II industrialization a great number of Finnish speakers moved to the Helsinki area from the other parts of the country; second, during the economic recession of the 1950s and 1960s, about 60,000 mostly Swedish-speaking Finns migrated to Sweden (Finnäs, 2010; Tandefelt & Finnäs, 2007). The municipalities in Southern Finland can be grouped according their linguistic structure: Swedish-dominated municipalities, municipalities where the proportion of Swedish speakers varies between 20% and 40%, and the big cities of the Finnish capital area where Swedish speakers make up only a small fraction (4% to 8%) of the population.

As one of Finland's two official languages, Swedish has high status in Southern Finland. The rights of the languages are ensured by the language act (Ministry of Justice, 2004), according to which Finnish or Swedish can be used in municipalities where the speakers of the language make up 8% of the local population or 3,000 persons. The high status of Swedish is accompanied by a broad institutional network at both formal and informal levels, which provides cultural autonomy for the Swedish-speaking minority. An important component of this autonomy is the Swedish section of the Finnish Broadcasting Company, which provides two radio channels and one TV channel in Swedish. Finland Swedish Television (FST), a digital public service TV channel, was launched in 2001 and offers news, children's and youth programs, documentaries, talk shows, sport and cultural programs, and some movies. As FST presents overwhelmingly homemade productions, which are oriented to the Finnish society, the role of the channel is decisive in contextualizing and interpreting the reality of its audience from a Finland-Swedish point of view. The target audience of the channel is the

Swedish-speaking Finns; however, the majority of the programming is subtitled in Finnish making it accessible to Finnish speakers. In bilingual areas, many Finnish speakers have a baseline competence in Swedish, hence they can understand much of the material in the programming (Moring & Husband, 2007). Moreover, given that the Swedish minority has fairly high status, the Swedish language programming may carry a certain cultural cachet in Finland, which makes it appealing to certain viewers.

Within an ethnolinguistic vitality framework (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994; see also below), Swedish in Southern Finland has high status and institutional support but is lower in demographic capital. Intergroup relations between Finnish and Swedish speakers are generally positive; however, given local variation in the relative size of the two populations, it is likely that the specifics of the intergroup dynamics vary across local contexts. For the current article, we gathered data in three areas varying substantially in terms of demographic vitality, with the local proportion of Swedish speakers ranging from 6% to 60%. Our goal was to understand the dynamics of intergroup bias and media use in those varying contexts.

Intergroup Bias, Stereotyping, Contact, and Vitality

Figure 1 presents the model that we are investigating. We aim to explain majority group members' minority language media consumption using reported motivations and to show that minority media consumption will be associated with reduced stereotyping of the outgroup. This latter connection should be moderated by group vitality and direct contact. We investigate these connections within the Swedish language context, examining majority Finnish speakers' consumption of Swedish language media, and associations between that consumption and stereotyping of Swedish speakers.

Mediated contact effects. Intergroup bias is the systematic tendency to evaluate the ingroup and its members more positively than the outgroup and its members (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). One of the most important forms of intergroup bias is stereotyping. Stereotypes are culturally-learned beliefs about group characteristics or attributes or about the personal traits of a group of people (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Liebkind, Henning-Lindblom, & Solheim, 2006, 2008), which usually lead to favoring the ingroup and/or derogating the outgroup (Hewstone et al., 2002). Given that we measured perceptions of specific traits in the current study, we describe the outcome in Figure 1 as being stereotypes of the minority group. However, our measure is focused on the global valence of a composite trait measure; hence, it is likely that it also reflects a substantial general attitudinal component, and we are comfortable with interpretations of our results in terms of stereotype valence, attitude, or more generally intergroup bias.

Supporting Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory, more than half a century of research demonstrates that contact with outgroup members reduces intergroup bias, undermining stereotyping and improving intergroup relationships (Harwood, 2010). The body of research supports Allport's contention that equal status and cooperative contact that is supported by relevant local institutions are particularly effective (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

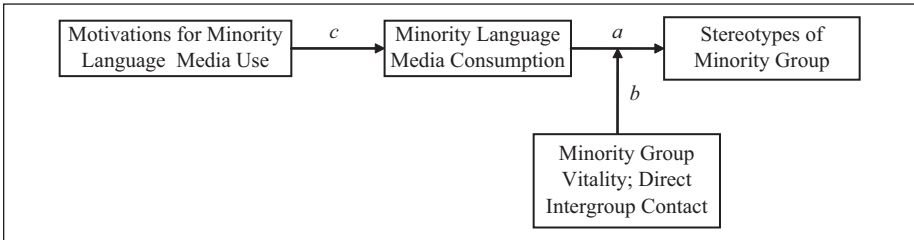


Figure 1. Model of majority group members' minority media use and effects, as moderated by local group vitality

Inspired by contact theory, Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes (2005) proposed a parasocial contact hypothesis—that intergroup contact can be realized not only by direct interpersonal intergroup interaction but also by encountering outgroup members via mass media (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007). An advantage of mediated contact is that intergroup bias is often rooted in circumstances of limited direct intergroup contact (e.g., segregated ethnicities). Considering the amount of time people spend with different media and the magnitude and diversity of the media landscape, some people could have *more* contact with outgroup members through the media than through direct interpersonal encounters (Harwood & Joyce, 2012). However, although direct intergroup contact typically reduces the affective components of intergroup bias (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), mediated intergroup contact primarily affects the cognitive components (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007; Schiappa et al., 2005). Also, although direct intergroup contact implies active involvement with outgroup members, mediated intergroup contact is at times a more passive act. Mediated contact has sometimes been considered under the umbrella of extended contact—observing or learning about intergroup contact involving another ingroup member but not participating in contact (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). This is a reasonable conceptualization, although we also believe there are unique elements in *mediated* extended contact that render it somewhat distinct from extended contact involving friends or acquaintances. Harwood (2010) notes that mediated contact may involve less involvement of self and less rich experience of the outgroup as compared with observing a friend's interaction, for instance.

Most research on mediated intergroup contact examines majority group use of mainstream (typically majority-controlled) media. Such media typically include portrayals of minority group members, and those portrayals are presumed to be influential. From the intergroup contact perspective, such work examines whether positive portrayals of minority groups result in more positive attitudes about those groups (see above). A larger body of work (outside the contact framework) shows that *negative* portrayals of minority groups in mainstream media (which are more common than positive in many contexts) *increase* prejudice (Mastro, 2010). Notable

work in this vein focuses particularly on the role of TV in shaping ethnic stereotypes of African Americans (Fujioka, 1999) and Latinos (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Ortiz, 2007). Some work similarly examines whether *minority* group members are influenced by portrayals of the minority group in mainstream media, typically examining how negative portrayals affect minority group members' self-esteem or group identification (Tan & Tan, 1980) or minority group members' perceptions of the majority (Abrams, 2010). Finally, there is research on the creation, use, and effects of minority media products among minority group members (Cormack, 2004; Johnson, 2010).

In contrast to this, very little research examines *majority* group members' uses of *minority* media. The literature appears to assume that although minority group members are inevitably driven to mainstream media because of its ubiquity, majority group members have little reason to seek out minority media or perhaps are blocked from doing so by boundaries such as limited linguistic ability in the minority language. The reality does not always match this assumption; for example, White Americans are drawn to (predominantly Black) rap and hip-hop music (Reyna, Brandt, & Tendayi Viki, 2009). Similarly, in bi/multilingual settings, majority group members may be fluent in minority languages and find media content in those languages appealing for a variety of reasons (see also below). In line with previous mediated contact work, we anticipate that consuming minority media is associated with more positive stereotypes of the minority group among majority group members. This is reflected in path *a* in Figure 1. The potential mechanisms whereby exposure would lead to positive perceptions of the outgroup should be clear from the earlier discussion of contact theory: Such exposure leads to more perceived understanding and empathy for outgroup members and reduced anxiety about their behavior.

Vitality and direct intergroup contact as moderators of mediated contact effects. Previous studies have shown that specific instances of intergroup contact are more influential for individuals who otherwise have limited amounts of contact with the outgroup, as compared with individuals with extensive outgroup contact. This finding has been extended by results showing that *mediated* contact has greater effects among those who otherwise are lacking in direct contact (Fujioka, 1999; Schiappa et al., 2005). The explanations for this are relatively straightforward: For individuals with a great deal of contact outside of a specific contact experience, their other contact experiences outweigh effects from any one specific source. In our context, we considered this question by examining mediated contact in areas with relatively low and high levels of Swedish ethnolinguistic vitality. Vitality is an index of the strength of a specific group in an intergroup context, assessed using measures of demographics, status, and institutional support (Giles et al., 1977; Harwood et al., 1994). Although, vitality theory has been criticized on grounds such as conceptual unclearness (Ehala, 2010, 2011), ignoring specific linguistic relations (Haarmann, 1986) and sociopolitical circumstances (Husband & Khan, 1982), the model has been adopted by growing numbers of researchers across the globe for more than three decades. The literature on vitality now yields more than 2,000 Google Scholar results.

Given that status and institutional support for Swedish remain relatively constant across communities in Finland, we considered only demographic strength by examining contexts featuring greater or lesser numbers of Swedish speakers locally (and note here suggestions that vitality is unidimensional; Abrams, Barker, & Giles, 2009). We anticipated that stereotypes of the Swedish-speaking minority would be more strongly influenced by Swedish language TV in regions with smaller numbers of Swedish speakers locally and hence presumably fewer possibilities for direct everyday contact. In other words, we expected minority group vitality to moderate path *a* in Figure 1, as illustrated by the presence of path *b*. We also assessed quantity of direct personal contact with the outgroup so as to understand more about the relative effects of sociostructural (vitality) and interpersonal (direct contact) moderators; as noted above, previous work suggests that direct intergroup contact levels will operate as moderators in the same way that we are predicting vitality to operate.

In this context, Abrams's work on vitality and media consumption is somewhat relevant (e.g., Abrams, Eveland, & Giles, 2003; Abrams & Giles, 2007, 2009). Abrams and colleagues' work shows links between viewing specific media and subjective vitality perceptions among ethnic minorities in the United States. Abrams's focus on subordinate groups reflects research on language and ethnic identity (Giles & Johnson, 1987), as well as work mentioned above on minority media. Although our work focuses on *majority* use of media, and on *objective* vitality, we nonetheless share assumptions with Abrams's work. We assume that media representations *constitute* vitality in important ways, primarily by contributing to institutional support; recent work suggests ways in which new media are being incorporated into this media–vitality dynamic (Kopacz & Lawton, 2011). We also assume meaningful relationships between media use, objective intergroup reality, and subjective impressions of the intergroup context. Ultimately, we anticipate theoretical integration involving the interrelationships between objective and subjective features of the intergroup context, language use, and intergroup bias. As scholars interested in human communication practices, this work operates excitingly at the intersection of mass and interpersonal processes.

Motivations for minority language media use. Again, referring back to Figure 1, we delve further into mediated contact phenomena by asking about majority group members' motivations for using minority language media. The literature on media uses and gratifications has a long history and has yielded insights into why people seek specific media content (Ruggiero, 2000), including connecting gratifications to social identities and intergroup relations (Harwood, 1999; Trepte & Krämer, 2007). As part of the preliminary consideration of majority use of minority media, we ask about motivations commonly measured in the uses and gratifications literature, as well as motivations specific to intergroup (particularly bilingual) contexts. In the former category, diversion (seeking media for entertainment), surveillance (seeking media for information), and social companionship (seeking media for parasocial interaction) are all widely accepted as significant determinants of media use across contexts (Ruggiero, 2000). They should index the degree to which minority media are being sought for similar reasons as majority media. Specific to majority use of minority media, we

examine two types of motivation. First, we consider the influence of outgroup oriented needs. These reflect seeking minority media because of a specific interest in that group (e.g., because of wanting to practice the language). Second, we consider what we term *secondary option motivations*: consuming minority media because they offer content unavailable elsewhere. Consistent with the uses and gratifications literature, we predict that motivations will lead to minority language media consumption (path *c* in Figure 1) and that some of these motivations may be explicitly group related.

Method

Data were collected in March 2011 with a self-report questionnaire in secondary schools where instruction was in Finnish. Schools were selected in two areas where Swedish speakers make up a local majority population: in Väståboland/Länsi-Turunmaa (locally 60% Swedish speakers) and Raseborg/Raasepori (67% Swedish speakers); in Kyrkslätt/Kirkkonummi, where they are a local minority (20% Swedish speakers); and in Helsingfors/Helsinki, where the share of Swedish speakers is very low (6% Swedish speakers).

Respondents

We began with 349 participants. Students from bilingual families (i.e., households where Finnish *and* Swedish were spoken or one of the parents was a Swedish speaker) were excluded from the database ($N = 32$), as were students whose family used a third language (e.g., Russian, Estonian; $N = 9$). The final database included Finnish-speaking students from monolingual homes ($N = 308$). Most (58%) of the students were girls; 59% of the mothers and 53% of the fathers had a higher education degree. A total of 77 respondents gave no indication of ever watching Swedish language television. All analyses reported *include* this group because they represent a meaningful measurement point on the variable. Analyses were also performed excluding these individuals, and no substantive inconsistencies were noted. All respondents were in Grades 1 to 3 in secondary school and hence were between 16 and 18 years of age. High school students are a convenience sample; however, they may have more malleable linguistic identities and practices and hence be well suited for our research.

Measures

Local vitality. Language competence, ethnolinguistic behavior, and ethnolinguistic identity are affected by local variation in objective ethnolinguistic vitality (Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007; Landry & Allard, 1994). As outlined above, we had three levels of local Swedish vitality: low ($N = 77$), medium ($N = 127$), and high ($N = 77$). In part, the vitality measure was suspected to function as a macro-level index of the frequency of real-life intergroup contact between Finnish speakers and Swedish speakers. This notion is supported by examining the respondents *excluded* from our data set

for having a Swedish-speaking parent. Proportions of students with a Swedish speaking parent were substantially higher in the high Swedish vitality municipalities (18.2%) than the medium (8.6%) or low (6.7%) areas; that is, Finnish speakers were more likely to have peers with Swedish-speaking parents in their classroom in the former regions (see also Finnäs, 1996).

Direct personal contact. A single-item measure assessed the level of direct interpersonal contact with the outgroup: "How often do you have contact with Swedish-speakers?" (5-point response scale ranging from 1 [*every day*] through 5 [*almost never*]). Direct contact varied across vitality condition, $F(2, 304) = 4.03, p = .02, \eta^2 = .03$; low vitality areas demonstrated significantly less contact ($M = 2.37, SD = 0.95$) than medium ($M = 2.76, SD = 1.21$) or high vitality ($M = 2.75, SD = 1.12$) areas, which did not differ.

Total TV time. Two items assessed the time students spend with TV on an average weekday and on weekends (options: *no TV, 1-30 minutes, 31-60 minutes, 61-120 minutes, more than 120 minutes*). To calculate the weighted average, we matched an estimated mean to each interval as 0, 15, 45, 90, and 150 minutes. The average of these items was used as an overall measure of television viewing. Respondents reported using 45 minutes TV on weekdays and 70 minutes on weekend days.

Swedish language TV use (minority language media consumption). This measure was based on two variables. The first assessed frequency of Swedish language TV use on a 5-point scale (*almost every day* through *never*). The scale was reversed so that the higher values indicate more frequent viewing of Swedish language TV programs. In addition, TV language was measured by a 5-point scale from watching *only Finnish* to *only Swedish* TV (this was effectively a 3-point scale; no respondents watched *more* Swedish than Finnish language TV). After standardizing, the internal consistency for the two-item scale was good ($\alpha = .72$). About a quarter of the students (26%) reported not using the Swedish TV channel at all; 7% watch the Swedish TV channel multiple times a week, 14% at least once a week, and the others more seldom. Independent-samples *t* tests showed no difference in total TV time between those who watched only in Finnish and those who also watched in Swedish, $t(304) = .46, p = .65$, for an average day, and $t(304) = 1.0, p = .31$, for weekend days.

Swedish TV needs (motivations for minority language media use). The students were asked about the reasons they use the TV in Swedish, using 5-point Likert-type scales. First, concepts stemming from the uses and gratifications tradition were assessed; needs for *surveillance* (three items; e.g., *to get information*), *diversion* (three items; e.g., *to be entertained*), and *social companionship* (one item; *so as not to be alone*) were measured. We also considered the extent to which Swedish television is consumed to meet specific needs related to personal issues concerning the outgroup (*outgroup-oriented needs*; three items, e.g., *to have contact with the Finland-Swedish culture, to practice the Swedish language*). Finally, we assessed the extent to which TV use in Swedish is a *secondary option* after Finnish with a single item (*I watch TV in Swedish because I do not find an appropriate program in Finnish*). The multiple-item subscales were averaged (internal consistency: surveillance $\alpha = .81$, diversion $\alpha = .74$, outgroup-oriented needs $\alpha = .71$). As presented in Table 1, the most frequent motive

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Media Needs Among Swedish TV Users ($N = 260$)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Diversion	3.15 ^a	1.08
Secondary option	3.03 ^a	1.32
Social companionship	3.00 ^a	1.28
Outgroup-oriented needs	2.76 ^{ab}	1.01
Surveillance	2.58 ^b	1.00

Note: All variables are measured on 1 to 5 scales, where 1 = low and 5 = high. Means not sharing subscripts are significantly different ($p < .05$); MANOVA $F(4, 256) = 20.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .24$; pairwise comparisons include Bonferroni correction.

for using Swedish TV was diversion, which was reported significantly more than outgroup-oriented needs and surveillance. The least frequently reported motivation was surveillance, which was significantly lower than any other motive. This pattern is very similar when excluding the cases that report never viewing Swedish language television.

Stereotypes of minority Swedish speakers. Stereotypes were measured based on Liebkind et al. (2006, 2008), who on the basis of previous studies (e.g., Daun, 1994; Daun, Mattlar, & Alanen, 1989) generated a set of traits considered to be either typically Swedish or typically Finnish. Respondents indicated on a 5-point scale how well four positive (*trustworthy, dutiful, joyful, and polite*) and four negative (*envious, aggressive, stuck-up, and unfriendly*) traits describe the two language groups (1-5 = *very/not at all characteristic*). The subscales were averaged (internal consistencies: ingroup positive traits $\alpha = .79$, ingroup negative $\alpha = .70$, outgroup positive $\alpha = .76$, outgroup negative $\alpha = .69$). For each group, a difference score was computed (positive-negative) to provide an overall measure of bias toward that group, yielding two final measures: positive stereotype of ingroup and positive stereotype of outgroup. Subsequently in the article (and in all tables), the term *positive stereotype* refers to this difference score measure—hence it reflects positivity *relative to* negativity. As would be predicted, ingroup ($M = 3.25, SD = 3.13$) was significantly higher than outgroup positive stereotyping ($M = 1.72, SD = 3.82$), paired $t(298) = 5.77, p < .001$.

Results

Our hypotheses were tested in two stages. Ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the association between the motives and Swedish television use. We controlled for overall television use in this analysis. As can be seen in Table 2, diversion, social companionship (negative predictor), outgroup-oriented needs, and secondary option motivations all significantly and uniquely explain variance in Swedish television use. Diversion is the strongest predictor, explaining about three times as much variance as any other individual motivation. This pattern is very

Table 2. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Use of Swedish Language Television From Five Motivation Variables, Controlling for Overall Television Consumption ($N = 259$)

Model	Predictors	β	r	Partial r^2
1. $R^2_{adj} = .00, F(1, 257) = 1.86, ns$	Overall television consumption	.09	.09	.01
2. $R^2_{adj} = .31, F(6, 252) = 20.28, p < .01$	Overall television consumption	.07	.09	.01
	Surveillance	.01	.35	.00
	Diversion	.38**	.50	.12
	Social Companionship	-.19**	-.02	.04
	Outgroup-oriented needs	.23**	.45	.04
	Secondary option	.12*	.16	.02

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

similar when excluding the cases that report not viewing Swedish language television; diversion remains the strongest predictor in that subsample, although it is not quite as dominant.

The analysis shows suppression effects with the social companionship variable. It has no significant zero-order correlation with consumption of Swedish television but becomes significant (and negative) with inclusion of the other variables. The variable driving this suppression is probably secondary option motives, which has the strongest correlation with social companionship (zero-order $r = .39$), and is not highly correlated with the criterion ($r = .16$). Broadly, this suggests that social companionship motivations are not well served by second-language media but that this is masked by secondary option motivations and the Swedish television use associated with that. At any specific level of secondary option use (e.g., for people whose Swedish television use is largely driven by a lack of other options or for people whose Swedish television use is rarely driven by a lack of other options), high social companionship needs lead to *less* Swedish television use.

The broader model (Figure 1) was tested using Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes's (2007) MODMED macro for SPSS. This was run separately for each of the motivations. Both overall television use and positive stereotypes of the ingroup were included as control variables. Results are presented in Table 3. The confidence intervals at the far right of the table provide the most specific tests of the model. They demonstrate significant mediation effects among the medium and high vitality groups for all motivations except for social companionship (see above), indicating support for the mediated pathway in the model for those groups. Among individuals from medium and high Swedish vitality areas, there is consistent evidence that each of the motivations leads to minority media use and that minority media use then predicts more positive (less negative) stereotyping of the minority group. This is indicated by the positive coefficients in the confidence intervals for medium and high vitality areas. In contrast,

Table 3. Conditional Indirect Effects of Minority Language Television Viewing Motivations on Positive Stereotypes of the Outgroup, Through Minority Language Television Viewing (N = 259-263)

Motivation for Using Swedish Language Television (X)	X → M	M → Y ^a	Vitality → Y ^a	Vitality as Moderator of M → Y ^a	Conditional Indirect Effect at Three Levels of Outgroup Vitality		
					Low	Medium	High
Surveillance	.59**	-.63	-1.73**	.62**	[-.26, .23]	[.20, .57]**	[.44, 1.07]**
Diversion	.78**	-.57	-1.63**	.57**	[-.35, .35]	[.24, .69]**	[.55, 1.25]**
Social companionship	-.00	-.48	-1.82**	.60**	[-.05, .04]	[-.13, .13]	[-.25, .23]
Outgroup orientation	.73**	-.60	-1.79**	.62**	[-.28, .34]	[.28, .70]**	[.61, 1.30]**
Secondary option	.18*	-.50	-1.78**	.62**	[-.04, .15]	[.03, .28]*	[.06, .49]*

Note: Mediator (M) is Swedish language TV use. Dependent variable (Y) is positive stereotypes of Swedish speakers. Coefficients are unstandardized regression coefficients derived from Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes’s (2007) MODMED SPSS macro (Model 3). Positive stereotypes of the ingroup (Finns) and total TV viewing are statistically controlled in all models. Conditional indirect effects are represented with bootstrapped bias corrected and accelerated 95% confidence intervals; intervals *not* including zero represent significant indirect effects at that level of vitality.

a. The coefficients in these columns represent largely redundant information, varying only as a function of other variables controlled in the models. Nonsignificant coefficients for M → Y reflect the variation in this effect based on the moderator; their negative valence should not be interpreted.

*p < .05. **p < .01.

no such effects emerge in the low vitality group (Finnish speakers living in areas dominated by the Finnish language). For these groups, the model does not work because minority media use is not associated with more positive stereotypes of the minority group (indicated in the table by confidence intervals that include zero for the low vitality areas). Thus, we predicted strong effects in low outgroup vitality areas but observed the opposite (the strongest effects in the high outgroup vitality areas); we return to this in our discussion. One final finding from Table 3 deserves mention: There are consistent and relatively strong negative effects from vitality to stereotypes. The higher the vitality (i.e., the more the Swedish speakers in a given region), the more the negative stereotypes reported. We also return to this in the discussion.

To examine the extent to which vitality effects are consistent or confounded with direct personal contact, we replicated our MODMED analyses in two ways. First, we repeated the above analyses controlling for our measure of direct personal contact. All the moderating effects of vitality remained highly significant, and the pattern of conditional indirect effects was unchanged. Second, we repeated the analyses using direct personal contact as the moderator *instead of* vitality. None of the moderator effects in these analyses were significant. Full details of these analyses are available from the authors. A complete correlation matrix is in Table 4.

Table 4. Correlation Matrix for All Variables (N = 262-307)

	Diversion	Social Companionship	Outgroup Orientation	Secondary Option	Swedish Language TV Viewing	Total TV Viewing	Vitality	Personal Contact	Positive Stereotype of Outgroup	Positive Stereotype of Ingroup
Surveillance	.51**									
Diversion		.09	.64**	.15*	.35**	-.08	-.15*	.07	.25**	-.07
Social companionship		.26**	.56**	.18**	.50**	.07	-.17**	.06	.28**	-.09
Outgroup orientation			.10	.38**	.01	.10	-.05	.09	-.02	-.05
Secondary option				.15*	.44**	-.01	-.15*	.17**	.22**	-.07
Swedish language TV viewing					.16*	.09	.08	.07	.03	-.05
Total TV viewing						.09	-.06	.22**	.33**	.05
Vitality							.11*	.04	.06	.02
Personal contact								.14*	-.12*	-.03
Positive stereotype of outgroup									.16**	.08
										.14*

Note: Outgroup is Swedish speakers, and ingroup is Finnish speakers.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Discussion

To summarize, we found support for the general pattern of relationships suggested by Figure 1 in the local context of Swedish language speakers in Finland. Traditional gratifications measures predict minority media consumption, with diversion playing a prominent role. Social companionship needs, on the other hand, reduce consumption of minority media among the majority group. A specific interest in the minority group also predicted viewing of minority media. Only surveillance appears unrelated to using minority media; majority group members prefer to get information from majority group media, and surveillance does not drive minority media use. As expected, vitality moderated the effect of media consumption on intergroup bias (stereotyping). However, this effect was the opposite of what we expected based on previous research and our own theorizing (e.g., Fujioka, 1999)—media consumption had the strongest effects on stereotypes in *high* vitality areas; we had predicted it would have effects in *low* vitality areas. Only when local vitality of the minority group is high does television consumption positively influence perceptions of the outgroup.

Unexpected Moderating Effects of Vitality

There are reasonable explanations for this surprising finding, some of which are relevant for future work and most of which derive from our intergroup context being somewhat different from those in most previous work. We discuss the finding in terms of the potential for a minority group to constitute a threat to the majority once it crosses a certain demographic threshold, the research on contact's relative effectiveness among more prejudiced people, and resonance effects from cultivation theory.

It is notable that Swedish speakers actually constituted a local *majority* in our high Swedish vitality context. Our characterization of Swedish language media as minority media for Finnish speakers makes sense in the broader Finnish context, but in this local context our *Finnish*-speaking respondents constituted an ethnolinguistic minority (Young, Bell, & Giles, 1988). As such, at least some Finnish speakers may feel a sense of threat from the minority-cum-majority Swedish speakers, resulting in both a tendency to avoid Swedish language media and to hold somewhat negative attitudes about the Swedish group. Given that the Swedish language enjoys high status in the Finnish society, the demographic strength in our high vitality areas is probably sufficient to put Finnish speakers in a low (and hence unequal; Allport, 1954) status position relative to the national minority, a position that is likely to be uncomfortable. As noted earlier, intergroup relations between Swedish and Finnish speakers are largely positive in the national context. It is plausible that positive stereotypes reach something approaching ceiling level in the low vitality Swedish areas (which lack the "threat" described above); clearly it is hard to improve attitudes that are close to the maximum. Supporting this idea, the low vitality areas had the most positive beliefs about Swedish speakers in our data, whereas perceptions were somewhat less positive in the high Swedish vitality areas, allowing for some variance and hence the potential

for effects. Most broadly, then, it appears that once minority populations exceed a certain threshold, they constitute something of a threat to the majority population—the majority population’s attitudes become more negative, but that negativity can be ameliorated by mediated exposure.

Previous studies showing that contact can be most effective among the most prejudiced are also relevant here (e.g., Dhont & van Hiel, 2009; Hodson, 2008). Of course, this reveals perhaps one reason why contact is so promising a strategy—at least under certain circumstances, contact’s effects are strongest precisely where we would hope them to be strongest. Interestingly, we find no parallel moderating effects of direct interpersonal contact in our research; in other words, the structural/demographic aspects of the local context appear to supersede the influence of more micro-level interpersonal processes in this context.

In this context, we recall Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorelli’s (1980) concept of resonance, which states that television’s “cultivating” effects on beliefs can be stronger when television mirrors, as opposed to counteracts, everyday life. For instance, people with greater experiences of violent crime are more affected by televised portrayals of such crime (Shrum & Bischak, 2001). Gerbner et al.’s (1980) work never fully explained when and why resonance would occur, but Shrum and Bischak (2001) offer a *cognitive accessibility* explanation for the resonance effects they observe. This explanation might also be relevant to the statistical associations that we observed. To the extent that people’s daily lives in high Swedish vitality areas involve relatively frequent (and largely positive) relations with outgroup members, positive television portrayals have the ability to reinforce and resonate with those experiences. On the other hand, in low contact areas, the ability of the media to influence stereotypes is constrained by the fact that daily life involves less contact with Swedish speakers; hence, the portrayal of a largely Swedish-speaking world on FST does not match Finnish-speaking viewers’ reality, and reality does not reinforce the TV lessons.

Negative Influence of Social Companionship Motivations on Use of Minority Media

Attention should be given to the *negative* associations between social companionship motivations and Swedish language television use (after control for secondary option motivations). Swedish language TV use appears to be functional in meeting entertainment motivations. However, it is counterproductive in meeting friendship and parasocial interaction needs. This maps onto social reality among the Finnish group, to a certain extent. For example, Swedish speakers marry Finnish speakers at a relatively high rate (in excess of 70% in Helsinki), but the corresponding marriage rate of Finnish speakers to Swedish speakers stands closer to 6% (O’Leary & Finnäs, 2002). Hence, no matter how positive relations between the groups in the broadest sense, the most intimate relationships for Finnish speakers are still forged largely with other ingroup members. Finnish speakers’ relationships with television characters are similar, with social companionship motivations being unrelated to, or even counteracting, Swedish language television viewing.

Methodological Issues and Limitations

Methodological differences between our work and previous studies should be acknowledged. We examined stereotypes (vs. attitudes in previous studies), and hence future examinations of our vitality findings should also use *affective* attitudinal measures (e.g., feeling thermometers). In addition, our use of local vitality as a moderator is novel and departs from previous work that has examined direct interpersonal contact as a moderator of mediated contact effects. Notably, direct contact did not moderate any effects in our analysis, but vitality did, and the vitality effects persisted when direct contact was controlled. We would advocate work examining local vitality effects with, for instance, perceptions of U.S. minority groups. Building on Fujioka (1999), for instance, how do the effects of African American television portrayals on White subjects' racist attitudes vary based on immediate local African American vitality? Such examinations would gauge the limits of our vitality findings. We acknowledge and support the claims of early vitality work (e.g., Giles et al., 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987) that *subjective* vitality can be more important than objective vitality and would hope to integrate both into our future work to provide more explicit mapping of sociostructural and sociopsychological constructs onto one another.

Issues of causality must be considered when dealing with nonexperimental work like this. We controlled for overall television use in all analyses and for stereotypes of the ingroup in analyses involving stereotypes of the outgroup. Hence, we controlled for two of the most potent alternative explanations for our results. Nonetheless, our models are correlational and are only intended to be suggestive of causal pathways.

Overall, we found support for the broad structure posited in Figure 1 and provided more detail on the specifics of the paths (e.g., specific gratifications). In a relatively harmonious intergroup context, majority group members use minority language media for a variety of functions, some of them tied to group memberships and some of them apparently independent of group factors. Thus, media use reduces intergroup bias (notwithstanding the causality issues already discussed) but only under certain local conditions: in the case of our study, high minority vitality. Perhaps we can say, based on these data and previous research, that group vitality *has* a moderating effect on media's influence on intergroup bias, but the specific nature of that moderating effect appears itself to be moderated by local conditions that require more research. We would suggest examination of institutional support for minority language rights (including formal legal status), valence of intergroup relations, perceived status threat from minority group, and ease of majority access to minority language media as potential contextual features precipitating positive effects from minority media consumption. More globally, we hope that more scholars interested in the intergroup dynamics of media use and effects consider bilingual contexts for their research. Media in different languages present unique challenges and intriguing research possibilities that cannot be investigated in monolingual intergroup settings.

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