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Latino Representation On Primetime Television In English and Spanish Media: A Framing Analysis

Gabriela Arellano
San Jose State University

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LATINO REPRESENTATION ON PRIMETIME TELEVISION IN ENGLISH AND
SPANISH MEDIA: A FRAMING ANALYSIS

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Gabriela Arellano

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Gabriela Arellano

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SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

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Dr. Diana Stover   School of Journalism and Mass Communications

Dr. William Tillinghast   School of Journalism and Mass Communications

Professor John Delacruz   School of Journalism and Mass Communications

ABSTRACT

LATINO REPRESENTATION ON PRIMETIME TELEVISION IN ENGLISH AND
SPANISH MEDIA: A FRAMING ANALYSIS

by Gabriela Arellano

The purpose of this study was to provide updated data on the Latino portrayals on

primetime English and Spanish-language television. Three major contributions of this

study are baseline data on the percentage of white actors as well as all racial and ethnic

minorities on English-language television, the portrayal of Latinos on both English and

Spanish-language television, and the development of five frames that measure the

representation of Latino characters. The results of this framing study showed that only

7.4% of the characters in primetime TV on ABC and CBS were Latino. Although the

Latino representation in primetime American television was a bit higher in this study as

compared to that in previous research, it still does not represent the 17% of Latinos in the

U.S. population as a whole. The researcher analyzed weekday primetime television

programs—dramas, crime and comedy series—of both English and Spanish-language TV

in the first week of May 2016, which was randomly selected. A total of 403 characters

were identified from English-language TV and 115 from Spanish-language TV. The

different characters in the television shows were coded by ethnicity or race, gender, and

their role in the shows. The five frames that were developed to show how Latinos were

portrayed are professional, criminal, domestic workers, Latin lover, and Latina threat.

The most prevalent frame on ABC and CBS was the criminal frame, and on Univision

and Telemundo it was the domestic worker frame.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Jesus Arellano and Gabriela Velasco. Thank you for always instilling in me the strong values of hard-work and responsibility. Your sacrifice, strength, encouragement, and endless love have allowed me to become the person I am today. *Ustedes son mi motivación, los amo.*

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Introduction

In the United States, being of Latino descent means having to learn from two different cultures at the same time. Being bicultural can be difficult and frustrating. Most of the time, first generation Latino families do not know much about American culture, so television often becomes one of the ways they learn about American culture and society. This is problematic because for the most part, Latinos are not well represented in the media (Sandoval, 2007). Although Latinos are the largest minority demographic in the United States, compromising 17% of the U.S. population, they are underrepresented in mass media such as television (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). When they are represented on television, most of the time they tend to have stereotypical roles—maids, gang members, and overly sexualized Latina women (Helmore, 2014). If Latinos regularly see stereotypical characteristics about themselves in the media, it does not give them positive examples to follow or live by. Latinos need to know that they can be successful and to be able to see success reflected in the mainstream media. This thesis explores the underrepresentation of Latinos in the mass media. The research is important because Latinos are a large demographic group that appears as if it will continue to grow in the United States. One of the fastest growing Latino populations is school-aged children, and they are considered to be at a greater disadvantage in school than Anglo-American children (Ross, 2010). Ward (2007) found that beyond positive parental communication, the constant viewing of American television could lead to positive and higher educational aspirations in Latino children. However, when

Latino children are faced with negative images on television it becomes harder to overcome obstacles because they are not able to learn from positive role models.

With the rapidly growing Latino population in the United States, it is important to note that Latinos are vastly contributing to our economy and infrastructure with their buying power. Juan Solana, chief economist of HispanTelligence, the research division of Hispanic Business Inc., noted that the Latino market has grown at a faster pace than the general market (Humphreys, 2006). If the media companies want Latinos to watch their shows and invest in their products, they must begin representing them in a positive light as well as portraying characters that they can relate to and look up to.

The purpose of this study was to measure the current representation of Latinos on television during primetime programs. Although this study may be similar to those previously conducted by other researchers, the findings provide updated data on the current status of Latino portrayals on primetime English and Spanish-language television. It is important to know which television networks represent Latinos the best since television is very important for socialization of first generation Americans. Media companies need to have an understanding of the representation that currently exists so that they can make changes to their programming accordingly. Not only will the media companies benefit financially, but Latinos will be able to identify more with the characters that they see regularly on television.

Literature Review

This literature review examines the Latino demographic in the United

States, the representation of Latinos in the media, possible effects of media on Latinos,

Spanish-language TV in the United States, and the conceptual framework that is used for

this study. To fully understand the misinterpretation of Latinos in the media it is

necessary to get an overview of how large the Latino demographic really is and the

obstacles that they face. Latinos are the fastest growing minority group in the U.S., and

although they may be increasing in number, it is also important to point out the minimal

representation of Latinos in the media. Latinos have been found to only represent 0.6%

to 6.5% of all television characters and 1% of all television families (Fullerton &

Kendrick, 2000). In addition to being underrepresented, media portrayals of Latinos are

often stereotypical (Sandoval, 2007). After exploring both of these factors, this literature

review provides information on the Latino representation in the media and the possible

effects it can have on Latinos living in the United States.

Exposure to Television

A frequently expressed concern is that repeated exposure to stereotypical portrayals

may negatively affect Latino adolescents' self-esteem. Because television teaches not

only by what it shows but also by what it does not show, another significant concern is

that the lack of representation of various social groups, such as ethnic minorities, might

negatively affect young viewers (Cisneros, 2008). Latinos do watch English-language

TV, and since the media often do not represent Latinos in a positive way, many Latinos

turn to Spanish-language media for more positive portrayals of Latinos (Sandoval, 2007).

A study conducted in 2007, found that there were several connections between the

viewing of particular TV genres and adolescents' feelings about their social skills (Ward). Seeing stereotypical characters so constantly in the media, Latino youth may feel less socially adequate, resulting in lower self-esteem (Ward, 2007). In a survey conducted by Huff in 1998, Latino parents said that they felt English-language television was not portraying role models for their children. Regarding Spanish-speaking television, the same parents said that they did not think that it provided enough educational content for children.

Studies have shown that people use the media for many personal reasons, one of which is to find a connection to the country they live in. According to Valdivia (2010) ethnic people, especially if newly arrived, use mainstream media as a form of understanding the dominant culture of the country they are living in. If Latinos are often using media to try to understand the dominant culture and they are not being well represented in media content, then they may have a feeling of exclusion. Media have been found to influence people more when they are not familiar with what they are watching. The poor representation of Latinos in television can not only influence them, but it can influence other cultures trying to learn about them.

Poor Representation on Television

Latino's representation in mainstream media often falls short of their actual presence in the U.S. population. In primetime programming, Latinos represent 0.6% to 6.5% of all characters and 1% of all television families (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000). Representation of Latinos in the media has begun to increase because of the acknowledgment of their demographic presence in the United States. Although the

increase is notable, it does not mean that the quality of representation has seen any

improvements (Valdivia, 2010). In addition to being underrepresented, media portrayals

of Latinos are often stereotypical. Ward's (2007) study demonstrates the lack of Latinos

in the media:

> On primetime television, Latino characters are more likely than characters of other
> ethnic groups to be cast as having low-status occupations, including being 4 times
> as likely to portray domestic workers than any other ethnic group and having
> lower job authority than European-American characters. (p. 263)

In other analyses, Latino men were portrayed as the least intelligent characters and with

the worst tempers (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2005). Latina characters were shown as the

most verbally aggressive, laziest, and having the worst work ethic. It is clear that the

portrayal of Latinos on TV is not very favorable. Interpretations do a poor job of

reflecting the diversity and the richness of the real Latino culture and people. In a study

conducted in 1998 by the nonprofit organization Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, it was

found that a majority of Latinos report that they are more likely to be portrayed as more

violent in English-speaking television than Spanish-speaking television. Most of the

Latinos surveyed said they were content with the shows that they were watching, but they

did feel they are being portrayed negatively. In 2010 Valdivia pointed out that most

Latinos are shown in low-status occupations, and a very small number of them were seen

as professionals:

> Furthermore, Latina/os continue to be cast in low-status occupations, with only 11
> percent being cast as professionals… when you couple this lower percentage with
> the lower percentage of Latina/os characters, you get a doubly small frequency of
> Latina/o professionals. (p. 79)

The largest advocacy group for Latinos in the United States, the National Council of La

Raza, did a study in 1994 that showed that Latinos are four times more likely to commit

a crime in a TV show than either blacks or whites. Nine percent of Latino

characters on television play roles with violent behavior, a percentage that is more than

double that of blacks and whites. When other non-Latino people are watching TV

programs and are only seeing unfavorable images of Latinos, it allows them to form

opinions about them only by what they are viewing. Valdivia also noted that it can be

difficult for people who don't interact much with other races to form opinions about them

without television.

> This suggests that, for the many people living in segregated communities in the
> United States, the media's representations might form their only, or one of
> their few, contacts with people of other races or ethnicities… we can
> hypothesize that those who have few contacts with Latina/os and consume
> prejudicial stereotypes of Latina/os in media content are more likely to suffer
> an effect of prejudice. Without personal knowledge—say, of a professional
> Latina/o, an honest Latina/o businessperson, or a dedicated Latina/o teacher-
> people who rely on media to make decisions that might affect Latina/os are
> more likely to have a negative effect or attitude toward Latina/os. (2010, p.
> 164)

Charles Ramirez Berg (2002) wrote a book in which he detailed the different

stereotypes that are seen in the media about Latinos. The bandido is a character who is a

violent criminal, gang member or a drug dealer. Some more contemporary versions

include foreign drug runners, rebels and dictators. The harlot is best described as hot

tempered, sensual, and explosive. She is often seen as a sexual slave who enjoys being

seen in that context. The male buffoon stereotype depicts Latinos as having limited

intellectual capacity and as someone to poke fun at often because they have a very strong

accent and speak English badly (Larson, 2006). The female clown is the counterpart of

the male buffoon character, and she neutralizes Latina women by being an object of comedy as opposed to the sexualized harlot character (Stefancic, 2011). The Latin lover is typically a sexual predator who is villainous and sexualized. He has characteristics that include being attractive, sensual and from the upper class. Lastly, the dark lady is usually a character who is mysterious, virginal, and an alluring women who captivates the attention of white male characters. She has the sexual characteristics that the white female characters lack (Stefancic, 2011).

Although some networks are doing their best to have more diversity in their shows, they are still lacking enough representation of Latino characters. The fact that Latino actors do not appear often on television has nothing to do with their talent, because it has been shown that many Latinos do have the talent and are also actively trying to pursue television roles: "The disparity is not for lack of talent. Just a few calls to networks, studios and talent agents yielded more than two dozen rising performers, from the obscure to the newly established" (Keveney, 2001, p. 1).

A new drama show on the CW, *Jane the Virgin*, has been able to break typical Latina stereotypes in the mainstream media. The main character, Jane, is not a sexual symbol, a maid, or a poor woman; she also does not accentuate her curves in skintight dresses or speak with a sultry accent. For these reasons, the actress who portrays Jane, Gina Rodriguez, felt like she had to say yes to the role, which she calls the most realistic portrayal of Latinas on TV (Terrero, 2014). Rodriguez feels that shows like this would break the barriers that surround typical Latino characters. "Being a maid is fantastic," Rodriguez said recently, "but there are other stories that need to be told. The show, was

an opportunity to send a positive message to a new generation. Right now the

perceptions of Latinos in America are very specific to 'maid,' 'landscaper,' and 'pregnant

teen'" (Helmore, 2014, p. 54).   Before *Jane the Virgin,* other popular shows such as *Ugly*

Betty were finally representing Latinos well on television, but even those shows were not

fully free of stereotypes.

> Shows such as "Ugly Betty" (ABC's adaptation of the Spanish-language telenovela
> Betty La Fea), as well as "Lost," the "George Lopez Show" and a small number of
> other programs have created long-awaited opportunities for all Americans to see
> Latinos in positive roles on English-language television.
> However, even "Ugly Betty" resorted to stereotype last season when a maid spoke
> English with a pronounced Spanish accent even though the actor spoke in perfect
> English on another program. Too often, Latino and Asian actors are asked to
> speak with an accent, limiting their roles and reinforcing stereotypes. (Sandoval,
> 2007, para. 2)

Other Minorities on Television

Latinos are not the only minorities who are underrepresented in television. In a study

conducted in 2010 by Monk-Turner, Heisseman, Johnson, and Jackson, the authors found

that 16% of primetime television characters were African American, but that less than 2%

were Asians and other minorities. Compared to previous studies they found that African

Americans had seen an increase in their representation in primetime television. Although

more African Americans were seen on television, their roles still had not changed and

they were seen in negative roles. African Americans characters on TV were the laziest,

least respected, and the most provocatively dressed (Monk-Turner, 2010).

The increase in the number of African Americans on television can be attributed to

the perseverance of the NAACP. In 2010 the president of the NAACP, Kweisi Mfume,

"called the paucity of minority faces on 26 network shoes a virtual whitewash" (Farhi,

2010). From that point on, networks such as NBC and ABC began putting minorities on television after cutting deals with the NAACP. According to Farhi (2010): "The deals, announced after months of often difficult negotiations held under the threat of a boycott by the civil rights organization, are designed to increase the level of minority hires in the corporate arena as well as in programming" (p. 1).

Why TV Representations Matter

Educational researchers have suggested that the basis of the U.S. educational system is mostly influenced by white, middle-class, Protestant value orientations, attitudes, and childhood experiences (Wright, 2000). If Latinos are not getting enough American culture at home because they are first-generation students, then they will learn from school and the mass media.

Although many studies have shown that the media may affect Latinos negatively, there are others that find the opposite. One of the fastest-growing populations in schoolage children is the Latino demographic (Ross, 2010). They tend to be considered at a greater disadvantage in school than Anglo-American children. A study conducted in 2002 found that along with positive parental communication, regular viewing of American television could lead to positive and higher educational aspirations in Latino children (Ward, 2007). Research indicates that Latino students who can integrate some of their traditional family cultures are more likely to experience academic success in school. The value of education in Latino cultures is often a value that is passed down from parents to their children. In Latino students, it has been shown that educational aspirations can be influenced by their families' beliefs and value systems (Toppo, 2009).

In another study it was identified that parental support was the most important factor in high academic aspirations in Latino youth (Burke, 1997). Although family and faculty have been shown to help first-generation students in the socialization process in academics, there has also been research indicating the potential of television to displace both of these factors in the socialization process.

As television may positively influence first-generation Latinos, it remains a key factor for reaching the Latino millennial demographic (Cardenas, 2008). Their viewing habits are becoming different from that of other generations of Latinos. They are not giving up completely on Latino content, but they are more often seen shifting their viewing preferences toward more American shows. This shift in television viewing is not changing people's perspectives, however, as noted in a survey conducted in 1998 by Huff:

> Three out of four Hispanics surveyed said they watched at least as much Englishspeaking TV, including shows like "NYPD Blue" that currently stars Hispanic Actor Jimmy Smits, as they do Spanish-language TV. Though they are more likely to watch Spanish-language news, seven out of 10 said that when they watch English-language news, stories about Hispanic men are about crime or immigration. (para. 1)

In another survey, conducted by the University of California in Los Angeles (2004), it was found that Latino portrayals on English-language television had declined in the previous three television seasons. In an analysis from July 2011 Nielsen found that Hispanic TV accounts for about a third of the viewing for this demographic. The rest of the Latinos in this group are shifting more toward English-language cable, accounting for more than 54% of the demographic.

The language preferences of Latino millennials are being noticed by media companies and shifts in content are occurring. MTV Tr3s found that Latino millennials are becoming more comfortable with using English as their primary media language (Cisneros, 2008). This is why many traditional Hispanic networks are now developing English-language programming. Jorge Rincon, CEO of mobile agency RedMas, said: "When Univision inks a deal with Disney to put together an English-language channel, when Telemundo spends time and invests on the Hispanics NBC initiative and when Fox also creates the niche in both English and Spanish, we know a monumental shift is coming" (Cisneros, 2008, p. 580).

Latino spending has been on the rise. Latino buying power increased much faster than that of any other group; it was estimated that it grew 315% between 1990 and 2007 (Kievra, 2002). Juan Solana, chief economist of HispanTelligence, the research division of Hispanic Business Inc., noted that the Latino market has grown faster than the general market. From 1994 to 2004, the general market's spending power rose at a pace of 2.8% per year, but the Latino market increased by 7.5% per year within that same decade (Humphreys, 2006). Advertisers and mass media companies have been slowly shifting their approach to Latinos because they realize that they have the spending power to help their companies grow and increase their revenue.

Spanish Language TV in the United States

With so many Latinos living in the United States, it has become necessary for the media to give them images with which to identify. In 2009, Albarran noted the three factors that make up Spanish-language television:

> From a socio-cultural standpoint, the establishment of Spanish-language television in the United States is a combination of three factors: The Hispanic community in the United states has been looking constantly for ways to express its own identity and Spanish-language television provides an excellent channel for that purpose. The apathy shown by commercial networks toward the need to include more positive and important Hispanic role models in their programming. A need to provide more information, beyond earthquakes and revolutions, from Latin American countries for a Hispanic audience that originates from many Central and South American nations. (p. 237)

The two dominant Spanish-language television networks in the United States are Univision and Telemundo. Both of these networks have been competing in the Latino market for many years. They have been able to successfully position themselves within their Latino audience. The Univision network reaches 99% of Spanish-speaking audiences, and Telemundo reaches 93% (Albarran, 2009).

Univision is the largest Spanish-language television network and the 5th Largest Network in the United States. It averages 1.4 million adults 18-49 during primetime and outperforming one or more of the English-language broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, NBC or FOX) on two out of every three nights (Univision, 2016). The network owns and operates 19 full-power and eight low-power television stations across the United States. It also owns other television networks such as Telefutura and Galavision. In addition to the television stations, they also have Univision Radio, with 74 stations nationwide (Albarran, 2009).

Their content includes a broad array of telenovelas, which are soap operas that are proven hits from Televisa in México. A majority of the telenovela's plots are about love: "Within this genre of soaps, traditional discourses of gender, class, and ethnicity predominate. Love conquers all in these narratives, with the usual process beginning with a working-class woman who falls in love with a man beyond her social

circumstances" (Valdivia, 2010, p. 119). They also have an array of reality series that range from beauty competitions to singing and dancing contests for both adults and children. Some of their award-winning shows are some of the most watched ones by Latinos: Premio Lo Nuestro, Premios Juventud, Latin GRAMMY® Awards, and Premios Tv y Novelas. Univision's news includes daily national and local shows with award winning journalists such as Jorge Ramos (Univision, 2016).

Telemundo is the second-largest Spanish media provider in the United States. The Telemundo Communications group also owns the network Mun2 in the United States and Telemundo Internacional for Latin America (Albarran, 2009). The network owes much of its success to the success of a series that had a different format than the ones from Univision:

> Telemundo has been riding a streak of high ratings, using the success of its "super series" — ongoing *telenovelas* with fewer episodes, higher production values and new seasons each year, almost all of them shot in Miami — to edge out Univision. On Jan. 25, the 9 p.m. finale of *Bajo el mismo cielo* (*Under the Same Sky*), a drama about an illegal Mexican immigrant living in the U.S., averaged 1.2 million adults ages 18-49, according to Nielsen. In Miami, the show came in at No. 1 among total viewers regardless of language. (Rodriguez, 2016, para. 8)

Telemundo airs original productions, motion pictures, sports events, and news. It also manages an extensive digital platform that delivers all its content online, which includes mobile devices. Telemundo has been positioned as the second largest provider of Spanish-language content worldwide. It has syndicated content to more than 100 countries in over 35 languages (Rodriguez, 2016).

Framing Theory

Erving Goffman (1974) first presented the framing theory, noting that people interpret what is going on around their world through their primary framework. As the primary framework, it is often taken for granted by the user because it does not depend on other frameworks in order for the audience to perceive it (Davie, 2010). According to Goffman (1974) framing analysis is more culture-bound than content analysis. Davie (2010, para. 2) noted: "The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning". The frame becomes the thing that is presented to an audience. If the media shows a particular frame on something, it influences the choices that they make in processing the information. The frames highlight bits of information to make them more meaningful to audiences (Entman, 1993). In essence, it tells the audiences how to think about what they are watching.

Frames become important when complex issues are being presented so that they can become accessible and efficient in conveying their message (Goffman, 1974). As the frame becomes more meaningful to an audience it increases the possibility that they will process the information, find its meaning, and be able to store it in their memory (Entman,1993).

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

Method

The method used for this study was a quantitative framing analysis. This research method was used to provide an in-depth examination of the representation of Latinos in television. In this study, primetime programming of the two major broadcast networks, as determined by A.C. Nielsen Company, in both English and Spanish were analyzed. Primetime refers to the hours of 8 p.m. to 11 p.m., which is the most watched time on television (Sklar, 1980). The two English networks were ABC- American Broadcasting System, and NBC- National Broadcasting Company. The two Spanish networks were Univision and Telemundo.

Only the fictional genres of drama, crime, and comedy series were included; all reality shows were excluded from the research. Access to the all of the shows from the networks was obtained through streaming websites: Netflix, Hulu, ABC, and Telemundo. The researcher analyzed weekday television programs during the first week of May of 2016, a time period which was randomly selected from the second quarter of the year. The specific television show episodes, and the date that they aired can be found in Appendix A.

The main unit of analysis was characters with speaking roles. Twelve shows were analyzed from the ABC network and 13 were analyzed from the CBS network. A total of 403 characters were identified from English-language TV and 115 from Spanish-language TV. The different characters in the television shows were coded by ethnicity or race, gender, and their role in the shows. The characters were categorized

based on their racial identity whenever there was enough information to determine their racial or ethnic identity.

Frames Identified

In order to use a framing analysis, the researcher identified the most common frames that Latino characters appeared in. The frames that were identified in the literature review were the basis for the frames and sub-frames in this study. Some of the characters in the study fit into more than one frame and were coded as such. The frames identified were criminal, professional, domestic worker, Latin lover, and Latina threat.

1) Criminal: This frame is for characters who are shown as being in trouble with the law or engaging in illegal activity. This frame is significant enough to have two sub-frames: drug dealer and violent criminal. It is a modern take on the classic "bandido" that was explained by Charles Ramirez Berg (2002).

2) Professional: The professional frame represents Latino characters in successful jobs. This is a frame that is relatively new in primetime television. This frame has three sub-frames: law enforcement, medical, and businessperson. The law enforcement sub-frame includes anything from police officers to detectives who are working to solve criminal cases. The medical sub-frame includes doctors, nurses, and any person working in a hospital or rehabilitation center. The third sub-frame, businessperson, includes any character who is seen successfully leading any type of business or being an essential part of a successful business.

3) Domestic worker: The domestic worker frame places the character in a position of labor, usually catering to the leisure of a wealthy person. Characters who fit these frames are usually not respected by their wealthier counterparts. This frame has the maid as a sub-frame. The maid sub-frame includes any characters that are seen doing any household chores or working in a hotel cleaning or doing maintenance.

4) Latin lover: The Latin lover frame includes men who are overly sexualized and use their attractiveness to make woman want them or to get whatever they want (Berg, 2002). Men who fit this stereotypical frame are usually attractive and wealthy.

5) Latina threat: The Latina threat frame depicts woman who use their sexuality to get what they want; it is similar to the Latin lover frame for men. Women in this frame are usually dressed very sexy, are attractive, and tend to have very curvaceous bodies. They are also from the upper class or use their attractiveness to trap a wealthy man. Some of the women in this frame have villainous characteristics as well. This frame is also taken from Berg, but it differs in that the characters in this study were not sexual slaves.

Television Shows

The television shows that were identified and analyzed from each network are shown on Table 1.

Table 1

Television Shows in the Study

TV Network	Television Show
CBS	Mike & Molly
	The Big Bang Theory
	The Odd Couple
	NCIS
	NCIS: New Orleans
	Person of Interest
	Criminal Minds
	Criminal Minds Beyond Borders
	Mom
	2 Broke Girls
	Rush Hour
	Hawaii Five-O
	Blue Bloods
ABC	Castle
	Fresh off the Boat
	The Real O'Neals
	Marvel's Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D
	The Middle
	The Goldbergs
	Modern Family
	Black-ish
	Nashville
	Grey's Anatomy
	Scandal
Univision	Yago
	Un Camino Hacia el Destino
	El Hotel de Los Secretos
Telemundo	Eva la Trailera
	La Esclava Blanca
	El Señor de Los Cielos

Research Questions

The research questions were as follows:

1. How does the percentage of minorities on primetime television compare to the percentage of those minorities in the United States?

This comparison determines whether any ethnic or racial minorities are lacking representation in the mainstream media. If Latinos are the largest minority group in the United States, they should have the same representation on primetime television.

2. In what frames are Latino characters being shown? 2a) Do they play stereotypical roles?

It is important to note the characters that Latinos are playing. As found in previous research, Latinos have been starting to have more representation in television, but most of the time they have stereotypical roles.

3. Are the Latino characters on English-language TV playing recurring roles?

If the Latino characters are recurring characters, it means that they are important to the plot. If a Latino character appears only once in the show, the character is not considered to be important. A recurring character is one who appears frequently during the entire season of a television show. They usually play major roles in more than one episode and they tend to be part of the main focus of the show.

4. What are the behaviors of Latino characters in English-language TV and those in Spanish-Language TV?

Different characters have different behaviors towards others depending on the role they portray. It is important to evaluate the behavior of Latinos to determine if they are seen as respected characters or if they are not receiving respect from others.

5. In what genres of shows are Latinos most represented?

Different television genres have different types of characters portrayed in their shows. If more Latinos are seen in a certain genre of television shows, it could have to do with the type of characters that they are portraying in that specific genre.

Results

The results of this study showed that the Latino representation on primetime television is still very low and it still does not demonstrate a good portrayal of the Latino population. There were 403 characters analyzed in English-language TV and only 7.4% of them were Latinos. Only seven of the Latino characters had a recurring role in every episode. A majority of the Latino characters had stereotypical roles; the characters that appeared most often were drug dealers. A positive finding was that there were Latino characters in recurring roles that portrayed professionals, some of which included people in law enforcement, a doctor, and a presidential nominee.

In Spanish-language primetime television, every character was Latino. The character roles were more diverse, but they were not necessarily favorable roles. Many of the characters in the Spanish TV shows were successful, rich, and powerful. The characters who portrayed poorer people were mostly humiliated in every episode by their wealthier counterparts. The most popular frame in Spanish-Language TV was the domestic worker frame.

Number of Latinos on Primetime Television

In order to determine the exact representation of Latinos on primetime television, it was necessary to determine the number of characters with speaking roles. A comparison of the number of characters by race for each network is shown in Table 2. The total number of characters represented in Table 2 comes from the 25 TV shows that were analyzed in the English-language networks. For the purpose of these comparisons, only

the English-language primetime TV shows were considered because Spanish-language shows had only Latino characters.

Table 2

Characters by Race on CBS and ABC

Race	CBS: Number of Characters	ABC: Number of Characters	CBS & ABC combined %
Latino	17	13	7.4%
White	140	135	68.2
Black	32	28	14.9
Asian	8	15	5.7
Other	14	1	3.7

Table 2 shows that less than half of the characters on both networks were minorities. The percentage of Latino characters on both networks was 7.4%. Latinos are the largest minority group in the United States, yet they have the lowest representation on primetime television. The number of Latinos watching English-language TV is high, but their representation is still very low. Table 3 shows the percentage of representation by each race on both networks as compared to their percentage of population in the United States.

Table 3

Percentage of Characters Portrayed by Race and Total U.S. Population by Race

Race	CBS & ABC combined % (N= 403)	USA Population by race % (N= 318.9 million)
Latino	**7.4%**	**17%**
White	68.2	63
Black	14.9	12.3
Asian	5.7	3.6
Other	3.7	4.1

As clearly presented in Table 3, Latinos lag far behind Blacks and Asians in terms of representation on primetime television. The representation of Asians and Blacks on primetime television is much closer to their population percentages than Latinos. Although the Latino population has grown, the representation of Latinos on primetime TV has not kept pace. In a 2007 study, Sandoval reported that Latinos accounted for 6.5% of the characters on primetime TV shows; in that year Latinos mere estimated to be 15.1% of the United States population (Fry, 2008). The difference between representation and population was less in 2007 than in 2016.

In the programs that were part of this study, there were two shows that depicted only Asians and Blacks. ABC aired the show *Fresh off the Boat,* which followed the life of an Asian family, as well as Blackish, which followed the life of a Black family. There were no shows with a similar structure for Latinos.

Frames

Table 4 shows the frames that were found in the English and Spanish TV channels.

Portrayals in both English and Spanish TV programs were stereotypical. In English

programming there were more Latino criminals than Latino professionals, and in

Spanish programs there were more domestic workers and criminals than professionals.

Table 4

Percentage of Characters Portrayed in Frames in English and Spanish TV

Frames & Sub-frames	English-Language TV Characters %	Spanish-Language TV Characters %
Professional	**33%**	**32%**
Law Enforcement	13	15
Medical	1	6
Business	1	12
Criminal	**43**	**19**
Drug Dealers	33	8
Violent Criminals	16	5
Domestic Worker	**0**	**32**
Maid	0	12
Latin Lover	**0**	**3**
Latina Threat	**6**	**11**

Note. Percentages in the table add to more than 100% because some Latino TV
characters fit into more than one frame.

English-language frames. As shown in table 4, the frame with the highest number

of Latino characters in English-language TV is the criminal frame. The drug dealer

sub-frame accounted for 77% of the characters in the criminal frame. The central theme

whenever Latino criminals would be shown on television was drug traffickers.

Consistent with the findings of previous research, Latinos on television are often

portrayed in the stereotypical role of criminals. The plot of the episode "Much Ado

About Murder" from the show *Castle* was centered around catching a murder suspect.

During the investigation, many of the suspects were Latinos who were part of a big drug

cartel. One of the detectives in the show even got kidnapped by the main drug lord,

"Jorge, El Oso Zamacona". Even though all of the suspects in the episode were Latinos,

the actual assassin turned out to be a white woman. In this same episode, there was a

Latino who portrayed a detective in the case and who was an essential part of the team.

Another television show with the same type of characters and plot was *Hawaii Five-O*.

The episode that was analyzed in this study also centered around a murder and a drug

cartel. The Latino characters were drug dealers who formed part of a Mexican drug

cartel and who were being investigated for the murder of a woman. There was also one

Latino character who was a detective in the investigation. The show, *Rush Hour,* had a

similar plot. The episode "Welcome Back Carter" started out with the murder of a

student, and the investigation that followed pinned Latino drug dealers as the primary

suspects. The cop who lead this investigation was a Latina character. *Blue Bloods* was

the fourth crime series TV show that also portrayed Latinos as criminals. This particular

episode diverted away from the Latino drug dealers and instead portrayed Latinos as

violent criminals. The episode "Blowback" was about an officer who shot a Latino

criminal. It became a controversy because there were many witnesses who said that the

Latino man had not done anything wrong before being shot. The rest of the episode

investigated his killing and featured other Latinos as suspects in other crimes. The

violent criminal was also a sub-frame in the criminal frame; these characters were mostly the same actors portrayed as drug dealers, but they committed more heinous crimes.

The second dominant frame for Latinos in English television was the professional frame. This demonstrates that there has been a slight improvement in the way that Latino characters are represented in primetime television. There were still many roles in which the characters depicted typical Latino stereotypes, but the fact that one third of the characters analyzed played a professional role does show improvement. Professionals in law enforcement were the most commonly portrayed characters in this frame. They would play essential roles in criminal investigations that would center around Latino criminals. Essentially every time that there was a Latino in law enforcement in any show, there were also other Latinos who would portray criminals. The show, *Grey's Anatomy,* was the only show that portrayed a Latina in a good professional frame and only focused on her character rather than having more Latinos on the show in stereotypical frames. Dr. Callie Torres was one of the main doctors in the popular medical drama. *Scandal* also had a professional Latino in the episode, "The Trump Card". Frankie Vargas was a Latino who was chosen as the Democratic candidate in the presidential primaries. In the episode he only appeared in one scene, but in other scenes he is highly spoken of by other characters.

A major stereotype that was commonly seen in Latina women was portrayals of very sexy and appealing women. The frame that best describes this stereotype is the Latina threat. The character, Gloria, from *Modern Family* was the perfect example of this stereotype. Gloria fit the typical Latina stereotype because she was very sexy, curvy, and

because she engaged in scandalous behavior. She had a very strong accent that was

sometimes hard to understand and other white characters often had to help her by

repeating what she said so that others could understand her. Another Latina threat who

was also seen in this frame was Didi Diaz in the show, *Rush Hour*. Although she

portrayed a cop on the show, in this particular episode she used her sexuality to attract the

Latino drug dealers that she and her team were investigating. Didi went undercover as

the partner of a drug dealer trying to buy drugs. She did not have an accent like Gloria,

but she spoke in Spanish to the criminals in order to convince them that she was truly a

Latina trying to buy drugs from them.

Spanish-language frames. The most prevalent frame in Spanish-language TV was

the domestic worker frame. Most of the characters in this frame were maids. The

Spanish shows portrayed many wealthy people who all had maids. The maids did

household chores for the wealthy—cleaning, cooking, and taking care of their children.

There were also other characters who were seen doing other domestic jobs.

One of the main characters from the telenovela, U*n Camino Hacia el Destino,* was

Pedro. He was a gardener in a wealthier family's home and was the father of another

protagonist who happened to be a maid at the same home. Some of the characters who

were seen in the domestic frame would often be humiliated by other characters. Because

they were poorer and their job was to cater to their wealthier counterparts, they would be

humiliated by their employers. In the same telenovela mentioned above, another

protagonist, Mariana, was a maid who happened to fall in love with a wealthy man. She

would get humiliated by many of the wealthier characters because she had fallen in love

with the wealthy man. They all believed that she should not have been interested in someone who was not like her. In *La Esclava Blanca* from Telemundo, many of the protagonists were black slaves who did domestic chores and who were humiliated by their white owners. In this telenovela one of the black slaves fell in love with a white woman, and he got humiliated by other white characters for it.

A recurring frame in Spanish-language television was the Latina threat and the Latin lover. The Latina threat on Spanish TV varied a little from the English programs because they were mostly villainous. Latina threats were essential characters in the telenovelas because they used their sex appeal to empower men in order to get what they wanted. An example of a Latina threat was Isabela from *Un Camino Hacia El Destino*. She was an attractive, sexy, wealthy woman who was the ex-girlfriend of an attractive doctor. When they broke up, he began a new relationship with a poorer woman. Isabela could not accept the relationship so she tried everything she could to get him back. On repeated occasions she used her sex appeal to seduce him to try to get him to go back to her. A few Latina Threats were seen in Telemundo's *El Señor de los Cielos.* The plot of this telenovela was about the life of drug lords in powerful drug cartels. A few of the women characters tried to do whatever they could in order to seduce any of the main drug lords in the business because they were interested in their money.

There were two women who were in love with the main protagonist of the show, Aurelio Casillas, and they were both very attractive and were always trying to seduce him. One of the women did money laundering and wanted to be with him because of the connections he had to other criminals. Aurelio Casillas fits into the male version of the

Latina threat as a Latin lover. He had many women who chased after him and he used that power he had over them whenever he deemed it to be convenient. His brother, Victor Casillas, was also the same way. Victor was trying to get to the same level as Aurelio and became a powerful drug lord so he used women to be able to achieve his goal.

The show *El Señor de los Cielos* had many characters who fit into the criminal frame because the main plot of the show was drug lords. The same characters who fit into the drug dealer sub-frame also fit into the violent criminal frame. At the beginning of one of the episodes, Aurelio Casillas, was seen giving his helpers instructions on how to torture a man who had raped his daughter. He had no mercy against the people who hurt his family. Aurelio was a very powerful drug lord who operated an immense Mexican drug cartel and committed many crimes. He got his family involved in his business because there was no way that they could escape it since he was such a powerful man. In the show *Yago* from Telemundo, there were many characters who were criminals. They were not involved with drugs, but they did many illegal activities in order to achieve power and wealth. The main plot centered around a group of friends who framed a man in the killing of someone in order for them to get away with a big robbery in a casino. Professionals were also seen in Spanish-language TV. Since all of the characters in Spanish-language TV were Latino, all the good and the bad and characters were portrayed by them. Although professionals did appear in Spanish-language TV, it was still not a significant amount of characters compared to other frames. Only 21% of the characters analyzed were professionals. The professionals who were represented were doctors, law enforcement, lawyers, and successful business owners.

The diversity in the representation of Latino characters was large in Spanish-language TV unlike English-language TV. An improvement was shown in the types of characters portrayed in English TV because the characters had more professional roles. But, in both the Spanish-Language and English-language television, there were many stereotypical roles since many actors played the roles of criminals.

Character Behaviors

The Latino characters in some of the English-language shows would sometimes be treated differently than characters of other races. The difference in the way Latino characters were treated was seen more in Spanish-language TV. Humiliation was a recurring theme in Spanish-language primetime shows. The characters were humiliated because of their race, status, or beliefs. Often in the Spanish-language primetime shows, they were characters who would be put down for their socio-economic status. They would mainly be humiliated by their wealthier counterparts. Most of the characters who were treated like this were from poorer backgrounds and worked in low paying domestic jobs.

Also, there were Latino characters who would treat others in a malicious way. These characters used their wealth and power to get what they wanted and they belittled those who did not have the same privileges as they did. They often humiliated characters who had less money than them. These characters also used their power to take advantage of people and situations. Most of the characters who treated others badly were often seen as villains who would go to great lengths to achieve things that would benefit them, without caring what they brought down in their path. In the telenovela, *Un Camino Hacia El*

Destino, there was a villain who tried to poison his wife in order to keep all of her fortune. This type of behavior was only seen in Spanish-language TV.

In contrast, there were characters who treated everyone equally without taking notice of their socio-economic status. These characters worked hard to achieve what they wanted. This behavior was commonly seen in protagonists in the Spanish-language primetime shows. The common theme in Spanish-language primetime shows followed the typical telenovela in which a wealthy man or woman fell in love with someone much poorer than them. The wealthy characters who treated everyone with kindness were seen defending those from poorer backgrounds, often defending them from the bad treatment they get from wealthy people like them. Different behaviors on both English and Spanish-language television are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Behavior of Latino Characters

Behavior	English-language TV	Spanish-language TV
Humiliated by Others	5	9
Belittled Others		21
Treated Everyone Equally		12

As shown in Table 5, very few of those behaviors were seen on English-language television. Martha from the show *Blue Bloods* was an Assistant District Attorney in a case that involved Latino criminals. In the episode in which she appeared, she was

ridiculed in front of all of her co-workers for standing up for her beliefs. Martha's character believed that prosecutors were too quick to accuse a Latino of a crime with little evidence. Because she defended the Latino, she was scolded and fired from her job in front of an entire office full of people.

Another Latina that was humiliated was the character Gloria from the comedy series *Modern Family*. When she would speak, other characters were often left with a dumbfounded look on their faces because they did not understand what she was saying with her Latin accent. Her son, Manny, was also humiliated in the show. Although he appeared to be a normal high school student he was often humiliated by his white stepfather.

Latino characters who were seen belittling others were usually seen humiliating characters who were less well-off than they were. Most of these characters were wealthy people, and it was especially common to see them belittle their maids when they would tell them to do something for them. In Univision's *Hotel de Los Secretos*, there were many domestic workers working at the hotel who would get yelled at and humiliated by the hotel owner who happened to be a very wealthy and powerful woman. In *Un Camino Hacia el Destino,* Lucero was from a very wealthy family, and she ended up falling in love with a poor man. At their wedding, her mother showed up and tried to take her away from her new husband because he was poor and did not "deserve" her daughter. Her mother was a very judgmental person and did not want anything to do with her daughter if she stayed with the poor man. Lucero defended her husband and did not leave with her mom. In the same telenovela, there was a similar story, but in this instance the

poor woman fell in love with the rich man. The wealthy man, Carlos, came from a family who also did not approve of the relationship, but he defended his girlfriend every time that they would tell her something because he did not judge her for who she was. Carlos was also a character who treated everyone around him equally even though he was a very wealthy man. He defended her every time that his family and friends humiliated her.

He not only defended his girlfriend, but he also adopted a little boy who was orphaned. The little boy came from a very poor family and Carlos strived to give him the best life that he could. In *Eva la Trailera* from Telemundo, a poor girl also falls in love with a wealthier man. Eva was beginning her career as the owner of a trailer company and was humiliated by other women for being in love with a wealthy man, but he did everything he could to always defend her.

Genres & Recurring Roles

Many television show genres were analyzed in this one-week sample of primetime television. In English-language TV, only three genres featured Latino characters. Because only six different shows were analyzed in Spanish TV, there was less of a variety in the genres. There was more variety in English-language TV, but there was a recurring pattern in the genres in which the most Latinos were analyzed. The following table lists the genres in which Latinos were portrayed.

Table 6

Genres of TV Shows In Which Latinos Are Present

Television Show Genres	CBS	ABC	Univision	Telemundo
Crime	4	1	2	1
Drama		3	1	2
Comedy		1		

Of the nine English-language television shows in which Latino characters were present, five of them were crime shows. They were *Castle* (ABC), *NCIS: New Orleans* (CBS), *Blue Bloods* (CBS), *Rush Hour* (CBS), and *Hawaii Five-0* (CBS). Six Latino characters were identified in the show *Castle*; only one was a recurring character, Javier Espinoza. He was a detective for the New York Police Department and interacted with all the characters in the show. In the episode "Much Ado About Murder," he and his team are working on a murder case of a Latino actor. There were five other Latino characters in the episode, but they are not recurring roles. Four of the Latinos with speaking parts formed part of a big drug cartel and only appeared in the episode because they were linked to the criminal case being investigated. Another crime show with a similar plot was *Blue Bloods*. In the episode "Blowback," there were six Latino characters, but only a detective was seen with a recurring role. The detective in the episode was Maria Baez. She helped solve the case of an officer involved shooting in which Latinos were the criminals. Four of the Latino characters in this same episode were being investigated for the crime, and one other Latina woman is an ADA in the

case. Although she portrays a character with a professional career, she ends up being fired and humiliated for trying to get justice for the minorities who are being accused in the case. Within the same week sample of primetime television, another crime show had a similar plot: *Hawaii Five-O*. In the episode "Plinka Koko," five Latino characters were identified, and again, only one was a recurring character. The recurring character in this show was also part of the criminal investigation team; in this particular episode he appeared for a small amount of time as compared to his other colleagues leading the investigation. The other four Latino characters in the episode only appear because they have a part in the murder of a Mexican woman. This episode also centered around a powerful Mexican drug cartel from Sinaloa, Mexico. A fourth English-language crime show had a recurring character who was part of the crime investigation team. In the, *Rush Hour,* episode "Welcome Back Carter," Didi Diaz was a tough Latina detective who even spoke some Spanish when confronting the criminals. In this episode three more Latino characters are seen, but just like the other three shows, they are criminals in the case that is being investigated in the episode. They are also part of a drug cartel that claims someone's life. The fifth and final English-language crime show that had a Latino character was *NCIS: New Orleans*. The character in the episode "Help Wanted" was not a recurring character; he was a military cook who had information that helped the police resolve the crime they were investigating who appeared in only one scene.

In Spanish-language television, three of the six television shows were similar to the English-language shows that had the most Latino characters. These shows were about crime, mysteries, and drug cartels. The one with the most similarities was *El Señor de los*

Cielos (Man of the Skies), a show that aired on the Telemundo network. The show was based on the true story of the drug lord, Amado Carrillo, from Sinaloa, Mexico. It was a very violent show and had many explicit scenes. Mostly every character in this show was involved in a crime, and if they were not part of the crime, then they were law enforcement characters trying to solve the crime that was occurring. A second show full of crime and mystery was *Yago*, a production on the Univision network. The story behind the show was a man seeking vengeance from his former girlfriend and friends after they framed him for a murder and robbery at a casino. This show was not as violent as the previous one, but it also had some strong scenes. Another one of Univision's shows with a similar plot was *El Hotel de los Secretos* (The Hotel of Secrets). The main stories in this show were unsolved mysteries and crimes. There were no violent scenes, and they were mostly full of suspense.

The second most popular genre for the representation of Latino characters were drama series. Another show from the week's sample that had a recurring character was *Greys Anatomy* from the ABC network. In this medical drama, Dr. Callie Torres was a Latina character who was one of the main doctors in the show. In the episode "Mama Tried," Dr. Torres was fighting for sole custody of her daughter, but she lost her case. The show *Scandal* had a Latino character who played a major role in the episode "The Trump Card" as well. Frankie Vargas became the Democratic presidential nominee in this episode. Even though this Latino character was an integral part of the show it was not a recurring role and he only appeared for a couple of episodes.

The only other English-language show that had recurring Latino characters was ABC's comedy series, *Modern Family*. Gloria Delgado, played by the Columbian actress Sofia Vergara, is one of the show's main characters along with her son, Manny. Gloria was a stereotypical Latina—very sexy, loud, and outspoken. The three other television shows from the Spanish networks were drama series that were typical telenovelas. The telenovelas followed the same plot of a poor man or woman falling in love with a wealthy character. They faced many obstacles that impeded them from being in a relationship. The villains of these telenovelas are usually wealthy people who do not believe poor people should be in love with their wealthy counterparts.

Conclusion

Although the Latino representation in primetime television was a bit higher in this study as compared with previous research, it still did not provide a good representation of the Latino population as a whole. Just like Vadivia noted in 2010, "the increase does not necessarily mean that the representations are improving in quality". The results showed that, although Latinos comprise 17% of the U.S. population, only 7.4% of the representations in primetime on ABC and CBS were Latino. This percentage is higher compared to the 0.6% to 6.5% found by Fullerton and Kendrick in the year 2000. The Latino population is rapidly growing and it has become the largest minority group in the United States. Of the 403 characters analyzed in English-language TV, only 30 were Latinos. Only seven Latino characters had recurring roles in which they appeared in every episode of a show. Latinos have the least representation in primetime television, as compared with all other minority groups in the United States. However, the researcher also found that other minorities were also underrepresented on the two American networks.

In Spanish-language TV, there were more types of characters since every character was Latino. However, the representation of Latinos in Spanish TV was not always favorable. A recurring theme in these shows was that most of the wealthy characters were successful and powerful, while the poorer characters were being humiliated and having to cater to all the needs of the wealthier households. Most of the poorer characters were domestic workers who often had to endure humiliations. This stereotype still remains intact since a study conducted by Ward in 2007. He pointed out the large

number of Latino domestic workers that were seen in primetime television: "On primetime television, Latino characters are more likely than characters of other ethnic groups to be cast as having low-status occupations, including being 4 times as likely to portray domestic workers than any other ethnic group". On the other hand, the wealthy characters enjoyed privileged lives and were mainly the center of attention. Some of the Spanish shows had many things in common with some of the English-language shows because they were about drug cartels, a prevalent theme for Latino characters.

Five frames were found on both English-language and Spanish-language TV; four of them were negative and stereotypical. One of the most prevalent frames developed was the criminal frame, which most often was portrayed as criminals involved in the drug trade. As compared to a study in 1998 by the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute not much has changed in the way that Latinos are being portrayed on television: "it was found that a majority of Latinos report that they are more likely to be portrayed as more violent in English-speaking television than Spanish-speaking television". Another one of the frames was the domestic worker frame, and three additional frames were developed for this study—Latin lover, Latina threat, and professional. The most prevalent frame on ABC and CBS was the criminal frame, and on Univision and Telemundo it was the domestic worker frame. Although the percentage of Latino professionals who were portrayed on English-language television was only 33%, the numbers were higher than the 32% on Spanish-language TV.

Studies like this are important because it is essential to point out the lack of diversity that exists in primetime television. Many people turn to the mass media for

entertainment and knowledge. If there are few Latinos and the few Latino characters who are depicted on English-language primetime programs have stereotypical roles, this may contribute to the negative public opinion about Latinos.

Limitations to the Study

It was not possible to make statistical comparisons between English-language and Spanish-language primetime TV shows because the number of Latino characters in English-language TV was too small. If a new study were to be done, a much larger sample would be needed to make statistical comparisons.

Contributions to Literature

The major contributions of this study are baseline data on the percentage of white actors as well as all racial and ethnic minorities on English-language television, the portrayal of Latinos on both English-language and Spanish-language television, and the development of five frames that can be used in future studies to measure the representation of Latino characters. One of the major findings is that the representation of Latinos as well as other minorities on primetime television is still very low. An underrepresentation of other minorities was also found in this research, but it was not as low as compared to Latino characters.

The percentage of Latinos as compared to their proportional representation in the U.S. population, was the lowest of all the racial and ethnic groups portrayed in primetime on the two American networks. The data on Latino representation as well as on all other racial and ethnic groups will provide baseline data for future studies. The data also show that most of the Latino roles portrayed were stereotypical and negative on both English-

language networks and surprisingly so also on both Spanish-language networks, Univision and Telemundo.

Lastly, the researcher developed five frames and six sub-frames that can be used in future studies on both English-language and Spanish-language television. The five frames that were developed to measure how Latinos were represented are professional, criminal, domestic workers, Latin lover, and Latina threat. The six sub-frames were law enforcement, medical, business, drug dealer, violent criminal, and maid. These frames can be used in future research of Latinos on television.

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APPENDIX A: TELEVISION SHOWS & EPISODES BY DATE

CBS: 5-2-16	*Mike & Molly*: "The Wreck of Vincent Morano"
	Mike & Molly: "Baby, Please Don't go"
	The Big Bang Theory: "The Mystery Date Observation"
	The Odd Couple: "Oscars Overture"
	NCIS: "Taillon"

ABC: 5-2-16	*Castle*: "Much Ado About Murder"

Univision: 5-2-16	*Yago*: 1
	Un Camino Hacia El Destino: 70
	El Hotel de los Secretos: 67

Telemundo: 5-2-16	*Eva La Trailera*: 66
	La Esclava Blanca: 10
	El Señor de los Cielos: 25

TUESDAY MAY 3, 2016

CBS: 5-3-16	*NCIS:* "Homefront"
	NCIS New Orleans: "Help Wanted"
	Person of Interest: "B.S.O.D"

ABC: 5-3-16	*Fresh Off the Boat*: "Rent Day"
	The Real O'Neal's: "The Real Retreat"
	Marvel's Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D: "Failed Experiments"

Univision:	*Yago*: 2

| 5-3-16 | *Un Camino Hacia El Destino*: 71 |
| | *El Hotel de los Secretos*: 68 |

Telemundo: 5-3-16	*Eva La Trailera*: 67
	La Esclava Blanca: 11
	El Señor de Los Cielos: 26

WEDNESDAY MAY 4, 2016

| CBS: 5-3-16 | *Criminal Minds*: "The Storm" |
| | *Criminal Minds Beyond Borders*: "The Matchmaker" |

ABC: 5-4-16	*The Middle*: "Not Mother's Day"
	The Goldberg's: "Smothers Day"
	Modern Family: "Promposal"
	Black-ish: "Super Rich Kids"
	Nashville: "The Trouble With the Truth"

Univision: 5-4-16	*Yago*: 3
	Un Camino Hacia El Destino: 72
	El Hotel de los Secretos: 69

Telemundo: 5-4-16	*Eva La Trailera*:68
	La Esclava Blanca: 12
	El Señor de los Cielos: 27

THURSDAY MAY 5, 2016

CBS: 5-5-16	*The big Bang Theory*: "The Line Substitution Solution "
	The Odd Couple: "An Oscar Named Desire"
	Mom: "Pure Evil and a Free Piece of Cheesecake"
	2 Broke Girls: "And the ten Inches"
	Rush Hour: "Welcome Back Carter"

ABC: 5-5-16	*Grey's Anatomy*: "Mama Tried"
	Scandal: "Trump Card"
	The Catch: "The Ringer"

Univision: 5-5-16	*Yago:* 4
	Un Camino Hacia El Destino: 73
	El Hotel de los Secretos: 70

Telemundo: 5-5-16	*Eva la Trailera*: 69
	La Esclava Blanca: 13
	El Señor de los Cielos: 28

FRIDAY MAY 6, 2016

CBS: 5-6-16	*The Amazing Race*: "That's Money, Honey"
	Hawaii Five-0: "Plinka Koko"
	Blue Bloods: "Blowback"

Univision: 5-6-16	*Yago*: 5
	Un Camino Hacia el Destino: 74
	El Hotel de los Secretos: 71

Telemundo: 5-6-16	*Eva la Trailera*: 70
	La Esclava Blanca: 14
	El Señor de Los Cielos: 29