Portrayal of Latinos in U.S. mainstream magazines: An assessment of changes

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by

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Graduate Collage
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ABSTRACT

Past studies of the portrayal of Latinos in U.S. mainstream media have found they are under-represented compared with their proportion of the population, and that they are often portrayed in stereotyped roles as low income uneducated workers or even bandits (Frito Bandito). Several scholars examined the portrayal of Latinos in advertising, reasoning that this powerful force can shape expectancies of Latinos and non-Latinos. One of the most complete studies was by C. Taylor and H. Bang of Latinos in magazine advertising from 1992-1993. Since that time, Latinos have increased their proportion of the population, spread out geographically, and asserted themselves politically. This study was a replication of the Taylor and Bang study to see how portrayals have changed between 1992-93 and 2002-03. A total of 1,505 full-page ads with human models were analyzed from general interest, women’s, business and popular science and mechanics magazines. Results showed that although the use of Latino models increased 40% (from 4.7% to 6.7%) during the period, they remain very under-represented when compared to their proportion of the population (13.3%). In contrast, ads using African American models and Asian models increased 65.8% and 135% during the period, and now both exceed their proportion of the population. Surprisingly, the ads that did use Latino models did not use them in a negative stereotypic way. Half showed Latinos in association with technical products, and Latinos were commonly associated with professional and business settings. Latinos also were shown in major roles rather than minor or background roles.
INTRODUCTION

A study published in 1997 by Charles R. Taylor and Hae-Kyong Bang reported that Latinos were the most under-represented minority in mainstream magazine advertising. This study was based on data collected between the years 1992 and 1993. From a sample of 1,616 ads collected, only 4.7% included Latino models. This study is important because it represents one of the most recent analyses of the portrayal of Latinos in mainstream advertising.

These results suggest that during 1992-1993 advertisers overlooked the Latino population in mainstream advertising. However, the presence of this ethnic group in the United States has changed since this time period. Latino populations have experienced diverse demographic, social, and geographic movements. These movements could have resulted in changes in the portrayal of Latinos in magazine mainstream advertising. It is the goal of the current thesis to update the results of the Taylor and Bang study and to analyze the portrayal of Latinos during the year 2002-2003.

The most visible change to the Latino population during the past 10 years was the denomination of this ethnic group as the largest minority in the country based on the results of the 2000 Census. In June 2003, the U.S. Census Bureau Director stated: “The official population estimates now indicate that the Hispanic community is the nation’s largest minority community. This is an important event in this country, an event that we know is the result of the growth of a vibrant and diverse population that is vital to America’s future” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003, June).

With a total population of 37.4 million in 2002, Latinos (or Hispanics as the U.S. Census Bureau calls this ethnic group) are considered the largest, but also the fastest growing
population of the country. Isabel Valdés (2002) in her book *Marketing to American Latinos* states: “With a surge of 13 million people between 1990 and 2000, Hispanics grew faster than any other ethnic group -- a record 57.9 %. By contrast, the number of non-Hispanic whites increased by only about 5.3 %” (p. 3).

The impressive size of this population and consumer behavior characteristics cited by market studies, such as brand loyalty and larger households, have resulted in increasing interest by companies in marketing products to reach Latino populations (Schreiber, 2001). Also, Latinos have increased significantly their purchasing power, which the Association of Hispanic Advertising Agencies (AHAA) estimated at $675 billion per year. Moreover, this number might increase to $1.2 trillion by the year 2010 (AHAA).

Latinos also gained in participation in the economic and political life of the country. Latinos are gaining influence in the political process from local to national levels. An article of the magazine *Hispanic Business* reported that “approximately 5.9 million Hispanic voted in the 2000 presidential election, about 45 percent of the eligible voting age population. Population growth, however, will increase the total number of Hispanic voters to more than 6.5 million in 2004, assuming the same registration and voting rates that were seen in 2000” (HispanicBusiness.com, 2004, April)

For this reason, their vote has been the object of targeting by the principal political parties of the nation. For example, the *Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Berkeley* indicates that both parties, Democratic and Republican, are dedicating more ad resources to reach this group. In addition, this center also indicates that during the year 2000 more ad budget was spent on Spanish political ads than ever before (CLASUB).
In terms of economic participation, *USA Today* reports Latino companies have increased in number since the 1980s. “The growth of Hispanics has sparked a surge in entrepreneurship and in the number of companies owned by Hispanics in the USA. There are more than 1.1 million such companies, four times the number two decades ago. Hispanics now own one out of every 20 U.S. companies, the latest Census data show” (*USA Today*, July, 2003).

The number of media focusing on the Latino population is increasing too. Magazines, cable channels, newspapers, and movies focusing on minorities have increased. For example, from 1992 to 2001 the number of Latino radio stations has increased 82% while U.S. Commercial radio grew only 10% (*American Demographics*, October, 2002). However, the media consumption of Latinos is not limited only to the ethnic media; they also tend to consume media targeted to mainstream audiences.

Although media language preference might vary depending on the media, the location and the degree of acculturation of the person, many Latinos who speak Spanish and use Spanish language media also tend to consume English language publications. The *Hispanic Opinion Tracker 2001* (AHAA) reported that each week most Hispanics prefer to watch English-language television, listen to English-language radio, read English-language newspapers and English-language magazines.

The degree of use of English language media is not uniform among all Hispanics. Healey (2003) explains that the use of the Spanish language is decreasing with the passing of generations; fluency in English among Latinos increases with length of residence.

Latinos navigate from one language medium to the other. A study by the magazine “People en Español” showed that approximately 75% of U.S. Latinos are bilingual.
“Reaching the bicultural consumer can be confusing for marketers who were told for years that they just need to advertise on Hispanic TV to reach the market” (Advertising Age Online, July, 7, 2003).

Concerning magazine readership, Latinos reflect a high percentage of readership of English language magazines. The *Magazine Publishers of America* (MPA) in its market profile about Latinos points out that Latinos tend to read both English and Spanish language publications. A total of “63 percent read English-language magazines, and 53 percent read Spanish-language magazines” (MPA- Hispanic/Latino profile p.12).

Another important aspect of change includes the geographic location of Latino populations. Traditionally, Latinos have been located in places such as New York, Miami, New Mexico, Texas, Arizona and California. However, during the decade from 1990 to 2000, Latinos increased their migration to other non-traditional Latino places. New destinations such as North Carolina, Georgia, Iowa, Arkansas, Minnesota, and Nebraska are part of the territories that have seen an increasing movement of Latinos (Pew Hispanic Center, 2002). This has caused more Latinos to be exposed to new societies with a low density of Latino population and maybe with fewer ethnic media options.

A report from the *Center of Urban & Metropolitan Policy and the Pew Hispanic Center* toward Latino growth in Metropolitan America noticed that in only 18 of these new Latino destinations “…the Hispanic population grew by more than 300 percent -- or twice the national average -- after 1980. Altogether, the combined Hispanic population of all these metro (areas) jumped 505 percent between 1980 and 2000” (Center of Urban & Metropolitan Policy, July, 2002 p. 5).
In addition to this internal migration, Latinos also are increasing their numbers due to the different migrations coming from Latin American countries. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that in 2002, 40.2% of Latinos were foreign-born. The same report indicated that 52.1% of the current Latino population entered the United States between 1990 and 2002.

In summary, many changes have occurred with Latino populations since the publication of the last study. These changes in most cases involve more contact of Latinos with mainstream media. For this reason, it is important to study the portrayal that this minority group is receiving in one of the most important media tools, advertising.

Although many changes have occurred in mainstream advertising since diversity and affirmative action occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, it is still possible to find practices that involve under-representing and stereotyping of these groups. The problem lies with the possible consequences these practices might have on Latinos and their acculturation process. Media and advertising play a key role during this acculturation process. Historically, minorities (i.e. Latinos) have been under-represented and/or stereotyped by the mainstream media (Wilson et al., 2003).

For this reason, it is the purpose of the current thesis to replicate the Taylor and Bang study with the goal of observing the changes that have occurred in the portrayal of Latinos in magazine mainstream advertising since 1993.
CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The current chapter contains an overview of the theoretical approaches that previous studies developed for the portraying of minorities in mainstream advertising, specifically, Latino populations and their portrayal in magazine mainstream advertising.

Before focusing on the relation between Latinos and advertising, it is important to clarify that the term Latino is not the only one used to refer to this population. Some authors use the terms Latino and Hispanic interchangeably. Others use the terms Latin Americans, Raza and Chicanos. The first term, Latin Americans, seems to exclude United States citizens and Iberians. Chicanos describes only members of the Mexican-American community. Finally, Raza is a term associated with groups of the South West of the country and does not represent a broad range of groups constituting the Latino population (Gracia, 2000).

Since 1970, the U.S. Census has been using the word “Hispanic” to designate “persons of Hispanic origin, in particular...those who indicated that their origin was Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or some other Hispanic origin. It should be noted that persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). The label Hispanic has also been used to designate or target a particular ethnic group, such as in creating a “Hispanic market” (i.e. Valdés, 2000; Dávila 2001).

However, the use of the term Hispanic has received a diverse reaction among the Latino community. Some members of this group prefer to be called Hispanic instead of Latino; a similar reaction occurs with people who prefer to be called Latino. For example, the term Latino is preferred more often by Mexican-Americans. Also Gutiérrez (2004) pointed out that people who prefer the term Hispanic accept the U.S. government logic, while
others prefer the term Latino “whereas most recognize Latino as a loose and general marker for what is perceived as the larger linguistic/ historical/ cultural community of greater Latin America” (Gutiérrez, 2004 p. 23).

In this study, the term Latino is issued since it symbolizes the pan-ethnic nature that includes a broad representation of different sub-groups that represent the larger Latino diaspora. The term Latino is used to “describe all inhabitants of the United States (of both genders) with at least one parent of Latin American heritage or descent, regardless of formal citizenship or nationality status” (Gutiérrez, 2004 p. 23).

The presence of different sub-groups and the use of this pan-ethnic or pan-Latino term imply that Latinos cannot be considered a monolithic group with similar characteristics and behaviors among all members; on the contrary, this ethnic group is formed by a variety that makes this population a mixture of different racial types and nationalities.

The census 2000 identified Mexicans (66.9%) as the largest group with Latin origins in the United States, followed by Central and South Americans (14.3%), Puerto Ricans (8.6%), Cubans (3.7%) and others (6.5%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002a). In addition to these different origins, there are populations from Cuba and Puerto Rico with more African roots than populations from other Latin American countries such as Mexico, Chile, or Peru.

In media, the absence of Latino images in mainstream media has been a constant reality. A report of the National Council of La Raza indicates that Latinos have been almost invisible in entertainment and news media. Additionally, this report found that this ethnic group was constantly stereotyped, and in some cases it was portrayed more negatively than other ethnic minorities (National Council of La Raza, 1997).
Tharp (2001) in her book *Marketing and Consumer Identity in Multicultural America* cited an example of how television news limited the representation of Latinos to certain issues: “Perhaps as significant for Hispanics themselves has been the virtual absence of Hispanic images in mainstream media (...) Only 1 percent of 12,000 news stories in 1998 on ABC, NBC, and CBS were about Latinos, and 60 percent of the Latino-related stories during 4 prior years were focused on crime, immigration, and affirmative action” (p. 144).

Similar treatment was found in previous research about the portrayal of Latinos in advertising. The *Advertising Age Encyclopedia of Advertising* (2003) indicates that Latinos have been under-represented in television and magazine advertising, and they were more often shown in background roles as part of a group.

In fact, different researchers during the 1980s and 1990s have found that Latinos were the most under-represented minority in advertising in comparison to African-American and Asian populations. The problem is that this treatment toward the portrayal of Latinos across these time periods has not changed despite the increase of their population and their influence in the American lifestyle (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Czepiec and Kelly, 1983; Taylor & Bang, 1997).

**Advertising and Society**

Defined as the media’s “not so silent” partner (Wilson et al., 2003), advertising does not limit its functions to selling products. Advertisements also tend to sell attitudes, values, goals, and ideas associated with fears (Kern-Foxworth, 1994). “Advertising is the most ubiquitous media force in the day-to-day lives of most Americans. Advertisers and agencies possess tremendous power to persuade Americans not only about what to buy but also what
to think: about themselves, their neighbors, their community, the world we all live in” (Advertising Age, August, 1998 p. 21).

This idea also is postulated by Rotzoll and Haefner (1996), who pointed out the influence of advertising in the American lifestyle and how this marketing practice could be considered as reference for culture expectations. Researchers indicate that despite the fact that the study of advertising might lead to different interpretations about its consequences for the consumer, its practice involves a relationship between individual and society interests.

Despite the commercial character of advertising, research suggests that audiences use this marketing tool as a “guide” to learn about their expected behavior as members of the society. “A society in rapid change inevitably produces confusion about appropriate modes of behavior, taste, and dress. A socially mobile person has no ready guide for acquiring new knowledge on how to live “better” than before, and his guides become the movies, television, and advertising” (Bell, 1976 p. 69).

Using advertising as a possible cultural learning tool about society might also apply to minorities and immigrants who are trying to adjust themselves to the mainstream environment. Mass media, as a form of expression of society, could either express positive messages supporting these newcomers (Kim, 2001), or send negative messages that exclude or depict these groups negatively (Taylor & Bang, 1997).

In addition, Subervi-Velez (1986) in his study about mass media and ethnic assimilation discuss the importance of the media in the cultural assimilation process of minorities. He explains that access to, exposure to, and use of mainstream media might influence the cultural learning and the social participation of groups different from the dominant group.
This adaptation process also implies a cross-cultural assimilation of Latinos to their new host societies. This acculturation process, among other variables, might be stressful to minorities who try to fit in a society that predominantly treats them as alien figures different from the dominant group (Moore & Pachon, 1985). Young Yun Kim (2001) explains that this adaptation involves a communication process between the individual and the host society. “Adaptation of an individual to a given cultural environment occurs in and through communication” (p. 89).

**Advertising and the Use of Stereotypes**

Often, media and advertising do not fairly portray minority social groups. Advertising has been criticized for its perpetuation of stereotypes. Wilkes and Valencia (1989) state: “Consequently, to the extent that members of the host society are denied an opportunity to learn about minorities through the media (either in programming or through advertisements) due to insufficient frequency of appearance, or are provided with mainly stereotypical representations, the effect may be to perpetuate stereotypical attitudes toward minority groups, as well as to interfere with the acculturation process of those minorities” (p. 20-21).

Berger (2000) in his book *Ads, Fads and Consumer Culture* defines stereotypes as “commonly held, simplistic, and inaccurate group portraits of categories of people (...) Stereotypes are used in advertising because they are thought to facilitate understanding by audiences” (p. 153).

Advertisers justify the use of some stereotypes to overcome time and/or space restrictions. Usually an ad is no more than 30 seconds long (Voight, 2003). However, the
use of stereotyped images might create more problems than solutions, especially for minority groups.

Advertising has been criticized for using stereotypes to describe certain social minorities. In 1977, the report *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television* made by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights denounced the fact that advertisers did not reflect the sexual and racial/ethnic make-up of American society (Berman, 1981).

Moreover, Keenan (1994) observes that advertising practices might reinforce social stereotypes toward minority social groups. Women, ethnic populations, handicapped people, elderly persons, and nontraditional families are among the group recipients of this stereotyping treatment.

According to an article published in *AdWeek* (Voight, 2003, p.16), “what makes the stereotype turn negative is when it alienates the group being portrayed.” Moreover, the negative aspect of the use of stereotyped images in mainstream advertising is that it retards the integration of stereotyped groups into society. They present minority populations as alien members of society. “The advertising images, rather than showing people of color as they really were, portrayed them as filtered through Anglo eyes for the mass audience. This presented an out-of-focus image of racial minorities, but one that was acceptable, and even persuasive, to the White majority to which it was directed” (Wilson et al., 2003 p. 144).

Kern-Foxworth (1994) in her book *Aunt Jemina, Uncle Bean and Rustus* explains that the use of stereotypes in advertising toward ethnic or racial issues is negative because most of the time social groups are portrayed in a simplified, inaccurate and non-favorable light. Advertising characters like Uncle Ben, the Cream of Wheat chef Rustus, and a plantation mammy named Aunt Jemina have depicted African-American populations as having negative
characteristics such as servility, ignorance, and laziness. They have also been depicted as having superstitious behavior.

Among Latinos, the same author indicates that until the 1960s a realistic depiction of Latinos did not appear in mainstream advertising. Prior to this time period the “Chiquita Banana” an ad character that promoted a fruit company, portrayed Latinos using a Carmen Miranda-looking style that represented Latin girls as a fun-loving Latina “spitfire.” This further perpetuates a stereotype (Kern-Foxworth, 2003).

During the late 1960s an advertising cartoon character from the brand “Frito Lay” called the “Frito Bandito” generated a similar negative representation of the Latino population (see Figure 1). This character was a Mexican bandit who took Frito corn chips from unsuspecting mothers. Later, the company dropped the character after complaints from Latino organizations.

Years later, one famous ad used a Mexican bandit character to advertise “Arrid” deodorant. In this commercial of the early 1970s, the character was sprayed with the deodorant product while the audience was told that “if it works for him, it will work for you.” This portrayal reinforces negative stereotypes toward Latinos as “dirty” people (Moore & Pachon, 1985).

Other negative portrayals of Latinos were present in mainstream media during this time period. For example, L&M cigarettes used a character called “Paco” the pitch man, who portrays a lazy Latin American revolutionary who never concludes or “feenishes” anything as the ad message says (Hispanic Magazine, June 1996).

These advertisements are some examples of the negative images that have been associated with Latinos in mainstream advertising. Advertisers in some cases did not agree
that the use of these images would reinforce negative stereotypes. For example, an executive of L&M cigarette described “Paco” as a “warm, sympathetic and lovable character with whom most of us can identify because he has a little of all of us in him, that is, our tendency to procrastinate at times” (Wilson et al., 2003 p.146). Despite any positive aspects of “paco,” the portrayal of Latinos as outlaws, lazy, or exotic people reinforces existing long-term negative ideas associated with Latinos.

As previously discussed, the problem with the use of stereotyped images of certain social groups is that their use perpetuates an image of these groups. In this case, some of these negative images of Latinos appearing in advertising have historical roots associated with events occurring more than a century ago.

The image of the bandit or “bandido” came from a situation occurring during the late 1800s after the war between United States and Mexico and since then has been erroneously associated with Latino populations, primarily with Mexican-Americans or Chicanos. Mirandé (1985) explains that this image emerged as a representation of this group who responded to the injustices and to the lawlessness of the dominant society. The “bandido” image seen through Anglo eyes stereotyped this population as reckless, outlaws, violent, uneducated, and immoral people. In addition, the problem is that this image was not limited to only this period of time; the image of the “bandido” has continued through time and has become part of the American imagery of the portrayal of Latinos.

Many western and adventure films have portrayed Latino characters using the “bandido” image, which most of the time represents an evil character, who is violent, careless about his looks, and who can barely speak English. Ramírez (2002) pointed out that
this characterization of Latinos in films has evolved over time to more current characters such as the drug dealer or the inner-city gang member.

Another stereotyped image of Latinos and the media has been the sexuality of Latinas. The advertising character of “Chiquita Banana” might be an example, but this image was used more often in films that portray Latina women. Latinas have been associated with the character of the harlot or the female clown (Ramírez, 2002). “The female stereotype corresponding to “el bandido” is a stock figure in the American cinema (...) she is a secondary character, lusty and hot-tempered” (p.70). “The female clown is the comic counterpart of the Latino male buffoon (...) her character is sullied (she is made promiscuous and criminal) or ridiculed (portrayed as sexually “easy” or simply silly and comical)) (p.73). These images associated with Latina women are negative because they limit the image of these women to mainstream audiences and stereotyping them as a sexually aggressive or promiscuous people.

Television also has used some of these stereotyped images of Latinos to portray this population. For example, Greenberg and Baptista-Fernandez (1980) in their study about the portrayal of Latinos in mainstream television found that some of the Latino television characters were portrayed as lazy people without apparent ambitions or aspirations. This “laziness characteristic” can be traced to the 1800s by American colonialists who depicted Mexicans as “ just plain lazy and deserved to lose out (...) to the energetic, productive northerner” (Moore & Pachon, 1985 p.4).

The stereotyped images used by advertisers might not be harmful by themselves as pointed out by their creators; however, their use tends to portray Latinos unfavorably while resurrecting past images of racism, injustices and unfair treatment by a society that constantly
tried to subordinate them as an inferior social group without any right to share equal power with the dominant society.

In 1978, a public opinion survey demonstrated that among Americans, Latinos were perceived negatively. Moreover, when compared with African-Americans and Asians, Latinos were the group with the fewest positive perceptions. Only a small percentage associated the different Latino subgroups with positive ideas such as “hard workers, friendly or good-humored.” The majority of perceptions were associated with negative stereotypes such as “lazy, dirty, ignorant, poverty, slums and under-educated” (Moore & Pachon, 1985). While these perceptions among the general public could be the result of many factors and not necessarily a product of the media’s influence, it is possible that the absence of positive images might have been working as an instrument of reinforcement of these negative images.

Latino organizations emerged to counteract these actions of the media. Tharp (2001) mentions that the negative portrayal of the “Frito Bandito” was one of the reasons motivating factors of Latino resistance during the 1970s. One example of this resistance was a proposal called “Brown Position Paper” developed by Latino activists D. Reyes and A. Rendón during the 1970s. This proposal denounced the media use of negative representations, once reserved for African-Americans, but now for Latinos. One consequence of these protests was that advertisers began to be more conscious of the possible negative connotations that their ads could have among Latino audiences (Wilson et al., 2003).

More recently, the introduction of a Spanish-speaking Chihuahua called “Dinky” in 1998 by the company Taco Bell motivated some complaints by Latino groups. Some Mexican American critics explained that the representation of their country by a dog was
insulting. Groups called for a nationwide boycott against the company. However, most people dismissed the protest as an excess of "political correctness" (Kern-Foxworth, 2003).

These actions, together with the growing economic power of this ethnic group, led to some changes in treatment of these minorities by advertisers. Since the 1980s, the presence of negative stereotyped images of minorities in mainstream has been less evident. Today, it is difficult to find the type of racist images used to describe minorities during the 1950s. However, advertisers are still using stereotypes in more subtle forms (Kern-Foxworth, 1994).

Most studies of the portrayal of minorities (i.e. Latinos) have concentrated their research on analysis of variables that could suggest some type of stereotyping practice such as occupation portrayal, product category, settings, etc (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Taylor & Bang, 1997; Stevenson & McIntyre, 1995; Wilkes & Valencia, 1989).

Previous studies toward the occupation portrayal of Latinos in advertising indicated that most times minorities are relegated to minor jobs or professions. Stevenson and McIntyre (1995) in their study of portrayal of Latinos found that advertisers frequently used blue-collar images to describe the occupational portrayal of this ethnic group. The authors noted that these images appear more frequently in the sample collected from a city with a low density of Latino population. They suggest that the absence of members of this group in this community will not discount the belief of mainstream audiences about this stereotype associated with this ethnic population.

The main problem of associating minorities with only a few types of occupations is that this practice limits the range of occupations that minorities might see themselves as occupying. In fact Latinos are involved in a wide variety of occupations (U.S. Census
Bureau, 2004). A fair treatment of this population would portray their members in a variety of skilled and unskilled professions (Stevenson and McIntyre, 1995).

Product category is another of the variables used to determine possible stereotyping in advertising. Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) explain that groups perceived as uneducated are more likely to be excluded from portrayals of technologically sophisticated products. In addition, they also indicate that groups perceived as hardworking are less likely to be portrayed in ads where fun is the object. In their analysis of portrayal of minorities in magazine advertising, they found that African-Americans were most underrepresented for technologically-based products, while Asians were overrepresented in this category. However, Latinos did not show a significant difference between technological and non-technological groups.

These researchers concluded that advertisers were not following old practices that portrayed Latinos primarily as an uneducated group. In addition, despite the fact that the category of “hardworking” might represent a positive stereotype, an over representation of Latinos in this category could be negative because it limits the image of this population for mainstream audiences.

Among the different product category portrayals in magazine advertising during the years 1987 and 1992, Bowen and Schmid (1997) found that the predominant product among some ethnicities was public service advertisements. Some of the institutional ads were associated with a company’s involvement in the community where minorities featured were the recipients of the aid. Latinos also have been affected by this kind of perception from mainstream audiences.
Lisa Peñaloza in *Hispanic Magazine* (1996, June) states that “mainstream advertisers still portrayed a distorted view of Latinos in America. In the general-interest advertising world, Hispanics appear as hired help, disadvantaged children, or as tokenistic members of a group in corporate message ads” (p. 28). For this reason, a major representation of Latinos being helped in public service ads might indicate a preservation of these images of this ethnic group among advertisers.

Interaction setting is another variable used by previous studies to determine stereotyping practices. Taylor and Bang (1997) explain stereotypes about certain ethnic groups as uneducated and blue-collar workers might cause a lack of models with this ethnic group in settings with business relationships. In addition, Taylor, Lee, and Stern (1995) suggest that stereotypes of ethnic groups associated with a predilection for close-knit families might portray their members predominately in home settings and groups.

**Under-Representation in Mainstream Advertising**

In addition to stereotyping, under-representation of minorities in media and advertising has been a recurrent problem. Ethnic models do not appear at all or appear in unimportant roles.

Mainstream advertising has under-represented ethnic populations. Studies have demonstrated that advertisers include only a limited number of ethnic models in advertisements that target mainstream audiences. Advertisers concerned about the possibility of offending certain minorities have responded by limiting their use (Stevenson & McIntyre, 1995).

The problem of absence of images lies in the idea that the absence of knowledge about different social groups might cause mainstream audiences to assume these groups are
not present (Healey, 2003). The effect on minorities of not seeing images of their own groups in advertising is first to reinforce the idea that this group is not important, and second to miss the opportunity to cultivate healthy images of the group. “Understanding the nature of our own social group depends upon seeing it in contrast to other social groups, because we can only understand the characteristics of our own group when we compare it to others” (Good, 2001 p. 31).

Moreover, Baumestir and Tice (1990) in their study about social exclusion proposed that one possible cause of anxiety disorders is the existence of a perceived or real exclusion of individuals from social groups. This social exclusion may create this kind of disorders among minorities who are trying to fit in the society.

With respect to frequency of portrayal, African-Americans historically have been the group with more presence in advertising. Affirmative action occurring during the mid-1960s helped this population achieve a major presence in the society. However, this gain of presence in advertising did not apply to the other minority populations, who were still ignored or continued to receive stereotyped treatment (Wilson et al., 2003).

Wilkes and Valencia (1989) concluded after their study of television commercials on the three major U.S. television networks (ABC, CBC, NBC) that the presence of African-Americans models was increasing. However, the same study indicated that Latinos were seldom used as models: “Hispanics were judged to appear in only 53 of the 904 commercials with live models, an incidence of appearance of just fewer than 6 percent” (p. 22). When duplicate ads are excluded, the percentage of Latino models was reduced to only 4.5%.

Stevenson and McIntyre (1995) using samples from two different cities found similar under-representation in television advertising among Latinos. Despite the fact that the study
was conducted in a location with an elevated density of Latinos, the number of their members in mainstream television advertising was very low.

In addition, studies indicate that Latinos also show a serious under-representation in mainstream magazine advertising. These studies noticed that during the decades of the 1980s and early 1990s, Latinos were the most under-represented minority in magazine advertising. Percentages of Latino models in ads were far lower than their proportion of the United States (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Czepiec and Kelly, 1983; Taylor & Bang, 1997).

Under-representation of Latinos in mainstream advertising has resulted in part from attempts by advertisers to reach this population using specialized media rather than using mainstream media. This use of specialized media might be based on earlier studies showing that Latinos prefer commercials in Spanish with Latino models (i.e. Roslow & Nicholls, 1996). In fact, most of the advertising research toward Latino populations has been focused on the use of the Spanish language and the benefits of using ethnic channels to reach this population, without considering mainstream media.

Surveys and studies have demonstrated that Latinos consume both ethnic and mainstream media. “Many marketers might think of Hispanics as a homogeneous audience and might believe that separate media are required to reach Hispanic and non-Hispanic consumers (...) Advertising in media that cuts across ethnic lines and channels messages in a culturally acceptable manner may reach the Hispanic market more efficiently and effectively” (Segal & Sosa, 1983 p. 127-128).

While the use of ethnic media might appear an alternative way to reach Latinos, in reality advertisers are dedicating a minimum percentage of their advertising budget to reach Latinos using this type of media.
The AHAA reported that during the time period 1999-2002, almost 64% of the top companies that target Latino consumers have invested less than 3.2% of their overall advertising budgets to reach them (AHAA). Taylor and Bang found that Latino magazines such as *Hispanic Business*, *Latina*, and *Hispanic* had problems obtaining a stable advertising base.

Another possible reason for the exclusion of minority models (i.e. Latinos) from mainstream advertising is the concern of advertisers to avoid the idea of a possible “backlash” from mainstream audience against the presence of them in ads or the possibility of offending certain minority groups. *Fortune* (1992, January) stated that “some advertisers (...) have made it a deliberate strategy not to show people if possible, to reduce the chance that they might misrepresent segments of the population that could object to stereotyping” (p. 87).

By the end of the 1970s, after affirmative movements led to an increase in the use of minority models in advertising (Wilson et al., 2003), it was suggested that mainstream audiences might react negatively to the presence of these minority models in integrated advertising.

More recent research concludes that mainstream audiences are more tolerant toward the presence of minorities in ads, and few negative effects were found from White populations exposed to integrated advertising (Wilson et al., 2003; Frisby, 2003; Stevenson & McIntyre, 1995). However, this subject is still being discussed due to the fact that some research indicates the opposite. One study found Anglo populations have been reacting to integrated ads negatively in studies that compare ads that portrayed Anglo and African-American populations (Whittler & DiMeo, 1991).
Perhaps one of the reasons for this disagreement resides in the type of population used during the research. Research shows that this type of reaction occurs when population members have a very strong ethnic identification (i.e. Appiah, 1999, Kim & Kang, 2001).

Another explanation of the lack of Latino representation in mainstream media might be the difficulty to identify members of this ethnic group by advertisers and researchers. This problem was pointed out by Kern-Foxworth, who explains that “one of the reasons given for the comparatively low rate of representation is that Latinos are not always easily identifiable as such and therefore do not convey the strong multicultural message an advertiser may be striving to present” (Kern-Foxworth, 2003 p. 1060). This affirmation could explain the preference of advertisers for other more easily identifiable ethnic groups such as African-Americans and Asians.

This variety of origins also makes it difficult for researchers to identify Latino members. This might explain the low percentage of Latino models among the different studies of ethnic representation in advertising. For example, most of the time the use of only physical characteristics to identify Latinos is not enough; sometimes it is necessary to use more elements to identify them.

Dávila (2001) explains that since the 1980s the image of Latinos in media and in advertising has changed from the stereotypical image of a “dark mustached, Mexican type” to an image that has become whiter and therefore less representative of the average Latino.

The author explains that in the past advertisers tried to select a person with an olive skin color strong enough not to be an ambiguous image and to give the closest representation of the supposed image of a Latino person. However, the more modern approach now uses a major Mediterranean style that offers is more white-looking.
The author mentions that this new Latin look might increase the casting of models with a light skin. For example, she explains that if a casting director has to choose between two models to represent a Latino person, the director will probably choose the lighter over the darker. Dávila (2001) includes the comments of a cosmetic advertising casting director, who said that “what they (advertisers) want is a very conservative, anglicized look, a Hispanic in an anglicized garb (...) They are trying to make the squeaky clean, perfect, boxed Latina look, not too dark and not too light” (p. 112)

Finally, the inclusion of minority models in mainstream ads does not necessarily represent progress. It is also important to analyze the importance of characters and the type of relations in which minority models are portrayed in mainstream ads (Bowen & Schmid, 1997). The concept of diversity in advertising should not imply only a major numeric presence of ethnic models, but also should suggest equal and positive portrayal.

**Expectancy Theory**

Jussim (1990) suggests in his *Expectancy Theory* that “stereotypes might lead to unfavorable expectations regarding individuals from the stereotyped group -- expectations that at least sometimes may be self-filling prophecies” (Jussim, 1990 p. 1). Stereotypes may act at the level of interpersonal expectations, with consequences that could be linked to social problems.

Jussim (1990) in his study distinguished between two types of expectations. Interpersonal expectations are one person’s belief about a second person’s likely behavior, traits, characteristics, etc. Intrapersonal expectations represent individuals’ beliefs regarding their own future behaviors, traits, characteristics, etc.
Previous studies mentioned that American audiences rely on the media for ideas about what to expect from society (Gilens, 1996). For this reason, images present in media, including advertising, might generate expectations based on stereotyped images that could influence the treatment that the society offers to these populations. Perceptual biases where perceivers might interpret, remember, and/or develop an explanation of some social event in ways consistent with their expectations might develop (Hogg & Dominic, 2003; Jussim, 1990). “To the extent that perceivers are, for example teachers, job interviewers, employers, government officials etc., when they develop inaccurately low expectations on the basis of factors such as race, gender, and social class, the contribution of these biases to social problems would appear to be massive” (Jussim, 1990 p. 14).

Intrapersonal expectations refer to how minority members might perceive themselves as members of the society, and how the expectancies that society has over them could increase stress. Taylor and Lee (1994) in their study about Asians explain that expectations of the society and the Asian group itself reflect an image of excellence of Asians in science and mathematical fields that might be harmful to the self-esteem of individuals of this ethnic group who cannot reach these expectations.

Jussim (1990) in his theory also differentiated between types of stereotypes. He identified both accurate and inaccurate stereotypes in social relations. Negative stereotypes may be associated with real social traits that can be corroborated by scientific study (McCauley & Stitt, 1978; Balk, 1965; Eagly & Steffen, 1986).

However, negative stereotypes may also be inaccurate leading to the association of an unfair trait with certain groups due to erroneous concepts about them. Jussim (1990)
explains that expectations about a group based on inaccurate stereotypes of the group might also affect, in the end, the self-perception of members of those groups.

Inaccurate stereotyped portrayals of minorities in advertisements might be used as instruments of preservation of certain myths and traditions (Berman, 1981). Sullivan (2002) in her study about Latinos in the United States cited a number of myths that have been associated with Latino populations. Some of these stereotypes might have been accurate at one period of history, but now they are inaccurate and misleading. “Because stereotypes are misleading, they often give rise to myths about a group” (Sullivan, 2002, p. 9).

Mainstream audiences often cannot judge whether representations of minorities are accurate or not. Even if accurate, the ad could still have a negative impact on the acculturation process of ethnic minorities. For example, since 1980, the high school graduation rate for Latinos has climbed 12 percentage points to 57%, although this percentage is still low compared with non-Hispanic whites (88%) and African-Americans (80%) (Business Week, 2004, March). This data show that a possible stereotype of Latinos as uneducated might be accurate, but at the same time its use could reinforce a negative idea toward this minority and its members.

In this example, if we employ ideas toward expectancy and self-fulfilling prophecies, it is possible to infer that the use of these stereotypes in advertising that connotes negative aspects about education might lead Latinos to not be concerned about getting a proper education, due to the fact that the society does not seem to expect this behavior from them (Taylor & Bang, 1997).
Previous Studies of Latinos in Mainstream Magazine Advertising

Czepiec and Kelly (1983)

In 1983, Helena Czepiec and Steven J. Kelly published a review of the portrayal of Latinos in magazine advertising. They used a content analysis to study how Latinos were portrayed in three different types of magazines. The first two types were Spanish language magazines distributed in the United States and their English language counterparts. The third one was a sample of general interest magazines with a high level of Hispanic readership.

Based on the analysis of the Spanish language magazine samples, researchers developed a list of physical and dress characteristics present in Latino models featured in these magazines. For example, in males: straight hair, average to thin weight, casual dress, etc; in females: wavy hair, average weight, casual dress, etc. However, these characteristics were not found in most of the ads in English counterparts of these magazines.

Despite the fact that both types of magazines were almost identical in format and editorial content, there were differences in representations and portrayals of Latinos. These differences might reflect the use of stereotyped images of Latinos such as mustached men or high-cosmetic using women. In addition, advertisers show an inability to address Latinos’ lifestyles correctly.

In addition, Czepiec and Kelly (1983) found a minimal presence of Latino models in a sample of ads from general interest magazines. “Of the 234 ads which appeared in the six general audience magazines, 206 ads contained models, but only three of these contained Hispanic models” (p. 235). Despite the fact that these magazines had a high readership
among Latinos, they did not contain a significant percentage of ad models. Latinos represented 9.8% of the 15,844,000 total readers of these magazines.

This first attempt to investigate the portrayal of Latinos in magazine advertising shows a characteristic that had already been found among the different U.S. minorities, which is the absence of media representation. Despite the impressive growth of Latino populations from 1970 to 1980 (61% increase) and the presence of an important Latino general media magazine readership, advertisers still seemed reluctant to use advertising to reach this group.


Using a sample collected in the years 1987 and 1992, Lawrence Bowen and Jill Schmid developed a study of minority presence and portrayal in mainstream magazine advertising.

Bowen and Schmid did not put their study emphasis only on the portrayal of Latinos. They emphasized African-Americans but also analyzed other minorities such as Asians and Latinos. This comparison among minorities permitted them to observe internal differences among these minorities and between them and the majority of the population of the country.

The methodology used was a content analysis of nine mass circulation magazines for the years 1987 and 1992. After the selection and checking of 72 issues, four issues of each magazine per year, the authors found a total of 1,969 advertisements (1987: 1,039; 1992:30); of these, only 212 contained minorities.

Using categories such as one-race-only and mixed-ethnic (white model together with a minority model), the authors found an increase of the use of African-American models from 1987 to 1992. However, Latinos and Asians showed a significant decrease. For
example, combining the figures for one-race-only ads and the mixed-ethnic-ads, Latinos decreased from 1.5% to .6%.

Of the total ads that contained minorities, 67.5% were mixed-ethnic ads. Most of these ads included only one minority (56.6%). “The nature of the mixed-ethnic ads was one in which the minority model was outnumbered by White models” (p. 138). The White to Latinos model ratio changed slightly from 1987 to 1992 (1987: 4.46 to 1; 1992: 3.38 to 1).

In reference to the importance of characters, Latinos are shown in bigger ads and in major roles. However, only five ads contained Latinos during the sample period (1987: 3 ads; 1992: 2 ads).

The analysis of the interaction setting and the level of interaction indicated that Latinos were portrayed most of the time in formal (work) setting relationships. In general, less than 2% of ads featuring minorities are interacting with White populations in informal settings.

In addition, the level of interaction indicates that only a few ads depicted face-to-face interaction. Latinos show a higher interaction than Asian and African-Americans; however, this “high interaction” is present only in 3 ads, while “no interaction” appears in 2 ads.

Finally, the authors developed an analysis of how minorities were portrayed in advertisements by product category and what kinds of occupations they represented. Most of their product category analysis did not concern Latinos. The only interesting finding was that most Latinos were portrayed as “professionals,” which might indicate a contrast with the usual stereotype of this group as “blue collar.”

The authors criticized the absence of minorities in mainstream media since these populations do consume mainstream media. Also, they introduced the idea that it is
important to analyze not only the presence of minorities, but also their relation with the majority of the population.

"While labeling advertising “racist” is perhaps too strong, de Cordova (1999) goes to the heart of the issue: It is easy for an advertiser to simply add minority models to diffuse criticism; and, if one were to simply count the number of times minorities appear in advertisements, the increase could be viewed as progress” (Bowen and Schmid, 1997 p.144).

Bowen and Schmid (1997) add: “If companies are truly trying to reach minorities in their mainstream advertising, they must do a better job of not just including minorities in their mainstream advertising, but also of showing the minorities in various occupations, in meaningful roles, and in a variety of settings. Minorities read mainstream magazines and buy mainstream products. It is time they receive mainstream treatment” (p.144).


Taylor and Bang published in 1997 their results of a content analysis of the portrayal of Latinos in magazine mainstream advertising in 1992 and 1993. Their study is important because it represents an update of some of the results found by Czepiec and Kelly, and Bowen and Schmid.

Their content analysis examined portrayals of Latinos in four types of magazines: (1) general interest magazines, (2) women’s magazines, (3) popular business press, and (4) technical publications (see Table1).

They analyzed all ads appearing in four months from September 1992 through August 1993. The first stage coded all ads in terms of the people being portrayed (Anglo, Latino, African-American, and Asian). The second stage examined all ads portraying a minority group member.
Table 1. Magazines by Publication Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Interest</th>
<th>Women's</th>
<th>Popular Business Press</th>
<th>Technical Publications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Business Week</td>
<td>Scientific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>Vogue</td>
<td>American Popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Science Popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The portrayal of minorities was compared to the percentage of the U.S. population that they represent. Latinos, at the moment of the study, represented 10.5% of country's population; for this reason, it was expected that a similar percentage would be represented in magazine advertising.

One of the conclusions of the study was that Latinos were the most under-represented minority in mainstream advertising. From a sample of 1,616 ads, only 4.7% of them included Latino models. African-Americans were slightly under-represented with 11.4% and Asians were slightly over-represented with 4% (see Table 2).

The research also concentrates attention on the perceived importance of characters, which they divided into three categories: (1) major, (2) minor, and (3) background roles. The authors believed that a fair representation would not depict members of some ethnic group primarily in background roles.

Results showed that Latinos were not statistically different from other minorities in the perceived importance of the characters appearing in the sample. Latino models appear in major roles in 47.4% of cases, 30.3% in minor roles, and 22.4% of the time in background roles (see Table 3).
Table 2. Incidence of Minority Models vs. U.S. Population Representation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latinos</th>
<th>African-Americans</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In millions</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Population</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation in Ads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Number</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Sample</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Difference</td>
<td>-5.8%</td>
<td>-1.3%</td>
<td>+0.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For representation of minority groups (actual number), chi-square = 80.1; d. f. = 2; p < .001
Calculated as percentage as sample minus percentage of U.S. population

Table 3. General Characteristics of Advertisements Featuring Minorities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>African-Americans</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers of Ads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraying the Group</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Models</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Importance in Ad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Role</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Role</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For perceived importance by minority group, chi-square = 9.56; d. f. = 4; p < .05. For perceived importance of Latinos, chi-square = 3.1; not significant at .05
* Some totals do not sum to 100 due to rounding

The authors analyzed the representation by product category and type of publication. For product category, the authors divided this category in two parts: technical and non-technical. Despite some ideas about the portrayal of Latinos as predominantly “blue collar,” Latino models were found to be proportionally represented in both kinds of categories (see Table 4).

For type of publication, the study found that Latino ads appeared less often in the popular business press or technical publications compared with the other minorities. The authors explain that this under-representation in business and technical areas could be the result of stereotypes toward Latinos as being less educated and holding less prestigious jobs.
However, when Latinos were examined alone, they appeared more frequently in business and technical publications that in women’s and general interest magazines.

Table 4. Representation of Minority Groups in Technical and Nontechnical Product Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latinos</th>
<th>African-Americans</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall Group</td>
<td>38 (50.0%)</td>
<td>64 (34.8%)</td>
<td>49 (75.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>38 (50.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontechnical</td>
<td>38 (50.0%)</td>
<td>120 (65.2%)</td>
<td>16 (24.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the overall distribution, chi-square = 12.25, d. f. =2, p< .001. For Latinos, chi-square = .46; not significant at .05

Finally, the researchers studied the settings and relationships among characters. Latinos were shown more frequently in business settings followed by outdoor settings, home settings and social setting. Latinos showed an under-representation in business settings in a major home settings representation compared with the African-Americans and Asians (see Table 5).

In reference to social relationships, Latinos show a major role in family relations compared with the other minorities, but a minor social representation (see Table 6).

This study tried to demonstrate that advertisers might be influenced by Latino stereotyped images such as being uneducated, family oriented, and “blue collar” workers. However, the results obtained were not statistically significant to confirm a tendency among advertisers.
Table 5. Relationships Depicted among Characters by Minority Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latinos</th>
<th>African-American</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>23 (30.2%)</td>
<td>64 (34.8%)</td>
<td>39 (60.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>5 (6.6%)</td>
<td>7 (3.2%)</td>
<td>3 (4.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoors</td>
<td>16 (21.1%)</td>
<td>46 (25.5%)</td>
<td>9 (14.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>4 (5.2%)</td>
<td>10 (5.4%)</td>
<td>3 (4.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (includes</td>
<td>28 (37%)</td>
<td>57 (31.1%)</td>
<td>11 (17.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>studio setting)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>76 (100%)</td>
<td>184 (100%)</td>
<td>65 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the overall distribution, chi-square= 18.3; d.f. = 8; p<.05. For Latinos, chi-square= 3.95; d.f. = 4, not significant at .05

Table 6. Relationships Depicted among Characters by Minority Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latinos</th>
<th>African-American</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>7 (24.1%)</td>
<td>19 (18.8%)</td>
<td>2 (5.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>8 (27.7%)</td>
<td>41 (41.2%)</td>
<td>12 (34.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>14 (48.2%)</td>
<td>41 (40.2%)</td>
<td>21 (60.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the overall distribution, chi-square= 10.5; d.f. = 4; p<.05
For Latinos, chi-square= 1.4; d.f. = 2, not significant at .05
Note: Only those ads in which relationships were depicted are included in this table. For African-Americans, n=101; Latinos n=29; and for Asians, n=35
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Since the current thesis is a replication of the Taylor and Bang (1997) study, the same research questions will be used so that direct comparisons can be made across time.

The following research questions are based on categories used by previous studies to determine if media practices have used stereotyped perceptions to categorize ethnic groups. The analysis of the frequency of portrayal, perceived importance of Latino characters, and the nature of portrayals of Latino models will provide the data necessary to compare the change in portrayal of Latinos across time.

Frequency of Portrayal of Latinos

The frequency of portrayal will be used to indicate the level of representation of each minority group in magazine advertisements. A fair expected representation would be if the minority group’s representation is approximately proportional to the U. S. population. Based on this criterion, Latinos should be judged as under-represented if they appear in less than 13.3% of the total sample of magazine ads. This number represents the percentage of the population during the period time of the sample (U.S. census Bureau, 2002a).

RQ1A: Is the proportion of magazine ads portraying Latino models higher or lower than the proportion of Latinos in the U.S. population?

RQ1B: Has this proportion changed since 1992-1993?

Perceived Importance of Latino Characters

Major, minor, and background roles are the three possible criteria that depict the degree of importance that minority models represent in the ad. An elevated presence of members of some ethnic group in background roles might indicate an unfair representation of
them. Previous studies have found a constant presence of Latinos in major roles and African Americans predominantly in minor roles.

*RQ2A: When Latino models are present in magazine ads, do they appear most frequently in major roles, minor roles, or background roles?*

*RQ2B: How has this portrayal changed since 1992-1993?*

**Nature of Portrayals of Latino Models**

Type of publications and products will be used to analyze whether stereotypes are being associated with particular types of publications or products. An over representation of Latinos in non-technological products such as food products might indicate that advertisers are stereotyping Latinos as large families with low income who prefer to buy promotional food packages. In addition, an over presence of Latinos in social service ads could indicate a patronizing behavior of the mainstream toward this ethnic group.

*RQ3A: In what types of publications and product categories are Latino models frequently portrayed?*

*RQ3B: How has this portrayal changed since 1992-1993?*

The type of settings and relationships will be used to indicate the level of integration that mainstream advertising presents of Latino models. For example, an over representation of Latinos in family settings and relationships might be the product of stereotypes related to the household size of this population.

In mainstream magazine advertising studies, the social interaction between minorities and the white population is very small. Bowen and Schmid (1997) reported that among all the ethnic groups, less than 2% of them showed interactions in informal settings. A lack of
minority models in social settings or relationships might send a negative message to these ethnic groups and society newcomers.

**RQ4A:** In what types of settings and relationships are Latino models frequently depicted?

**RQ4B:** How has this portrayal changed since 1992-1993?

**Occupational Portrayal**

This variable was not part of the initial study by Taylor and Bang (1997). It has been added to the current thesis to provide a better understanding of the portrayal of Latinos. Most of the previous variables might indicate if advertisers are considering Latinos as blue-collar workers, uneducated or unskilled. Perhaps the association between Latinos and these types of jobs or labor practices is a product of the booming of the Latino labor force during this decade as documented in a report published in *Business Week* (2004, March). However, the problem is that stereotyping Latinos in certain kind of jobs without portraying them in different occupations might not reflect their varied interests, skills, and talents.

**RQ5:** In what types of occupations are Latino models frequently depicted?
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

This study is a replication of the Taylor and Bang (1997) study. Wimmer and Dominick (2000) note that a literal replication "involves the exact duplication of a previous analysis, including the sampling procedures, experimental conditions, measuring techniques, and methods of data analysis" (p.38).

Content Analysis

The principal aim of the current thesis is to identify and to analyze magazine advertising practices that portray minority populations, specifically Latinos. For this reason, the use of the content analysis research mode will provide the necessary elements to achieve this goal.

The use of content analysis as an instrument of identification and understanding of trends in advertising practices has been supported by previous studies (Taylor & Bang, 1997; Wilkes & Valencia, 1989; Stevenson & McIntyre, 1995; Czepiec & Kelly, 1983). As Davis (1997) pointed out: "content analysis is a quantitative research technique that helps us better understand advertisers' practices, specific brand's advertising strategies, and the effects of advertising" (p.392).

Fletcher and Bowers (1988 p.14) reported that studies have used this technique to determine the extent to which minority group members appear in advertisements. In addition, Wimmer and Dominick (2000, p.137) noted that content analyses work as "reality checks in which the portrayal of a certain group, phenomenon, trait or characteristics is assessed against a standard taken from real life."
Three basic criteria have to be present for a content analysis: it must be systematic, objective and quantitative (Davis, 1997).

**Population**

The current content analysis will examine mainstream U.S. magazine advertisements for the following magazine categories: general interest, women’s magazines, popular business press and technical publications. The universe consists of ads appearing in these types of magazines from September 1, 2002 to August 31, 2003.

**Population Sample**

The population sample is based on the original sample of publications made by Taylor & Bang (1997). The sampling of publications used in this study was based on the examination of the list of magazines in the *Advertising Age 300*, which is a media study publication that includes the list of the top circulation magazines in the United States.

Taylor and Bang chose the sample using the top 10 publications present in each category (general interest, women’s magazines, popular business press, and technical publications). They placed these 10 publications in alphabetical order and then used a table of random digits to select two magazines from each of the four categories (see Table 7). These publications are still listed among the top 10 publications in the *Advertising Age 300* report of 2003.

After the selection of these publications, Taylor and Bang selected four specific months as time periods for the study. Also, if any publication did not fill the quota of ads, one or more months were added to the sample. Using the same method of sampling, the present study was based on issues from: May, December, April, and November. In case
additional months were needed to fill the quota, the next months were used in the following order: 1) January, 2) February, and 3) October.

Table 7. Magazines used in the content analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Type</th>
<th>Latino Readership '000</th>
<th>Total Readership '000</th>
<th>% of Latino Readership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Time</em></td>
<td>2623</td>
<td>23900</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Newsweek</em></td>
<td>2044</td>
<td>21289</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Good Housekeeping</em></td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>25325</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vogue</em></td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>9454</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Business Press</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Business Week</em></td>
<td>541</td>
<td>4216</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fortune</em></td>
<td>473</td>
<td>4048</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Publications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Scientific American</em></td>
<td>147</td>
<td>2662</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Popular Science</em></td>
<td>795</td>
<td>7350</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Popular Mechanics</em></td>
<td>1226</td>
<td>9379</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

In the case of weekly magazines, a random sampling determined that the first week of publication of each magazine would be used. If more weeks were needed, data were collected from the third week, and then the second week. Finally, if more ads were needed, the fourth week was used.

A quota of 200 ads per magazine type was generated for each of the four magazine types.
Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis was ads published in mainstream U.S. magazines. Each ad had to contain a human model. Only ads of one page or more were included. Only one page ads that include minority models were content analyzed. However, the number of ads with White models only was recorded so that data on the percentage of ads containing Latinos and other minorities could be reported.

Cartoons or graphic designs that represent human models as dot drawings were not included in the sample. The text or copy of the ad, the audience and/or type of product, and the name of the model were taken into consideration to determine the ethnicity of the model.

Conceptual and Operational Definition of Variables

The following variables were used to classify the media content. These include variables used by Taylor and Bang (1997), Wilkes and Valencia (1989), and Stevenson and McIntyre (1995).

The variable of role importance provides information related to the position of minorities in the advertising. This category was divided into three categories: (1) major role, (2) minor role, and (3) background role. This category was previously used by Wilkes and Valencia (1989), who reported a major presence of Latinos in major roles. Also, Bowen and Schmid (1997) and Taylor and Bang (1997) cited a similar tendency among Latino models. This variable will be used to define the research question related to perceived importance of Latinos during the year 2002-2003.

The variable related to product/service advertised indicates the product category to which the primary product or service belongs. This variable is divided into 21 categories. These categories are: 1) food and beverages, 2) alcoholic beverages, 3) tobacco products, 4)
automobile and automobile-related, 5) over the counter drugs/medicines, 6) household and lawn and garden supplies, 7) electronic appliances or products, 8) cosmetics and personal care products, 9) clothing, shoes, and apparel, 10) furniture, 11) entertainment and entertainment supplies, 12) computers and computer supplies, 13) sporting goods, toys, and games, 14) pets, pet food, and pet supplies, 15) publications, 16) retailers, 17) banking and financial services, 18) telecommunications services, 19) public service, 20) miscellaneous products and 21) miscellaneous services and products that do not fit in the other 20 categories.

The variable of setting indicates the location where the models interact. An overuse of home settings among Latinos might indicate the presence of stereotypes related to the importance of family relationships inside this ethnic group. Settings included (1) business, (2) home, indoor or outdoor, (3) outdoors/natural scenery, (4) social setting outside home, and (5) other.

Taylor and Bang (1997) noticed that Latinos were portrayed most frequently in business settings; however, they had less presence in comparison with African-Americans and Asians. A representation of minorities in other settings not related with business might indicate a more positive attitude toward social integration of minorities in magazine ads (Bowen & Schmid, 1997).

Another category measured the relationship shown in the ad. Previous studies have found that business relationships are the predominant type of relationship depicted among the characters in ads with minorities. This category includes: (1) family context, (2) social context, (3) business context, (4) impersonal context, (5) nobody else in ad, (6) nobody of the same/different ethnicity in the ad, and (7) other relationship.
In addition, the present study divided the category of relationships in two: 1) among Latinos and characters of same ethnicity, and 2) among Latinos and characters of different ethnicity. This division might provide more information about the presence or absence of integration in mainstream ads. However, in order to compare results with the previous study, both categories were merged.

The final category measures occupation. This category will be used to see if advertisers portray Latinos as blue collar workers or in a larger variety of occupations. Occupational portrayal includes: (1) blue collar, 2) managerial and professional, clerical, 3) entertainer, sports, celebrity, 4) family/kids, 5) cannot be determined and 6) other occupation.

The operational definitions for all variables are shown in Appendix B.

**Quantification System**

The level of data measurement used during the collection of data will be the nominal level, which counts the frequency of occurrence of the portrayals of ad models. In addition, the current results will be compared to those previously obtained by Taylor and Bang (1997). Chi-square tests will be used to compare results in order to observe the degree of significance in each category.

**Reliability Test**

Previous studies had noticed that among Latino and non-Latino coders, non-Latino coders tend to see fewer ads with Latino models than Latino coders. Similar results were found during the analysis of role of importance. Latinos tend to consider Latino models as being in more important roles those non-Latino coders (Wilkes & Valencia, 1989). For this reason, a reliability test is needed that permits the analysis of the coder results.
To compute the inter-coder reliability, the formula proposed by Holsti (1969) was used. This formula indicates:

\[
\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}
\]

Where M represents the number of coding decisions on which both coders agree, and N1 and N2 are the sum of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). The reliability coefficient that is commonly accepted for studies of this type is about .85.

Two coders, one Latino and one non-Latino, were used to test reliability for the study. A Latino and an Asian student each coded 359 of the 1505 ads (23.9 %) for the presence of minority models (African-Americans, Asians, and Latinos.) Results showed agreement in 319 of the 359 cases. Using Holstí’s formula, these results show a reliability of .889.

Once ads containing Latino models were identified, a second reliability test was conducted to evaluate the different roles and settings. The same two coders analyzed 22 ads (22%) of the sample of 101 ads.

In general, most of the categories obtained a reliability coefficient of about .85. Reliability coefficients were: magazine type, 1.0; number of human/Latino models .95; type of product/service .82; perceived role importance .86; setting .86; relationship to others of same ethnicity, .91; relationship to others of different ethnicity .77; and occupation .95.

The two categories of relationship were merged into one category to compare these results to the Taylor and Bang study, which use only the category of relationship. The reliability coefficient obtained by combining both was .84.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

General Characteristics

After the application of the sampling procedures, a total of 1,505 advertisements with human models were found. From this total, 30.4% (458 ads) contained at least one Latino, African-American or Asian model. This is a significant increase in advertisements portraying a minority model during the last 10 years ($\chi^2 = 68.86 \ p < .001$). Researchers Taylor and Bang found that during the period 1992-1993, only 17.8% (287 ads) of their sample (1,616 ads) contained at least one minority model for each of the four magazine types.

Table 8 shows a comparison between the results obtained by Taylor and Bang and the present study for the percentage of advertisements with minorities. Results show that minorities have increased their presence over time in all four of the types of publications contained in the sample. In fact, the number of minorities in ads has increased significantly each of the four magazine categories of general interest magazines ($\chi^2 = 9.44; \ p < .01$), popular business press ($\chi^2 = 7.2; \ p < .05$), women’s ($\chi^2 = 29.1; \ p < .001$), and popular science and mechanics ($\chi^2 = 6.2; \ p < .05$).

This increase might be the product of a major concern by advertisers about the economic power of these ethnic groups. Multicultural marketers highlight the potential that these markets represent today for products and services.

In addition, political correctness policies toward the presence of ethnic groups might have motivated this increase of their portrayal in advertising. Or, this increase could represent the diverse changes occurring inside American society, where ethnic minorities have more participation in the diverse social and economic aspects of the society.
Table 8. Percentage of Ads with Minorities by Publication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsweek</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(χ² = 9.44; d.f. = 1; p &lt; 0.01)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Business Press</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Week</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortune</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(χ² = 7.2; d.f. = 1; p &lt; 0.05)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Magazines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(χ² = 29.1; d.f. = 1; p &lt; 0.001)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Science</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Mechanics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific American</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Science</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(χ² = 6.2; d.f. = 1; p &lt; 0.05)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,616</td>
<td>1,505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

χ² = 68.86 d.f. = 1 p < 0.001
Note: The chi-square was calculated using a summary of all publications of the Taylor and Bang (1997) study compared with a summary of publications from the present study.

**Frequency of Portrayal of Latinos**

Taylor and Bang found that only 4.7% (76 ads) of their sample of 1,616 ads included Latino models, while the percentage of the population at this period of time was indicated as 10.5%. In addition, this number of ads was lower than the number of ads containing African-Americans or Asians. For these reasons, they concluded that Latinos were the most under-represented minority group in magazine advertising.
Table 9 shows that this situation has not changed in the present study. Latino models appeared in a total of 101 (6.7%) of ads, while 284 (18.9%) of ads portrayed African-Americans and 141 (9.4%) of ads included Asian models.

It was hoped that Latinos would appear in a percentage equal to or greater than the Latino population percentage, which at the moment of the sample period was 13.3%. A chi-square test comparing the actual number of ads (6.7%) with the expected number (13.3%) shows Latinos are still significantly underrepresented in mainstream advertising ($\chi^2 = 36.2; p < .001$).

However, the number of ads containing Latino models has increased almost 40% from 4.7% to 6.7% since the previous study. African-Americans increased by 65.8% and Asians by 135% during the same period. The increase of Latinos is significant compared with the Taylor and Bang study ($\chi^2 = 5.87; p < .01$). This shows that although Latinos are still under-represented, they are gaining more participation in mainstream advertising. However, other minorities are gaining even more rapidly.

**Perceived Importance of Latino Characters**

Taylor and Bang found Latino models appeared 47.3% of the time in major roles, 30.3% in minor roles and 22.4% in background roles. These researchers suggested that during this period of time advertisers fairly represented this population because they did not locate the majority of its members only in background roles.

Table 10 shows there has been a significant increase since the previous study in the use of Latinos in major roles and a decrease in their use in background roles ($\chi^2 = 10.37; p < .01$). In comparison with the previous study, these results show that advertisers are using Latinos less in background roles, which shows an improvement in their portrayal.
Table 9. Incidence of Minority Models vs. U.S. Population Representation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In million</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Ads</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Number</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>184.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Difference</td>
<td>-5.8%</td>
<td>-1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latinos</td>
<td></td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-Americans</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>101.0</td>
<td>284.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Latinos $\chi^2 = 10.37$; d.f. = 2; p < .01

Table 10. Perceived Importance of Latinos in Advertisements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Role</td>
<td>36 (47.4%)</td>
<td>59 (58.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Role</td>
<td>23 (30.3%)</td>
<td>36 (35.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>17 (22.4%)</td>
<td>6 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The decrease in use in background roles also might be the result of the fact that ads containing Latino models include fewer total human models. For example, more than a half (52.4%) of the ads contained only one or two models. In addition, although Latinos are not spotlighted or do not hold the product, they tended to appear in large pictures, a characteristic that permits finding them easily in the ad.

Examples of ads containing a major (Figure 2), minor (Figure 3), and background (Figure 4) role models are included at the end of the present chapter.
Representation by Publication

In relation to the type of publication, Taylor and Bang explained that a major presence of ads containing Latinos in a certain type of publication might indicate how advertisers perceive this population. They indicated that if advertisers consider Latinos as being uneducated, they would use Latinos less in scientific and business publications such as *Business Week* or *Scientific American*.

The previous research found no significant difference ($\chi^2 = 1.5; \text{not significant}$) among publication types in use of Latinos. This result suggested that during this period of time advertisers were not basing their decisions on stereotypes associated with Latinos.

Table 11 shows that compared to the previous study the distribution of ads containing Latinos had changed slightly but not significantly among these categories during the period 1992-1993 to 2002-2003 ($\chi^2 = 3.0; \text{not significant}$). In addition, it was also observed that differences across publication categories were not significantly different either in 1992-93 ($\chi^2 = 1.5; \text{not significant}$) or 2002-03 ($\chi^2 = 4.9; \text{not significant}$).

Table 11. Representation of Latinos in Each Publication Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication Category</th>
<th>1992-1993 (1)</th>
<th>2002-2003 (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Interest</td>
<td>18 (4.2%)</td>
<td>28 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>($\chi^2 = 3.10; \text{d.f.}= 1; \text{not significant}$)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Press</td>
<td>20 (4.8%)</td>
<td>30 (7.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>($\chi^2 = 2.49; \text{d.f.}= 1; \text{not significant}$)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Magazines</td>
<td>21 (4.3%)</td>
<td>17 (4.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>($\chi^2 = .0006; \text{d.f.}= 1; \text{not significant}$)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Science and Mechanics</td>
<td>17 (6.0%)</td>
<td>26 (8.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>($\chi^2 = 1.4; \text{d.f.}= 1; \text{not significant}$)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 3.0; \text{d.f.}= 3; \text{not significant}$

(1) $\chi^2 = 1.5; \text{d.f.}= 3; \text{not significant}$

(2) $\chi^2 = 4.9; \text{d.f.}= 3; \text{not significant}$
There was no statistically significant change in the use of Latino models across any of the publication categories over time: general interest ($\chi^2 = 3.10; \text{not significant}$), popular business press ($\chi^2 = 2.49; \text{not significant}$), womens' magazines ($\chi^2 = .0006; \text{not significant}$), and popular science and mechanics ($\chi^2 = 1.4; \text{not significant}$).

**Representation by Product Category**

As in the previous study, the type of product was divided in two: technical and nontechnical products/services. Taylor and Bang found that Latinos were portrayed equally in these two categories. They concluded that this result demonstrated that advertisers did not base their judgment of Latinos on stereotypical roles.

The theory related to the representation of product category suggests that if there is a stereotype of an ethnic group as "blue collar," that group will be portrayed more frequently in ads for nontechnical products.

Table 12 shows that compared to the results of the previous study, Latinos are still evenly split between technical and nontechnical product categories. This suggests that Latinos are still be portrayed equally among product categories.

**Table 12. Overall Group Representation by Publication Type and Product Category**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technical Products</td>
<td>38 (50.0%)</td>
<td>51 (50.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontechnical Products</td>
<td>38 (50.0%)</td>
<td>50 (49.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) $\chi^2 = 0; \text{not significant at .05}$

**Setting Among Characters**

Taylor and Bang found that the settings most used to portray Latinos were the categories of "other" (37%) followed by business (30.2%) and outdoors (21.1%). This
suggests that Latinos were portrayed equally among product categories. These results suggested that advertisers might not be stereotyping Latinos at home as much as the theoretical perspective suggested.

A major presence of home settings, for example in the kitchen, might denote that advertisers are portraying Latinos only as a family oriented group. A perception of Latinos as uneducated would be expected to minimize their use in business settings.

Table 13 shows that the present study found similar results in relation to the settings where Latinos were portrayed. These results show no significant change in the settings over time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>23 (30.2%)</td>
<td>23 (22.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>5 (6.6%)</td>
<td>5 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoors</td>
<td>16 (21.1%)</td>
<td>15 (14.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social (includes studio setting)</td>
<td>4 (5.2%)</td>
<td>16 (15.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28 (37.0%)</td>
<td>42 (41.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \chi^2 = 6.63, \text{ d.f.} = 4, \text{ not significant at .05} \)

By comparison to the Taylor and Bang study, we observe a slight decrease in the percentage of ads in business settings (-1.6%) and outdoors (-6.2%) between both time periods. There was an increase in use of social settings (+10.2%); however, these changes are not statistically significant \( \chi^2 = 6.63; \text{ not significant at .05} \).

The absence of predominance of a certain specific setting is positive because it shows Latinos are being placed in a variety of situations. This does not limit the perceptions that mainstream audiences could have about them. In fact, since the previous study, Latinos are developing an even more balanced portrayal.
Relationships Among Characters

Taylor and Bang expected that because of stereotypes about Latino predilection for close-knit families, advertisers would portray them more often in family and/or social relationships. However as Table 14 shows, they found that Latinos were portrayed more often in business relationships (48.2%), followed by social (27.7%) and family relationships (24.7%). They did not find a significant use of stereotypes related to family orientation among Latinos.

The present study, found slight but not significant changes compared with previous findings ($\chi^2 = .08$; not significant at .05). As with Taylor and Bang, the present study found that the category of business was the most used to portray the relationships of Latinos with the other characters in the ad, followed by the categories of social and family.

These results also do not support the hypothesis of the use of family orientation stereotypes. In addition, the larger use of business relationships indicates that Latinos are not perceived as uneducated.

Table 14. Relationships Depicted among Characters by Latinos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1992-1993 (1)</th>
<th>2002-2003 (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>7 (24.1%)</td>
<td>8 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>8 (27.7%)</td>
<td>11 (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>14 (48.2%)</td>
<td>19 (50%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = .08$; d.f. 2; not significant at .05

Although the category of relationships was not divided in the previous study, this division was made in the present study to provide more information about the relation of Latinos and other ethnicities.
Table 15 shows that there is a significant difference between the portrayal of Latinos with same ethnicity and Latinos with other ethnicity models present in the ad ($\chi^2 = 10.8$; p< .01).

Table 15 - Relationships Depicted among Latinos and Characters of Same/ Different Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Same Ethnicity(1)</th>
<th>Different Ethnicity(2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>6 (5.9%)</td>
<td>2 (2.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>4 (4.0%)</td>
<td>7 (6.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>1 (1.0%)</td>
<td>18 (17.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impersonal context</td>
<td>7 (6.9%)</td>
<td>28 (27.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 10.8$, d.f. = 1; p< .01
(1) n= 18
(2) n= 55

It was noted that Latinos were portrayed more often in business and impersonal relationships with models of different rather than similar ethnicity. Another 35.6% (36 ads) of the sample had no other model in the ad. Thus, when relationships with models with models of different ethnicity are shown, they tend to be in impersonal or business situations.

Considering that non-Latinos in the country represent around 87% of the population, it is not surprising that the great majority of interpersonal relationships portrayed were with other ethnicities.

**Occupational Portrayal**

Occupational portrayal was not included in the 1992-1993 study of Taylor and Bang. However, because other studies of Latinos have included it, this category was added to the present study. The category is based on the theoretical perspective that advertisers have portrayed minorities most of time in minor jobs without making a fair representation of the variety of jobs that these populations represent.
Previous analyses of the occupational portrayal of Latinos have pointed out that advertisers frequently tend to use blue-collar images to describe the occupational portrayal of Latinos. For example, Stevenson and McIntyre (1995) found that in a sample of 27 ads, 10 were blue collar and 9 were entertainer, while they did not find any ad with a Latino in a professional/managerial and clerical position.

Table 16 shows that the present study noticed that the most frequently portrayed occupational portrayal of the sample was managerial, professional and clerical (44.6%). In addition, portrayals related to “blue collar” jobs were found only in 5% of the sample.

Despite the difficulty of identifying occupation portrayal of the models in many ads, these results do not support previous theories that show this population in minor jobs or blue collar work. In fact, blue collar occupations together with family/kids have the lowest percentages.

| Table 16. Occupational Portrayal |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| Blue Collar                      | 5 (5%)           |
| Managerial/professional/ clerical| 45 (44.6%)       |
| Entertainer/ sports/ celebrity   | 8 (7.9%)         |
| Family/ kids                     | 5 (4%)           |
| Cannot be determined             | 29 (29.7%)       |
| Other                            | 9 (8.9%)         |
Paleontologist Paul Sereno has encountered some of the weirdest creatures that ever walked the earth. Yet some of the scarier things he’s discovered aren’t likely to become extinct anytime soon. Sad to say, mutual fund management fees will probably outlast us all. That’s why Dr. Sereno was afraid of getting eaten alive.

So he turned to a company famous for keeping the costs down. That meant more money for him and less for the monsters.

Log on for ideas, advice, and results. TIAA-CREF.org or call 800.842.1924

Managing money for people with other things to think about.
The word plasma excites you
The phrase surround sound makes your heart flutter
DVD, HDTV, MP3 and PDA are your new alphabet
You're always the first one to get your hands on the new toy
And when it comes to finding the right price,
The smaller it is, the bigger your eyes become

Figure 3. Example of Latino model in minor role
How Did 14 People Lose 294 lbs. of Fat in Just 6 Weeks?

They did it with Bowflex.

These are real results – from real people. A group of 14 unpaid volunteers, ages 25 to 56, who took the Bowflex 6 Week Challenge from June 12 to July 24, 2002.

People tired of fad diets and weight loss gimmicks. Like Sha Boland, who belonged to a gym but still “couldn’t lose weight for anything” — until she tried Bowflex and lost almost 24 pounds of fat.

People who can’t spend long hours in a gym. Instead they used Bowflex for 20 minutes a day, 3 days a week — and lost an average of 21 pounds of fat in just 6 weeks.

People who wanted to change their lives. They discovered how easy it was to reach their goals with Bowflex — like Alex Bejarano, who lost an amazing 34.5 pounds of fat in 6 weeks!

These people took the first step by calling for a free Bowflex video. And now it’s your turn. Get the FREE video by calling today:

Call (800) 243-7925

Take the Bowflex Challenge: See Results in Just 6 Weeks, Guaranteed!

www.bowflexweb.com

FREE Video shows you how to get the results you’ve always wanted with Bowflex.

Name:
Address:
City: State: Zip:

Mail to: Bowflex, 1400 NE 136th Ave, Vancouver, WA 98684 or call (800)243-7925

Figure 4. Example of Latino model in background role
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of the present study was to examine changes in the portrayal of Latinos in mainstream advertising over the past 10 years. This study compared findings of Taylor and Bang in 1992-1993 with the current study’s data from 2002-2003.

The growth and re-distribution of the Latino population in the United States over the past 10 years suggested that changes also might have occurred in mainstream advertising used to reach them. The present study used Taylor and Bang’s categories to observe if some stereotyping practices were present among ads during the year 2002-2003 and if they had changed since 1992-1993.

One of the most significant findings about the portrayal of Latinos and other minorities is the increase in their portrayal in mainstream advertising. Although previous research pointed out that historically minorities have suffered under-representation and stereotyping practices from advertisers in mass media and mainstream advertising, during the past 10 years Latinos have increased their appearance significantly in ads compared with the previous study.

Despite the increase, Latinos are still very much under-represented in advertising when compared to their overall proportion of the population. While Latinos constituted 13.3% of the population in 2002-2003, they appear in only 6.7% of ads.

Although this increase of the Latino population could be one of the reasons Latinos are still under-represented, Latinos also have not increased their use as models as much other minorities during the same period of time.
The increase of the number of ads containing Latinos was approximately 40% from 1992-1993 to 2002-2003; however, during the same period of time, African-Americans increased their representation in mainstream advertising by 65.8% and Asians by 135%.

A possible reason behind this greater use of African-American and Asian models over Latinos could be that models of these ethnicities are easier to identify in the ad.

Another reason that could influence advertisers to use members of these ethnic groups over Latinos could be the media income and purchasing power that these minorities represent. For example, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that 40% of Asians are more likely to have incomes of $75,000 or more in the country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002b).

However, in comparison with African-American populations, Latinos have a largest household income. In fact, African-Americans have the lowest household income compared with other races or ethnic groups. Their household income is only $31,891 while Latinos have a household income of $35,882. Despite this, African-Americans have been portrayed in mainstream advertising more often than any other group (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004).

Although it has been reported that Latinos earn on average less than Whites and are more likely to live in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a), Latinos represent a good market opportunity for advertisers. The AHAA has reported that Latinos have a purchasing power of $675 billion per year, a number that might increase to $1.2 trillion by the year 2010 (AHAA).

Also, social movements that represent these minorities in private or scholarly reports about their participation in advertising might have influenced advertisers to add more models of these ethnicities. For example, Green (1991) noted that the Department of Consumer Affairs of New York following the publication of its report about minorities in magazine
advertising called *Invisible People*, began a major promotion of the use of minority models among advertisers. This report was almost exclusively about the situation of African-Americans and Asians.

With respect to the under-representation of Latinos in the present study, another reason could be purely methodological. The difficulty of identifying Latino models compared with models of other ethnicities such as African-Americans and Asians might have prevented coders from counting Latino models. It was very challenging to both coders to identify Latinos. In some cases ambiguous images had to be dropped from consideration as Latinos.

One other possible reason was the idea that advertisers would avoid using minorities because they fear “backlash” responses from White audiences. However, if a backlash is feared, one would expect that advertisers would avoid using all types of minority models, and especially those that are most easily identified (such as African-Americans). However, the results show that images of African-Americans and Asians in ads had increased considerably. Thus, it seems unlikely that backlash fears would be operating for only Latinos during the period. Instead, the results suggest that fears of backlash are no longer a major consideration. In part, this may be due to previous studies by Appiah (2001) and others who found that minorities in most cases responded very favorably to use of their own ethnic models, while White populations did not seem to notice the ethnicity of the model.

Still another possibility could be the preference among advertisers for the use of ethnic media rather than mainstream media. To access major Latino audiences, advertisers might use media specializing in Latino audiences, for example magazines such as *Latina*, *Hispanic* or TV stations such as *Univision* and *Telemundo*. However, this hypothesis is not
supported by marketing reports that indicated that advertisers are dedicating a minimum of their ad budget to invest in advertising in this type of media.

This study showed an increase in the number of ads containing Latino models, but this alone does not necessarily show that they are receiving better treatment from advertisers. For this reason, it was necessary to study other variables that examine exactly how Latinos are being depicted in mainstream advertising.

Overall, contrary to many of the concerns expressed in the literature, this study found a very positive presence of Latinos in mainstream advertising. Latinos are being depicted in major roles the majority of the time in the ads. They have increased their presence in major roles and decreased their use in background roles.

The decrease of Latinos in background roles also serves as an indicator that advertisers are not following previous practices that tended to locate Latino models in large groups or crowds in an ad. Moreover, during the present analysis it was observed that Latinos tend to be present in ads with large pictures and few other people.

Results toward the categories of publication and product type and setting and relationships did not show a significant difference with the previous study. However, it is important to mention that these results do not support the idea that advertisers are using stereotyping practices for Latinos in mainstream advertising.

It was postulated by previous theorists that stereotyped perceptions of Latinos were related with minor or “blue collar” positions, and the perception of their lack of education might influence mainstream advertising practices. However, this was not was found in any of the categories of the study.
In fact, based on this study, the advertising representation of Latinos is associated with positive connotations most of the time. A similar situation was found by the previous study, which did not find predicted stereotyping practices among advertisers. For this reason, these results question the validity of these previous assumptions that relate Latinos to stereotyping practices in advertising.

It is possible that the previous findings associating Latinos with stereotyping practices in mainstream advertising might have been based on treatment from other media such as movies and/or television. There are reports that Latinos have suffered of stereotyping practices in these media (National Council La Raza, 1997; Tharp, 2001).

In addition, a few notorious cases such as “Frito Bandito” or the model from the “Arrid” commercial could lead to a general assumption that Latinos always have been stereotyped in mainstream advertising.

The presence of other minorities and their treatment by advertisers might also have led to negative predictions about portrayals of Latinos. Most of the previous research about the portrayal of minorities pointed out the treatment that other minorities received in advertising; however, we have to differentiate that among minorities, each one received a different portrayal in advertising.

The present study also found that the majority of settings and relationships portraying by Latinos are related to business situations instead of being associated predominantly with social or family situations, as could be predicted if advertisers based their judgments on stereotypes of Latinos as being associated mainly with family and social situations.
Similar findings occurred in the occupational portrayal, where professions related with business situations were used more often than "blue collar" portrayals. Although in many of the ads it was not possible to determine an occupation, the predominance of professional jobs in those that could be coded does not support the hypothesis that this group is portrayed only in minor occupations.

A balanced portrayal over time is most desirable with Latinos shown in many different settings. Too much focus on one area, such as business, would tend to restrict public acceptance of Latinos. Extremes situations such as portrayal of this group only as "blue collar" or as "technology experts" would also create problems. Based on the role of expectancies proposed by Jussim (1999), if a minority is portrayed in extreme negative or positive stereotypes, this action could be stressful for the members of the ethnic group who trying to fulfill these expectancies.

With reference to the integration process, I suggest that future studies develop an analysis of the ethnicity of models who appear together with Latinos in ads. Previous research pointed out the importance of the media and advertising in the acculturation process of minorities and immigrants.

For this reason, although this study showed Latino models in social relationships, it is important to note the ethnicity of the models with whom Latinos have interaction. If these models tend to be from the same ethnicity or only minorities, they will not properly reflect an integration of these people into the population as a whole. For example, the number of social relationship portrayals of models of different ethnicity was fewer than the number in the categories of impersonal and business, which could send a message that Latinos are not totally accepted as members of the society.
This study did not focus specifically on the use of Latino models in public service ads. However, several of these ads were included in the sample. They included a few that showed Latinos as recipients of assistance -- as handicapped or needy-- rather than as those providing help. Additional study of a special subset of these public service ads is recommended to examine whether Latinos are too often being treated as victims.

Previously it was pointed out that Latinos do not tend to limit their media consumption to only Latino media. This variety of media use is another subject that could be productively studied. The theoretical base of the present study explains the importance of the media and advertising in the acculturation process of minorities and immigrants. These populations do not only receive societal expectations messages from mainstream advertising magazines, they also receive messages from Latino media.

For this reason, with the goal of obtaining a more accurate understanding of the type of messages that this population received by advertising, it is suggested to future researchers to develop a content analysis of Latino magazine advertising. Using similar coding and categories to the present study, it will be possible to obtain and to compare the findings of the present study with the portrayal that Latinos are receiving in these media during the period 2002-2003.

Previous researchers had noted differences among the portrayal of Latinos in mainstream and ethnic magazines. For example, Czepic & Kelly (1983) found that Latino models were portrayed with different physical attributes in mainstream media than in Latino media. They found also that advertisers in mainstream media did not portray a good representation of the lifestyle and cultural values of Latinos.
About the use of categories that could point out stereotyping practices, it is suggested to future researchers to add additional different categories that could provide us more information about if these practices are present. Also, the addition of other categories also might help to a better understanding of the messages that mainstream advertising is presenting about Latinos.

Previous studies have used categories relating to the lifestyle of the population (Czepic & Kelly, 1983) to note if advertisers were portraying adequately values and cultural characteristics of Latinos. Also, other researchers (Bowen & Schmid, 1997) have pointed out the use of demographic analysis to observe tendencies among advertisers about gender or age preferences of ethnic models in mainstream advertising.

The present study has found that the expectancies that mainstream advertising portrays about Latinos are positive and do not support some of the negative stereotypes about this population found in previous studies. Expectancy theory would predict that Latinos and Anglos would thus be influenced in positive ways by advertising. The problem related with this assumption is that sometimes the absence of negative stereotypes does not mean that the minorities will be more pleased with the type of portrayal that they are receiving.

Voight (2003) in his article in AdWeek explains the difficulties that advertisers have about the portrayal of minorities. When the ad is shown with stereotypes, advertisers could be accused of perpetuating stereotypes and segregating members of this group. On the other hand, if minorities are portrayed in a very positive light, people of this ethnic group could complain about cultural blindness, reasoning that minorities are being portrayed in roles that are not achievable.
For this reason, an experiment is suggested that could provide information about what kinds of perceptions Latinos have from ads containing Latino models in mainstream advertising. Although the results of this research show a positive perception of the mainstream society about this population, it is important to consider the opinion of members of this group. It is possible that even the occasional use of stereotypes to portray Latinos in ads might recall memories about the portrayal of this ethnic group in the past resulting in bad feelings and reinforcement of expectancies from the long-standing stereotypes about Latinos.

Finally, the present study examined the portrayal only of Latinos during 2002-03. It would be very beneficial if future researchers also could include the other two minorities in order to show treatment of all minorities in mainstream advertising.
APPENDIX A

"FRITO BANDITO" IMAGE

Figure 1. Image of the “Frito Bandito” ad. Source: Wilson et al., 2003 p.147
APPENDIX B

CODEBOOK AND QUESTIONNAIRE

SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

Advertisement Dimensions

Only ads of one page or more will be including on the sample. If a product advertisement is dividing among two or more pages, only models that appear on the entire page ad will be consider on the sample.

Models

Only human models whose face is of the size or bigger than a dime will be considered on the sample. Body parts will not be considered. Cartoons or graphic designs that represent human models as dot drawings will not include on the sample. If the ad includes a logo and/or image of the product that contain a human model, both alternatives will be including on the sample if they are of the size of a dime.

Blur images that do not permit recognize the ethnic origin of the model clearly will not be considered on the sample. Also, the sample will not include models that do not show at least some portion of the face that permits recognize their ethnic group.

If the image is too ambiguous is suggested to the coder to do not code this image.

MINORITY IDENTIFICATION

The following variables will permit to recognize and to differentiate models of one of the ethnic groups related with the study (Latinos, Asians, and Africans Americans). In the case of Latinos, in reason that this ethnic group does not have a racial characteristic that could represent fairly this population, we recommend to use the combination of two or three of these variables to confirm the ethnicity of the model.

Physical Characteristics

Based on the possible perception of the audiences, we will use ethnic stereotypical images. For example Latin models might present a light brown skin and black hair, Asians will present small eyes, flat/wide nose or stereotyped hair cut. Finally, African-American might show a dark color skin, flat nose, big lips, or curly hair.
In this variable, facial structure would be also use to recognize the ethnicity of the model.

**Context/ Text**

The context and/or text of the ad could provide clues that would determine the ethnic background of the model (i.e. if the ad promotes a travel to Puerto Rico exist the possibility that the model will be Latino).

**Audience/ Product**

The audience and/or the type of product will be use as possible referent of the ethnic group of the model (i.e. if the product is Chinese food could be the possibility that the model will be an Asian person).

**Name**

Used before as an ethnic referent, the use of this variable will be valid only on conjunction with any of the previous variables. The increasing number of intermarriage had cause that the use of last name as referent might generate the presence of ambiguous images.

1. If the image is ambiguous the name could be use to reinforce the decision of the coder (i.e. if the image presents a possible Latin model and the name of the model is a Latin name, in this case the conclusion would be that the model is Latino).

2. If the image shows clearly an ethnic group but the name refers a different ethnic group, in this case the coder will valid the image over the name (i.e. if the image presents a white person but the name of the model is Latino, the conclusion will be that the model is white).

3. Finally, if the image is ambiguous and the name has some ethnic reminiscent, in this case the coder will have to search for more details that reinforce his/her decision (i.e. if the image shows an ambiguous model but the name of the model is Latino, the coder will valid the model as Latino only is the model shows another Latino physical or social characteristic).

**Ethnic Background**

People who show a mix between a white and a minority person will be considered as minority (i.e. if the model shows a combination between white and African American, the model will be consider as African American).
People who show a mix between two minority backgrounds will be considered the strongest one (i.e. if the model shows a combination between African American and Asian, in this case the strongest minority characteristic will determine the ethnicity of the model)

CODEBOOK SECTIONS

1. Classification Section

a. Advertisement Number - Indicate the number of the advertisement. This number presents the following order:

   (Magazine Number of Ad) - (Month Day Year) – (Page)

For example the number 1001-0322004-20 will represents the ad number one of the magazine Times of March, 22nd, 2004, page 20.

The magazines’ codes are:
Time 1
Newsweek 2
Good Housekeeping 3
Vogue 4
Business Week 5
Fortune 6
Scientific American 7
Popular Science 8
Popular Mechanics 9

b. Coder Number - Indicate the number that you have been assigned for the purposes of this project.

c. Magazine Type -:

   1) **General Interest** - Time and Newsweek represent this category.

   2) **Women’s** - Good Housekeeping and Vogue represent this category.

   3) **Popular Business Press** - Business Week and Fortune represent this category.

   4) **Technical Publications** - Scientific American, Popular Science and Popular Mechanic represent this category.
2. Number of Human Models in the Ad

a) **Total number of human models** - indicate the total number of human models who appear in the ad. If 9 or more models appear, code "9".

b) **Total number of male human models** - indicate the total number of male models who appear in the ad. If 9 or more models appear, code "9".

c) **Total number of female human models** - indicate the total number of female models who appear in the ad. If 9 or more models appear, code "9".

3. Number of Hispanic Models in the Ad

a) **Total number of Hispanic models** - indicate the total number of Black models who appear in the ad. If 9 or more appear, code "9".

b) **Total number of Hispanic male models** - indicate the total number of Black male models who appear in the ad. If 9 or more appear, code "9".

c) **Total number of Hispanic female models** - indicate the total number of Black female models who appear in the ad. If 9 or more appear, code "9".

4. Primary Type of Product/Service Advertised - Indicate the product category to which the primary product or service belongs. Choose from the following list:

1) **Food and beverages** - includes any food items and non-alcoholic beverages.

2) **Alcoholic beverages** - includes, beer, wine, and hard liquor.

3) **Tobacco products** - includes cigarettes and chewing tobacco.

4) **Automobile and Automobile-Related** - includes autos, trucks, motorcycles, and automotive parts and supplies. Does not include advertisements for automotive retailers or gas stations.

5) **Over the Counter Drugs/Medicines** - includes both non-prescription medicines, such as aspirin and cold and flu remedies, as well as prescription drugs.

6) **Household and lawn and garden supplies** - includes household supplies such as pots and pans, glasses, detergents, cleaners and air fresheners as well as home office supplies such as stationary. Also includes lawn and garden supplies such as trash bags and hedge trimmers. Does not include lawn mowers or major household appliances.
7) **Electronic appliances or products** - includes any major household appliance, including refrigerators, ovens, washers and dryers, and lawn mowers. Also includes stereo components, television sets and radio as well as smaller appliances such as blenders and food processors. Also includes cameras, watches and clocks. Does not include supplies for these products, such as film, videocassette or records.

8) **Cosmetics and personal care products** - includes cosmetics and other personal care products such as soap, shampoo, shaving cream and feminine hygiene products.

9) **Clothing, shoes, and apparel** - includes all types of clothing except for that which can be classified as sporting goods (e.g, shoulder pads, running shoes). Also includes jewelry and clothing accessories, with the exception of watches.

10) **Furniture** - includes household or business furnishings such as chairs and tables as well as floor and wall coverings.

11) **Entertainment and entertainment supplies** - includes advertisements for movies, plays, or special events. Also includes supplies such as videocassette, records, tapes, and film for cameras.

12) **Computers and computer supplies** - includes computer hardware, software, and supplies such as floppy disks or paper.

13) **Sporting goods, toys, and games** - includes equipment which is explicitly used in sporting events, including clothing used in those events. Also includes toys and games which are used for entertainment purposes.

14) **Pets, pet food, and pet supplies** - pets or any product directly related to pet care.

15) **Publications** - books, newspapers and magazines, or any other type of non-public service publication.

16) **Retailers** - Includes hotels, motels, restaurants, bars, movie theaters, departments stores, supermarkets, and any other type of retail store.

17) **Banking and financial services** - Includes banks and financial service firms, including insurance companies.

18) **Telecommunications services** - includes telephone or other communications companies. Internet service is included inside this category.

19) **Public service** - includes messages of charity, community service, non-profit organizations and social service programs. Message form the Advertising Council might fit this category.
20) **Miscellaneous products** - choose this category if a physical product fits none of the above categories. If this option is chosen, please write out the product category on the coding instrument in the space provided.

21) **Miscellaneous service** - choose this category if a service business fits none of the above categories. If this option is chosen, please write out the product category on the coding instrument in the space provided.

5. **Perceived Importance of Minority Characters** - Choose the most prominent ethnic model in the advertisement. Then, code "1" if this model plays a major role, "2" for a minor role, and "3" for a background role. Please apply the following definitions:

   - **Major role** - a character who is very important to the advertising theme or layout, shown in the foreground or shown holding the product.

   - **Minor role** - a character who is of average importance to the advertising theme or layout. Generally, these characters are not spotlighted in the ad and do not hold the product, but they are not difficult to find in the ad while casually looking at it.

   - **Background role** - a character who is difficult to find in an ad (i.e., not likely to be noticed by a reader glancing at the ad) and is not important to its theme or layout.

6. **Setting** - Choose the setting of the advertisement based on the following list (Choose only one):

   1) **Business setting** - Factories, sales or office rooms and retail settings in which consumers are depicted inside stores.

   2) **Home, indoor or outdoor** - Recognizable as a residence, room, or rooms, garage, yard, home or apartment driveway or parking space.

   3) **Outdoors/natural scenery** - Includes forests, rivers, ocean, fields or sky as well as streets, public roads, sidewalks, or pathways. Does not include outdoor settings at individuals' homes or outdoor social settings.

   4) **Social setting outside home** - Includes public places, auditoriums, restaurants, movie theaters and soccer fields. Any place where people meet and congregate for social purposes.

   5) **Other** - Includes artificial settings (stage or specially built props or backgrounds) and any other setting not listed above.
7. **Relationship to Others in the Ad** - Indicate the relationship of the most central minority character in the ad to others depicted in the ad. Choose one relationship from the following list.

1) **Family context** - includes husband and wife and any relationship between relatives, including children as well as extended family such as aunts/uncles, grandparents, grandchildren, adopted children, foster children.

2) **Social context** - includes friends or any other two people depicted in a social setting, with the exception of family members depicted in a social context.

3) **Business context** - the depiction of members of, or workers in the same company, those who are employed by the same company. Also colleagues in the same profession or occupation even though they may be employed by different companies. Any relationship between employees or professionals who work together.

4) **Impersonal context** - more than one character appears in the ad, but there is no apparent relationship between the characters.

5) **Nobody else in ad** - choose this option when only one model appears in the ad.

6) **Other** - any relationship other than those listed above. If this option is chosen, please indicate the relationship in the space provided.

8. **Occupation Portrayal**

1) **Blue Collar** - adjective of manual workers: relating to or belonging to workers who do manual or industrial work, and who often require work clothes or protective clothing (Encarta dictionary)

2) **Managerial/professional/clerical** - images of model developing professional activities

3) **Entertainer/Sports/celebrity** Includes people involve with entertainer activities or professional sport players.

4) **Family/kids** Includes images of family settings or kids.

5) **Cannot be determined** - the image does not provide any information relate with the occupation portrayal of the model

6) **Other** - any occupation portrayal other than those listed above
**Magazine Advertisement Data Coding Instrument**

1. Classification Section
   a. Advertisement Number:
   
   b. Coder Number:
   
   c. Magazine Type:
      1) Popular Business Press
      2) Women's
      3) General Interest
      4) Technical Publications
   
   d. Magazine:
      1) Time
      2) Newsweek
      3) Good Housekeeping
      4) Vogue
      5) Business Week
      6) Fortune
      7) Scientific American
      8) Popular Science
      9) Popular Mechanics

2. Number of Human Models in the Ad
   
   a) Total number of human models (9 = 9 or more) (  )
   
   b) Total number of male models (9 = 9 or more) (  )
   
   c) Total number of female models (9 = 9 or more) (  )

3. Presence of Latino Models
   
   a) Total number of Latino (9 = 9 or more) (  )
   
   b) Number of Latino male (9 = 9 or more) (  )
   
   c) Number of Latino female (9 = 9 or more) (  )
4. Primary Type of Product/Service Advertised
   1) Food and beverages
   2) Alcoholic beverages
   3) Tobacco products
   4) Automobile and automobile related
   5) Drugs/medicines
   6) Household and lawn and garden supplies
   7) Electronic appliances/products
   8) Cosmetics and personal care products
   9) Clothing, shoes, and apparel
  10) Furniture
  11) Entertainment and entertainment supplies
  12) Computers and computer supplies
  13) Sporting goods, toys, and games
  14) Pets, pet food, and pet supplies
  15) Publications
  16) Retailers
  17) Banking and financial services
  18) Telecommunications services
  19) Public service
  20) Miscellaneous products
  21) Miscellaneous services

5. Perceived Importance of Minority Characters
   1) Major role
   2) Minor role
   3) Background role

6. Setting:
   1) Business setting
   2) Home, indoor or outdoor
   3) Outdoors/natural scenery
   4) Social setting outside home
   5) Other

7. Relationship to Others of same ethnicity in the Ad
   1) Family context
   2) Social context
   3) Business context
   4) Impersonal context
   5) Nobody else in the ad
   6) Nobody of the same ethnicity in the ad
   7) Other
8. Relationship to Others of different ethnicity in the Ad
   1) Family context
   2) Social context
   3) Business context
   4) Impersonal context
   5) Nobody else in the ad
   6) Nobody of the different ethnicity in the ad
   7) Other

9. Is this a situation where a Latino is being help or helping another person? (  )
   (0=no ; 1=yes)

   If your answer is negative, please go to question number 12

10. What is the ethnicity of the helper? More than one selection could be made.
   a) In the text
      1) Caucasian
      2) African American
      3) Asian
      4) Latino
      5) Other/cannot be determined
   b) In the picture
      1) Caucasian
      2) African American
      3) Asian
      4) Latino
      5) Other/cannot be determined

11. What is the ethnicity of the person who receives the help? More than one selection could be made.
   a) In the text
      1) Caucasian
      2) African American
      3) Asian
      4) Latino
      5) Other/cannot be determined
b) In the picture
   1) Caucasian
   2) African American
   3) Asian
   4) Latino
   5) Other/cannot be determined

12. Occupation portrayal
   1) Blue Collar
   2) Managerial/ professional/clerical
   3) Entertainer/sports/ celebrity
   4) Family/kids
   5) Cannot be determined
   6) Other
APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF ADS CONTAINED LATINOS

Figure 5. Example of technical product ad contained a Latino model
Figure 6. Example of ad contained a Latino model in a business setting
YOU CAN ORDER GENUINE UNITED STATES MINT PROOF SETS DIRECTLY FROM THE UNITED STATES MINT

MILLIONS OF AMERICANS HAVE ENJOYED collecting coins and passing them on to their children and grandchildren.

The United States Mint Proof Set (pictured) includes all five of the new 50 State Quarters™ issued in 2002. The set also includes proof versions of the Lincoln cent, the Jefferson nickel, the Roosevelt dime, the Kennedy half dollar, and the Golden Dollar featuring Sacagawea, who accompanied Lewis and Clark on their expedition.

These coins have never been touched, and their exceptional finish is kept in pristine "just-minted" condition by a protective acrylic case suitable for display.

For coins in all for only $19.95.

You can order United States Mint Proof Sets and other genuine United States Mint products directly from the United States Mint. Just call 1-800-USA-MINT (872-6468), or shop our online catalog at www.usmint.gov.

For genuine United States Mint products visit www.usmint.gov or call 1-800-USA-MINT

Figure 7. Example of ad contained a Latino model in a family relationship
One man made corneal transplants possible. Surely all of us working together can keep healthcare affordable.

Ramon Canovas, M.D. developed key surgical techniques and promoted the eye bank.

Insurers. Drug companies. Hospitals. Physicians. Lawmakers. Employers. Consumers. We all need to work together to keep healthcare affordable. And right now, the BlueCross BlueShield system is leading the way.

We're funding research to uncover the real drivers of healthcare costs and we'll share what we learn. We've teamed up with the Washington Business Group on Health to launch the Institute for Health Care Costs and Solutions. We're working with others to support legislation so that safe, effective, lower-cost generic drugs get to market when they should.

Because the Blues collectively insure one out of four Americans, we know the size of the challenge. And we know that together, all of us can keep healthcare affordable.

Figure 8. Example of Latino model in a professional occupational portrayal
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