

**UNIVERZITA PARDUBICE
FAKULTA FILOZOFICKÁ**

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

2008

Claudia SAIZ VARONA

**University of Pardubice
Faculty of Arts and Philosophy**

The Picture of the Hispanics in the U.S. Mainstream Media

Claudia Saiz Varona

**Thesis
2007**

Univerzita Pardubice
Fakulta filozofická
Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky
Akademický rok: 2006/2007

ZADÁNÍ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: **Claudia SAIZ VARONA**
Studijní program: **M7503 Učitelství pro základní školy**
Studijní obor: **Učitelství anglického jazyka**
Název tématu: **The picture of the hispanic minority in mainstream us media**

Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

Studentka s využitím relevantní teoretické literatury stručně uvede do historie a postavení hispánské menšiny v usa. představí zvolená média. jádrem práce bude teoretické pojednání a mediální analýza zaměřená na postižení způsobu prezentace událostí a problematiky týkající se hispánské menšiny v amerických masmédiích. studentka se zaměří na stereotypy, odlišné úhly pohledu, případná zkreslení, zamlčování a podobné manipulace, pokud k nim ve zkoumaných případech dochází. svá tvrzení doloží odkazy a ukázkami z primárních zdrojů a bude je případně konfrontovat se sekundární literaturou. závěrem studentka svou analýzu shrne s ohledem na zjištěná fakta - zda a jak dochází k předpojatosti či zkreslování v prezentaci hispánské menšiny ve zvolených amerických médiích.

Rozsah grafických prací:
Rozsah pracovní zprávy:
Forma zpracování diplomové práce: **tištěná/elektronická**


Seznam odborné literatury:

- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58
- Gamson, W. A. (1989). News as framing. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 33(2), 157-161
- Granatstein Lisa "New Attitude". Brandweek. Nov 15, 1999. FindArticles.com. 12 Nov. 2007. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0BDW/is_43_40/ai_57841489
- National Association of Hispanic Journalists. Network Brownout 2004. The Portrayal of Latinos in Network Television News, 2001. Washington DC, December 2005.
- National Association of Hispanic Journalists: Parity Project 2007. Retrieved 15 October, 2007 from <http://nahj.org/parityproject/parityproject.shtml>
- Nielsen Media Research. Hispanic-American Television Audience. December 2004.
- Ramírez, Roberto R., Patricia de la Cruz, 2002. The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 2002, Current Population Reports, P20-45, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington DC.


Vedoucí diplomové práce: **Mgr. Šárka Bubíková, Ph.D.**
Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Datum zadání diplomové práce: **30. dubna 2007**

Termín odevzdání diplomové práce: **31. března 2008**


prof. PhDr. Petr Vorel, CSc.
děkan

L.S.


PaedDr. Monika Černá, Ph.D.
vedoucí katedry

V Pardubicích dne 30. listopadu 2007

ABSTRACT

The words “Hispanic” and “Latino” refer to a U.S. citizen or resident of Latin American or Spanish descent. In 2003, the U.S. Census Bureau revealed that Hispanics are now the largest minority group, even though their voices and opinions are not always reflected in the mainstream media. Previous studies conducted by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists on the pictures of Hispanics on American newscasts, show that Hispanics are presented in a stereotypical manner. Little research has been done to offer an overview of the representation of the U.S. news magazine coverage of Hispanics. Thus, this research examines Hispanic population in U.S. news magazines in 2006. The year 2006 was a landmark year for Latinos living in the United States because of the large-scale demonstrations across the country to rally against a bill passed by the U.S. House that would make illegal immigration a felony. Moreover, these demonstrations mark the first example of mass resistance to the U.S. desire to criminalise migrant labourers and to fortify the borders against those trying to get in. Guided by the principle of framing, this study explores the topics, themes, sources, and differences of the three major U.S. news magazines— *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*- over a year-long period and investigates whether they are fully and fairly telling the story of the Hispanic American experience.

Over one thousand five hundred stories in the sample of one hundred fifty six news magazines have been analyzed for the purpose of this study. The researcher analyzed magazine representations of Latinos with both a quantitative method (content analysis), and a qualitative method to complement the content analysis and provide meaningful context for the results.

SOUHRN

Slova “hispanic” a “latino” se vztahují na občany Spojených států amerických nebo na přistěhovalce z Latinské Ameriky, popřípadě na přistěhovalce španělského původu. V roce 2003 americký úřad pro sčítání obyvatel odhalil, že Hispánci jsou nejpočetnější menšinou a přesto jejich hlas a názory se ne vždy odrážejí v nevlivnějších médiích. Předcházející studie vedené Národní asociací hispánských novinářů o hispánských a amerických rozhlasových zpravodajstvích ukazují, že Hispánci jsou popisováni stereotypně. Byl proveden krátký průzkum celonárodních periodik ukazující reprezentativní přehled amerických časopisů píšících o Hispáncích. Takto tento výzkum zkoumá články o hispánské populaci a názory na ní uveřejněné v amerických časopisech vydaných v roce 2006. Rok 2006 byl mezníkem pro Latinoameričany žijící ve Spojených státech amerických. Důvodem byly velké demonstrace napříč celou zemí namířené proti návrhu zákona Sněmovny, který by považoval ilegální imigraci za těžký zločin. Kromě toho tyto demonstrace představují první případ masového odporu k požadavku vlády Spojených států amerických žádajícího kriminalizovat pracující imigranty a posílit hranice proti těm, kteří je chtějí přijít. Vedeny principem utváření, tato studie vyhledává témata, zdroje a rozdíly mezi třemi hlavními americkými časopisy - *Time*, *Newsweek* a *U.S. News & World Report* v průběhu jednoho roku a zkoumá, zda píší objektivně o hispánských Američanech.

Pro účely této studie bylo analyzováno více než tisíc pět set povídek psaných ve sto padesáti šesti časopisech. Výzkumník analyzoval vzorek časopisu o Latinoameričanech a to jak metodou kvantitativní (obsahová analýza), tak i metodou kvalitativní za účelem kompletace obsahové analýzy a předvedení smysluplné souvislosti pro konečný výsledek.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW	3
Demographics	3
Media theory: Framing	4
Literature review on media coverage of Latinos	5
Brief history of Latino immigration	7
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	11
METHODS	12
Using Content Analysis	12
Sampling	12
Definition of variables	12
Coding Story Topics	14
Determining Latino Focus	15
Counting Latino Sources	15
Coding the Image of Hispanics	17
Determining the Promotion of Misconceptions about Hispanics	18
RESULTS	19
Quantitative analysis	19
Story topics	19
Latino focus of stories	21
The makeup of Latino representation	22
Images of Hispanics	29

Determining the promotion of misconceptions	31
Qualitative analysis	33
Stories predominantly about Hispanics	33
Time stories on immigration	33
Newsweek stories on immigration	40
U.S. News & World Report news on immigration	43
Time's non-immigration stories	45
Newsweek's non-immigration stories	46
CONCLUSIONS	47
RESUMÉ	51
BIBLIOGRAPHY	56

INTRODUCTION

News media organizations of every size report the news about the communities in which they serve. They present to their audiences a summary of the latest news affecting their lives and provide analysis on the most important issues of the day. The mainstream media, whether print, television or radio, are represented by those outlets which have traditionally captured the most attention from the American public. The topics and issues that are investigated and presented by the mainstream media are those that society in general learns about. Most people's knowledge on various events is limited to what they hear on the news because that is their main source of information and problems that receive prominent attention on the national news become the problems the viewing public regards as the nation's most important. Television, newspapers and radio news have been shaping the public opinion since their beginnings and exert great influence on how people view their nation and the rest of the world.

Having said this, the fact that many of the images that are presented in the American media in relation to Hispanics are distorted or erroneous will definitely influence the opinion that many people have of this minority group. But the United States has never been a monolith of culture and tradition. The very foundation of this country was based on immigration. People from every corner of the world have found their way to American shores in search for renewed life, liberty and opportunity. Similarly to the very origins of America, when southern parts of the continent were colonized by conquerors from Spain, American society in the XXI century will continue to be shaped by people of Spanish and Latin American descent who have immigrated to or have been born in, the United States. Thus, it is important to address the following questions: Are the mainstream media accurately reporting on the stories of the Spanish and Latin members of American society? Would we see Hispanics as part of the fabric of the United States, or as a threat to it? Are the three major American news magazines telling a fully and fairly story of Hispanic people? Would the average reader of these three publications walk away with a positive, negative or neutral opinion of the largest minority population in the United States? What are the effects of media coverage of Hispanics on American society at large?

Since U.S. mainstream news magazines play a crucial role in today's public discourse, this paper seeks to analyze *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report's* coverage of Latinos in America in 2006. The researcher will employ quantitative data generated by a content analysis of the news magazine stories coded and counted in tables for the following variables: story topics, the Latino focus of the story, number and types of Latino representations in each story, images of Hispanics, and promotion of misconceptions. The explanation of the data will be supported with tables placed within the text, and not in the appendix, for a more comprehensible understanding of the facts. The qualitative analysis involves underlying themes, patterns and context of Latino representations.

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Demographics

The United States Census Bureau released figures based on the 2002 Current Population Survey that revealed that Hispanics have surpassed Blacks as the largest minority group in the nation.

The Hispanic population is now 37.4 million, while Blacks number about 36.2 million. This is an impressive and important fact because it changes the racial structure that has been part of the United States for more than a century.

This information was a surprise to many, even though it was expected that in the foreseeable future it would become a reality. The U.S. Census Bureau's report for 2002 had presented statistics that already revealed the growing diversity and changing face of America. The report showed that 66.9 percent of the Hispanic population in the U.S. was of Mexican descent, 14.3 percent was of Central and South American origin, 8.6 percent were Puerto Ricans, 3.7 percent were Cuban and the remaining 6.4 percent was of varied Hispanic origin. Note that in the context of this paper the words "Hispanic" and "Latino" refer to a U.S. citizen or resident of Latin American or Spanish descent.

Census data showed that Hispanics are geographically concentrated, with the largest groups in the Western and Southern parts of the country. Nearly half of all Latinos lived in cities or very close to metropolitan areas, Puerto Ricans having the largest percent of urban localization at 61.2%.

This might be caused by the fact that the Hispanic population in general is young, the largest age groups being from 0-4 and 25-44 years of age. Also, Census results showed that in 2002, 30.6 percent of the Hispanic family households consisted of five or more people, Mexicans being the largest group.

A great number of Hispanics have not finished high school and many of them have not even completed the ninth grade of high school. Among all Latinos, Cubans have the biggest percentage of people with a Bachelor's degree at 23.0%. As a consequence, most Hispanics work in service occupations, like operators or labourers, with only 14.0 percent in the professional sector. Sadly, 21.4 percent of the Hispanic

population lives below the Federal poverty line. Finally, Hispanics are expected to constitute 18 percent of the population in the year 2025 and one quarter of the total US population by the year 2050.

Media theory: Framing

This study will be guided by the Framing Media Theory. As Gamson (1989) said, “A frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue” (p. 157). Gamson based his argument on the assumption that facts are meaningless until they are organized into a storyline or a frame that people can understand and relate to. “To frame,” Entman (1993) explained,

is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described to make a piece of information more salient means to make it more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable for the audience (p. 52).

The same story or social issue can take on a different look when framed differently. Frames select and emphasize some aspects of reality, and at the same time, they obscure and leave out other parts. Entman (1993) stressed the importance of both inclusion and omission of information by frames, writing, “Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include” (p. 54). Media framing has a great impact on people’s perception of many issues. On social and political matters, people are not so well-informed and cognitively prepared to analyze what they read, listen or watch, therefore the importance of framing in creating and promoting opinions and certain viewpoints in the thinking of most people. The communicator has an enormous power in deciding what and how to say a piece of information. A text can be influenced by the author’s stereotypes or by the presence or absence of keywords.

Mainstream media’s portrayal of Hispanics in the United States has been the subject of analysis in recent years. The rapid growth of this minority group has encouraged researchers to study the images that are presented in the media and their effects in society. Many have chosen to discuss the misrepresentation as well as the lack of coverage of Latinos and their issues in the mainstream media. However, little

research or analysis has been conducted about the coverage of Latinos in U.S. mainstream news magazines.

Literature review on media coverage of Latinos

The change in the demographic composition of the American society is not always reflected in the images and pictures we find in the media nowadays. This was confirmed by the 'National Association of Hispanic Journalists' study titled "Network Brownout" which analyzed broadcast news programs and their coverage of Hispanic issues. According to this report, the network news presented the Latino community in a stereotypical manner. This study revealed that Latino-related stories made up less than 1% of all the stories that appear on network newscasts, even though Latinos make up more than 14% of the population. Crime, terrorism and illegal immigration accounted for 66% of all network stories about Latinos in 2004. This lack of news coverage or negative coverage has consequences in the Hispanic and non-Hispanic communities by reinforcing existing misconceptions and stereotypes. People across the United States that do not have contact with Latinos in their daily life must rely on what they see on television, especially in the news, for their knowledge of this growing minority group. By watching and accepting these distorted images of reality, Americans at large are negatively influenced in their attitudes towards Latinos. For Americans still inhabiting largely segregated workplaces and neighbourhoods, the media are the main sources of information about people of other racial groups and therefore deserve a share of the blame for the prevalence of racist attitudes.

Groups like the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, have long argued that coverage is directly related to hiring. A Mediaweek diversity survey⁶ of the country's top 165 magazines, conducted in 1999 by Fairfield Research, a media research firm, and human-resource company Raymond-Karsan Inc. clearly pointed out the lack of minority hiring for professional editorial and publishing positions. Members of minorities, specifically African American, Hispanic American, Asian American or Native American accounted for 6.1 percent of the professional staff; 1.5 percent of them Hispanic. Professional staff was defined as editors, executive editors, associate editors, managing editors, contributing editors, full-time writers, freelance writers, group

publishers, publishers, associate publishers, sales managers, and internal sales people. While all racial minorities were significantly underrepresented in the editorial and sales/publishing staff of America's magazines, the best represented minority was Asian American (an index of 46 percent against the total U.S. population). The least-represented minority was Hispanic Americans (a 14 percent index against the total U.S. population). The survey also revealed that the results indicated that for many publishers diversity has just not been top of mind. Of the companies surveyed, only 32 percent said they have implemented some sort of diversity program or training. And though 44.8 percent believe a diverse work force offers different perspectives and approaches to work, only 10.3 percent have infused that corporate mentality into their workplace.

As a consequence, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) created the Parity Project in October 2002 as part of a five-year strategy in order to increase dramatically the employment of Latino journalists. The Parity Project involves NAHJ's work with selected English-language news organizations that serve large Latino communities, but that do not have a representative percentage of Latino journalists in their newsrooms. Through this Project, NAHJ brings in experts on Hispanic issues to provide greater awareness to Latino issues and to generate story ideas. Moreover, NAHJ helps to find and hire more journalists who happen to be Latino for their newsroom job openings, and at the same time, it helps in the establishment of stronger ties than those organizations might already have with Latino leaders and groups in their areas that can offer ongoing guidance when it comes to coverage of Hispanics.

The lack of news coverage or negative coverage has also consequences in the Spanish-language newspaper industry. According to the Annual Report on American Journalism, 2004 was another good year financially for Spanish-language newspapers, with an increment of 8 percent in ad revenues for daily weekly and less-than-weekly newspapers, climbing to \$923 million from \$854 million in 2003. The figures from the Latino Print Network show that local ads made up 82 percent of the total for Hispanic papers in 2004 (90 percent of which were published in Spanish). In 2005 Spanish-language TV's ads sale rose 16.9 percent, according to Nielsen Monitor-Plus, making it number 2 in ad market growth after the Internet. In magazines, several established companies and well-known titles launched Spanish-language editions in 2005.

The Time Warner test-launched Sports Illustrated Latino in April and distributed three issues during the year to half a million Hispanic households, subscribers to People en Español or to Comcast/Time Warner Hispanic programming packages. Struggling hip-hop magazine The Source launched Source Latino in May.

Brief History of Latino Immigration

Immigration has been and continues to be a key issue for Americans (Lorey, 1999). Latinos are one immigrant group that has gained increasing public prominence in the United States due to rapid increases in population (Lorey, 1999; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1995). Thus, the first issue that needs to be addressed in the discussion of immigration is *what is an immigrant?* An immigrant is defined as, "one who immigrates," (Davies, 1985:352). Immigration can be explained as moving permanently into a foreign country (Davies, 1985:352).

When the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo established the current U.S./Mexico border in 1848, Mexican immigrants freely immigrated across this newly established border (Martinez, 1996). In fact, between 1900 and 1930, it has been estimated that close to 10 percent of Mexico's population (about 1.5 million people) immigrated to the United States according to the Mexican historian Mark Reisler. Reisler (1996) points out that the general public did not begin to become concerned about Latino immigrants until they became more highly visible, dispersed geographically, and began showing up in cities. According to one ex-Chair of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in 1926, "When it (immigration) gets into the cities and gets in a mess then we begin to hear of it" (House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 1926: 240). In 1929, when the perceived "problem" of Latino immigration was a major issue in the United States, it officially became a crime to enter the United States from Mexico without proper documentation (Lorey, 1999). While this law did not stem the flow of Mexican immigrants into the United States, it did affect how many immigrants followed the strict legal procedure to enter the United States.

Early Mexican immigrants were perceived in a negative way by much of American society. Mexican immigrants were described as being, "docile, lazy, unskilled" and as unable to make decisions for themselves (Reisler 1996). In the early

part of the twentieth century an ingrained immigrant bias existed for immigrants from countries with lighter skinned people as opposed to darker skinned people (Reisler, 1996). One Berkeley zoologist described the fear of Mexican Immigrant reproduction in the United States: "You cannot let a foreign group into a country without its having the effect of keeping a great many thousand, perhaps millions, of our native population from being born. Are you going to sacrifice our children for the sake of assimilating the Mexican?" (Holmes, 1926).

It has been seen that when it was convenient for the U.S. government to have cheap labour, strict immigration controls were relaxed without officially changing immigration law. An example of this occurred during World War II in the 1940s, when many U.S. farmers sought Mexican labour to aid in their crop production and did so under the federal funded Bracero Program (Lorey, 1999; Gutierrez, 1996). Between the years 1942 and 1965, the Bracero Program encouraged Mexican immigrants to come and work seasonally in the United States. This program was in put in place primarily due to the efforts of the California farm growers and the powerful American Farm Bureau Federation (Wells, 1996: 57). Close to five million Mexican immigrants were brought into the U.S. under the Bracero Program (Briggs, Fogel & Schmidt, 1977; Galarza, 1964). The Bracero Program provided cheap labour to U.S. growers without the concerns of worker benefits or unions. After 1965, when the Bracero Program officially ended, many undocumented immigrants stayed in the U.S. to work as farm hands in the agricultural industry. Based upon her extensive research on Latino farm workers in California and other farm worker researchers, Miriam J. Wells estimates that 80 percent of California's farm workers were "noncitizen immigrants" between 1965 and 1985 (Wells, 1996: 64). From an economic standpoint, relying upon illegal immigrant workers helped farm owners to increase profit rates by increasing labour exploitation (Castles & Kosack, 1985).

Prior to 1965, it was common knowledge among the Mexican immigrants that they could become permanent U.S. citizens with an established U.S. work record, regardless of U.S. immigration laws (Lorey, 1999). However, at the end of the Bracero program, previously relaxed immigration laws, once again became rigid. In 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act eliminated the quota system for immigrants by nationality. At the same time, immediate relative of U.S. citizens such as

children, spouses and parents were allowed to immigrate. Besides, there is a Latino immigration surge of other Hispanic countries into the United States.

In 1986, President Ronald Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) to make illegal the recruiting of undocumented workers, and granted amnesty to unauthorized aliens who entered the United States before January 1, 1982 and had resided there continuously. As a result of the amnesty, about 2.7 million people received lawful permanent residence. The flow of illegal people grew dramatically during the years of the amnesty to more than 800,000 a year, before dropping back down to around 500,000 a year.

Between 1987 and 1996, 1.3 million green cards were given out to illegal aliens as part of the normal legal immigration process (189,000 in 1996 alone), separate from the 2.7 million illegal people who received legal status under the 1986 IRCA amnesty.

In 1994, when California saw an increment of its population after the amnesty move, Governor Wilson reacted and pushed Proposition 187 which denied public benefits to undocumented immigrants such as the exclusion of immigrant children from public schools and health care services. These provisions were ruled unconstitutional and overturned by a federal judge in 1998 (Purdum, 1998).

The ascension of Latino into new American communities has caused resentment throughout the United States. In December 2005, the House of Representatives passed a bill that would tighten border security, establish an immigrant guest worker program, and offer a path to citizenship for millions of illegal immigrants already in the United States. The Senate bill called for a 700-mile fence along the Mexican border, 6,000 National Guard troops to support border agents, aerial surveillance, road construction to aid border patrols, and other border security measures. It would also establish a guest-worker program and a three-tiered system for dealing with the estimated 11 million to 12 million illegal immigrants in the country. However, the Congress has failed to enact immigration legislation because of differences between supporters of tougher enforcement to limit illegal entry into the country and advocates of amnesty for illegal immigrants. Opponents to the bill have said that it rewards immigrants who entered the United States illegally and leaves the country vulnerable to security threats at the border. Supporters argue that the measure recognizes economic and social reality of immigrant populations in the United States and provides hope of legal immigration

status and a path to citizenship for law-abiding immigrants who come to the U.S. to work. Along with the debate in the American Senate and Congress, thousands of people took to the streets in cities across the United States in May 2006 to protest bills in Congress that target illegal immigrants, including legislation to build a 700-mile fence along the Mexican border and make it a felony to be in the U.S. illegally. Meanwhile, teams of officers from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) are arresting hundreds of fugitives who break the immigration law.

In a year of presidential campaign in the United States, among other worries such as the war in Iraq, health care and the economy, illegal immigration ranks as a top concern for the candidates to the presidency of the United States as well as for many voters. The concern in the media about immigration is reflected in the majority of Latino-related articles. We will see how immigration stories make up most of the Latino stories in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study asked the following research questions about the U.S. news magazine coverage of Latinos in 2006:

- RQ1: What was the number of magazine stories about Latinos in 2006?
- RQ2: What were the story topics about Latinos in 2006?
- RQ3: What are the main themes or patterns found in the news coverage of Latinos?
- RQ4: Did the stories present a positive message about Hispanics?
- RQ5: Did the stories promote misconceptions about Hispanics by portraying them as criminals or burdens to society, for example?

METHODS

Using Content Analysis

Content analysis studies systematically, quantitatively and objectively measure the characteristics of content such as news magazine stories. The approach requires selecting the characteristics of a text that interest the researcher and determining how to identify and count them. For this study, this involved coding and counting the stories in the news magazines for the following variables: story topics; the Latino focus of a story; the number and types of Latino sources quoted or individuals mentioned, images of Latinos and the prevalence of misconceptions in a story.

Sampling

Newsweek, *Time*, and *U.S. News & World Report* were the three U.S. news magazines under investigation. These America's top leading magazines were expected to generate detailed and comprehensive results about the United States' news magazine coverage of Latino-related stories.

The researcher analyzed each weekly issue published in 2006 after obtaining hard copies of *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Other samples of the study were gathered from the Internet. Articles had "Latino" or "Hispanic" in headlines, lead paragraphs, and terms. The study looked at *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* stories published between January 1, 2006 and December 31, 2006.

Definition of variables

Each news story was coded for variables of topics, focus, Latino sources, images of Latinos and misconceptions.

Previous framing studies had found it difficult to measure frames with quantitative content analysis method because of the complexity of frames (Gamson, 1989; Yioutas and Segvic, 2003). This study coded topics, Latino focus of the stories,

the number and types of Latino sources, image of Latinos in the stories, and the promotion of misconception about Latinos.

For the purposes of this study, it was necessary to define what constituted a “story” before coding for the topic. Stories, as defined in this project, were those that were listed as main feature stories in the news magazines’ table of contents. Main feature stories in news magazines’ table of contents pages are typically bolded. The researcher included news magazines’ round-up sections on people/celebrities as a way to assess the reporting on Latino prominent figures, artists and entertainers. This included, for example, *Newsweek*’s “Newsmakers” section; Time’s “People”, “10 Questions” and “Milestones” sections; and U.S. News’ “Q&A” section.

Items in the news magazines that were not counted as “stories” included: consumer-oriented titbits on health, tech gadgets, round-up sections of news blurbs or quotes, travel; editorials; opinion columns; and letters to the editor. Furthermore, stories with a predominantly non-U.S. or foreign focus (e.g., stories about the floods in China or Japan’s re-establishment of diplomatic relations with China) were excluded since this study’s purpose was to analyze the national representation of Latinos. However, stories that involved U.S. government actions and foreign policy were counted. A cover story, which features multiple related sub-stories with various sub-headings, was counted as one story.

Coding Story Topics

Stories were assigned to the following mutually exclusive topics:

- 1. National/ Regional Politics and Social Issues:** stories in this topic category could include those concerning national security, electoral politics, immigration policies, as well as stories about national or regional social issues, conflicts or controversies including race relations, debates about poverty and abortion, among others.
- 2. Arts & Culture/Celebrities & Entertainment:** stories in this topic category could include reviews or discussions of books, television programs, movies, music, and popular culture phenomena, among others.
- 3. Health, Science, Medicine, Environment**
- 4. Business/Economy**
- 5. Sports**
- 6. Education**
- 7. Technology**
- 8. Calamities:** stories in this topic may include stories about natural disasters or major catastrophes caused by humans.
- 9. Crime**
- 10. Human Interest/Demographic & Lifestyle:** stories in this topic category may feature stories about teens, baby boomers, changing U.S. demographics, American's busy lifestyles, among others.
- 11. Religion**

Determining Latino Focus

To determine Latino focus four categories were created to measure the degree to which a news story focused on Latinos. Stories were coded into the four mutually exclusive categories: those predominantly about the Latino community and/or about individual Latinos/as; those that significantly include Latinos as groups; those that reference Latinos as sources or figures and those that include the Latino community or any individual Latinos/as.

- 1. Predominantly about the Latino community and/or about individual Latinos/as:** the story prominently and centrally features a Latino person or Latinos as a group.
- 2. Significantly inclusive of Latinos as a group:** the story includes Latinos as a group or is obviously relevant to the Latino community (e.g., immigration or civil rights stories). It quotes and features Latinos as important characters in the story among other ethnic group members.
- 3. Mentions individual Latinos as sources or references:** the story quotes or references Latinos as sources or figures but the story is not about the Latino community or about being Latino. For example, a story about crime in Los Angeles might quote police officer Jorge Rodriguez but the story is not about his Latino identity nor is it about crime as it relates to Latinos.
- 4. Non-Latino stories:** the story is not about the Latino community and does not quote or reference any Latino individual.

Counting Latino Sources

This part of the research presented the makeup of Latino representation in the magazine stories. In other words, what “types” of Latinos are represented in magazines? Were they professionals, laborers, politicians? And, in what types of stories did they appear and how often? These are the questions the coding analysis answered for this part of the research.

Regarding the definition of the source, this study adopted the one in Sumpter's (2002) which defined sources as "named or anonymous individuals who provided opinion or information in a direct quote, partial quote, or paraphrase".

The researcher noted the number and type of Latino sources in the story, whether or not they were quoted or simply referenced by name. When the ethnicity of the source or reference was not explicit but the last name suggested an Hispanic heritage, the researcher looked up the name in a list of the top 639 most common Hispanic surnames compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census' Population Division.

Each Latino source was coded as a/an:

Professionals

- 1. Artist/Entertainer/Celebrity**
- 2. Activist/Advocate for various social cause**
- 3. Local, State or Federally Elected Politician**
- 4. Non-elected Political or Government Official/Civil Servant/ Professional** (includes political candidates, political campaign workers, press secretaries, and appointed officials, among others)
- 5. Law Enforcement:** includes those in public safety, military, police, firefighters, FBI, drug enforcement, among other types.
- 6. Sports Figure**
- 7. Businessperson/Entrepreneur**
- 8. Educator**
- 9. Medical/Health Professional**
- 10. Researcher/Scientist**
- 11. Legal Professional/Lawyer/Judge**
- 12. Communications Professional**
- 13. Office Worker**
- 14. Engineer/Architect/Technology Professional**

Laborers

15. **Skilled Laborer:** includes auto mechanic, plumber, carpenter, etc)
16. **Unskilled Labor:** undocumented migrant workers/day laborers, service industry worker; low-wage manufacturing/factory/construction, etc.

Individuals Not Defined by Labor

1. **Criminal**
2. **Student**
3. **Citizen/Community Resident or Member**
4. **Unemployed**

Coding the Image of Hispanics

The articles were categorized according to the positive, negative or neutral image of Hispanics presented in the articles. They were classified as follows:

1. **Positive:** the article showed a positive, empowering portrayal of Latinos.
2. **Negative:** the articles fell under this category focused on negatives aspects of the Latino community. For example, the articles focused upon crime and undocumented Latino immigrants.
3. **Neutral:** the article showed no attitude to, or opposed to Latinos.

Determining the promotion of misconceptions about Hispanics

According to the Oxford English Dictionary a misconception is a view or opinion that is false or inaccurate because based on faulty thinking or understanding. According to that definition the articles were coded as follows:

- 1. Yes:** the article reinforced the common misconceptions associated with Hispanics (e.g. Latinos are presented as criminal, undocumented people, etc)
- 2. No:** the article did not promote false opinions about the Hispanic community.

RESULTS

The Quantitative analysis

The researcher analyzed 1,578 stories in the sample of 156 news magazines published in *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* in 2006. The three chosen magazines were coded and counted for the following variables: story topics, the Latino focus of the story, and the number and types of Latino representations in each story.

For the variables images of Latinos and promotion of misconceptions about Hispanics, the researcher analyzed the Latino stories categorized as ‘predominantly about Latinos’ and ‘significant inclusive of Latinos as a group’. We chose to examine solely these two categories, omitting the stories which reference to one or more individual who are Latinos, for substantive reasons. Since we are interested in how American media coverage of Latinos issues are presented to the general audience, it seemed appropriate to study the stories with a more salient Latino focus, and not those which make a mere reference of a Latino individual. We counted a total of 28 stories with portrayed Latinos in a predominant and significant way.

For a more detailed discussion of the coding process, and how stories were chosen and defined, see the methodology section.

Story Topics

Stories were assigned to 11 mutually exclusive topics: national/ regional politics and social issues, arts & culture/celebrities & entertainment, health, science, medicine, environment, business/economy, sports, education, technology, calamities, crime, human interest/demographic & lifestyle, and religion.

By far, the largest number of stories published by *Time* and *Newsweek* were those about arts & culture (see Table 1). Out of 665 total stories examined for *Time*, 348 (52.3%) were arts & culture stories and, out of the 525 stories examined for *Newsweek*, 198 (37.7%) were about this same topic. The next most frequent type of story published by each was national/ regional politics & social issues (126 or 19% for the magazine *Time*, 125 or 23.8% for *Newsweek*).

For *U.S. News & World Report*, known for having a much harder national news focus, the most common type of story published was about national /regional politics & social issues. Out of a total 388 examined for the magazine, 152 (39.1%) were dedicated to this topic. The next most common type of stories centered on business/economy (72 stories or 18.5%).

Surprisingly not, the main story topics of these news magazines focus on national politics, social issues and arts/culture since these magazines have a general national interest focus for the Americans.

TABLE 1 – STORY TOPICS

STORY TOPICS		NEWS MAGAZINES		
		TIME	NEWSWEEK	U.S. NEWS
1	National/ Regional Politics & Social Issues	126 (19%)	125 (23.8%)	152 (39.1%)
2	Arts & Culture/Celebrities & Entertainment	348 (52.3%)	198 (37.7%)	23 (5.9%)
3	Health, Science, Medicine, Environment	61 (9.2%)	46 (8.7%)	53 (13.6%)
4	Business/Economy	51 (7.7%)	68 (12%)	72 (18.5%)
5	Sports	15 (2.2%)	9 (1.7%)	3 (0.7%)
6	Education	6 (0.7%)	5 (0.9%)	24 (6.1%)
7	Technology	4 (0.6%)	9 (1.7%)	20 (5.1%)
8	Crime	10 (1.5%)	4 (0.8%)	5 (1.3%)
9	Calamities	12 (2.1%)	23 (4.4%)	6 (1.5%)
10	Human Interest/Demographic & Lifestyle Trends	21 (2.8%)	26 (4.9%)	23 (5.9%)
11	Religion	11 (1.6%)	12 (2.3%)	7 (2.3%)
Total number of Stories		665 (100%)	525 (100%)	388 (100%)

Latino Focus of Stories

Four categories were created to measure the degree to which a news story focused on Latinos. The news stories were coded into four mutually exclusive categories: those predominantly about the Latino community and/or about individual Latinos/as; those that significantly include Latinos as groups; those that reference Latinos as sources or figures and those that include the Latino community or any individual Latinos/as.

Overall, out of a total of 1,578 magazine stories that were examined, only 25 stories (1.5 %) predominantly featured Latinos and three stories (0.2%) significantly included Latinos (see Table 2). In other words, a mere 1.7% (28 stories total) of all magazine stories published by these magazines in 2006 featured Latinos in a significant way. Taking into account that Latinos now make up over 14% of the United States' population, this number is very disheartening.

The majority of the stories predominantly about Latinos focused on immigration, especially about the historic Latino marches over the United States against Sensenbrenner's bill and Senator Bill Frist's bill that would make it a felony to be in that country without the proper paperwork to work legally in the States.

Stories that were inclusive of Latinos included the community within the story in a significant way, even though the story was not exclusive about them. For example, the ethnic tensions in Lynwood, a small town in California, with Blacks and Hispanics competing for power and where racial harmony is as likely to evoke anger as admiration. Another story in *U.S. News & World Report* presents four black Democrats leaders who build alliances with both Hispanic and Anglo voters, and tells how one of them, Cory Booker takes Spanish lessons.

A breakdown of the individual magazines shows that:

- Of 665 news stories in *Time*, 12 (1.8 percent) were predominantly about Latinos and 2 (0.3 percent) were inclusive of Latinos as a group.
- Of 525 *Newsweek* news stories, 9 (1.7 percent) were predominantly about Latinos and 1 (0.20 percent) were inclusive of Latinos as a group.
- Of 388 U.S. *News & World Report*, 2 (0.51 percent) were predominantly about Latinos and 2 (0.51 percent) were inclusive of Latinos as a group.

TABLE 2 - LATINO FOCUS STORIES

Number of News Magazine Stories

LATINO FOCUS		NEWS MAGAZINES		
		TIME	NEWSWEEK	U.S. NEWS
1	Predominantly about Latinos	12 (1.8%)	9 (1.7%)	2 (0.51%)
2	Significant inclusive of Latinos as a group	2 (0.30%)	1 (0.20%)	2 (0.51%)
3	References one or more individuals who are Latino	66 (9.9%)	115 (22%)	39 (10.05%)
4	None	585 (87.9%)	400 (76.2%)	345 (88.9%)
Total stories		665 (100%)	525 (100%)	388 (100%)

It is discouraging to see that there were only a combined total of 23 stories (out of over 1,500) that predominantly featured this community.

The American media should make a greater effort to increase the number of stories featuring this ethnic group taking into account that they now comprise the largest minority group in the United States.

A positive pattern that surfaced in the research was the significant number of stories that at least referenced Latino individuals, even though they did not stress the individual's ethnicity or their membership in the Latino community. Many of these stories mentioned Latinos as a result of their occupation, e.g., politicians, artists/celebrities, government officials, among others.

Of the 1,578 stories published in all three magazines, 220, or 13.94 percent mentioned at least one Latino. This percentage approximates the actual representation of Latinos in the United States and appears encouraging. *Newsweek* was the leading magazine in this trend with 21.9 percent of its 115 stories referencing Latinos. Even so, it is important to note that a reference is often a quick, passing mention of a Latino name in a sentence. This does not denote meaningful and significant involvement of Latinos in the news. Occasionally, a reference denoted a Latino who was interviewed as a source, thus their voice was "heard" in the story, although his/her ethnicity was not explicit. This coverage is more significant, but it was not the majority of these instances.

The Makeup of Latino Representation

This section presents the makeup of Latino representation in the magazine stories. In other words, what "types" of Latinos were represented in magazines? Were they professionals, laborers, politicians? And, in what types of stories did they appear and how often? These are the questions the coding analysis answered for this section of the research.

The types of representations that were coded included artists, celebrities, politicians, businesspeople, educators, sports figures, laborers (skilled and unskilled), other professionals, and also individuals not defined by occupation (including students, criminals, community members, etc.). In all 20 categories of representations were coded (see methodology for full list).

The largest number of Latinos that appeared in *Time* and *Newsweek* fell upon the label artists/entertainers/celebrities (see Tables 3 and 4). Out of a total of 107, 21 stories showed Latin artists, or what it is the same as 19.6%. Out of 191 Latinos in *Newsweek*, 46 or 24 % were in this category.

TABLE 3 - LATINO REPRESENTATION IN TIME MAGAZINE

	Latino Representation	Total	Number in Latino Stories		
			Predominantly	Inclusively	Individual
1	Artist/Entertainer/Celebrity	21	1		20
2	Non-profit/Social Services Worker	9	6	2	1
3	Local/State/Federally Elected Politician	10	7		3
4	Civil Servants/Professionals (non-elected)	9	5	1	3
5	Law Enforcement	6			6
6	Sports Figure	5	2		3
7	Citizen/Community Resident	6			6
8	Businessperson/Entrepreneur	7	4	1	2
9	Educator	5			5
10	Criminal	5			5
11	Medical/Health Professional	4	3		1
12	Researcher/Scientist	2			2
13	Legal Professional/Lawyer/Judge	3		1	2
14	Communications Professional	2			2
15	Skilled Laborer	3	2	1	
16	Unskilled Laborer	2	1		1
17	Student	4	3		1
18	Office Worker	1			1
19	Engineer/Architect	1	1		
20	Unemployed	2			2
		107	35 (32.7%)	6 (5.6%)	66 (61%)

TABLE 4 - LATINO REPRESENTATION IN NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE

Latino Representation		Total	Number in Latino Stories		
			Predominantly	Inclusively	Individual
1	Artist/Entertainer/Celebrity	46	2		44
2	Non-profit/Social Services Worker	7	4		3
3	Local/State/Federally Elected Politician	38	16		22
4	Civil Servants/Professionals (non-elected)	12	7		5
5	Law Enforcement	6			6
6	Sports Figure	8	1		7
7	Citizen/Community Resident	17	1		16
8	Businessperson/Entrepreneur	16	4	2	10
9	Educator	4			4
10	Criminal	6	1		5
11	Medical/Health Professional	9			9
12	Researcher/Scientist	3			3
13	Legal Professional/Lawyer/Judge	1			1
14	Communications Professional	3			3
15	Skilled Laborer	2			2
16	Unskilled Laborer	4	2		2
17	Student	6	2	1	3
18	Office Worker	2			2
19	Engineer/Architect	0			
20	Unemployed	1			1
		191	40 (20.9%)	3 (1.5%)	148 (77.4%)

The data suggest the preponderance of “official” type Latino representations. *Time* represented Latinos as politicians, government officials, and law enforcement personnel. In addition, non-profit/social service workers and/ or activist/advocates were also high on the list of Latinos appearing in the magazine’s stories. Similarly, at the top of the source list for *Newsweek*, were elected and non-elected political officials, non-profit workers, and law enforcement personnel.

U.S. News, which focuses solely on hard news, did not feature any Latino artist or celebrity (with only 5.9% of its stories devoted to arts and culture). The largest number of Latino sources found in *U.S. News* were elected and non-elected political/government officials (see Table 5). Out of 42 Latinos appearing in this magazine, 17, or 40.4 percent, were in this category.

TABLE 5 - LATINO REPRESENTATION IN U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Latino Representation		Total	Number in Latino Stories		
			Predominantly	Inclusively	Individual
1	Artist/Entertainer/Celebrity				
2	Non-profit/Social Services Worker	3			3
3	Local/State/Federally Elected Politician	5			5
4	Civil Servants/Professionals (non-elected)	12	2		10
5	Law Enforcement	1			1
6	Sports Figure	1			1
7	Citizen/Community Resident	4	1		3
8	Businessperson/Entrepreneur	1			1
9	Educator	3			3
10	Criminal				
11	Medical/Health Professional	2			2
12	Researcher/Scientist	2			2
13	Legal Professional/Lawyer/Judge	1			1
14	Communications Professional	2	2		
15	Skilled Laborer	2			2
16	Unskilled Laborer	1	1		
17	Student	1			1
18	Office Worker	1			1
19	Engineer/Architect	0			
20	Unemployed	0			
		42 (100%)	6 (14.2%)	0	36 (85.7%)

In all three magazines, the majority of Latinos appeared in stories that were not predominantly about Latinos, but referenced them in some way. Out of 68 Latinos in *Time*, out of 107 or 63.5 percent were found in these stories. For *Newsweek*, the number was 148 out of 191, or 77.4 percent, and for *U.S. News*, the figure was 36 out of 42 stories, or 85.7 percent.

This pattern has both a positive and negative interpretation. On one hand, it is encouraging to see that in two of the magazines (*Newsweek* and *U.S. News*), close to 80 percent of the Latinos appearing in their stories were found in articles that went beyond Latino contexts. In other words, Latinos were not just isolated only to be seen in predominantly Latino stories, but they were integrated in stories that dealt with more “mainstream” topics. On the other hand, in most cases, Latinos had no significant involvement in these stories.

Images of Hispanics

The articles were categorized according to the positive, negative or neutral image of Hispanics presented in the articles. They were classified as follows:

- 1. Positive:** Latinos are seen as a positive force, pointing out their contribution to American society.
- 2. Negative:** the articles focused on negatives aspects of the Latino community and refer to some kind of deviant behavior that involves crime, immigration, gangs, or drugs.
- 3. Neutral:** the article showed no attitude to, or opposed to Latinos.

There were 28 stories in total that fell into the category of ‘predominantly about Latinos’ and ‘significant inclusive of Latinos as a group’. The number of stories of the magazine *Time* was of 14 stories out of 28 or what it is the same to say that it represents the 50% of the total of stories generated by the three magazines (see Table 6). *Newsweek* is the second magazine producing 10 stories out of 28 or 35% of the total.

The magazine *U.S. News* had only 4 Latino stories, representing 14.2% of the total of articles regarding Latino coverage.

TABLE 6 - IMAGES OF HISPANICS

LATINO FOCUS		NEWS MAGAZINES		
		TIME	NEWSWEEK	U.S. NEWS
1	Positive	2 (14.2%)	2 (20%)	0
2	Negative	9 (64.2%)	7 (70%)	3 (75%)
3	Neutral	3 (21.4%)	1 (10%)	1 (25%)
Total		14 (100%)	10 (100%)	4 (100%)

The magazine *Time* presented only 2 positive stories or 14.2% of its total of stories featuring Latinos; 3 articles were neutral, or 14.4%; and 9 negative stories representing the 64.2%. Most of these negative stories concentrated on immigration and how the immigration debate is dividing the Americans.

The magazine *Newsweek* had 2 positive stories or 20% of its coverage regarding Latinos in a significant way; 1 story neutral or 10%; and 7 negative stories or 70% presenting Latinos as a burden to society.

U.S. News & World Report presented a total of 4 articles, 3 of which were negative or 75% and only 1 neutral or 25%. It is worth mentioning that the researcher did not find at least one positive article about Latinos. For a more detailed analysis see the next chapter with the qualitative analysis.

Determining the promotion of misconceptions about Hispanics

According to the definition of The Oxford English Dictionary, a misconception is a view or opinion that is false or inaccurate based on faulty thinking or understanding. Based on that definition, we have coded the stories as follows:

1. **Yes:** the article reinforced the common misconceptions associated with Hispanics (e.g. Latinos are presented as criminal, undocumented people, etc)
2. **No:** the article did not promote false opinions about the Hispanic community.

TABLE 7 - PROMOTION OF MISCONCEPTION

LATINO FOCUS		NEWS MAGAZINES		
		TIME	NEWSWEEK	U.S. NEWS
1	YES	8 (57.1%)	8 (80%)	3 (75%)
2	NO	6 (42.8%)	2 (20%)	1 (25%)
		14 (100%)	10 (100%)	4 (100%)

From the total of 28 stories that were ‘predominantly about Latinos’ or ‘significant inclusive of Latinos as a group’, 19 stories or 67.8% reinforced the common misconceptions associated with Hispanics.

Time published 8 out of 14 that promote misconceptions, or what it means that 57.1% of its stories were based on faulty thinking or understanding. 6 stories out of 14 or 42.8% were neutral.

Newsweek published 8 stories or what it is the same 80% of its articles promoted misconceptions about Latinos. From the total of 10 stories, only 2 or 20% did not give a false opinion or inaccurate about Hispanics.

From a total of 4 stories, *U.S. News & World Report* published 3 stories (75%) with an inaccurate focus about Latinos. Only 1 story (25%) was neutral.

It is very shocking when we see that almost 68% of the Hispanic stories presented by the three most important American magazines presented a negative image of this minority group. Not only do the mainstream media present fewer stories featuring Hispanics, more than half percent are negative in their portrayal.

THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The qualitative analysis involved multiple readings of all stories that were predominantly about Latinos or included Latinos as a group in some way. The goal was to gain an understanding of the underlying themes, patterns and contexts of Latino representations.

Stories predominantly about Latinos

Time published fourteen stories that predominantly focused on Latinos. *Newsweek* published twelve and *U.S. News* four stories. But what were these Latino-focused stories about? Significantly, an overwhelming majority of the predominantly Latino stories in all three news magazines concerned Latino immigration.

In *Time*, eleven stories out of their fourteen concerned on immigration. In *Newsweek*, eight stories out of ten were on immigration. *U.S. News* published four stories, and all of them involved the immigration issue. The following section presents a detailed analysis of these immigration stories.

Time stories on immigration

Immigration is an increasingly hot-button political and social issue in the U.S. As we said earlier, *Time* published fourteen stories that focused on Latinos, and eleven concentrated on immigration. In other words, 78.5% had as a central theme the Latino immigration issue. From 54 total covers a year, *Time* magazine devoted two in 2006 highlighting Latino immigration:

- “Inside America’s Secret Workforce”. (February 6, 2006). This cover story featured one related sub-story:
 1. “Inside the Life of the Migrants Next Door: How the Influx Is Changing the U.S.”

The second cover dedicated to Latino immigration was:

- “Who Gets to Be An American? Inside The Immigration Debate That Is Dividing The Nation” (April 10, 2006). This cover story had also related sub-stories:
 1. “Should They Stay or Should They Go?”
 2. “What It Means For Your Wallet”.
 3. Time Poll on Immigration: Americans Favor a Guest-Worker Plan.
 4. The Immigrant Plight. Photo Essay

Other stories that received attention:

- “Wrestling With Immigration”(March 27, 2006)
- “How Kennedy Got His Way” (April 02, 2006)
- “The Immigration Divide: The Proposals” (April 02, 2006)
- “This Is A Battle For America’s Identity” (April 02, 2006)
- “Behind The Scenes Of A Day Without Immigrants” (May 01, 2006)
- “The Marchers Gather in Chicago”(May 01, 2006)
- “A Day Without Immigrants: Making A Statement” (May 01,2006)
- “When The Melting Pot Boils Over” (August 23, 2006)
- “Taking Aim At Immigration in Texas” (November 17, 2006)

A close reading of the eleven immigration-related predominantly Latino stories revealed that Latino immigrants were frequently positioned as a “menace” or “problem” to ‘peaceful’ communities around them. For example, the story “Inside the Life of the Migrants Next Door: How the Influx Is Changing the U.S”, Mexican immigrants from the state of Michoacán are an emerging presence at the Hamptons, which is best known as a summer playground for Manhattan millionaires. The community complains against the newcomers that flood the market with cheap labor and drive down wages for everyone.

The story called “Should They Stay or Should They Go?” focused on how both the American Senate and the House would find common ground in three areas to solve the problem of immigration: tightening the border because the United States needs to get tougher about controlling its borders with more border-patrol agents, more jail cells and detention centers for captured undocumented workers, and new technology to enable employers to ensure that their employees are lawfully in the States.

The second area is to assure a labor supply by supporting a guest-working program in order to help on American’s farms. The third area is about to legitimize a significant portion of those who are illegally to ‘earn citizenship’. It consists in creating a path to citizenship that would take eleven years and require that immigrants hold jobs, demonstrate proficiency in English, pass criminal-background checks and pay fines and taxes.

“What It Means for Your Wallet” is a story that presents the causal-effect relationship between immigrant labour and economical and social consequences. The story focused on how Latino illegal immigration drags on wage growth, especially for those native high school dropouts who have been taken their jobs in industries such as food service and construction. Moreover, public schools and hospitals bear the brunt because of the undocumented immigrants. On the other hand, the story highlights the fact that immigrant workers contribute to the American economy by keeping a lid on inflation and interest rates. As a result, prices for goods and services are lower, and citizens can purchase more. They also keep some industries competitive that would have gone to other cheaper countries.

The *Time* poll on immigration reflected that illegal immigration is a very serious problem for the Americans, and that a vast majority favor a guest-worker plan so the government can track them, and allow them to earn permanent residence after six years if they learn English, pay fines and taxes, and have no criminal records. The poll also showed that more than half respondents agreed on toughening security to stop the undocumented immigrants from entering the United States.

“The Immigrant Plight” showed a series of pictures with the immigration theme. The pictures were taken on both sides of the American/Mexican border.

“Wrestling with Immigration” is a story with a title showing how Bill Frist had to ‘wrestle’ on the very hot issue of immigration. The Politician described his formula to ‘fight’ against undocumented workers who are a ‘danger’ for the United States. The story also describes how some G.O.P want tougher border enforcement, while others, including President Bush, want temporary work permits for undocumented immigrants. Sen. Bill Frist’s own contribution was to craft his own bill, so as to increase penalties for people in the U.S. illegally. The bill also included add funding for guarding the border and not give work permits to undocumented immigrants already in the States.

“How Kennedy Got His Way” is a story that explained how Senator Ted Kennedy gained support from his Republicans adversaries that would make citizens millions of undocumented workers. Before the 2004 election, Kennedy and Republican Senator John McCain agreed to combine competing bills that included a path to citizenship for most undocumented immigrants. Kennedy spent the following ten months building support. In the end, two Senators proved crucial: Democrat Dianne Feinstein of California and Republican Sam Brownback of Kansas. They would pave the way for unlawful immigrants working other jobs. The story also focused in how Kennedy wanted to gain the support of Bush, but the President did not embrace the idea to make illegal immigrants American citizens, instead, he favoured a guest-worker plan.

“The Immigration Divides: The Proposals”, explains different proposals on the immigration issue that have been taken by four influential politicians, among them, the American President Bush. The Wisconsin Republican James Sensenbrenner submitted a bill, which was passed in December 2005 in the House of Representatives. The bill consisted on make it a felony to stay in the United States illegally. It would also be punishable to give humanitarian assistance to an illegal immigrant. It included a 700-mile double fence on the American/Mexican border.

The middle-ground option is supported by the Arizonan Republican John Kyl, who co-sponsored with Sen. Cornyn a bill that provided for a guest-worker plan but required undocumented immigrants to leave the U.S. before they apply for it. Immigrant labourers could apply for a two-year visa, but this would not offer a special path to

permanent residence or citizenship. American President Bush's proposal was based on establishing a guest-worker program. It would permit unlawful immigrants to stay in the U.S. and apply for a three-year temporary work visa that could be renewed once. The visas would provide no automatic path to permanent residency or citizenship. The last proposal was introduced by Arlen Specter. The bill would permit undocumented immigrants who were in the U.S. before Jan.7, 2004, to apply for a three-year guest-worker visa, which could be renewed once if they paid a \$1,000 fine and passed a background check. After six years, demonstrating English proficiency and paying taxes, they could apply for permanent residency or citizenship.

"This Is A Battle For America's Identity" has a powerful title. It suggests how 'dangerous' immigration could be for the American identity. It includes five opinions of people whose work is connected with immigration. The Executive of the National Immigration Forum, Frank Sharry exposed that the United States is permanently evolving and that the only way to restore the rule of law to their immigration system is to have policies that respect the laws of supply and demand. The President of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Mr. Baldemar Velasquez, pointed out the fact that there are 1.6 million children who were born of undocumented immigrants. If their parents are to be expelled of the United States, it would not be an immigrant issue at play, but a civil rights. Mr. Velasquez explained the feeling of many Mexicans: the lands that now they live in, were those of their ancestors less than two hundred years ago. He said that they did not cross any borders, instead, the borders crossed them.

"Behind The Scenes Of A Day Without Immigrants" is a story about the marches which were taken place in Chicago, and that people of all ages prepared for a day of civic action.

The Latino protesters wanted to highlight their importance in the economy of the United States, and the negative impact that a day without immigrants could cause to the American economy so dependable of documented and undocumented Latino migrants.

"The Marchers Gather in Chicago" explained how many immigrants, and people who solidarized with the immigration cause, gathered in Chicago to protest. The article interviewed some Latino and non-Latino protesters that marched that day.

"A Day Without Immigrants: Making A Statement" is another story that focused on the protests around the States. The article included the opinions of immigrants from

different walks of life about the marches. It also included the voices of managers and business owners who declined to give their Hispanic workers the day off in order to demonstrate. However, in the story, all of them agreed that America needs those people.

“When The Melting Pot Boils Over” is a story that explained the impact of illegal immigration in a small city in Pennsylvania called Hazleton. The Mayor Lou Barletta, exposed how his city is being destroyed by draining the limited resources to the point where he cannot provide the public service that the ‘legal’, hardworking, tax-paying citizen should be getting. According to the story’s writer, Hazleton might have the most restrictive immigration-related ordinance in America. In order to stop the ordinance, Cesar Perales, the president of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense filed suit in federal court, because he said that the city overstepped its bounds in trying to control immigrants, which should be a federal responsibility. The article also pointed out how most of the violent incidents taken place in Hazleton are due to young Hispanic criminals who come from bigger cities.

“Taking Aim At Immigration in Texas” is an article that focused on how the Texas Conservatives expect a broad array of legislation targeting benefits to undocumented immigrants, as well as voter verification of citizenship, employer sanctions for hiring undocumented workers, and additional funding for border security. Republican Leo Berman wants to go further, and plans to challenge the automatic birthright of citizenship given to children of undocumented immigrants, and deny state unemployment or public assistance benefits such as food stamps as well as professional licenses. Berman wants to tax all money transferred south of the border by individuals at 8% so as to pay the benefits that pregnant illegal women have such as free hospital care. Meanwhile, Hispanics feel attack by those kinds of ordinances target at them. They proposed comprehensive immigration reform to regulate the flow of people by federal government not the state legislature.

In general, stories about immigration communicated that Latino immigrants had a negative impact for the American society. They were represented as disruptive to their traditional ways of life. They also were positioned primarily as outsiders and a problem and threat for America’s identity. Most of the stories showed evidence of how American communities were irrevocably and fundamentally changing as a result of the influx of Latino immigrants. This is especially true in “Inside the Life of the Migrants

Next Door: How the Influx Is Changing the U.S.”, which described how the peaceful life at the Hamptons, have been invaded by Mexicans. The last two articles apart from blaming immigrants as the cause of their problems, they have also been in the center of the polemic, due to the actions taken by different local leaders. In “When the Melting Pot Boils Over”, the local mayor of a middle-sized city in Pennsylvania believes that he has to ‘defend’ his community against the invasion of hundreds of Latino immigrants, many of whom are criminals disrupting the peace of the town. Those leaders are pictured as the new protectors of people whose lives are being disturbed by ‘illegal aliens’. It is interesting to point out the suggestive title of the article that makes us think that the peaceful town ‘boils over’ due to the affluence of Latino workers. In other words, they are to blame for their problems. Likely, the real issue, is that the people of that old rural coal mining town are not able to come to grips with its new demographics, taking into account that its population had been 90% or more white people.

In “Taking Aim At Immigration in Texas”, the defenders, are the Texas republicans who have very hard-line initiatives against Latino people. These last two stories pointed out what local leaders had to do, so as to restore the order, due to the lack of agreement of the federal government against illegal immigration.

The use of derogatory terms is evident, when analyzing predominantly and inclusive Latino *Time* stories. A summary of the language used in all of the analyzed articles suggests that 9 of the 11 articles used the term "illegal alien" or "illegal immigrant" to refer to undocumented Latino immigrants. *Time* used the phrase ‘illegal immigrants’ and ‘illegal aliens’ several times. For example, in the story about the measures that the Conservatives want to implement in Texas, the terms ‘illegal aliens’, ‘illegal immigrants’, and ‘aliens’ are used at least fifteen times in only one-page article. In the story of the Mayor Barletta, in Hazleton, the use of these derogatory terms were used ten times in one-page length article too. In essence, 82 percent of the articles examined specifically viewed the Latino immigrant in a pejorative manner. Anytime the word "illegal" precedes a word, it implies deviance and breaking the law. This finding supports the idea that Latino immigrants are portrayed in a negative fashion in the American media. According to media research experts Wilson and Gutierrez (1995), the term "illegal alien" "has been used to symbolize a person who enters the country illegally and is said to constitute a burden on public resources" (1995: 49). It also

attributes a certain "non-human" quality and serves to desensitize the American public to the fact that the immigrants are people.

Newsweek stories on immigration

Similar to the results in the *Time* magazine stories, most of the predominantly Latino-related articles found in *Newsweek*, were about the issue of immigrants and immigration. Eight stories out of twelve were devoted to this theme, which it means that 66.6% of Latino stories focused on immigration.

The articles that concentrated their attention to the immigration issue were:

- “A Border War” (April 3, 2006)
- “Keeping Watch on The Border Wars” (April 12, 2006)
- “Black versus Brown” (April 12, 2006)
- “The MATT Movement”(May 22, 2006)
- “The Next Step in a Very Long March” (May 22, 2006)
- “Bush’s Spanish Lessons” (May 29, 2006)
- “America’s Divide” (April 10, 2006)
- “A Desert Sandstorm” (April 24, 2006)

The themes of out-of-control immigration, and leaders pictured as defenders of America’s “main street” are evident in stories such as “A Border War” which is an article that focused on Tom Tancredo, a Republican congressman and staunch fighter of illegal immigration. Tancredo said that undocumented workers threaten the future of the United States, and has long battled American employers who hire those workers. Tancredo also welcomes more border security so as to stop undocumented immigrants to enter the States.

“Keeping Watch on The Border Wars” described local and national measures against illegal immigration in the United States. A bill designed by the House of Representatives sought to prosecute undocumented immigrants those who assisted them; the Senate bill allowed workers already in the country citizenship and called for

stricter border defences. Local anti-immigrant regulations were implemented, including the ordinance of Hazleton, Pennsylvania Mayor Lou Beretta who must stop the decline in the quality of life in his town since Latino immigrants began to arrive in substantial numbers there. This story is another clear example of how American politicians must defend their country against the Latino immigrants because of the ‘danger’ they present to the American society. Referring to the danger that presupposes the flux of Mexicans and other Latino people, the theme of the story is captured through the headline, “Keeping Watch on The Border Wars.”

The story reflects the preoccupation of being overrun by Latino immigration and how true Americans must fight on the border to stop undocumented workers enter the States. This is true, when they are perceived as somehow different from those who are already in that country.

“Black versus Brown” is an article that discussed the political bond between African-American and Hispanic-American politicians in light of the increase of Hispanic-Americans in the United States. Many Hispanic-American constituents have criticized their politicians for being over-sympathetic towards African-American causes. The ethnic tensions between the two minority groups are profiled. The headline of this story also suggests a ‘battle’ of the Latino against the Black community.

“Bush’s Spanish Lessons” discussed U.S. President George W. Bush's opinions on immigration reform and his personal experiences growing up in Texas with a Mexican immigrant for a nanny. Bush also hired a Mexican-born American citizen named Maria Galvan to nanny for his children and serve as a housekeeper. Bush used personal stories of Latino families in America to display his support of legal immigration while he proposed a plan to increase U.S. border security.

“The MATT Movement” discussed the "Mexicans & Americans Thinking Together" (MATT) movement which was started by Lionel Sosa, a Hispanic marketing guru who spearheaded Latino ad campaigns for President George W. Bush. Nonpartisan and non-profit, MATT's objective is to tackle issues on both sides of the border and bring some harmony to the immigration issue. Their website features discussion forums on issues such as immigration to the orphaned-babies market.

“The Next Step in a Very Long March” is an article that looks at an increase in naturalization applications from legal immigrant residents in the United States because

of the country's pending immigration legislation. Some immigrants may be driven by fear, others by a desire for full political participation and still others by a wish to petition for relatives living abroad.

It is expected that President George W. Bush address the issue and speak about his guest-worker program as well as border security.

“A Desert Sandstorm” focused on the 2006 Arizona Senate race between Republican incumbent Jon Kyl and Democratic candidate Jim Peterson. The primary issue of the race is immigration, which received much attention following widespread protest to legislation in the U.S. House of Representatives. A Senate immigration compromise is discussed, as well as specifics in the Arizona race.

“America’s Divide” The article focuses on controversial immigration reform legislation that has been proposed in both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives. Rather than being clearly distinguished as legal and illegal, many Mexican immigrant families are a complicated mixture of Americans by birth, legalized citizens, temporary workers with a variety of government issued visas, and undocumented immigrants. The plight of Mexican workers who cannot make it to the U.S. and details of 2006 legislation are discussed in detail.

In general, *Newsweek* dedicated eight stories out of twelve to the immigration issue. This is 66.6% of the stories with predominantly and significant inclusive Latino focus. Similar to *Time*, six stories about immigration focused on the negative aspects that Latino migration has brought to the United States. Although immigration-related stories present a serious social and political concern, *Newsweek’s* tendency to neglect stories about Latinos in other walks of life evokes an unbalanced view of Latinos in American society at large. Representations of Latinos in these *Newsweek* stories were primarily elected government officials (16) and non-elected officials (7) (see Table 4). These sources comprised fifty percent of all the sources featured in predominantly and inclusive Latino stories about immigration. Noticeably missing in these stories about immigration were migrant workers. Only in the story “America’s Divide”, the opinions of three migrant workers of the same family were quoted.

The use of derogatory terms is also evident in *Newsweek*, but to a lesser extent when compared with *Time* magazine.

In the stories “A Border War”, “America’s Divide” and “A Desert Sandstorm”, we can read the terms ‘aliens’ and ‘illegals’ in reference to undocumented workers, which it is 37,5% out of the total of stories devoted to immigration. The National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) has encouraged journalists not to use pejorative terms to describe immigrants. For example, NAHJ states that the use of the word ‘illegals’ as a noun, shorthand for “illegal immigrants” not only is it grammatically incorrect, but the term criminalizes the person rather than the action s/he is purported to have committed and recommends using the term undocumented workers or undocumented immigrants.

Labeling various ethnic and minority groups with derogatory phrases serves to stereotype, demean and de-humanize individuals.

Furthermore, it seems that the constantly preoccupation of the media in portraying Latinos as criminals, illegals, etc, has contributed to the misperception that this ethnic group is constantly breaking the law.

U.S. News & World Report news on immigration

This magazine devoted all its stories to the immigration issue. They were:

- “Border War: Immigration Reform is Fraught with Political Peril” (April 2, 2006)
- “Immigration: first the march, now the vote” (June 29, 2006)
- “The Growth of a Nation” (September 24, 2006)
- “’06 Latino Vote May Spell Trouble for GOP”(November 14, 2006)

The story “Border War: Immigration Reform is Fraught with Political Peril” described how the issue of immigration is so fraught with political and policy differences that even a possible immigration reform, it will likely to disappoint all parties involved in the debate.

“Immigration: first the march, now the vote” is an article that showed how some immigrant- rights organizers want to mobilize thousands of Latino legal residents to get naturalized or registered to vote for the 2008 presidential elections.

“The Growth of a Nation” explained how through the years, immigration has changed and it will keep changing and growing, often in ways historians fail to anticipate.

“’06 Latino Vote May Spell Trouble for GOP” explained how Republicans and Democrats court the Latino vote. The Republicans have appointed Florida Sen. Mel Martinez as the new leader of the Republican National Committee reflecting an acknowledgment by the party of the dramatic shift toward Democrats in Latino voting patterns. The apparent trend could be particularly troubling in four states with significant numbers of Latino voters: Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and New Mexico where Bush in 2004 carried 29 electoral votes.

Unlike *Time* and *Newsweek*, *U.S. News* did not cite any Latino elected politician. Instead, two non-elected political officials and two communications professionals were cited in the article “Immigration: First the March, Now the Vote”. In the remaining stories, one unskilled labourer, and one community resident were included as sources with predominantly and inclusive Latino –focused stories. Overall, only six Latino sources were used to cover an entire year which it is lamentable because of the low numbers. Furthermore, the opinions of Latino businesspersons, and less visible professions such as educators, medical/health professionals, among others, were not cited, and taken into account to show a broader representation of Latinos (see Table 5).

The preponderance of Latino stories about immigration suggests that the majority of Latinos are poor migrant workers beyond the law. They are all pictured as a burden to the community that must pay the consequences of illegal immigration. Clearly missing are representations of Latinos that do not fall on this end of the spectrum, because there are thousands of average, middle-class, second and third generation of Latinos who are quiet contributors to American society.

The prevalent theme in these stories is that Latinos change American society in fundamental ways and “the rest of Americans” must get used to it. The headline “Border War: Immigration Reform is Fraught with Political Peril. When it’s Over, Plenty of People Are Going to Be Angry” reflects that whatever the Government do to reach agreements on illegal immigration, citizens will be unhappy with the result. It also implies that Latino immigration, especially from Mexico, is causing problems in the American politics.

Finally, the stories “06 Latino Vote May Spell Trouble for GOP” and “Immigration: First the march, now the vote” show a reluctant acceptance of the power of Latinos in American politics. Both Republican and Democrat parties must take into account the great power of the Latino vote for the 2008 presidential elections.

Time’s non-immigration stories

While eleven predominantly and inclusive Latino stories appearing in *Time* painted an unbalanced and stereotypical representation of Latinos as an immigrant problem population, there were three additional predominantly and inclusive Latino-focused stories that were more positive in nature. They included stories with the following headlines:

- “Not so Black and White” (April 12, 2006)
- “A Home on the Field” (August 26, 2006)
- “How the Mets Got Red Hot” (September 25, 2006)

In “Not so Black and White”, the writer explained how the reality show called ‘*Black. White.*’, is an spectacle very similar to the political American racial debate. The article points out that this era is the most dynamic in American history. The ambivalence of things seems true when Americans have had two black Secretaries of State, and yet the man they work for is generally hated by black America.

Other example is that even Los Angeles elected its first Latino mayor, yet the immigration debate has dredged up old demons of nativism, or when the Arab world is moving toward democracy, and yet Arab men seen to have eclipsed black men as public enemy number one.

“A Home on the Field” is an article that explains how *Time* reporter Paul Cuadros started up a soccer team in its increasingly Hispanic public school, and how the football team struggled to win acceptance among the Anglo establishment and white soccer organizations. The story shows Latino teenagers in a more positive view, not just as members of gangs, or troublesome for society.

It was also encouraging the story “How the Mets Got Red Hot” because it explains the story of Minaya, the first Hispanic baseball general manager when he took over the Montreal Expos. After that, he went to the Mets of New York, and has gained credibility due to the positive results of his team, thanks to other top Latino players that Minaya has attracted to The Mets.

Newsweek’s non-immigration stories

“The Hurban Sprawl” is an article that discusses a new format dubbed “hurban” which has been adopted at radio stations across America. Hurban radio is Urban with an ‘H’ for Hispanic, features bilingual disc jockeys and hip hop music. Latino 96.3 has become the third most listened to radio station in Los Angeles after less than a year on the air, thanks to the fact that Latinos are the fastest-growing population in the United States. Most of those Latino listeners are second-generation Hispanics who speak or at least understand Spanish, but are acculturated enough to prefer their media partially in English. Advertisers have started to use bilingual commercials and companies such as Nike, Pepsi or McDonald’s are embracing the Hurban format.

“The Artist” tells the story of violinist Aaron Dworkin who, in 1996, founded the Sphinx Organization. The organization is a Detroit, Michigan-based non-profit aimed at drawing young black and Latino kids into the world of classical music.

Both stories are related to music, the first one points out that the Hispanics listen to music with a ‘Hurban’ format producing a mini-revolution in urban America’s Latino radio markets. The second story is about a non-profit organization helping Latino and black children play classical music. Even though the story is not negative in content, it is interesting to see that Latinos and blacks are the receptacles of the help of a non-profit organization. White children are excluded of that help. Again we see the dichotomy: whites are the benefactors, and the Latinos and blacks are the recipients of aid.

CONCLUSIONS

This diploma analyzed three major U.S. news print media magazines such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, over the year 2006. To date, there have been no comprehensive year-long content analyses on Latino-related coverage in American news magazines. Thus, this research will be a benchmark for recognizing the situation of Latino representation in the mainstream media, and it is my desire to begin reflecting upon the importance of changing the ways in which this group is covered in the future.

For this study, we have counted and coded 1,578 stories in the sample of 156 news magazines for the story topics, Latino focus of a story, number and types of Latino sources quoted or individuals mentioned, images of Latinos, and prevalence of misconceptions in a story. For the variables images of Latinos and promotion of misconceptions about Hispanics, the researcher analyzed the Latino stories categorized as ‘predominantly about Latinos’ and ‘significant inclusive of Latinos as a group’. We chose to examine solely these two categories, omitting the stories which reference to one or more individual who are Latinos, since we are interested in stories with a more salient Latino focus, and not those which make a mere reference of a Latino individual. We counted a total of 28 stories that portrayed Latinos in a predominant and significant way.

The researcher employed both quantitative data generated by the content analysis of the news magazine stories and qualitative analysis in order to interpret the content analysis and provide meaningful context for the results. This analysis required multiple readings of these stories to ascertain their Latino-related themes and patterns.

The data presented in this study support the idea that Hispanics are scarcely covered by the newsprint magazines. The amount of Latino-related stories received during the year-long period analyzed only reinforces the hypotheses that were presented at the beginning of the research. It was discouraging to see that only 1.7 percent of the total amount of stories featured the Latino community in a significant way.

The American media should make a greater effort to increase the number of stories featuring this ethnic group taking into account that they now comprise the largest minority group in the United States.

Also, as the data support, the number of Latino sources was low and the diversity of sources used was limited. Although Latino migrant worker seemed to be the main focus of the predominantly Latino stories, few Latino laborers of those who employed them were quoted. Mostly elected and non-elected political and government officials were cited. *Time* represented Latinos as politicians, government officials, and law enforcement personnel. In addition, non-profit/social service workers and/ or activist/advocates were also high on the list of Latinos appearing in the magazine's stories. Similarly, at the top of the source list for *Newsweek* and *U.S. News*, were elected and non-elected political officials, and law enforcement personnel.

Based on the data, an overwhelming amount of stories that appeared in the magazines, were about the issue of immigration. *Time* magazine devoted 78.5 percent of Hispanic related stories to immigration, *Newsweek* 66.6 percent and *U.S. News & World Report* 100 percent. In most of the stories about immigration, Latinos were depicted as poor, illegal, desperate migrant workers invading the U.S. border and communities all over the American territory. The traditional ways of life in American communities and their identity, were seen as irrevocably and fundamentally threatened as a result of the influx of Latino immigration. But why did the media frame the immigrants as a threat? Flores (2003) in her book believes that the media frames immigration as an economic problem and blamed the immigrant as the cause of economic crisis. Streitmatter (1999) compared the unjust portrayal of immigrants to a "vent" for discharging "the palpable anger that often erupts during periods of economic deprivation and social displacement" (p. 674). Perhaps the essential point lying behind all these tactics comes back to what Flores (2003) uncovered as racism, which serves the purpose of ideological hegemony.

Lull (1995) discussed the theory of ideological hegemony. He said, "mass media are tools that ruling elites use to 'perpetuate their power, wealth, and status [by popularizing] their own philosophy, culture and morality' (Boggs as cited in Lull, 1995, p. 62). "Elites" refer to a group of persons who by virtue of position or education exercise much power or influence. Hegemony, as Lull noted, "is the power or dominance that one social group holds over others...it is a method for gaining and maintaining power" (p.61). Since the dominant Anglo culture have more access to power, and because they are key decision-makers in the majority of networks,

newspapers, and magazines, it is more likely that their version of reality is more 'heard' than that of the non-dominant groups. As a result, decisions about news portrayal and stories usually come from an Anglo as opposed to Latino perspective. However, you do not have to be a Hispanic to cover the Hispanic community in a fairly way. NAHJ President Rafael A. Olmedo in the 2007 NAHJ Convention said:

the number of [Hispanic journalists] in the newsrooms are growing anemically, or declining ... the industry will find itself in twenty years a white industry covering a very non-white country.

The United States is experiencing significant changes in its racial constitution, something that the American mainstream media will have to notice and accept eventually. Moreover, and what it seems to me important is that one does not have to be Hispanic by blood to cover Hispanic-related issues, but a good understanding of that community is essential. And as Mr. Olmedo added "that understanding grows when you have people of various ethnic backgrounds in the newsroom".

Another most dominant theme is that of 'frustration' experienced by both the migrant worker and local politicians. A handful of stories portrayed local politicians as the protectors of their community, because they felt a sense of desprotection by the American government that is not able to tackle the issue of illegal immigration. In turn, the few migrant workers interviewed felt the rejection of the community they wanted to be part of.

The use of pejorative language persisted in news magazines, even though there have been attempts by the NAHJ to raise awareness of the problematic nature of calling human beings "illegals" or "aliens". Labeling various ethnic and minority groups with derogatory phrases serves to stereotype, demean and de-humanize individuals.

Overall, the news magazines' coverage of Latinos in 2006 was predominantly about Latino migrants portrayed as a problem for U.S. politics, culture, and society in general. In general, the stories about immigration focused on the negative impact of immigration on the United States, but rarely do they highlight the contributions made by the immigrants. As it was published in *Time* in April 2006, immigrant workers contribute to the American economy by keeping the inflation and interest rates low.

As a result, prices for goods and services are lower, and citizens can purchase more. Moreover, migrant workers keep some industries competitive; otherwise many of them would have gone to make business to other cheaper countries.

Therefore, it was understandable the Latino marches that happened in May 2006 all over the United States. The protesters wanted to highlight their importance in the economy of that country, and the negative impact that a day without immigrants could cause to the American economy so dependable of documented and undocumented Latino migrants.

Such narrowly focused stereotypical representations of the Latino community make it difficult for the society to see the broader array of Latino roles and contributions in American communities. Clearly missing are representations of Latinos that do not fall on the stereotypical portrayal of the spectrum, because there are thousands of average, middle-class, second and third generation of Latinos who are quiet contributors to American society such as Latino businesspersons, and less visible professions for instance, educators, medical/health professionals, among others. They should be taken more into account to show a broader representation of Latinos. As a consequence, such representations may often make it difficult for Latinos to also see themselves beyond these one-dimensional depictions.

By incorporating Latino concerns and Latino sources within a broader range of topics and roles, journalists may be able to slowly construct a more productive debate not only about immigration, but also about what it means to be part of a multicultural country, and probably the most important is, that the American people will have a more fairly picture of Hispanics living in the United States. While Hispanics can and do rely on the Spanish language media and publications in order to get a more accurate perspective of the situation, non-Spanish speakers do not have this opportunity. A direct consequence of this situation is that Hispanics feel hurt in their desire to be taken as productive citizens because the mainstream media are not helping in their integration to society.

RESUMÉ

Sdělovací prostředky všech typů popisují události o komunitách, kterým slouží. Prezентují tak své audienci souhrn nejnovějších zpráv a předkládají ji analýzy o nejdůležitějších událostech dne. Tradiční média, a to jak tisk, televize nebo rádio, jsou prezentovány programem, který tradičně pokrývá pozornost amerického publika. Hlavní události, které jsou analyzovány a prezentovány v médiích jsou ty, které jsou společností obecně vyžadovány. Znalosti lidí ohledně různých záležitostí jsou limitované tím, co se dozvídají ve zprávách, protože ty jsou jejich hlavním zdrojem informací. Proto problémy, které jsou jimi předkládány, se stávají problémy celonárodními a nejdůležitějšími. Zprávy předkládané v televizích, novinách a v rádiích formují názory obyvatel od okamžiku jejich vzniku a uplatňují tak velký vliv na to, jak lidé vnímají svůj národ a ostatní svět.

Skutečnost, že mnoho z událostí, které jsou prezentovány v amerických médiích ve vztahu k Hispancům jsou zkreslené nebo nesprávné, má nepochybně vliv na názory mnoha lidí o této menšině. Nicméně, Spojené státy americké nikdy nebyly kulturním monolitem. Základy této země byly postaveny na imigrantech. Lidé ze všech koutů světa našli svoji cestu k americkým břehům v touze najít nový život, svobodu a příležitosti. Stejně jako ve velmi ranných počátcích Ameriky, když jižní části kontinentu byly kolonizovány španělskými dobyvateli, americká společnost v XXI. století bude formována lidmi španělského a latinoamerického původu, kteří postupně imigrovali nebo se později narodili ve Spojených státech amerických. Proto je důležité položit si následující otázku: Popisují správně tradiční média život španělských a latinských občanů v americké společnosti? Mohli bychom vidět Hispánce jako rovnocennou součást populace Spojených států amerických nebo jenom jako jejich hrozbu? Popisují tři hlavní americké časopisy úplně a nestranně příběhy o Hispáncích? Mohl by průměrný čtenář těchto tří časopisů nabýt pozitivního, negativního nebo neutrálního dojmu o největší menšině žijící ve Spojených státech amerických? Jaké jsou následky pro americkou společnost v tom, jak média popisují Hispánce?

Tato diplomová práce se snaží analyzovat články v amerických časopisech *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* popisující Hispánce v Americe v roce 2006. Byly vybrány výše uvedené tradiční americké časopisy, protože hrají rozhodující

roli ve sdělovacích prostředcích na vyjadřování veřejných názorů. Badatel využije kvantitativní data, tvořené analýzou příběhů vydávaných v časopisech a použitých pro následující hodnocené parametry: téma příběhu, zaměření se na příběhy o Latinoameričanech, množství a typy zpodobení Latinoameričanů v příbězích, prezentace Hispánců a prosazování mylných představ a názorů. Kvalitativní analýza zahrnuje zásadní témata, vzory a kontext reprezentace Latinoameričanů. Doposud byly publikované neúplné roční analýzy zaměřené na Latinoameričany v amerických časopisech. Tento výzkum bude mít podobu studie pro určení prezentace Latinoameričanů v tradičních médiích. Je to také přáním této práce začít tuto úvahu s vědomím důležitosti změn, které tato skupina vyvolá v budoucnosti.

K hledání vytčených témat této studie bylo použito 1.578 povídek ze vzorku 156 vydání tří časopisů, zaměřených na latinoamerické příběhy - množství a typy latinoamerických zdrojů citovaných nebo individuálně uváděných, vyobrazení Hispánců a převažující mylnou představu v příbězích.

Pro různé prezentace Latinoameričanů a podněcování nesprávných úsudků o Hispáncích výzkumník analyzuje příběhy Latinoameričanů roztríděné jako “převážně o Latinoameričanech” a “podstatně považující Latinoameričany jako skupinu”.

Pro zkoumání byly vybrány výhradně tyto dvě kategorie, vynechávajíc povídky, které se vztahují k jednomu nebo několika Latinoameričanům, protože předmětem zájmu byly příběhy zaměřené hlavně na Latinoameričany jako skupinu a ne příběhy, které se zabírají individualitami. Bylo vybráno celkem 28 příběhů, které zobrazují Latinoameričany převažujícím a podstatným způsobem.

Výzkumník využil oba způsoby analýzy – kvantitativní údaje generované obsahovou analýzou povídek psaných v časopisech a kvalitativní tak, aby se interpretovala obsahová analýza a poskytovala tak smysluplný obsah pro dosažení výsledku. Tato analýza vyžaduje mnohonásobné čtení těchto povídek, aby se zjistila jejich latinoamerická témata a zákonitosti.

Údaje prezentované v této studii podporují myšlenku, že Hispánci jsou téměř nepokryti tištěnými časopisy. Množství povídek o Latinoameričanech získaných v průběhu jednoho roku potvrzuje výsledky hypotéz původní analýzy, které se prezentovaly na začátku tohoto výzkumu. Bylo neradostné/odrazující vidět, že jen v 1,7

% z celkového množství článků představují latinoamerickou komunitu významným způsobem.

Americká média by měla vynaložit větší úsilí, které by vedlo ke zvýšení počtu článků popisujících tuto etnickou skupinu vzhledem k tomu, že jsou nyní považováni za největší menšinovou skupinu ve Spojených státech amerických.

Jak údaje ukazují, počet článků čerpajících z latinoamerických zdrojů byl nízký a různorodost těchto použitých zdrojů byla rovněž limitována. Ačkoli latinoameričtí pracující imigranti se ukazují jako nosný prvek převážně latinoamerických povídek, jen málo těchto latinoamerických pracujících, jichž se článek týkal, byli citováni. Ve většině případů byly citovány názory volených i nevolených politických a vládních funkcionářů.

Časopis *Time* prezentoval Latinoameričany jako politiky, vládní úředníky a právníky. Taktéž pracovníci neziskových organizací, aktivisté a advokáti byli často vysoko na seznamu Latinoameričanů objevujících se v časopisových příbězích. Podobně zdrojem článků a odkazů časopisů jako jsou *Newsweek* a *U.S. News*, byly volení a nevolení političtí úředníci a vykonavatelé zákona. Na základě těchto podkladů bylo ohromné množství příběhů, které se objevily v časopisech, o otázce imigrace. Časopis *Time* věnoval 78,5 % o Hispáncích a jejich příbězích o imigraci, *Newsweek* 66,6 % a *U.S. News & World Report* 100 %.

Ve většině příběhů o imigraci, Latinoameričané byli zobrazeni jako chudí, ilegálně žijící a z beznadějných situací imigrující pracovníci napadající americké hranice a společnost na celém americkém území. Tradiční způsob života v amerických společenstvích a jejich identita k nim byly viděny jako pevně stanovené a také jako zásadně ohrožené následkem přílivu latinoamerické imigrace. Ale proč média vidí imigranty jako hrozbu? Flores (2003) v jeho knize věří, že média vytvářejí vizi imigrantů jako ekonomického problému a pokládají imigranty za příčinu ekonomické krize. Streitmatter (1999) říká, že v období ekonomické krize jsou imigranti terčem hněvu. (p. 674). Možná, jak napsala Flores (2003), se skrývá rasismus za těmito taktikami, které slouží pro účely ideologické hegemonie. Lull (1995) diskutoval teorii ideologické hegemonie. Říká že "masová média jsou nástroje, které vládnoucí elita užívá pro zvětšení své moci, bohatství a statusu skrze popularizaci jejich vlastní filozofie, kultury a morálky" (Boggs citovaný v knize Lulla, 1995, s. 62). "Elity" se váží

ke skupině lidí, která skrze pozice moci nebo výchovy má hodně síly nebo vlivu. Hegemonie, jak Lulla poznamenává, „je moc nebo dominace, kterou jedna sociální skupina má nad druhou ... to je metoda pro získání a udržení moci“ (s. 61).

Protože dominantní anglická kultura má přístup k moci, a protože oni jsou klíčový vykonavatelé rozhodnutí ve většině zájmových skupin, deníků a časopisů, je pravděpodobnější, že jejich verze skutečnosti je váženější než ta těch nedominantních skupin. Výsledkem je vytvoření nového obrazu o dané skutečnosti obvykle přicházejí od Anglosas, jež může být v protikladu s názorem Latinoameričanů. Nicméně člověk nemusí být Hispánцем, aby popsal hispánskou komunitu férovým způsobem. NAHJ President Rafael A. Olmedo v roce 2007 řekl na konvenci NAHJ, že počet hispánských novinářů v redakcích roste pomalu nebo naopak klesá a dále dodal, že během příštích dvaceti let budou bílé redakce psát o ne-bílých komunitách.

Spojené státy americké zažívají důležité změny v jejich rasové ústavě. Proto i tradiční americká média to budou nakonec muset vzít na vědomí a akceptovat danou situaci a stav.

A co se zdá důležitější je, že člověk nemusí být Hispánцем krví, aby správně pojal hispánské případy, ale aby dobře porozuměl problematice, co je pro skupinu zásadní.

A jak přidává pan Olmeda „... porozumění roste, když jsou lidé různých etnických původů v redakci“.

Další dominantní téma je frustrace zažitá a to jak pracujícími imigranty, tak i lokálními politiky. Hrstka příběhů zobrazuje místní politiky jako ochránce jejich komunit, protože měli pocit nezájmu ze strany americké vlády, která není schopna řešit problém nelegální migrace. Postupně několik dotazovaných pracujících imigrantů pocítilo odmítnutí ze strany komunity, které chtěli být součástí.

Používání hanlivých jazykových prostředků dosud v časopisech přetrvává a to i přes úsilí NAHJ zviditelnovat problematické používání výrazů „ilegall“ a „alien“.

Celkově byly články popisující Latinoameričany v časopisech z roku 2006 převážně o latinoamerických imigrantech představujících problém pro americké politiky, kulturu a společnost obecně. Takto přísný pohled na zástupce latinoamerické komunity tak činí pro společnost obtížně vidět širší pole latinoamerické role a příspěvku pro americké společenství.

Včleňováním latinoamerických záležitostí a latinoamerických zdrojů mezi širší rozpětí témat a rolí by měli být novináři schopni pomalu tvořit produktivní debatu nejenom o imigraci, ale také o tom, co znamená být součástí Spojených států amerických.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAILEY, Holly; BRISCOE, Daren; WOLFFE, Richard. A Border War. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 147 Issue 14, p22-25. ISSN 0028-9604.
- BARONE, Michael. *The Growth of a Nation* [online]. [cit. 2006-09-24]. Dostupný z WWW: < <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/060924/2barone.htm>>.
- CALABRESI, Massimo. *How Kennedy Got His Way* [online]. [cit. 2006-04-02]. Dostupný z WWW: < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1179383,00.html>>.
- CAMPO-FLORES, Arian; WOLFFE, Richard. The Next Step in a Very Long March. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 147, Issue 21, p36-37. ISSN 0028-9604.
- CAMPO-FLORES, Arian; BRISCOE, Daren. A Latino 'Spanking', 2006. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 148 Issue 23, p40-40. ISSN 0028-9604.
- CAMPO-FLORES, Arian. The MATT Movement. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 147 Issue 21, p8-8. ISSN 0028-9604.
- CAMPO-FLORES, Arian; BAILEY, Holly; BRISCOE, Daren; CLIFT, Eleonor; ORDONEZ, Jennifer; SKIPP, Catharine; RENO, Jamie. America's Divide. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 147 Issue 15, p28-38. ISSN 0028-9604.
- CHRISTIAN, A. Jean. The Artist. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 148 Issue 1/2, p62-62. ISSN 0028-9604.
- CLEMETSON, Lynette. Hispanics Now Largest Minority, Census Shows. *The New York Times* [online]. [cit. 2003-22-01]. Dostupný z WWW: <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9805EED81030F931A15752C0A9659C8B63&scp=1&sq=hispanics+now+largest+minority+group&st=nyt>>
- COLE, Wendy. *Behind the Scenes of a "Day Without Immigrants"* [online]. [cit. 2006-05-01]. Dostupný z WWW: < <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1189518,00.html>>.
- COSE, Ellis. Keeping Watch on The Border Wars. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 148 Issue 26, p51-52. ISSN 0028-9604.
- COSE, Ellis; MURR, Andrew. Black versus Brown. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 148 Issue 1/2, p44-45. ISSN 0028-9604.

- CUADROS, Paul. *A Home on the Field* [online]. [cit. 2006-08-26]. Dostupný z WWW: < <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1364206,00.html>>.
- CULLEN, T. Lisa. *What It Means for Your Wallet* [online]. [cit. 2006-04-05]. Dostupný z WWW: < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1179367,00.html>>.
- Department of History and the History Immigration Research Center at the University of Minnesota. U.S. History Internet Resources.* Retrieved 18 January, 2008 from: <<http://www.hist.umn.edu/~hist20c/internet/immigration/htm>>
- DAVIES, Peter. *The American Heritage Dictionary*. (ed) 1985, New York, N.Y.: Dell Publishers
- ENTMAN, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), p.51-58
- FERKENHOFF, Eric. *On Scene: The Marchers Gather in Chicago* [online]. [cit. 2006-05-01]. Dostupný z WWW: < <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1189608,00.html>>.
- FLORES, L. A. (2003). Constructing rhetorical borders: Peons, illegal aliens, and competing narratives of immigration. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 2003, 20(4), 362-387.
- GAMSON, W. A. (1989). News as framing. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 33(2), p.157-161.
- GILGOFF, Dan. *Border War* [online]. [cit. 2006-04-02]. Dostupny z WWW: < <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/060410/10immigratin.htm>>.
- GRANATSTEIN, Lisa. "New Attitude". Brandweek. Nov 15, 1999. FindArticles.com. 12 Nov. 2007. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0BDW/is_43_40/ai_57841489
- GREGORY, Sean. *How the Mets Got Red Hot* [online]. [cit. 2006-09-25]. Dostupny z WWW: < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1538661,00.html>>.
- HAMILTON, Anita. *A Day Without Immigrants: Making a Statement* [online]. [cit. 2006-05-01]. Dostupný z WWW: < <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1189899,00.html>>.

HYLTON, Hilary. *The Other Big Winner in Texas Redistricting* [online]. [cit. 2006-06-28]. Dostupný z WWW:
 < <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1209093,00.html>>.

KHER, Unmesh. *The Proposals* [online]. [cit. 2006-04-02]. Dostupný z WWW:
 < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1179399,00.html>>.

LOREY, David; GANSTER, Paul. *The U.S.-Mexican Border in the Twentieth Century: A History of Economic and Social Transformation*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group Incorporated, 2007. ISBN 0742553361.

LOREY, David. *U.S. Mexico Border Statistics since 1900, 1990 Update*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

LULL, J. Hegemony. In G. Dines & J. M. Humez (Eds.), *Gender, race, and class in media*, 1995, p.61-66. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

MAREK, C. Angie. '06 Latino Vote May Spell Trouble for GOP [online]. [cit. 2006-11-14]. Dostupný z WWW:
 < <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/061114/14latinos.htm>>.

MARTINEZ, Oscar J. *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. 1996, Wilmington, DE: Jaguar Books. ISBN 0842024476

MURR, Andrew; DARMAN, Jonathan. A Desert Sandstorm. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 147, Issue 17, p34. ISSN 0028-9604.

National Association of Hispanic Journalists. Network Brownout 2004. *The Portrayal of Latinos in Network Television News, 2004*. Washington DC, December 2005.

National Association of Hispanic Journalists: Parity Project 2007. Retrieved 15 October, 2007 from <http://nahj.org/partioproject/parityproject.shtml>

Nielsen Media Research. Hispanic-American Television Audience. December 2004.

ORDOÑEZ, Jennifer. The Hurban Sprawl. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 147 Issue 9, p13-13. ISSN 0028-9604.

RAMÍREZ, Roberto R.; DE LA CRUZ, Patricia. 2002. The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 2002, Current Population Reports, p.20-45, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington DC.

REISLER, Mark. "Always the Laborer, Never the Citizen: Anglo Perceptions of the Mexican Immigrant during the 1920s." in *Between Two Worlds*, 1996, David G. Gutierrez (ed.). Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Books.

RODRIGUEZ, Clara. *Latin Looks. Images of Latinas and Latinos in the U.S. Media*. 1998, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

RODRIGUEZ, America. "Making Latino News: Race, Language, and Class." *Aztlan* Vol. 24, No. 2. Fall 1999.

SCULLY, Sean. *When The Melting Pot Boils Over* [online]. [cit. 2006-08-23]. Dostupný z WWW:

< <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1325948,00.html>>.

SUBVERI-VELEZ, Federico. The Mass Media and Latinos: Policy and Research Agendas for the Next Century. *Aztlan* Vol 24, No. 2. Fall 1999.

STREITMATTER, R. The nativist press: Demonizing the American immigrant. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 1999, 76(4), p.673-683.

SULLIVAN, Will. *Immigration: first the march, now the vote* [online]. [cit. 2006-06-29]. Dostupný z WWW:

< <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/060629/29immigration.htm>>.

SUMPTER, R.S; BRADDOCK, M.A. (2002). Source use in a "news disaster" account: A content analysis of voter news service stories. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(3), 539-548.

The State of the News Media: Annual Report on American Journalism, 2006. Retrieved from:

<http://www.stateofthemedias.org/2005/narrative/_ethnicalternative/_contentanalysis.asp?media=9>.

THOMAS, B. CATHY. Taking Aim at Immigration in Texas [online]. [cit. 2006-11-17]. Dostupny z WWW:

< <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1560643,00.html>>.

THORNBURGH, Nathan. *Inside the Life of the Migrants Next Door*. [online]. [cit. 2006-01-29]. Dostupný z WWW:

< <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1154222,00.html>>.

THORNBURGH, Nathan. *How the Influx is Changing the U.S.* [online]. [cit. 2006-01-29]. Dostupný z WWW:

< <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1154214,00.html>>.

TUMULTY, Karen. *Should They Stay Or Should They Go?* [online]. [cit. 2006-04-02]. Dostupný z WWW:

< <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1179361,00.html>>.

U.S Census Bureau. Building a Spanish surname List for the 1990's- *A New Approach to an Old Problem*. Retrieved 20 October, 2007 from:

<<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twpno13.pdf> >

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. Historical Immigration and Naturalization Legislation. Retrieved 18 January, 2008 from:

<<http://www.uscis.gov/site/uscis/menuitem>>

US Census Bureau. '*The Hispanic population in the United States*'. March 2002.

VELÁSQUEZ, Baldemar. "*This Is A Battle For America's Identity*" [online]. [cit. 2006-04-02]. Dostupný z WWW:

< <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1179372,00.html>>.

WELLS, Miriam J. *Strawberry Fields: Politics, Class and Work in California Agriculture*. Ithaca, 1996, NY: Cornell University Press. ISBN 0801431727

WOLFFE, Richard; BAILEY, Holly; THOMAS, Evan; MURR, Andrew; CLIFT, Eleonor. Bush's Spanish Lessons. *Newsweek*, 2006, Vol. 147, Issue 22, p24-30. ISSN 0028-9604.

WILSON & GUTIERREZ. *Minorities and the Media: Diversity and the End of Mass Communication*, 1985, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

YIOUTAS, M; SEGVIC, I. Revisiting the Clinton/Lewinsky Scandal: The convergence of agenda setting and framing. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 2003 80(3), 567-582.