Latinos in TV network news 2008-2014:
Still mostly invisible and problematic

Study funded by the Communication Workers of America
& the Newspaper Guild

Report by Federico Subervi, Ph.D.
Media Consultant & Scholar
Austin, TX

With the collaboration of Vinicio Sinta
Doctoral Student
School of Journalism, University of Texas-Austin

Table of Contents

_{-i-}**Executive Summary**

This report is based on a study of how the national television half-hour evening network news programs on ABC, CBS, NBC, and the one-hour evening news program on CNN covered Latinos and Latinos issues in the years 2008-2014. The primary source for the study was the electronic database of the Vanderbilt University Television News Archive, and its index that allows for searches by key words, in this case those that would yield stories related to Latinos and Latino issues. While other news networks and their national programs merit similar studies, this one focused on the four main networks that have been the focus of previous research commissioned by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists. However, this seven-year study was instead made possible thanks to funds provided by the Communications Workers of America and the Newspaper Guild.

Among the findings of this study is the fact that the patterns of coverage, or most accurately stated *neglect of the coverage* of the nation's largest ethnic minority population, has remained practically frozen in time or has worsened. Albeit Latinos represent a population of over 54 million that now surpasses 17 percent of the U.S. national total, stories about Latinos and Latino issues constitute less that .78 percent of the news in the studied networks. This percentage is a meager .41 percent regarding stories exclusively about Latinos. Moreover, that coverage continues to remain significantly focused on Latinos as people with problems or who cause problems.

In addition to the counting of stories and their topics, other measures of that coverage—which included minutes per story, placement of stories, number and balance of sources, among others— also showed little variation from previous similar content analyses. Meanwhile, the participation of Latinos as anchors, co-anchors or reporters of Latino stories also remains scarce and with little or no change from decades past.

There is not only a need for the public and the networks to be aware of these neglectful patterns, but most importantly for advocacy and action for change, especially at the decision-making process of the networks. The NAHJ and other organizations that strive to improve the civic engagement of Latinos in this country should continue to make concerted efforts to mobilize for positive change at these networks, leading sources of information for the public at large, including for and about Latinos.

Latinos in TV network news 2008-2014:
Still mostly invisible and problematic

Introduction

From 1995 to 2005, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) commissioned
annual studies on how Latinos and Latino-related issues were portrayed in the national television
evening network news programs. Those studies also counted the number of Hispanic reporters
and anchors gathering and/or presenting news. The main goal of those annual studies, made
public via the *Network Brownout Report {year, e.g., 2004}*, was to systematically assess how the
nation's largest and fastest growing ethnic minority group was covered and thus presented via
news to the American public at large. The reports sought to "bring greater awareness to the
portrayal of Latinos and to urge the networks to increase their coverage of issues affecting the
Latino community."[1] National television news programs on ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN have
been the focus of the inquiries because then and still today many people rely heavily on
television for obtaining news about local, national and world events.[2]

Invariably, each year's study found repeated characteristics in that coverage. The 2005 report,
which included a retrospect of the previous ten years, as well as the 2006 report, which assessed
the coverage in 2005—the last year of the commissioned studies—confirmed three patterns: the
continued and consistent under-representation of Latinos and Latino-related issues, the very
limited number of topics selected for news coverage, and the low number of Latinos gathering or
presenting news in those networks. Those findings represented the "network TV news reality"
about a population that by 1990 had surpassed 22.4 million (more than nine percent of the
nation's total)[3] and was becoming part of the American fabric in practically every economic,
social, political, scientific and certainly cultural arena. However, national television news
coverage continued to focus on Latinos in very few stories (i.e., on average less than one percent
of the total annual news) and primarily on events related to crime and/or immigration, namely, as

people with problems or causing problems. Hispanic reporters and anchors were even scarcer, if visible at all, in those networks.

Financial challenges facing NAHJ in 2006 led to a hiatus in the annual Brownout Reports. Now, thanks to funding from the Communications Workers of America and The Newspaper Guild, a follow-up to those previous studies has now been made possible. This report covers the evening television news programs in the same four networks—ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN—for the years spanning from 2008 to 2014.[4] The variables studied for most of those years are similar to those assessed for previous reports, among them: the number of stories by year, their topics, the type of involvement of Latinos in the stories, the length of the stories, the locations of the events, and the main sources tapped by the reporters. This study also looked into the participation of Hispanics as reporters and anchors.

During the first ten-years of the commissioned studies, each report was followed by NAHJ press releases criticizing the networks and calling for improved coverage of Latinos. NAHJ also called upon the networks to hire more Latino reporters and anchors, the lack of which remains a major factor contributing to the poor patterns of coverage of that population. Whether or not those reports and calls for improvements contributed to discussions and plans for action and changes in the nation's primary news has not been documented. The current study and this report document reinforces the assertion that networks' patterns of news coverage of Hispanics and their employment in news operations seem to remain practically unchanged. Recommendations regarding how to change these negative patterns are presented in the final section of this report.

Background

As mentioned above, in 2006 the NAHJ's finances did not allow for the continued funding of annual *Brownout Reports*. At the NAHJ's 2011 convention in Orlando, Florida, a conversation between the author of this report and Ms. Carrie Biggs-Adams of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) began taking steps to make the launch of this study possible.[5] Eventually, with funds from the CWA and from The Newspaper Guild, in mid-2012, the author and his assistants started the data gathering process about the coverage of Latinos and Latino-related issues, as well as about labor and labor-related issues (the latter contained in a separate study and

report). After months of challenges, most recently due to the author's change of academic institution in mid-2013, the report can be released for public consideration and discussion.

Literature Review

People of Latin American heritage living in the United States, like other ethnic/racial and immigrant minority groups, have been historically underrepresented and misrepresented in general market media.[6] In the last few decades, media scholars have studied and documented the marginalization and stereotyping of Latinos in the news as well as in entertainment media. While their scope and methodologies vary, most of the studies of media portrayals of Hispanics coalesce in a common theme: when not completely excluded from American media, Latinos are shown in a very limited array of contexts—most recently related to immigration, crime, and other social problems—and characterized as possessing a recurrent set of undesirable traits, many of them described in demeaning terms.

Portrayals in entertainment media

The underrepresentation of Latino and Latina characters in the American entertainment media has been widely confirmed through a number of content analytical studies. While the different methodologies used tend to complicate the estimation of a longitudinal trend, the marked mismatch between the proportion of Latinos in the U.S. and the number of recognizably Hispanic characters in mainstream media has been recurrent since the earliest comprehensive studies of television fiction.[7]

Over time, this gap has become more dramatic as Latinos have undergone sustained demographic growth while their representation in TV remains stagnant at under 5 percent of the main characters or even the secondary characters.[8] Another troubling issue is that a considerable proportion of those few Latino characters are often written and portrayed through a small slate of demeaning stereotypes that have changed little since the early 20th century,[9] when Hollywood depicted Latin Americans as either criminals, unfaithful "Latin lovers," or as comic relief.[10] In addition to these stereotypes, some studies have found that Latinos are often portrayed in a very limited set of occupations, usually as law enforcement, and increasingly as low-skilled domestic and service workers.[11]

Portrayals in the news

Previous research has found that Latinos were for the most part ignored in news media before the second half of the 20th century.[12] When communities of Latin American origin were featured in news outlets, it was often in the context of immigration crises or safety threats, and with a heavy use of pejorative labels such as "Zoot Suiter," "Wetback," and "Pachuco," among others.[13] A study of the coverage of Puerto Rico right after the Spanish-American War identified the use of a colonialist discourse in the description of the island nation and its inhabitants.[14]

In the late sixties and early seventies, the landmark reports released by the Kerner Commission and other government agencies after several episodes of social unrest put the spotlight on the news media's coverage of racial/ethnic minority groups. In the following years, an increase in scholarly activity about the representation of race in the media occurred, resulting in some of the first comprehensive analyses of the coverage of Latinos.

Some of the first broad studies of news coverage, conducted before the notion of a "national" pan-ethnic Hispanic or Latino community became widespread, were focused on a single community and medium. Most of these early analyses found the proportion of local news about Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in assorted U.S. cities to be well below their share of the population.[15] In contrast, a broad study conducted in the early 1980s in six southwestern U.S. cities in the southwestern U.S. found local news coverage of Mexican Americans to be adequate with regard to their percentage of the population in each locale.[16]

Contemporary trends

Even though the last three decades have brought a remarkable growth of the Latino demographic—now the largest ethnic minority group in the United States—and the institutionalization of the Hispanic/Latino pan-ethnic category in different fields, most notably politics, recent analyses of news coverage of this group still present a bleak picture: Latinos and Latino issues continue to be for the most part absent in the general market news media, and when included, they are usually presented in the context of crises in crime, poverty, and immigration.

As mentioned in the introduction, a series of studies conducted under the auspices of NAHJ provided the clearest evidence of these distortions. The reports, published from 1996 through 2006, showed that stories about Latinos and Latino issues consistently accounted for less than one percent of the stories broadcast by the three main television networks' prime time newscasts,

as well as by CNN.[17] Another study, also commissioned by NAHJ, focused on news magazines and found comparable repeated patterns of limited coverage.[18]

Similar appraisals of local television have not fared much better. A study of 26 local newscasts from 12 cities with different proportions of Latino populations (from 5 percent in Spokane, Washington to 66 percent in Miami, Florida) also found that Latinos were for the most part invisible, both as part of the on-air talent, and also as subjects and sources.[19]

Latino coverage with regard to specific topics

In addition to these comprehensive examinations of news coverage, the research conducted in the last few decades has branched into more specific issues pertaining to the lives of Latinos in the U.S., such as politics, immigration, law enforcement, and activism.

As the Latino electorate has grown in size and influence in the last decades, several authors have criticized the performance of the news media in reflecting the community's agency and interests in their political coverage.[20] Empirical longitudinal studies of this type of coverage confirm this accusation; content analyses of newspapers and network television newscasts conducted from the late 1980s and up to the 2004 presidential election have found that Latino voters and "ethnic" specific issues are rarely referenced and, when included, are not given prominence in these publications.[21] Assessments of the portrayal of Latino politicians in mainstream news media, while fewer in comparison, have shown more encouraging results. A recent study of visuals in southwestern newspapers found the prominence and valence of Latino politicians to be on par or even slightly *better* than those of non-Latino candidates.[22]

The news media often link immigration and demographic growth to Latinos. While this emphasis could be explained by the fact that Latin America has been the main source of immigrants to the U.S. since the mid-20th Century, a study of network and cable TV news from 2008 to 2012 found that Latinos are still overrepresented as undocumented immigrants in comparison to figures from official reports.[23] The persistent association of Latinos with immigration in non-fiction TV extends to Sunday morning talk shows. A report by Media Matters from the second half of 2014 found that Latino guests are included almost exclusively when dealing when issues related to immigration.[24]

The coverage of immigration has been shown to be predominantly negative in tone in general market media (certainly more so than in Spanish-language media[25]), as that coverage is often linked to crime and other social ills.[26] A 2005 study of coverage of the Minutemen project[27] in newspapers from states on the U.S.-Mexico border revealed that negative characterizations of immigrants were more likely to be conveyed using abstract—and thus more generalizable—language, while positive attributes were conveyed through concrete, specific language. A subsequent experiment showed that abstract news articles about immigrants generated negative views about Latinos among white participants.[28]

Other authors have focused on the choice of language for these news stories, such as the use of "dehumanizing" metaphors that compare Latin American immigrants to "tides," "floods," or "pollutants."[29] Another observed pattern is the sensationalizing of Latinos' population growth, often alluded to through superlatives, comparisons and references to social problems.[30] These discursive features fit what one author has referred to as the "Latino threat" narrative.[31]

Studies of Latino portrayals in crime reporting have shown contradictory results. Studies of local TV crime coverage in Los Angeles and Orlando, Florida have found that Latinos are more likely to be represented as perpetrators than as victims of crime.[32] Comparisons of media contents with law enforcement statistics have shown differing results according to the analyzed locale. For example, in Orlando, Latinos were found to be overrepresented in media coverage,[33] as opposed to their underrepresentation in the Los Angeles study and in a more recent national survey.[34] In the coverage of ongoing trials, Latino defendants—along with African American defendants—are more likely to be linked to prejudicial information in comparison with Caucasians.[35]

In summary, time and again, the general market entertainment as well as news media coverage and portrayal of Latinos and Latino issues has been consistently limited, predominantly stereotyped, and certainly, not at par with the growth of that population. In spite of those patterns, a key question remained: might the networks have made any notable improvements in their news coverage of that population that had continued not only to grow in numbers but also in the contributions to practically all aspects of the U.S. economy, politics, culture, and society? This study was thus launched to help answer that question with empirical data obtained from the archives of the news produced and aired by the national news programs of four main television networks.

Methodology

The prime source for searching for the national television network news about Latinos and Latino-related issues was the electronic database of the Vanderbilt University Television News Archives (TNA). Accessible via the TNA's web site (www.tvnews.vanderbilt.edu), the archive contains an index as well as summaries of almost all the news transmitted by the nation's major television networks, including ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN.[36] Using the available search options, key words (see Appendix 1) were input to identify potential stories related to Latinos and Latino-related issues transmitted by the four selected networks during the years 2008 through 2014. In addition, searches were conducted utilizing a list of one hundred common last names for Latinos.

The first step for the selection of the relevant news stories to be coded was the classification of the abstracts that were found and tagged using key words and last names. The first filter was thus a variable labeled as Central Involvement of Latinos (CIL), which required each tagged news story to be sorted by the level of importance of Latino newsmakers or issues. The classifications were as following.

Primary (coded as CIL 1): Latino newsmakers and/or issues are featured most prominently or exclusively, that is, Latinos clearly played a central role in the creation, development, or resolution of a news issue being aired. In addition, the topic of the story is relevant or centered on the Latino individual or his/her community, business, or organization. If one of the main newsmakers was Latino, but the story showed no visuals of him or her, it was still coded it as centrally involving Latinos.

Secondary (coded as CIL 2): Latino newsmakers and/or issues are prominent but not the main focus of the story. This code was also used if the story mentioned how a legal case, law or pending legislation could affect diverse communities, among them Latinos, and the accompanying graphic showed a person, neighborhood, or other image that could be explicitly identified as Latino.

Mainstreaming (coded as CIL 3): Latinos were included as sources, but the story was not about them. For example, "Juan Rivera saw the crash in New York and said it was deadly…" This

implied that a Hispanic person had been sought or included as part of story, albeit the story was not about him or her.

Passing mention (coded as CIL 4) was used for news in which a Latino or Latino-related issues were referred to very briefly, without them having any relevance to the main point of the news item. An example would be a news item about a politician's campaign stops, which would include a Hispanic neighborhood. But other than such passing mention, the story did not elaborate on the Latino connection to the politician or the campaign. Another example would be a story about Congressional budget discussions that mentions in passing that the reduced funding could affect immigration reform, but the reporter/anchor did not expand on the immigration aspect of the budget deliberations.

Unrelated/irrelevant (coded as CIL 5) meant that the stories, although tagged based on the selected key words, were not about U.S. Latinos or Latino-related issues. An example would be a story identified with the key word Mexican, but dealt with developments in Mexico and not explicitly related to Mexican Americans in the U.S. Likewise with Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other Latin American countries and their nationals. While it could be argued that any news event about a Latin American country could be of interest to their counterparts residing in the United States, such stories were excluded unless the link was made explicit in the news item itself. Otherwise, the research would have turned into an analysis of news about Latin America. This code was also used for stories that were about the state of "*New Mexico*" or "*New Mexicans*" and had no bearing on the Latinos of that state.

Only news stories classified with CIL 1, 2 or 3 were fully coded for other variables. Stories with CIL 4 and 5 were excluded from further coding and analysis. During the first step of the VNA database search, more than 4,000 potential stories were tagged. However, this number was drastically reduced after using the CIL filter and selecting only stories coded 1, 2, or 3.[37]

The actual viewing of some of the news stories for additional coding and analysis was facilitated thanks to an arrangement that allowed the researchers to use the Broadcast NewsScape archive, which is hosted by the library of the University of California-Los Angeles.[38] That archive provides streaming video of a large variety of television news programs aired by U.S. and international media organizations. After the (preliminary) relevant Latino stories by date, network, and time of airing were identified using the VNA archive, they were searched and

viewed via the Broadcast NewsScape archive. This search process was much faster than tagging and having to request video copies from the VNA.

Findings

Overall quantitative analysis

Starting with a review of numerical findings offers the reader an immediate grasp of how even though the Hispanic population of the United States has more than doubled since 1995—currently at more than 54 million (>17% of the nation's total)[39]—the overall number of news stories of Latinos and Latino issues in the nation's primary television network news programs has remained practically frozen in time. As shown in Table 1, over the seven-year period spanning 2008-2014, all four networks aired a total of only 879 stories (an average of approximately 126 per year) in which Latinos were centrally involved or were not just mentioned in passing. That seven-year total represents less than 1% of the networks' evening news,[40] a percentage that has changed very little for more than the two decades since the first studies of this kind. And while that percentage did squeak just a very tiny bit above one percent, for three of the seven years studied (2008, 2009, and 2013), the topics of the coverage, as discussed below, followed many of the old familiar patterns of years past. Even if the search process, combined with the way the Vanderbilt Television News archives indexes key words, could have contributed to some undercount of the actual number of stories in which Latinos were featured, these data show that the national news coverage of this population is inexplicably and unjustifiably below what it could and probably should be given the well known demographic growth of Latinos across the country.

Of the three broadcast networks, NBC stands out for having aired more stories (242) over the seven-year period than ABC (180) or CBS 192). Because it is a one-hour newscast, CNN's total for the studied period (265) surpasses NBC's. However, NBC aired more Latino stories than CNN in four of those years (2009-2012). Figure 1 illustrates the ebb and flow of the coverage over the seven-year period for each network.

A different picture emerges when the analysis turns to the Central Involvement of Latinos (CIL), that is, the *prominence* of Latinos or Latino issues in the stories on such topics (see last three rows of Table 1). For ABC and CBS, Latinos were given primary focus in respectively 65 percent and 61 percent of their Latino stories. At NBC, which as noted above aired more Latino

related news than ABC or CBS, a primary focus was evident in 54 percent of its Latino coverage. For this latter network, the second largest category of prominence was mainstreaming, i.e., that Latinos were included as sources, but the story was not about them. In contrast, at CNN the norm in coverage of Latinos was with mainstreaming, which comprised 41 percent of the stories related to this population; only 38 percent was in the primary category. The next section offers additional analysis of the exclusively Latino stories (see Tables 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, & 12).

Another way to assess how the networks generally covered Latinos and Latino issues requires looking at the *placement* of those stories within the news program. As with any news program, the most important news stories are those aired at the start of the newscast, which for the half-hour shows was determined to be within the first five minutes and for CNN's hourly show within the first ten minutes. Table 2 clearly illustrates that less that half of any network's coverage of Latinos occurred at the very start of their programs. The highest such placement was at CBS (31%), followed by NBC (29%), ABC (26%), and CNN (25%). However, when the placement during second time tier is included, then it can be stated that Latino related stories were aired at the onset of the news programs close to 60 percent of the time in all networks. The exception was at CNN where that happened only in 45 percent of the newscasts, and 31 percent of its stories about Latinos were aired during the last 41 minutes of the news programs.

One additional basic quantitative look at the importance the networks gave stories about Latinos and Latino issues can be seen in the length in minutes/seconds of those stories. Longer stories are those that the editors and other decision makers at the networks considered worthy of news attention. Table 2 shows that stories running 180 seconds or more (3+ minutes) made up more than one third of the Latino related news on CBS (39%) and NBC (37%), but only approximately one fourth of those stories on ABC (26%) and CNN (25%). Moreover, it seems that the norm at this network's sixty-minute news program is to allot less than two minutes for its stories about Latinos.

A slightly different perspective emerges when the total *time* for all Latino stories aired by each network is divided into the *number* of stories (see last two rows of Table 2). In this case, CNN's average time per story (almost seven minutes) is more than double than that of the other networks (CBS 3:11; NBC 3:09; ABC 2:48). This diversion, however, stems from some very lengthy interviews and special news coverage that CNN aired about the elections. Another

reason is that for some of those stories, CNN included a Latino/a pundit, such as Republican strategist Leslie Sánchez. If those types of news stories are excluded, then again, CNN holds the last place in terms of average length of news related to Latinos and Latino issues.

These first numbers suggest that someone who might have watched all the news on all four networks every day during each of the seven years would have been exposed to slightly over 61 hours of news in which Latinos and Latino issues were covered. This translates to almost nine hours per year, but approximately only 87 seconds per day—*on all four networks combined*. Since a typical viewer would probably watch news on just one network, the total time of exposure over seven years on the broadcast networks would have varied from 1:08 hours/minutes per year for all seven years on ABC (average of 12 seconds per day), to 1:48 hours/minutes per year for all seven years on NBC (average of 18 seconds per day). A person steadily watching news on CNN would have potentially been exposed to approximately 42 seconds per day for up to 4:23 hours/minutes per year of Latino related news.

Here it must be emphasized that for the sake of summarizing the findings, these numbers include all the news classified Central Involvement of Latinos (CIL) categories 1-3, i.e., those in which Latinos and Latino issues were not just mentioned in passing. Because CIL categories 2 and 3 encompass stories that are not *exclusively* about Latinos, the aforementioned minutes in stories about Latino include news segments that "diluted" focused attention to just the Latino themed news. This also implies that the amount of time in which network news audiences heard stories just about Latinos is significantly less. Also, whatever the total coverage time, the *centrality* given to Latinos and Latino issues varied notably across networks. In this respect, CNN's hourly news programs covered this population with less prominence than the broadcast network's half-hour shows. However, as discussed in the next section, the networks' news coverage of Latinos is even more limited regarding stories that are *exclusively* about Latinos.

Quantitative analysis of exclusively Latino stories
One of the first observations in the networks' news stories that are *exclusively* about Latinos and Latino issues is that over the seven-year period, there is no consistent pattern of increase or decrease in that coverage either within any network or across outlets. As can be seen on Table 3, there isn't any year during which all networks had similar high or low comparable coverage, which implies that the selection of Latino related stories may be based more on the news editors'

decision-making process than on externalities related to events in which Latinos were involved in and considered relevant for news stories. The exception might have been 2009, which was the peak year for coverage on the three broadcast networks.

In contrast, however, that year CNN aired fewer Latino stories than did any of those other outlets. In fact, over the seven-year period, each of the three broadcast networks aired more stories about Latinos (ABC & CBS 117 each; NBC 130), than did CNN (101) even though the total time in minutes on this latter network was again higher due to the inclusion in this CIL 1 category of about a handful of lengthy interviews that dealt with Latino electoral issues.

In addition to airing more Latino related stories than any of the other networks, over the seven-year period NBC also dedicated slightly more time (5 hours, 22 minutes) than did CBS (5:04), but notably more than did ABC (3:56). Again, due to the few lengthy interviews segments on CNN, from 2008-2014, this network, in comparison to the others, had more than double the air-time (11 hours, 59 minutes) of news about Latinos.

The placement of these exclusively Latino stories in the news programs follows the pattern of the whole set of Latino stories (see Table 4). On CBS, approximately one in four of those stories were aired within the first five minutes of the start of the newscast; for ABC and NBC that placement corresponded to one in five of its stories; for CNN it was only 18 percent of the time. The scene is a bit different when the placement within the first 10 minutes of the newscast. For ABC that number was close to 60 percent and for CBS 54 percent; at NBC less than half, i.e., 48 percent. CNN followed the patterns observed in the previous section by airing the largest percentage of its Latino stories during the last segment of its news program.

Turning to the length in minutes/seconds of the exclusively Latino stories makes obvious that this subset of news was proportionately covered with shorter stories (bottom half of Table 4). CBS ran 31 percent of its stories for 3 minutes or more; at NBC that length corresponded to 23 percent of this stories; at ABC it was barely 20 percent; and at CNN less than 18 percent of the exclusively Latino news. The most repeated length of those news items was between 120-179 seconds, except at CNN were the norm was for even shorter stories between 60-119 seconds. Table 2 also shows the average length per story, which ranged from less than two minutes at the broadcast networks and six and a half minutes at CNN—again, an average inflated partially due to a few lengthy interviews.

When calculated altogether (last rows of Table 3), the total time these networks focused on exclusively Latino stories still ranges from a meager 5.6 seconds per day on ABC, to slightly over seven seconds a day for CBS and NBC. Even with CNN's average of 15.5 seconds per day, the regular news diet exclusively about Latinos reains extremely low.

Topics covered: Overall

Continuing with the patterns of years past, two of the main topics—if not the main ones—emphasized by the network news of Latinos are, once again, immigration and crime (Table 5). When the data for all four networks are combined for all seven years, the largest number of news stories focused on these two topics; however, there are variations across outlets.

More than one in four of CNN's Latino stories were about crime (n=73), and another 18 percent (n=47) were about immigration. The one topic about which CNN offered a few more Latino related stories, other than about immigration, was electoral politics and voting (n=53, 20 percent).

At ABC, the two most recurrent stories were about immigration and about U.S. government/domestic issues (n=35, 19 percent for each topic). This latter topic, however, may overlap with immigration matters but not exclusively so, thus not classified under that rubric. Crime stories connected to Latinos or Latinos connected to crime stories was the next recurrent topic with 27 stories, which is 15 percent of that networks total news coverage over the seven-year period.

Immigration, and electoral politics/voting, were the top Latino topics at CBS, each covered in 40 stories (i.e., 21 percent). At this network, Latino related crime stories were the fourth most repeated topic (n=28, 15 percent), topped only by U.S. government/domestic related stories (n=33, 17 percent).

NBC, which aired more stories than the other two broadcast networks, had a plurality of its Latino stories connected to U.S. government/domestic issues (n=53, 22 percent). Immigration was the next most common topic with 40 stories (17 percent). But again, crime stories connected to Latinos or Latinos connected to crime stories was among the top three with 31 such stories (13 percent).

Topics covered of exclusively Latino stories

A somewhat similar pattern of just exclusively Latino stories (table 6) is evident starting with the fact that immigration is the most repeated issue for all four networks: 42 percent at CNN, 32 percent at CBS, 27 percent at NBC, and 28 percent at ABC. Moreover, CNN's penchant for airing stories that connect Latinos to crime or crime to Latinos is unequivocal. At that network, almost one of every four (24 percent) of its news items exclusively about Latinos falls in this rubric. For the broadcast networks, crime stories related to Latinos are notably less common ranging from 12 percent at NBC to 10 percent at ABC and CBS. At all three of the broadcast networks, news relating Latinos to U.S. government/domestic issues were the second most important topic, ranging from 21 percent at ABC to 15 percent at NBC.

There are other findings about the topics of the exclusively Latino stories that are worthy of notice. For example, among the broadcast networks, NBC had the lowest number and percentage of electoral politics/voting stories, but the highest proportion of human-interest stories, which included demographics and lifestyle. Meanwhile, both CBS and CNN each aired 17 stories about electoral politics/voting. But at CNN, aside from immigration, crime, and electoral politics, stories exclusively about Latinos were practically nowhere to be found. For the broadcast networks, stories about sports were a bit more common, albeit primarily about New York Yankee's Alex Rodríguez and his use of performance enhancing drugs.

Quality of news indicators: Number of sources, and balance of views

Two of the most important measures of the quality of any news story are the inclusion of multiple sources and the diversity of the views presented. The findings from this part of the analysis (Table 7) show that NBC stands above the other networks in terms of including three or more sources in 74 percent of its news stories. However, that percentage is lower—68—for the stories exclusively about Latinos (Table 8). That pattern of including more sources for all the Latino stories than for the exclusively Latino stories is repeated for all the other networks, as well. At CNN, the numbers go from 64 percent to 59 percent. At CBS, from 53 percent to less than half—45 percent. At ABC, less than half—43 percent—of its overall Latino stories relied on three or more sources, and an even lower proportion—35 percent, for the exclusively Latino stories.

As might be expected, the inclusion of fewer sources seems to be correlated with the balance of views that are offered. Indeed, the data show a somewhat similar pattern as noted above (bottom half of Table 7). NBC has the largest number of stories with a mix of opinions (i.e., none occupying more than 75 percent of the news item). But that is the case for less than half of its overall Latino stories—41 percent. In contrast to the other networks, at NBC, that number is higher at 48 percent for the exclusively Latino coverage (bottom half of Table 8). At the other networks, the mix of opinions is notably lower, but then varies little for the exclusively Latino stories. At ABC, the corresponding numbers are 21 percent for overall Latino news as well as for the exclusively Latino stories. And at CBS, it is 30 percent for both types. CNN, however, even with more time to seek a variety of sources, which it does less than the other networks, offers mixed views in only 34 percent of its overall Latino news and barely 26 percent of the Latino focused stories.

These patterns raise the question about why these networks do not seek multiple sources that can also offer divergent points of views when they embark on covering news about Latinos. Since this analysis does not offer a comparison of the number and diversity of sources used for non-Latino stories, the critique cannot assess if different standards are used for Latino stories. Nevertheless, the first question remains important, assuming the networks strive for the highest quality of news. If that is the case, the data should have shown that the vast majority of stories had multiple sources and that different points of views should have been the norm across all networks.

Latino newsmakers & type of presence

An additional measure of how these networks covered Latinos responds to the following question: When Latinos were included as newsmakers, just how were they presented: with an image and voice, with an image but voiceless, with their voice but lacking their image, or just mentioned without providing the image or voice?

As Table 9 shows, at least when the stories are about Latinos, and even more so if exclusively about Latinos (Table 10), the pattern is to show their image and include their own voices. At least 64 percent (at CBS) and up to 73 percent (at NBC) of all stories about Latinos are inclusive of an image (person) and his/her voice. That range is higher 66 – 75 percent for the exclusively Latino stories (Table 10), and the percentages are slightly better respectively for each network.

Still, there are a notable number of stories for which the news about Latinos are told without their own voices. In contrast to the previous pattern, it is for the exclusively Latino stories that there are the greatest number of voiceless Latinos. One potential explanation for these particular findings might be that the Latino sources selected for such stories are Spanish speakers, and the networks do not bother to allow them to speak by way of a simultaneous translator. Assessing the implications of this pattern of news construction about Latinos will require a detailed subsequent qualitative analysis.

Be it for the overall stories or the exclusively Latino stories, one additional pattern was evident: few Latinos were covered repeatedly. Table 11 shows a partial list of all the names identified in the studied newscasts, and Table 12 lists those who also had a voice (even if just a few seconds).[41] Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor toped the list of appearances (86), most certainly due to her nomination to that court. Sadly, the Latino with the second most appearances was none other than criminal kidnaper Ariel Castro (65). Closely behind were currently Republican Senators Marco Rubio (61), and Ted Cruz (42). Gina DeJesus, one of Ariel Castro's victims was next (40). Ken Salazar, former Colorado Senator and then Secretary of the Interior from 2009-2013, was a distant sixth (26), followed by former New Mexico Governor and 2008 Democratic presidential candidate Bill Richardson (22).

Leslie Sánchez—a Republican operative—was featured 17 times (each time with voice), but not so much as a newsmaker but instead as a source, i.e., pundit. Another Republican operative, Ana Navarro, was also used repeatedly (9) as a pundit/source (of course also with voice). No Latino affiliated to the Democratic Party was given as much exposure or use as a source on any network. The most repeated liberal Latino shown and heard ten times was Univision anchor Jorge Ramos.

Two athletes had double-digit appearances. One was the aforementioned baseball player Alex Rodríguez (14) due to his use of performance enhancing drugs (in ten of the stories his voice was included). The other, Dara Torres, is an athlete who was outstanding and successful but was shown fewer times (12) (ten of her stories also included her voice).

The voices of Latinos in the news followed a similar yet different ranking (Table 11). Senator Rubio was shown speaking most frequently (53 times), followed by Sotomayor (43), and Senator

Cruz (41). The voices of other Latinos were heard much less often: Salazar (26), Sánchez (17), Richardson (16), kidnapper Castro (11), and Rodríguez, Torres, and Ramos (10 each).

In summary, in seven years of network news, aside from Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor, the most repeated Latino appearances and voices fall into two general categories: Republican politicians, and a criminal and his victims.

Latino anchors & reporters

Concluding this report is a brief analysis of the inclusion of Latinos as *anchors* and as *reporters* in the stories about Latinos. Table 13 answers the first part unambiguously: Latinos are for all matters rarely *anchors* at ABC or CBS. At NBC Latinos have been used as anchors much more often. At CNN, a Hispanic anchor was present in fifteen stories when Latinos or Latino issues were aired.

For Latino related news, there were a few more Latinos assigned as *reporters* (bottom half of Table 13), especially on ABC. However, Latinos were absent as reporters in more than 83 percent of all the stories about Latinos in that network, and even more so, 85 percent, of the exclusively Latino stories. At the other networks, the lack of Latino reporters in the overall or exclusively Latino stories was more notable (bottom halves of Tables 13 & 14). Thus, once again, the window through which Latino stories are told are not framed by people who might have better knowledge about that population. Table 15 shows the number of Latino anchors and reporters by year, and Tables 16 the names of those anchors and reporters, respectively, identified during the time period of this study.

Summary

The findings of this study are not much different from those of previous assessments of how the primary national network evening news programs on ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN cover Latinos and Latino issues. The data span a longer time period—2008 – 2014—than any previous such studies and even include two presidential election years. The findings undeniably document that the patterns of coverage, or most accurately *abscence of the coverage* of the nation's largest ethnic minority population, has remained practically frozen in time.

Year after year, and in any year of national network news, Latinos and Latino issues are included in approximately one percent of the stories of what those outlets consider newsworthy happenings in the United States. Moreover, the primary topics of that meager coverage remain focused on Latinos as people with problems or causing problems. In this case, on news related to immigration or crime, or at times both combined.

As with previous studies of this type, it is beyond the parameters of the data at hand to be able to systematically and critically analyze the newsroom operations, the decision making processes that take place there for the selection of staff to cover events, the selection of what is worthy or not for coverage, or subsequently how to present that in terms of amount of time or placement in the newscasts. Nevertheless, whatever those processes, the outcomes of three decades of this type of content news analysis reveal little change in the overall news presentation of the life and contributions of Latinos in the United States.

Having stated this general critique of all four networks, it should be noted that not all are the same in their overall neglect. NBC shows slightly better coverage in terms of number of stories and time dedicated to Latinos and Latino issues, among other measures. Part of this "better" coverage stems from this network's affiliation and collaboration with Spanish-language TV network Telemundo, which is owned by the same mega corporation COMCAST. Reporters from the latter at times share with NBC English language versions of news they have gathered, just as Telemundo will broadcast Spanish language versions of news gathered for NBC. CNN, in contrast, is worse given that it has almost an hour worth of nightly news in which Latinos could be covered significantly better. As for ABC and CBS, the patterns of coverage are not only limited, but practically unchanged in comparison to what was observed decades ago.

Recommendations

Previous NAHJ commissioned studies akin to this one have invariably been critical of the networks' news coverage of Latinos, while also expressing a desire to help those media outlets improve their coverage of that community and hire more Latino journalists. Those reports were then followed by press releases with highlights of the findings, and occasional brief presentations by the authors of the reports (usually at NAHJ conventions). To this author's knowledge, no action plans were developed and carried through to bring about prompt, positive change. If specific plans were put into place, the findings of this seven-year study suggest that the findings and recommendations of the NAHJ studies or efforts to change the networks' modus operandi, may have "fallen on deaf ears," or simply ignored by the decision-makers at the networks.

Therefore, the first recommendation of this report is a call for advocacy that promotes, encourages, or somehow actually leads to positive change. Such an advocacy role certainly should be on the agenda of the NAHJ leadership and should also be embraced by other national

Latino and non-Latino organizations. It is far beyond time that the networks not only acknowledge their coverage patterns but also and most importantly develop internal assessments and training programs to will produce more inclusive, reliable and balanced news about Latinos and Latino issues.

For academic and professional researchers interested in assessing network news coverage of Latinos and Latino issues, a prime recommendation is that more detailed quantitative and also qualitative analysis be conducted. The data gathered for this study are available to share with others who may wish to do detailed multivariate analysis or critical textual and image analysis.[42] Whatever research follows, what will be most important is that action be taken promptly to remedy the decades of old neglectful and frozen in time patterns of coverage of Latinos in the national network news outlets.

Figure 1. Number of stories about Latinos and Latino issues 2008-2014
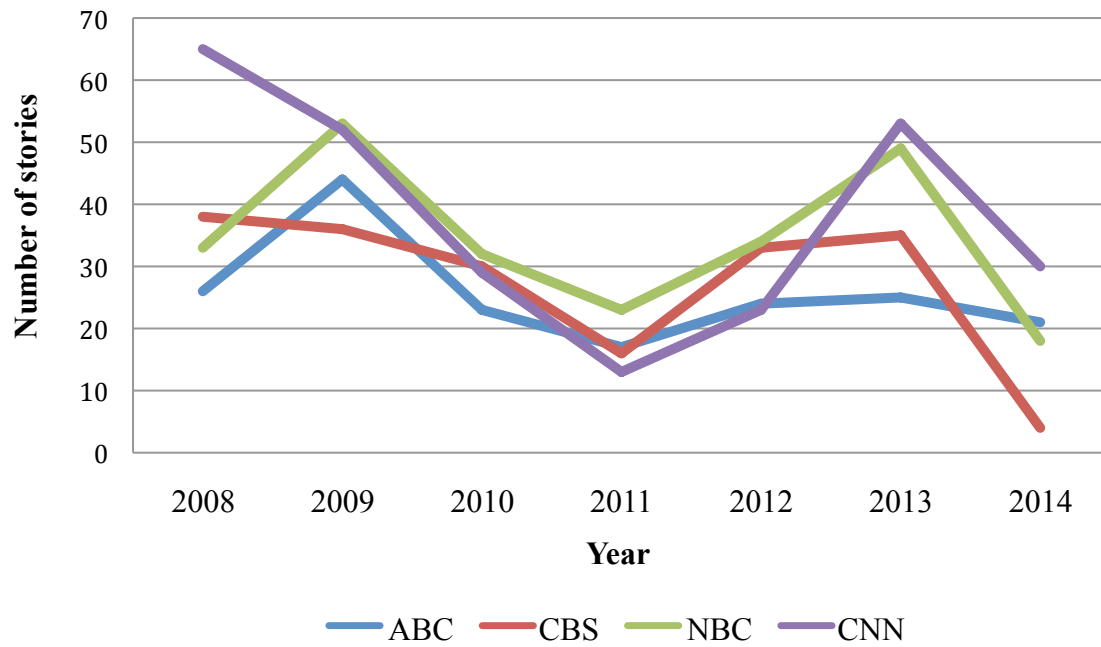
Table 1. Overall distribution of Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014 by year, total times & CIL

Network ►	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Stories [n (%)]	180	20.48%	192	21.84%	242	27.53%	265	30.15%	879	100.00%
Distribution by year	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
2008	26	16.05%	38	23.46%	33	20.37%	65	40.12%	162	100.00%
2009	44	23.78%	36	19.46%	53	28.65%	52	28.11%	185	100.00%
2010	23	20.18%	30	26.32%	32	28.07%	29	25.44%	114	100.00%
2011	17	24.64%	16	23.19%	23	33.33%	13	18.84%	69	100.00%
2012	24	21.05%	33	28.95%	34	29.82%	23	20.18%	114	100.00%
2013	25	15.43%	35	21.60%	49	30.25%	53	32.72%	162	100.00%
2014	21	28.77%	4	5.48%	18	24.66%	30	41.10%	73	100.00%
Total time in seconds	28909		36780		45705		110550		221944	
Total time in hours:mins	8:02		10:14		12:42		30:42		61:39	
Avg. time in hrs:mins:secs/year	1:08:50		1:27:34		1:48:06		4:23:13		8:48:26	
Average seconds/day	≈12		≈14		≈18		≈43		≈87	
Central Involvement of Latinos	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Primary	117	65.00%	117	60.94%	130	53.72%	101	38.11%	465	52.90%
Secondary	34	18.89%	46	23.96%	38	15.70%	55	20.75%	173	19.68%
Mainstreaming	29	16.11%	29	15.10%	74	30.58%	109	41.13%	241	27.42%

Table 2. Overall Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014 by placement & length

Network ►	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Stories [n (%)]	180	20.48%	192	21.84%	242	27.53%	265	30.15%	879	100.00%
Placement*	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
First 5 mins.	47	26.11%	59	30.73%	71	29.34%	65	24.53%	242	27.53%
6-10th min.	67	37.22%	60	31.25%	71	29.34%	55	20.75%	253	28.78%
11-20th min.	38	21.11%	46	23.96%	49	20.25%	63	23.77%	196	22.30%
After 20th min.	28	15.56%	27	14.06%	51	21.07%	82	30.94%	188	21.39%
*CNN: ≤10; 11-20; 21-40; ≥41mins.										
Distribution by seconds	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
180+ seconds	46	25.56%	74	38.54%	90	37.19%	66	24.91%	276	31.40%
120-179 seconds	75	41.67%	75	39.06%	114	47.11%	81	30.57%	345	39.25%
60-119 seconds	25	13.89%	12	6.25%	21	8.68%	100	37.74%	158	17.97%
59 seconds or less	34	18.89%	31	16.15%	17	7.02%	18	6.79%	100	11.38%
Average seconds/story	160.61		191.56		188.86		417.17		252.50	
Average minutes:secs/story	2:48		3:11		3:09		6:57		4:20	

Table 3. Distribution of exclusively Latino and Latino issues stories 2008–2014 by year, total times

Network ≻ Stories [n (%)]	ABC 117 25.16%		CBS 117 25.16%		NBC 130 27.96%		CNN 101 21.72%		Total 465 100.00%	
Distribution by year	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
2008	20	21.51%	28	30.11%	23	24.73%	22	23.66%	93	100.00%
2009	40	30.77%	31	23.85%	40	30.77%	19	14.62%	130	100.00%
2010	8	17.02%	13	27.66%	11	23.40%	15	31.91%	47	100.00%
2011	12	28.57%	9	21.43%	18	42.86%	3	7.14%	42	100.00%
2012	13	24.53%	19	35.85%	12	22.64%	9	16.98%	53	100.00%
2013	9	18.00%	13	26.00%	16	32.00%	12	24.00%	50	100.00%
2014	15	30.00%	4	8.00%	10	20.00%	21	42.00%	50	100.00%
Total time in seconds	14270		18210		19341		39590		91411	
Total time in hours:mins	3:56		5:04		5:22		11:59		25:23:24	
Avg. time in hrs:mins:secs/year	0:34:12		0:43:22		0:46:03		1:34:16		1:37:48	
Average seconds/day	≈5.6		≈7.1		≈7.6		≈15.5		≈35.7	

Table 4. Distribution of exclusively Latino and Latino issues stories 2008–2014 by placement & length

Network ≻ Stories [n (%)]	ABC 117 25.16%		CBS 117 25.16%		NBC 130 27.96%		CNN 101 21.72%		Total 465 100.00%	
Placement*	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
First 5 mins.	24	20.51%	30	25.64%	26	20.00%	18	17.82%	98	21.08%
6-10th min.	45	38.46%	33	28.21%	36	27.69%	19	18.81%	133	28.60%
11-20th min.	25	21.37%	31	26.50%	32	24.62%	28	27.72%	116	24.95%
After 20th min.	23	19.66%	23	19.66%	36	27.69%	36	35.64%	118	25.38%
*CNN: ≤10; 11-20; 21-40; ≥41mins.										
Distribution by seconds		%		%		%		%		%
180+ seconds	23	19.66%	36	30.77%	30	23.08%	18	17.82%	107	23.01%
120-179 seconds	47	40.17%	46	39.32%	72	55.38%	31	30.69%	196	42.15%
60-119 seconds	16	13.68%	9	7.69%	13	10.00%	46	45.54%	84	18.06%
59 seconds or less	31	26.50%	26	22.22%	15	11.54%	6	5.94%	78	16.77%
Average seconds/story	121.97		155.64		148.78		391.98		196.58	
Average minutes:secs/story	2:02		2:35		2:49		6:32		3:16	

Table 5. Topics of all the Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ➤	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Stories [n (%)]	180	20.48%	192	21.84%	242	27.53%	265	30.15%	879	100.00%
Distribution by topic	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
U.S. Government, Domestic	35	19.44%	33	17.19%	53	21.90%	30	11.32%	151	17.18%
Crime	27	15.00%	28	14.58%	31	12.81%	73	27.55%	159	18.09%
Electoral politics, Voting	22	12.22%	40	20.83%	28	11.57%	53	20.00%	143	16.27%
Sports	12	6.67%	11	5.73%	14	5.79%	0	0.00%	37	4.21%
Human Interest, Demogs., Lifestyle	12	6.67%	10	5.21%	27	11.16%	3	1.13%	52	5.92%
Migration/Immigration	35	19.44%	40	20.83%	40	16.53%	47	17.74%	162	18.43%
Health, Medicine, Science	4	2.22%	2	1.04%	6	2.48%	4	1.51%	16	1.82%
Business, Economics	4	2.22%	1	0.52%	5	2.07%	9	3.40%	19	2.16%
U.S. Government, Foreign Affairs	4	2.22%	2	1.04%	2	0.83%	6	2.26%	14	1.59%
Homeland Security issues	3	1.67%	1	0.52%	6	2.48%	7	2.64%	17	1.93%
Arts, Culture	3	1.67%	2	1.04%	3	1.24%	2	0.75%	10	1.14%
Natural disasters / Accidents	9	5.00%	9	4.69%	15	6.20%	6	2.26%	39	4.44%
Celebrity, Entertainment	3	1.67%	4	2.08%	4	1.65%	12	4.53%	23	2.62%
International Affairs (non-U.S.)	2	1.11%	1	0.52%	1	0.41%	6	2.26%	10	1.14%
Ethnic/Racial relations	2	1.11%	2	1.04%	1	0.41%	3	1.13%	8	0.91%
Education (except Affirmative Action)	1	0.56%	0	0.00%	2	0.83%	2	0.75%	5	0.57%
Poverty and welfare	0	0.00%	1	0.52%	1	0.41%	0	0.00%	2	0.23%
Affirmative Action	2	1.11%	2	1.04%	1	0.41%	0	0.00%	5	0.57%
Other	0	0.00%	3	1.56%	2	0.83%	2	0.75%	7	0.80%

Table 6. Topics of Latino and Latino issues for CIL 1 stories 2008-2014

Network ➤	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Stories [n (%)]	117	25.16%	117	25.16%	130	27.96%	101	21.72%	465	100.00%
Distribution by topic	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
U.S. Government, Domestic	25	21.37%	20	17.09%	20	15.38%	5	4.95%	70	15.05%
Crime	12	10.26%	12	10.26%	16	12.31%	24	23.76%	64	13.76%
Electoral politics, Voting	10	8.55%	17	14.53%	7	5.38%	17	16.83%	51	10.97%
Sports	11	9.40%	9	7.69%	13	10.00%	0	0.00%	33	7.10%
Human Interest, Demogs., Lifestyle	9	7.69%	6	5.13%	17	13.08%	2	1.98%	34	7.31%
Migration/Immigration	33	28.21%	37	31.62%	35	26.92%	42	41.58%	147	31.61%
Health, Medicine, Science	3	2.56%	2	1.71%	5	3.85%	1	0.99%	11	2.37%
Business, Economics	2	1.71%	0	0.00%	3	2.31%	0	0.00%	5	1.08%
U.S. Government, Foreign Affairs	1	0.85%	2	1.71%	2	1.54%	1	0.99%	6	1.29%
Homeland Security issues	1	0.85%	0	0.00%	2	1.54%	1	0.99%	4	0.86%
Arts, Culture	3	2.56%	2	1.71%	1	0.77%	1	0.99%	7	1.51%
Natural disasters / Accidents	4	3.42%	1	0.85%	1	0.77%	0	0.00%	6	1.29%
Celebrity, Entertainment	2	1.71%	4	3.42%	4	3.08%	4	3.96%	14	3.01%
International Affairs (non-U.S.)	0	0.00%	1	0.85%	0	0.00%	1	0.99%	2	0.43%
Ethnic/Racial relations	0	0.00%	1	0.85%	0	0.00%	2	1.98%	3	0.65%
Education (except Affirmative Action)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	1.54%	0	0.00%	2	0.43%
Poverty and welfare	0	0.00%	1	0.85%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
Affirmative Action	1	0.85%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.22%
Other	0	0.00%	2	1.71%	2	1.54%	0	0.00%	4	0.86%

Table 7. Sources & blance of view of the overall Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ➤ Stories [n (%)]	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
	180	20.48%	192	21.84%	242	27.53%	265	30.15%	879	100.00%
Number of sources	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Passing references / Unnamed	27	15.00%	10	5.21%	9	3.72%	2	0.75%	48	5.46%
No sources	12	6.67%	18	9.38%	14	5.79%	10	3.77%	54	6.14%
1 source	26	14.44%	22	11.46%	18	7.44%	33	12.45%	99	11.26%
2 sources	35	19.44%	38	19.79%	20	8.26%	40	15.09%	133	15.13%
3 or more sources	78	43.33%	101	52.60%	178	73.55%	175	66.04%	532	60.52%
Not applicable/Non-controversial	2	1.11%	3	1.56%	3	1.24%	5	1.89%	13	1.48%
Balance of views	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of one opinion	36	20.00%	39	20.31%	56	23.14%	73	27.55%	204	23.21%
Mostly one opinion	44	24.44%	32	16.67%	50	20.66%	72	27.17%	198	22.53%
Mix of opinions (none >75%)	38	21.11%	58	30.21%	100	41.32%	91	34.34%	287	32.65%
Not applicable	62	34.44%	63	32.81%	36	14.88%	29	10.94%	190	21.62%

Table 8. Sources & balance of views of Latino and Latino issues for CIL 1 stories 2008-2014

Network ➤ Stories [n (%)]	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
	117	25.16%	117	25.16%	130	27.96%	101	21.72%	465	100.00%
Number of sources	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Passing references / Unnamed	26	22.22%	9	7.69%	7	5.38%	1	0.99%	43	9.25%
No sources	10	8.55%	11	9.40%	8	6.15%	6	5.94%	35	7.53%
1 source	18	15.38%	18	15.38%	12	9.23%	18	17.82%	66	14.19%
2 sources	21	17.95%	24	20.51%	13	10.00%	13	12.87%	71	15.27%
3 or more sources	41	35.04%	53	45.30%	88	67.69%	60	59.41%	242	52.04%
Not applicable / Non-controversial	1	0.85%	2	1.71%	2	1.54%	3	2.97%	8	1.72%
Balance of views	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of one opinion	18	15.38%	24	20.51%	28	21.54%	33	32.67%	103	22.15%
Mostly one opinion	28	23.93%	18	15.38%	17	13.08%	29	28.71%	92	19.78%
Mix of opinions (none >75%)	25	21.37%	35	29.91%	62	47.69%	26	25.74%	148	31.83%
Not applicable	46	39.32%	40	34.19%	23	17.69%	13	12.87%	122	26.24%

Table 9. Latino newsmakers & type of presence in overall Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ➤	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Latino newsmakers & type of presence	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Image/Voice	134	65.69%	190	63.97%	255	72.86%	272	69.04%	851	68.35%
Image/No Voice	49	24.02%	59	19.87%	61	17.43%	16	4.06%	185	14.86%
Voice/No Image	6	2.94%	7	2.36%	10	2.86%	8	2.03%	31	2.49%
No Voice/No Image (Mentioned)	13	6.37%	39	13.13%	24	6.86%	94	23.86%	170	13.65%
Don't know / Missing values	2	0.98%	2	0.67%	0	0.00%	4	1.02%	8	0.64%
Total	204		297		350		394		1245	

Table 10. Latino newsmakers & type of presence in CIL 1 Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ➤	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Latino newsmakers & type of presence	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Image/Voice	81	65.85%	97	66.44%	171	75.00%	106	72.60%	455	70.76%
Image/No Voice	39	31.71%	35	23.97%	43	18.86%	6	4.11%	123	19.13%
Voice/No Image	2	1.63%	2	1.37%	3	1.32%	2	1.37%	9	1.40%
No Voice/No Image (Mentioned)	1	0.81%	9	6.16%	10	4.39%	32	21.92%	52	8.09%
Don't know / Missing values	0	0.00%	3	2.05%	1	0.44%	0	0.00%	4	0.62%
Total	123		146		228		146		643	

Table 11. Latino anchors & reporters in overall Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ➤	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Latino Anchor										
Yes	3	1.67%	1	0.52%	7	2.89%	16	6.04%	27	3.07%
No	177	98.33%	191	99.48%	235	97.11%	249	93.96%	852	96.93%
Latino Reporter										
Yes	31	17.22%	7	3.65%	13	5.37%	28	10.57%	79	8.99%
No	149	82.78%	185	96.35%	229	94.63%	237	89.43%	800	91.01%

Table 12. Latino anchors & reporters in CIL 1 Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ➤	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Latino Anchor										
Yes	1	0.85%	1	0.85%	1	0.77%	5	4.95%	8	1.72%
No	116	99.15%	116	99.15%	129	99.23%	96	95.05%	457	98.28%
Latino Reporter										
Yes	17	14.53%	4	3.42%	10	7.69%	16	15.84%	47	10.11%
No	100	85.47%	113	96.58%	120	92.31%	85	84.16%	418	89.89%

Table 13. Latino anchors & reporters in overall Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ►	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Latino Anchor	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	2	1.11%	1	0.52%	8	3.31%	15	5.66%	26	2.96%
No	177	98.33%	191	99.48%	235	97.11%	250	94.34%	853	97.04%
Latino Reporter	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	31	17.22%	7	3.65%	13	5.37%	28	10.57%	79	8.99%
No	149	82.78%	185	96.35%	229	94.63%	237	89.43%	800	91.01%

Table 14. Latino anchors & reporters in CIL 1 Latino and Latino issues stories 2008-2014

Network ►	ABC		CBS		NBC		CNN		Total	
Latino Anchor	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	1	0.85%	1	0.85%	1	0.77%	5	4.95%	8	1.72%
No	116	99.15%	116	99.15%	129	99.23%	96	95.05%	457	98.28%
Latino Reporter	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	17	14.53%	4	3.42%	10	7.69%	15	14.85%	46	9.89%
No	100	85.47%	113	96.58%	120	92.31%	86	85.15%	419	90.11%

Table 15. Number of Latino anchors & reporters by year

Year	Number of stories with Latino anchors	Number of stories with Latino anchors
2008	11	10
2009	1	16
2010	0	10
2011	0	1
2012	5	6
2013	4	19
2014	5	17
Total	26	79

Table 16. Names (networks) of Latino anchors and reporters in Latino news 2008-2014

Anchor's name (network)	Number of Appearances	Reporter's name (network)	Number of Appearances
Soledad O'Brien (CNN)	9	Jim Avila (ABC)	12
Carl Quintanilla (NBC)	7	Alex Perez (ABC)	8
Rick Sanchez (CNN)	6	Soledad O'Brien (CNN)	7
Cecilia Vega (ABC)	1	Ed Lavandera (CNN)	5
Elizabeth Vargas (ABC)	1	Jim Acosta (CNN)	5
Maggie Rodriguez (CBS)	1	Thelma Gutierrez (CNN)	5
Natalie Morales (NBC)	1	Miguel Almaguer (NBC)	4
		John Quinones (ABC)	3
		Jose Diaz-Balart (NBC)	3
		Natalie Morales (NBC)	3
		Rosa Flores (CNN)	3
		Barbara Pinto (ABC)	2
		Bianca Solorzano (CBS)	2
		Cecilia Vega (ABC)	2
		Manuel Bojorquez (CBS)	2
		Miguel Marquez (ABC, CNN)	2
		Carl Quintanilla (NBC)	1
		Elaine Quijano (CBS)	1
		Evan Perez (CNN)	1
		Gloria Rivera (ABC)	1
		Laura Marquez (ABC)	1
		Lori Montenegro (NBC)	1
		Lydia Esparra (CBS)	1
		Maria Santana (CNN)	1
		Mike Viqueira (NBC)	1
		Tanya Rivero (ABC)	1
		Vicente Arenas (CBS)	1

Appendix 1. Search term categories

• General designations for the Hispanic/Latino demographic:

Latino / Latina

Hispanic / Hispanic American

Latin American

Chicano / Chicana

• Latin American countries and demonyms (i.e., names of nationalities)

Mexico / Mexican / Mexican American	Ecuador / Ecuadoran / Ecuadorian
Puerto Rico / Puerto Rican	El Salvador / Salvadoran
Cuba / Cuban / Cuban American	Guatemala / Guatemalan
Argentina / Argentine / Argentinean /	Honduras / Honduran
Argentinian	Nicaragua / Nicaraguan
Bolivia / Bolivian	Panama / Panamanian
Chile / Chilean	Peru / Peruvian
Colombia / Colombian	Paraguay / Paraguayan
Costa Rica / Costa Rican	Uruguay / Uruguayan
Dominican Republic / Dominican	Venezuela / Venezuelan

• A more specific list of Latino newsmakers from U.S. politics and government on the national level; the names searched include a 2008 presidential candidate (Bill Richardson), a Supreme Court nominee and eventual confirmed justice (Sonia Sotomayor), two governors (Susana Martinez and Brian Sandoval), cabinet members from the Bush and Obama administrations, and congressmen and congresswomen who were in office and belonged to either the Congressional Hispanic Caucus or the Congressional Hispanic Conference during the studied period. As a first filter, during the initial compilation of abstracts research assistants were instructed to leave out items that deal exclusively with Latin American affairs, or which involve the U.S. but without the involvement of any Latino newsmakers or issues.

• The list of the 100 most frequently occurring Hispanic surnames in the United States, as reported in a U.S. Census Bureau working paper titled: *Building A Spanish Surname List for* the *1990s: A* new *Approach to an Old Problem.* (Word & Perkins, 1996).

Garcia 1	Jimenez 35	Trujillo 69
Martinez 2	Vargas 36	Montoya 70
Rodriguez 3	Castro 37	Contreras 71
Lopez 4	Rodriquez 38	Treviño 72
Hernandez 5	Mendez 39	Gallegos 73
Gonzalez 6	Munoz 40	Rojas 74
Perez 7	Santiago 41	Navarro 75
Sanchez 8	Pena 42	Duran 76
Rivera 9	Guzman 43	Carrillo 77
Ramirez 10	Salazar 44	Juarez 78
Torres 11	Aguilar 45	Miranda 79
Gonzales 12	Delgado 46	Salinas 80
Flores 13	Valdez 47	DeLeon
Diaz 14	Rios 48	Robles 82
Gomez 15	Vega 49	Velez 83
Ortiz 16	Ortega 50	Campos 84
Cruz 17	Maldonado 51	Guerra 85
Morales 18	Estrada 52	Avila 86
Reyes 19	Colon 53	Villarreal 87
Ramos 20	Guerrero 54	Rivas 88
Ruiz 21	Sandoval 55	Serrano 89
Chavez 22	Alvarado 56	Solis 90
Vasquez 23	Padilla 57	Ochoa 91
Gutierrez 24	Nunez 58	Pacheco 92
Castillo 25	Figueroa 59	Mejia 93
Garza 26	Acosta 60	Lara 94
Alvarez 27	Marquez 61	Leon 95
Romero 28	Vazquez 62	Velasquez 96
Fernandez 29	Dominguez 63	Fuentes 97
Medina 30	Cortez 64	Camacho 98
Moreno 31	Ayala 65	Cervantes 99
Mendoza 32	Luna 66	Salas 100
Herrera 33	Molina 67	
Soto 34	Espinoza 68	

Endnotes

1 Federico Subervi, Joseph Torres, & Daniela Montalvo. (2005). Network Brownout Report 2005: The portrayal of Latinos & Latino issues on network television news, 2004 with a Retrospect to 1995. Washington, DC: National Association of Hispanic Journalists.

2 See: The Media Insight Project. (2014). *The Personal News Cycle*. Chicago: The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research; Stylianos Papathanassopoulos, Sharon Coen, James Curran, Toril Aalberg, David Rowe, Paul Jones, Hernando Rojas & Rod Tiffen (2013). Online Threat, But Television is Still Dominant. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(6), 690–704; and Lydia Saad, (2013, July 8). TV is Americans' Main Source of News. *Gallup*. Retrieved from: http://www.gallup.com/poll/163412/americans-main-source-news.aspx.

3 U.S. Bureau of the Census (n.d.). Hispanics in the United States. Retrieved from: http://www.census.gov/population/hispanic/files/hispanic2006/Internet_Hispanic_in_US_2006.pdf

4 Special thanks to research assistants Dr. Iliana Ferrer and Waly Cardona for their dedication to the coding of the data and helping with the writing of parts of this report, to Jasmine Pace for helping with the coding of the 2010 & 2012 data, and to Lauren Dargay with the data gathering for 2010-2014.

5 In June 2011, the author was elected as first Academic Officer on the Board of Directors of NAHJ. One of his goals as Board member was to obtain funds for renewing the Brownout Reports. Ms. Biggs-Adams, with whom he had collaborated in labor issues related to Latino media, expressed interest in seeking CWA funds for the Brownout Report as well as for a study of how the networks covered labor issues. When other NAHJ leaders did not prioritize this research, the author obtained the CWA funding via Texas State University, his academic institution at the time.

6 For a historical overview of the treatment of minorities in U.S. media, see: Clint C. Wilson, Jr., Félix Gutiérrez, and Lena M. Chao (2003). *Racism, sexism, and the media: The rise of class communication in multicultural America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. For a compilation of studies about Latino representations in the media up to the early 1990s, see: Federico Subervi-Vélez, et al. (1994). Mass communication and Hispanics. In F.Padilla (Ed.), *Handbook of Hispanic cultures in the United States: Sociology* (pp. 304-357). Houston, TX: Arte Público Press.

7 Bradley S. Greenberg and Larry Collette (1997). The changing faces on TV: A demographic analysis of network television's new seasons, 1966–1992," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *41*(1), 1–13; Dana E. Mastro and Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005). Latino Representation on Primetime Television, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *82*(1), 110–130.

8 Frances Negrón-Muntaner et al. (2014). *The Latino Media Gap: A Report on the State of Latinos in U.S. Media*. New York; The Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race, Columbia University.

9 Charles Ramirez Berg (2002). *Latino images in film: Stereotypes, subversions, and resistance.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

10 Bradley S. Greenberg and P. Baptista-Fernandez (1980). Hispanic Americans: The newest minority in television. In Bradley S. Greenberg (Ed.), *Life on television: Content analysis of U.S. TV drama* (pp. 3-12). Norwood, NJ: Ablex; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz. (2005). Latino Representation on Primetime Television.

11 Frances Negrón-Muntaner. *The Latino media gap*; John F. Seggar & Penny Wheeler (1973). World of Work on TV: Ethnic and Sex Representation in TV Drama. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 17(2), 201–214.

12 A summary of social science literature touching on Latinos and the news media can be found in: Michael Salwen and Gonzalo Soruco. (1997). The Hispanic Americans. In A. Deepe-Keever, Carolyn Martindale & Mary Ann Weston (Eds.), *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities: A Sourcebook* (pp. 147-190). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

13 Félix Gutiérrez. (1978). Through Anglo Eyes: Chicanos as Portrayed in the News Media. Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism, Seattle, Washington; Ralph H. Turner & Samuel J. Surace. (1956) Zoot-Suiters and Mexicans: Symbols in Crowd Behavior. *American Journal of Sociology* 62(1): 14–20.

14 Ilia Rodriguez. (1998). News Reporting and Colonial Discourse: The Representation of Puerto Ricans in U.S. Press Coverage of the Spanish-American War. *Howard Journal of Communications 9*(4): 283–301.

15 Joshua A. Fishman and Heriberto Casiano. (1969). Puerto Ricans in Our Press. *The Modern Language Journal 53*(3): 157–162.

16 Bradley S. Greenberg et al. (1983). Local Newspaper Coverage of Mexican Americans. *Journalism Quarterly*, *60*(4): 671–676; Carrie Heeter et al. (1984). Cross Media Coverage of Local Hispanic American News. *Journal of Broadcasting 27*(4): 395–402.

17 A summary of most reports can be found in Federico Subervi, Joseph Torres, and Daniela Montalvo. (2005). Network Brownout Report 2005: The portrayal of Latinos & Latino issues on network television news, 2004 with a Retrospect to 1995. Washington, DC: National Association of Hispanic Journalists; Joseph Torres and Daniela Montalvo. (2006). Network Brownout Report 2006: The Portrayal of Latinos & Latino Issues in Network Television News, 2005. Washington, DC: NAHJ.

18 Dina Gavrilos. (2006). *U.S. news magazine coverage of Latinos: 2006 report*. Washington DC: National Association of Hispanic Journalists.

19 Paula M. Poindexter, Laura Smith, and Don Heider. (2003). Race and Ethnicity in Local Television News: Framing, Story Assignments, and Source Selections. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 47*(4): 524–536.

20 Jorge Quiroga. (1995). *Hispanic Voices: Is the Press Listening?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.

21 Federico A. Subervi-Vélez and José Carlos Lozano. (2008). Latino politics in general market English-language daily newspapers: 1988-2004. In Federico A. Subervi-Vélez, *The Mass Media and Latino Politics: Studies of U.S. Media Content, Campaign Strategies and Survey Research: 1984-2004* (pp. 195-218). New York: Routledge; Louis de Sipio & James R. Henson. (2008). Coverage of Latino political issues in 40 general market daily newspapers nationwide. In Federico A. Subervi-Vélez, *The Mass Media and Latino Politics: Studies of U.S. Media Content, Campaign Strategies and Survey Research: 1984-2004* (pp. 219-236). New York: Routledge; Kenton Wilkinson. (2008). Television news, character issues and Latino images in U.S. national elections of 1988, 1992 and 1996. In Federico A. Subervi-Vélez, *The Mass Media and Latino Politics: Studies of U.S. Media Content, Campaign Strategies and Survey Research: 1984-2004* (pp. 237-255). New York: Routledge

22 Jennifer Schwartz. (2011). Framing Power: Comparing U.S. Newspaper Visuals of Latino and Non-Latino Candidates. *Howard Journal of Communications 22*(4): 377–393.

23 Travis L. Dixon and Charlotte L. Williams. (2015). The Changing Misrepresentation of Race and Crime on Network and Cable News. Journal of Communication 65(1): 24-39.

24 Cristina Lopez and Jessica Torres. (2015). Report: Single issue syndrome: How Sunday shows undermine Hispanic inclusion. *Media Matters*. Retrieved from: http://mediamatters.org/research/2015/03/04/report-single-issue-syndrome-how-sunday-shows-u/202569.

25 Regina P. Branton and Johanna Dunaway. (2008). English- and Spanish-Language Media Coverage of Immigration: A Comparative Analysis. *Social Science Quarterly 89*(4): 1006–1022; Marisa A. Abrajano and Simran Singh. (2008) Examining the Link Between Issue Attitudes and News Source: The Case of Latinos and Immigration Reform. *Political Behavior 31*(1): 1–30.

26 Sei-hill Kim et al. (2011) The View of the Border: News Framing of the Definition, Causes, and Solutions to Illegal Immigration. *Mass Communication & Society*. *14*(3): 292–314.

27 The Minutemen Project is an anti-immigration organization launched in the 2004 to oppose the entry of undocumented immigrants into the United States through the Mexican border. The group attracted considerably attention from media and lawmakers after staging several high profile anti-immigration acts, most notably assembling volunteers to stop border crossings in southwestern states. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minuteman_Project

28 Dana Mastro et al. (2014). News coverage of immigration: The influence of exposure to Linguistic bias in the news on consumer's racial/ethnic cognitions. *Communication Quarterly 62*(2): 135-154.

29 Otto Santa Ana. (2002). *Brown tide rising: Metaphors of Latinos in contemporary American public discourse*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press; David J. Cisneros. (2008). Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of 'Immigrant as Pollutant' in Media Representations of Immigration. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs 11*(4): 569–601.

30 Eileen Diaz McConnell, (2011). An 'incredible Number of Latinos and Asians:' Media Representations of Racial and Ethnic Population Change in Atlanta, Georgia. *Latino Studies 9*(2/3): 177–197.

31 Leo Chavez. (2013). The Latino threat: Constructing immigrants, citizens, and the nation. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

32 Travis L. Dixon and Daniel Linz. (2000). Race and the Misrepresentation of Victimization on Local Television News. *Communication Research 27*(5): 547–573; Travis L. Dixon and Cristina L. Azocar. (2006). The Representation of Juvenile Offenders by Race on Los Angeles Area Television News. *Howard Journal of Communications 17*(2): 143-161.

33 Ted Chiricos and Sarah Eschholz. (2002). The Racial and Ethnic Typification of Crime and The Criminal Typification of Race and Ethnicity in Local Television News. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 39*(4) (2002): 400–420.

34 Eileen E.S. Bjornstrom et al. (2011). Race and Ethnic Representations of Lawbreakers and Victims in Crime News: A National Study of Television Coverage. *Social Problems 57*(2): 269–293.

35 Travis L. Dixon and Daniel Linz. (2002). Television News, Prejudicial Pretrial Publicity, and the Depiction of Race. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 46*(1): 112–136.

36 Each news entry provides the following key descriptors for every story archived: 1) network and specific news program on which the story aired, 2) date of the news program, 3) headline title or topic, 4) the name of the anchor or studio correspondent who introduced the story, 5) the city where it originated, 6) the field correspondent(s) who reported it, 7) a brief abstract, including the names and titles of any persons interviewed, 8) beginning, time, ending time, and duration, and 9) the reporters' last names.

37 The reduction in the number of studies selected for coding took place when the Latino involvement was not explicit or did not go beyond passing mention.

38 Special thanks to Mr. Francis Steen at UCLA for assisting with this arrangement.

39 U.S. Census Bureau (2014). Facts for Features: Hispanic Heritage Month 2014: Sept. 15–Oct. 15. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2014/cb14-ff22.html

40 The calculation is based on the divided of 879 over an approximate 112,000 stories aired across that same period for four networks. Based on previous Brownout Reports, it is estimated that every year the four networks air a combined 16,000 news stories. When that figure is multiplied by seven years, the total output of news is approximate 112,000 stories of which only 879, i.e., .0078 were in some notable way about Latinos or Latino issues.

41 The complete list is available from the main author of this report. The full list from which Table 11 was derived includes 603 names; for Table 12, it was 499 names. The vast majority on each list had either one appearance or just one time voice.

42 For an example of a detailed critical textual analysis of the data collected for these reports, see Otto Santa Ana (2013) *Juan in a Hundred. The representation of Latinos in network news*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.