Tyler Reny, Sylvia Manzano

The Negative Effects of Mass Media Stereotypes of Latinos and Immigrants

Introduction

In 2015, nearly 55 million Latinos, about 18% of the total population, call the United States home. The growth of the Latino population is forecast to continue dramatically such that by around 2042 the United States is expected to reach a historic milestone as the White, non-Hispanic population drops below 50% of the total. This growth is being matched by an equally dramatic dispersion over the last several decades of Latinos from traditional receiving states to smaller towns and cities around the country, particularly in the South and Midwest. Public reaction to this growing population has ranged from welcoming to discriminatory to outright violent. Absent federal comprehensive immigration reform, state and local elected officials have been crafting and passing immigration legislation, stoking sometimes virulent debates across the country.1

Given the inevitable political, economic, and social challenges that accompany this massive demographic change, it is more important than ever to understand how Americans perceive Latinos and immigrants and what role the news and entertainment media play in shaping this collective public perception. If public opinion reflects the media’s pervasive stereotypes of Latinos and immigrants as law-breaking, permanent foreigners, it will severely hinder the United States’ ability to live up to its ideals of an inclusive, multiracial democracy.

In this chapter, we leverage data from a national survey and an interactive online experiment to answer two key questions. First, which stereotypes about Latinos and immigrants do Americans hold? Second, does exposure to these stereotypes from popular media sources reinforce or attenuate them? We find convincing evidence that non-Latinos attribute both negative and positive stereotypes to Latinos and immigrants, that these stereotypes are not moderated by interpersonal contact with Latinos or immigrants, and that news and entertainment media can shape public opinion about Latinos and immigrants in a variety of ways.

Latino-Threat Narrative

At least since the beginning of the 20th century, Latino immigrants have been constructed by political and media elites as threatening to the nation. The creation of a new citizenship category in the 1920s—“illegal alien”—reframed immigration from Mexico as both undesirable and an affront to strong American traditions of law and order. These frames have not only persisted but have been applied, at least in popular discourse, to all Latino immigrants as well as their U.S.-born children.

These legal and political constructs are not just artifacts of American political history, but they have also heavily influenced the public and published debate over contemporary immigration policies at the local, state, and national level. California’s political battles over immigrants and immigration in the early 1990s are particularly illustrative. Flailing incumbent governor Pete Wilson built his 1994 re-election campaign around support for Proposition 187, a punitive ballot measure that barred undocumented immigrants from a number of state services, including education and health care. Leveraging the stereotype of Latinos and immigrants as criminals, Wilson played to and exacerbated White voters’ fears of demographic change, catapulting himself into another four years in office.

Wilson’s loud embrace of anti-immigrant politics and rhetoric also thrust Latino and immigrant stereotypes into mainstream public discourse. Shortly after the Proposition 187 fight, California voters passed Proposition 209, ending the use of affirmative action, and Proposition 227, eliminating bilingual education from the state’s public school system. Together, the fights over these ballot initiatives legitimized caustic public discourse about Latinos and immigrants that would shape public opinion and set the tone for the immigration debates that were to follow.

By the time Congress attempted an overdue overhaul of the federal immigration system in 2006, anti-Latino and anti-immigrant forces were well en-

---


3 In some portions of this chapter, we use the phrase “illegal alien” to refer to undocumented immigrants. In order to test subjects’ responses to the language that is actually used in the news media, survey questions used “illegal” rather than “undocumented.” We recognize that the accepted terminology is “undocumented” and are not endorsing the use of “illegal.”

4 Chavez, Covering Immigration.


trenched and armed with powerful frames to derail reform efforts. Both White supremacy groups and respected scholars warned of the *reconquista* of the Southwest. Groups of armed vigilantes organized to patrol the U.S.-Mexican border, newly designated a terrorist gateway in post-9/11 America. Loud cries of “No Amnesty” from the grassroots, energized partly through cable television and conservative talk radio, forced Republican U.S. Senators worried about primary challenges to distance themselves from any immigration legislation that included a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. With withering public support, loud opposition, and negative stereotypes firmly entrenched in both popular discourse and public opinion about Latinos and immigrants, the 2006 and 2007 immigration reform efforts both died in Congress.

By now, it is common to see media coverage of Latino immigrants that is negative in tone, full of stereotypes, and highly sensational. A 2008 Brookings Institute report on immigration coverage analyzed 70,737 stories from 48 media outlets across five different media types and concluded that coverage of Latinos and immigrants focuses almost exclusively on undocumented immigrants and immigration, lacks important context, and often frames immigration as a crisis.

These media frames matter. As Santa Ana (2002) points out, human thinking relies on images and metaphors. These images and metaphors are the mental building blocks with which humans make sense of their social world. Given that Americans are poorly informed about issues of immigration, media and political elites can play a large role in constructing the metaphors by which Americans come to understand demographic change, immigration, and

---

Latinos. These metaphors can also set the range, tenor, and content of the public policy proposed and passed by lawmakers at all levels of government.

While we now understand how Latinos and immigrants have been framed in popular discourse, few studies have explored the extent to which non-Latinos believe these stereotypes or the priming effects that these stereotypes might have on public opinion when seen in various forms of public media. We explore both in turn.

The Data

The data for this study come from two surveys, fielded by the independent consulting firm Latino Decisions in March of 2012, which were commissioned by the National Hispanic Media Coalition. The first is a national telephone survey of 900 non-Latinos from across the United States. The second is an interactive online experiment with 3,000 non-Latino respondents who were randomly assigned to receive different messaging about Latinos and immigrants from across four types of media—print media, radio, television news, and television and film entertainment—and then asked a number of questions about their views on Latinos, immigrants, and the media.

Stereotypes of Latinos

Before we examine the relationship between public opinion and media messages, we begin by establishing the extent to which respondents believe common stereotypes about Latinos. In the aggregate, we find that respondents

15 Santa Ana 2002; Chavez 2001; Akdenizli et al. 2008.
17 The authors wish to thank Alex Nogales, President and CEO of the National Hispanic Media Coalition, for his support of this study. The NHMC commissioned the original study which provided the data for this chapter in a report from September 2012 entitled “The impact of media stereotypes on opinion and attitudes towards Latinos.” Matt Barreto and Gary Segura, co-founders of Latino Decisions, also contributed to the NHMC report upon which we drew, and we thank them for their contributions.
tend to hold a number of negative and positive stereotypes about Latinos. Figure 1 shows that while over three-quarters of respondents see Latinos as family oriented (90%), hardworking (81%), religious (81%), and honest (76%), either a plurality or a majority agree that terms like “welfare recipient” (51%),
“less educated” (50%), “refuse to learn English” (44%), and “too many children” (40%) also describe Latinos very well or somewhat well. A smaller proportion agrees that Latinos “take jobs from Americans” (37%) and “don’t keep up their homes” (33%). While a much larger percentage of our respondents believe positive stereotypes, a shocking number buy into negative stereotypes. In order to tie stereotypes to media depictions of Latinos, respondents were asked to think about films and television programs and to recall the roles they often saw Latinos play. As we see in Figure 2, the top three responses were criminal or gang member (71%), gardener (64%), and maid (61%). Far fewer could recall seeing Latinos depicted in more positive or prestigious professions: doctor, nurse, educator, or lawyer.

We know, however, that public opinion about Latinos is shaped by a number of personal demographic variables as well as contextual factors. Here we focus primarily on respondent familiarity with Latinos.

Some scholars contend that contact with out-groups will, over time, promote acceptance of them.18 Were that the case, then the more familiar respondents were with Latinos, the less likely they would be to believe media stereotypes. To test this, we combined three variables into a familiarity index: whether the respondent has regular interactions with Latinos, is familiar with Latino culture, and personally knows Latinos. In all, about 44% of the sample was very familiar with Latinos, 37% was moderately familiar, and 19% was slightly familiar.

Looking first at how familiarity might moderate general favorability toward Latinos and immigrants, we asked respondents to use a feeling thermometer19 to register their feelings about Latinos. We found a generally favorable attitude towards Latinos but one that was influenced by a respondent’s familiarity with members of the group. Latinos received an average score of 59 (out of 100) from those who were slightly familiar, 67 from those who were moderately familiar, and 72 from those who were very familiar.

Familiarity with Latinos had little impact, however, on belief in negative stereotypes. Figure 3 shows the percentage of respondents, for each level of familiarity, who agreed with any of the top four negative stereotypes about Latinos. We see that familiarity had no consistent moderating effect on belief in


19 A feeling thermometer is a scale from zero to 100 that allows a respondent to express feelings towards a person or group in terms of degrees. Zero, “cold,” indicated that the respondent does not like the person or group at all. 100, “warm,” indicates that they like the person or group a lot.
negative stereotypes. More recent research on racial threat suggests that the impact of racial context on attitudes towards out-groups is moderated by levels of segregation and rate of growth conditioned on baseline size of out-group population, contextual indicators that were not measured in the survey and therefore were not captured by our familiarity index.

Finally, we looked at how respondents feel about undocumented immigrants. The survey tested the phrase “illegal aliens,” the dominant media frame of immigrants. We found, not surprisingly, that respondents had fairly negative attitudes about undocumented immigrants but that these attitudes were moderated by familiarity with Latinos. Those with low familiarity with Latinos had, on average, very cold feelings towards undocumented immigrants (average score of 28 out of 100) compared to those with moderate familiarity (36) and high familiarity (44).


In sum, we see that individuals hold both positive and negative stereotypes of Latinos and that negative stereotypes often correspond with negative depictions on television and in film. We find that generally favorable attitudes toward Latinos and undocumented immigrants are moderated by familiarity but that negative stereotypes about Latinos persist regardless of respondents’ familiarity with Latinos and Latino culture, suggesting a potentially strong role for other sources, like media stereotypes, in shaping individuals’ attitudes.

**News Sources and Opinions about Latinos and Immigrants**

Respondents were also asked what forms of media they rely on for their news and information and how much they trust each form. We found that a large number (66%) of respondents rely primarily on television for their news, whether that be national cable news (30%), national network news (18%), or local news (18%). Only 12% rely primarily on newspapers, 11% on the Internet, and 7% on radio.

When asked how much they trust these news sources, respondents overwhelmingly reported that they trusted television news. 81% of respondents trusted local news to be honest and accurate very often or somewhat often. 73% trusted national network news to be honest and accurate very often or somewhat often. A majority even trusted CNN (68%), Fox News (58%), and MSNBC (59%) to be honest and accurate very often or somewhat often, suggesting even further that all forms of television news could have a powerful impact on attitudes about Latinos and immigrants.

Returning to our feeling thermometers, we can assess the general attitudes towards immigrants of those respondents who indicate trust in different news sources. While we cannot assess causality, the trends are revealing. (See Figure 4.) A large percentage of those who trust more liberal news sources, like MSNBC, or public news sources, like NPR and PBS, which tend to be consumed by those with more liberal worldviews, feel warmly towards Latinos. Those who listen to more conservative media, like Fox News and talk radio, tend to feel less warmly towards Latinos.

Returning to our data on stereotypes, we can break down the percentage of respondents who agree with negative stereotypes in terms of their choices of news sources. As we see in Figure 5, those who watch Fox News are the most likely to agree with negative stereotypes about Latinos, followed by network news viewers, and then MSNBC viewers. The trend persists for all negative stereotypes.

We can also examine those who listen to radio for their news and information. Comparing those who listen to conservative talk radio and NPR, we see a
Note: Numbers indicate percentage of respondent who felt warm, neutral, or cold towards Latinos across different trusted news sources.

Fig. 4. Attitudes Towards Latinos by Trusted News Sources

Note: Numbers and bars indicate percentage of respondents who agree or somewhat agree with each stereotype for viewers of three different media sources.

Fig. 5. Latino Stereotypes by News Sources
large divergence in belief in negative Latino stereotypes. (See Figure 6.) Conservative talk radio listeners are 22 percentage points more likely to believe that Latinos take jobs from natives, 16 percentage points more likely to think that Latinos have too many kids, 7 percentage points more likely to think that Latinos are on welfare, and 6 percentage points more likely to think that Latinos refuse to learn English than their NPR listening counterparts.

Similar to the patterns above, we also find differences in the attitudes towards undocumented immigrants of those who trust different news sources. 70% of respondents who trust Fox News feel cold towards undocumented immigrants compared to just 46% of those who trust NPR. See Figure 7 for the full details.

In sum, we see that respondents rely primarily on television for their news and information and that they trust this news to be honest and accurate. Assessing feeling thermometer ratings toward Latinos and undocumented immigrants across different programs showed small but consistent patterns of more positive feelings for viewers who trust more liberal news or non-partisan news compared to those who trust more conservative sources, like Fox News or conservative talk radio. Returning to agreement with negative Latino stereotypes across various programs, the trends are starker. Those who watch Fox News are more likely to agree with negative stereotypes about Latinos than those who view network news or MSNBC. Similarly, those who listen to conservative talk radio are more likely to agree with negative stereotypes about Latinos than those who listen to NPR.

Note: Numbers and bars indicate the percentage of talk radio and NPR listeners who agree or somewhat agree with each stereotype.

**Fig. 6. Belief in Latino Stereotypes by Radio Audience**
While we cannot address issues of potential reverse causality with observational data, we are confident that strong relationships exist among viewing and trusting more conservative news sources, having colder feelings towards Latinos and undocumented immigrants, and agreeing more strongly with negative stereotypes. Other research, however, suggests that the relationship might be causal. As Akdenizli et al. (2008) point out, conservative voices on cable television and talk radio played a crucial role in framing the debate on comprehensive immigration reform, mobilizing grassroots opposition, and stymying the immigration reform debate in 2006 and 2007.  

Priming Experiment

While the previous survey found strong correlations between media consumption and attitudes towards Latinos, we were unable to measure directly the impact of the medium and the message. Given that respondents trust some media sources more than others, and that media elites use a variety of

---

Note: Numbers indicate percentage of respondent who felt warm, neutral, or cold towards “Illegal Aliens” across different trusted news sources.

**Fig. 7: Trusted News Sources and Attitudes Towards Undocumented Immigrants**

While we cannot address issues of potential reverse causality with observational data, we are confident that strong relationships exist among viewing and trusting more conservative news sources, having colder feelings towards Latinos and undocumented immigrants, and agreeing more strongly with negative stereotypes. Other research, however, suggests that the relationship might be causal. As Akdenizli et al. (2008) point out, conservative voices on cable television and talk radio played a crucial role in framing the debate on comprehensive immigration reform, mobilizing grassroots opposition, and stymying the immigration reform debate in 2006 and 2007.  

**Priming Experiment**

While the previous survey found strong correlations between media consumption and attitudes towards Latinos, we were unable to measure directly the impact of the medium and the message. Given that respondents trust some media sources more than others, and that media elites use a variety of

---

23 See also “Campaign for President Takes Center Stage in Coverage” (Pew Research Center, Journalism and Media, 2007), http://www.journalism.org/2007/08/20/campaign-for-president-takes-center-stage-in-coverage/.
frames, metaphors, and stereotypes when talking about Latinos and immigrants, it is possible that some media and some messages have a stronger impact on respondents’ attitudes than others. Using data from an interactive online experiment, we were able to test different combinations.

Participants in the experiment were randomly assigned to one of ten groups. The first two groups received either no stimulus or a placebo. The remaining respondents either watched a positive or a negative TV or movie clip (entertainment prime), watched a positive or a negative TV news story (TV news prime), listened to a positive or a negative radio clip (radio prime), or read a positive or a negative print article (print prime).24 Following the prime, respondents answered questions on their views about Latinos, immigrants, and the media. We focus on comparing those who received positive primes and negative primes below.

Positive Stereotypes

Looking first at media and positive stereotypes, respondents who were exposed to positive primes were more likely to agree that positive stereotypes applied to Latinos than those who were exposed to negative primes. The pattern held across the positive stereotypes. In Figure 8, we present the percentage point difference between those given the positive prime who agree with the stereotype and those given the negative prime who agree. We see that the primes have large effects on respondents’ perceptions of Latinos as honest, neighborly/welcoming, and patriotic.

Negative Stereotypes

We find that media-message primes have an equally large and consistent effect on beliefs in negative stereotypes. As Figure 9 shows, the negative prime effectively heightens beliefs in negative stereotypes across every media type for every stereotype. As with the positive stereotypes above, we see that television news has the strongest effect in priming attitudes about Latinos and immigrants followed by talk radio. We also notice that even non-authoritative popular entertainment has the power to color attitudes towards Latinos and immigrants.

24 Because the NHMC/Latino Decisions study used actual media clips, the positive/negative treatments for each media type are somewhat different, not a simple manipulation of language or frame across each media type. Thus, we are comparing how subjects respond to real-world media clips, not laboratory-controlled experimental manipulations. What internal validity we lose from the lack of a perfectly controlled environment we gain back through the use of real-world stimuli.
The Negative Effects

Fig. 8. Treatment Effect of Positive and Negative Primes on Positive Stereotypes

Fig. 9. Treatment Effect of Positive and Negative Primes on Negative Stereotypes

Note: Bars indicate difference in percentage point agreement with each stereotype for respondents exposed to the positive prime and respondents exposed to the negative prime.
We also see, however, the power of positive primes to decrease belief in negative stereotypes about Latinos. Less than half of those in each positively primed group agreed with negative stereotypes.

Finally, we tested how much respondents associated Latinos with undocumented immigrants across experimental conditions. Figure 10 shows that, regardless of positive priming, either a plurality or a majority of respondents still cling to the belief that most Latinos are “illegal” immigrants. The negative primes, particularly the TV news and entertainment treatments, had a sizable effect. It may be that the “illegal” narrative has been so deeply engrained in the popular discourse about Latino immigrants that it would take significantly more exposure to positive primes to disabuse respondents of this characterization of Latino immigrants. Our findings highlight the importance of positive depictions of Latinos and immigrants in the media, especially the press, in decreasing belief in negative stereotypes and increasing belief in positive stereotypes.

While compelling, our experimental findings face a few limitations. In particular, we do not have the ability with these data to assess the duration of the priming effect. Research on campaign advertising has found that the persua-

---

Note: Bars indicate difference between percentage who agree with each Latino stereotype for respondents exposed to the negative prime and percentage who agree for respondents exposed to the positive prime.

**Fig. 10. Association of Latinos with “Illegal Immigrants” across Experimental Conditions**

We also see, however, the power of positive primes to decrease belief in negative stereotypes about Latinos. Less than half of those in each positively primed group agreed with negative stereotypes.

Finally, we tested how much respondents associated Latinos with undocumented immigrants across experimental conditions. Figure 10 shows that, regardless of positive priming, either a plurality or a majority of respondents still cling to the belief that most Latinos are “illegal” immigrants. The negative primes, particularly the TV news and entertainment treatments, had a sizable effect. It may be that the “illegal” narrative has been so deeply engrained in the popular discourse about Latino immigrants that it would take significantly more exposure to positive primes to disabuse respondents of this characterization of Latino immigrants. Our findings highlight the importance of positive depictions of Latinos and immigrants in the media, especially the press, in decreasing belief in negative stereotypes and increasing belief in positive stereotypes.

While compelling, our experimental findings face a few limitations. In particular, we do not have the ability with these data to assess the duration of the priming effect. Research on campaign advertising has found that the persua-

sive effects of advertisements decay quickly after exposure.\textsuperscript{26} Two important differences exist between these primes and campaign advertising, however. First, individuals tend to minimize cognitive dissonance by avoiding exposure to ideologically conflicting messages, constructing “echo chambers.”\textsuperscript{27} Thus, we expect that respondents would tend to minimize their contact with conflicting stories and images of Latinos and immigrants. Second, as noted above, Latinos and immigrants in the United States have traditionally been portrayed negatively by political and media elites, limiting audience’s exposure to positive frames. Media, then, has helped to create and maintain the stereotypes through which Americans evaluate Latinos and immigrants.

\section*{Conclusion}

This chapter highlights the role that stereotypes play in common perceptions of Latinos and immigrants and the role that the media play in crafting attitudes and opinions about the fastest growing segment of the population. More specifically, we have leveraged two unique datasets to examine public attitudes about Latinos and immigrants and the effect of media in shaping those attitudes. We found that respondents held a variety of contrasting positive and negative stereotypes about Latinos and immigrants and that their belief in these stereotypes, as well as their general attitudes towards Latinos, were correlated with their media choices. In particular, those who consume and trust conservative media are more likely to agree with negative stereotypes and hold less favorable views about Latinos and immigrants while those who consume and trust liberal media are slightly more likely to reject those negative stereotypes and hold more favorable views of Latinos and immigrants.

While the observational data allowed us to establish correlations between media consumption and attitudes, we were unable to determine the causal effects of positive and negative primes on attitudes. Our experimental data, however, offered some insight into the power of positive and negative primes across a variety of media sources. In particular, we found that different forms of media can increase or decrease agreement with both positive and negative stereotypes about Latinos. In particular, authoritative sources, like television news, had the largest effects.


References

Print Sources


Internet sources


Abstract
Tyler Reny is a Ph.D. student in the department of Political Science at University of California, Los Angeles and his research focuses on issues related to immigration, minority representation, campaigns, and public opinion. Specifically, his research examines how and why candidates use anti-immigrant or pro-immigrant campaign appeals when running for office, and how voters respond. He was formerly a research associate to the New Americans Leaders Project which helped recruit, train and promote more immigrants into public office and elected positions.

Sylvia Manzano, Ph.D., is a Principal at the polling and research firm Latino Decisions, and was the lead researcher on the project “The Impact of Media Stereotypes on Opinions and Attitudes Towards Latinos” in partnership with the National Hispanic Media Coalition. Manzano holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Arizona and is a leading expert on Latino public opinion, electoral behavior and immigration policy reform. Manzano has published numerous academic journal articles and book chapters on Latino political and civic engagement and has been widely quoted in the press as an expert on Latino voting patterns.