

Is it Really Representation? A Qualitative Analysis of Asian and Latino Characterizations in Broadcast Television

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ABSTRACT: In this study, the ideological implications of racial stereotypes and cultural representation in minority-focused broadcast television shows, *Fresh off the Boat* and *Jane the Virgin*, are analyzed. Many racial-ethnic stereotypes about Asians and Latinos are activated and perpetuated by television, but very few studies investigate mainstream broadcast shows that are specifically centered around minority characters and their role in promoting negative stereotypes. This study applied a content analysis analyzing *Fresh off the Boat* and *Jane the Virgin*. Results demonstrate that each television show depicts negative non-white racial-ethnic stereotypes and white characters represent the largest portion of actors depicted. However, each show adequately represents minority-based cultural representation and events.

Keywords: Asian Americans, Latinos, Television, Social Identity, Media Representation, Stereotypes

Introduction

“[Television] shows set in diverse cities like New York and Los Angeles should not be completely white, but according to TV, they are.” - Nancy Wang Yuen, author *Reel Inequality: Hollywood Actors and Racism*.

Media research has shown that Asians and Latinos are grossly underrepresented in television compared to their U.S. demographics, and when they are seen on television, portrayals are typically negative (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Roman, 2000; Sun, Liberman, Butler, Lee, & Webb, 2015; Zhang, 2010). These depictions are potentially problematic as they may affect minority group’s self-esteem, mental well-being, and contact with outgroup members (Ortiz & Behm-Morawitz, 2015; Shih, 1989; Zhang, 2010). Despite this, the past decade has shown an uptick in broadcast programming featuring predominately Asian and Latino casts, including ABC’s *Dr. Ken* (2015-2017), *Fresh off the Boat* (2015-), *Ugly Betty* (2006-2010), and CW’s *Jane the Virgin* (2014-).

Although the momentum of minority orientated television programming within mainstream network television is promising, the notion of quantity versus quality with regard to character portrayals deserves attention.

Documenting shifts in the portrayal of racial minorities on broadcast television serves several goals. First, identifying if and how minority based television programs represent U.S. ethnic minorities is important, as this sheds light on diverse representation that is lacking within the media landscape (Mastro, Figueroa-Caballero, & Sink, 2016; Mastro & Stamps, in-press). Second, examining the role of minority based television in reproducing and reinforcing stereotypes of non-white racial-ethnic groups is also significant, considering the potential effects regarding those same audiences’ perception of identity and well-being (Abrams, 2010; Abrams & Giles, 2009). To this end, the present study seeks to (1) explore the representation of Asian and Latino characters in *Fresh off the Boat* and *Jane the Virgin*; (2) identify, if any, negative stereotypes exist of Asians and Latinos in *Fresh off the*

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Boat and Jane the Virgin; and (3) provide scholars interested in media portrayals of minorities insight regarding stereotypical character depictions and issues concerning the reinforcement of stigmas in minority based broadcast television.

Asians in U.S. Television

Asian Americans represent the fastest growing racial-ethnic group in the U.S. (Zhang, 2010). According to the United States (U.S.) Census (2008), the Asian population in the U.S. is projected to increase to 9% by 2050. However, on television Asians only constitute between 1%-3%, compared with their 5% demographic representation in the U.S. (Mastro, et. al, 2016; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). In addition, Asians remain nearly invisible on television screens as only one percent are opening credit characters (Children Now, 2004), and when Asians are present on screen they are often misrepresented through negative stereotypes (Zhang, 2010).

Asians, when portrayed in broadcast television, are usually presented as a homogeneous group, ignoring any specific cultural, language, or social attributes (Mastro, et al, 2016). This depiction in U.S. television erases the specific cultural and ethnic identities that exist among Asian populations, including those of Korean, Japanese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and countless other Asian cultural identities. Many Asian racial-ethnic stereotypes, while one-dimensional, are perpetuated through television, with one of the most prominent Asian stereotypes being the “model minority” (Lee & Joo, 2005; Mastro, et al, 2016; Suzuki, 1989; Zhang, 2010). This stereotype aims to explain the success of Asians while also situating Asians from other non-white racial-ethnic groups; defining Asians as achieving the “American dream” without receiving government support, while accomplishing financial success, tech-savviness, and academic achievements (Sun et al, 2015). Scholars have recognized that this stereotype is problematic as it pits non-white racial-ethnic groups against one another, erases the diversity of Asians in the U.S., and potentially distracts and delegitimizes the work of Asians dismantling racial discrimination and social injustice (Suzuki, 1989; Zhang, 2010). In addition to the “model minority” stereotype, Asians are also portrayed in television as nerdy, socially

awkward, and overly scientific (Sun, 2003). Asians are also represented in entertainment programs as inassimilable foreigners who speak inaudible English and lack “normative” (i.e., American) social skills (Park, Gabbadon, & Chernin, 2006). Likewise, there are stereotypical portrayals of Asians that are specifically targeted towards gendered individuals within the Asian American community (Zhang, 2010).

Asian men are portrayed in television as effeminate, isolated, asexual and as of late, either “kung-fu” masters or cunning villains (Zhang, 2010). These depictions have been called into question as they continually undermine Asian male sexuality and masculinity (Sun et. al, 2015). Whether audiences are viewing Ken Jeong’s character, Leslie Chow in *The Hangover*, or watching a non-descriptive Asian tech-savvy computer programmer (insert your favorite crime procedural television show), the emasculation of Asian men is present in television portrayals. Lastly, it is also rare to witness mixed racial-ethnic romance among Asian men in broadcast media; this may be due to the reinforcement of desexualizing of Asian men, specifically placating to European American masculine hegemony (Sun, et al, 2015). Similarly, women are stereotyped in a negative manner in television; however, their portrayals skew towards the opposite direction as Asian women characters are often hypersexualized as the “Lotus Blossom” or the “Dragon Lady” (Park, et al, 2006; Sun, et al, 2015). According to Tajima (1989), the “Lotus Blossom” is excessively feminine, docile and delicate, and the “Dragon Lady” is seductive and cunning. Both stigmas perpetuate stereotypes that are positioned to fulfill the fantasies of Western American men (Tajima, 1989). Overall, Asians in U.S. television have not witnessed a significant positive shift in negative stereotypical portrayals (Sun, et al, 2015).

Latinos in U.S. Television

Latinos constitute the largest non-white racial-ethnic group in the U.S., roughly representing 16 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. Census, 2010). However, Latinos remain dramatically underrepresented in broadcast media compared to their U.S. demographics, as research shows that Latinos comprise less than 2% of primetime television characters in

U.S. mainstream television (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro, et al, 2016; Mastro & Sink, 2016). Although past literature has identified that media representation focuses on historically situated stereotypes for Asians, this is not true for Latino stereotypes, while still very much an issue, these portrayals lean towards negative caricatures (Brooks & Hébert, 2006). Also, stereotypes have consistently homogenized Latinos, erasing specific cultural identities such as those of Cuban, Mexican, Central American, or Puerto Rican descent (Roman, 2000).

The representation of Latinos in broadcast television is abysmally low considering their demographics within the U.S.; however, the varied troublesome stereotypes that exist are numerous (Brooks & Hébert, 2006; Roman, 2000). One stereotype, similar to Asians, that exist across the gender spectrum include the inassimilable foreigner with a heavy inaudible accent; likewise, these individuals are portrayed as undocumented threats or as “illegal aliens” (Roman, 2000). Within broadcast programs the characters’ accents are used for comic relief (e.g., Sofia Vergara in ABC’s *Modern Family*) or their citizenship status is a storyline (e.g., Iyona Coll in CW’s *Jane the Virgin*). Additional non-gender specific stereotypes that exist concerning Latino television characters include the snazzy entertainer (Roman, 2000), the comic or buffoon, who has a heavy accent and lacks intelligence (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005), and the blue-collar worker in a low-status position, who also lacks education (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008). These are a few depictions as additional Latino stereotypes exist that are specifically aligned with gendered characters.

Latino men are often portrayed as “macho men,” gangsters, drug cartel members, and “Latin Lovers” (Berg, 1990; Roman, 2000). “Macho men” are typically characterized as self-identified straight men displaying machismo, which includes sexist, homophobic, and chauvinistic traits; likewise, the “Latin Lover” is seductive, sensual, sexually aggressive and dangerous (Berg, 1990; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Latinas face numerous stereotypes including the hypersexual spitfire (Guzmán & Valdivia, 2004), the harlot (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz,

2005), the “dark lady,” who is mysterious, virginal, and aloof regarding Anglo male seduction (Berg, 1990), and the tacky and overly emotional mess (e.g., Ana Ortiz in ABC’s *Ugly Betty*; Brooks & Hébert, 2006). By and large, Latino stereotypes in television have not changed over time, as these stereotypes are repetitive variations which demonize an entire racial ethnic group (Berg, 1990). These portrayals have external effects including policy implications such as immigration, as well as internal effects including distorting one’s self image and self-esteem (Roman, 2000).

The “other,” (i.e., Asians and Latinos) stereotype within media portrayals is always compared to and pitted against normalcy as portrayed by Western standards (Brooks & Hébert, 2006). Likewise, the construction of race creates hierarchies among all racial-ethnic groups and reinforces the narrative that non-whites are considered outliers (Roman, 2000). The role of television in presenting and reinforcing stereotypes is not a new phenomenon. However, broadcast television shows specifically centered around non-white racial-ethnic groups, which are lauded for ushering in a golden-age of diversity, deserve additional attention regarding their role in portraying non-white characters (D’Alessandro & Ramos, 2017). Television shows such as *Fresh off the Boat* and *Jane the Virgin*, both of which are centered around Asian and Latino characters, respectively, warrant a closer look regarding each show’s role in representing non-white racial-ethnic groups and each shows’ role in perpetuating (or dismantling) stereotypes.

Theoretical Framework

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajel & Turner, 1986) suggests that individuals experience collective identity based on their membership in a group, including racial/ethnic identities. SIT and media representation work in tandem, particularly regarding race representation in television as audiences experience collective identity via mediated messages (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). To maintain a positive social identity, individuals engage in intergroup comparisons that demonstrate a favorable bias toward their in-group (Ramasubramanian & Murphy, 2014). One central component of SIT is that individuals demonstrate an

emotional tie and place value towards their group membership, and no matter the size of the group, their membership dictates what an individual should believe and how they should behave (Hogg, 2016). Another contribution of SIT is that identity is acknowledged, and this characteristic differentiates one group from another; likewise, those differences create hierarchy, judgements, discrimination, and prejudice within and among groups and individuals (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010). Group identity is also significant for non-white group members as research demonstrates that these group members prefer television content with predominately non-white racial casts (Fujioka, 2005). Considering this, media images may become part of the ongoing negotiation of identity and social standing as these images support and reinforce group-based characteristics (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005).

It is expected that media portrayals play an important role in identity processing. Stereotypes and cultural representation presented in entertainment media may dictate expected treatment among racial-ethnic groups and thus, socializes racial-ethnic individuals regarding their social standing in U.S. society (Berg, 1990). Likewise, the quality of portrayals and the nature of those interactions among minority characters in media portrayals are significant as they may reinforce normative behaviors and acceptable interactions between group members (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). Considering this, an analysis of broadcast television programming focused on minority characters is timely in understanding how minority identity is created and reinforced within these mainstream programs. Additionally, positive or negative portrayals may provide salient attributes among minority viewers regarding how they view themselves.

Media Stereotyping

Scholars have observed that within the U.S. there exists an uncertainty among individuals regarding who and what they are (Hogg, 2016). Among individuals, there is a resounding attempt to address this frustration using markers and myths to define themselves and others, potentially creating “outsiders” within society (Roman, 2000). Those markers and myths, also known as stereotypes, indicate a basic cognitive process by which people make

sense of their world, referencing group characteristics and attributes (Berg, 1990; Tan, Fujioka, & Lucht, 1997). Lippmann (1941) introduced the term stereotyping, defined as ‘pictures in our heads.’ The process of stereotyping takes form in three parts: the concrete action that serves as the basis for the stereotype, the picture, or constructed stereotype, and finally the human response to that action that has been implanted (Lippmann, 1941). It is equally important to note that all individuals stereotype and that stereotyping is not necessarily problematic. However, how individuals view stereotypes, the systemic way individuals are conditioned to react to stereotypes, and the impact that stereotyping may have on intergroup contact is important.

The process of stereotyping regarding racial-ethnic groups deserves specific consideration as stereotypes create a narrative that supports racial hierarchies and a distorted historical depiction of racialized people and their cultures (Roman, 2000). Stereotypes have the potential to create biases which may be shared and embraced as truth among audiences (Brooks & Hébert, 2006). When direct contact is lacking, audiences may use media depictions to gather information about racial groups and if those images reproduce negative stereotypes, distorted self-perceptions and group conflict may occur (Fujioka, 1999). Research has shown that when negative stereotypes of minority groups are shown in media, those portrayals create biases and prejudices that may be assigned to an entire racial group (Tan, Fujioka, & Lucht, 1997). The use of these stereotypes potentially erases the lived experiences and cultural representations of minorities as society may simply accept the groups’ attributes portrayed on television with little recognition of the stereotypes’ falsehoods (Berg, 1990; Fujioka, 1999; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Roman, 2000; Sun et al, 2015).

The Current Study

This study analyzes mainstream broadcast media’s portrayals of minority characters, specifically within minority based television shows, and as such, is considered exploratory research aiming to seek answers rather than predict relationships (Tyree, 2011). This study serves a dual purpose. First, to discover significant attributes regarding racial

and cultural representation within mainstream minority television programming. Second, to lay the groundwork for systematic and empirical testing using mainstream minority programming and potential media effects regarding minority audiences. Social identity theory suggests that individuals seek out representation that mirrors their racial-ethnic make-up, is aligned with their lived experiences, and that reinforces normative behaviors and healthy interactions among group members. To that end, we seek to understand if Fresh off the Boat and Jane the Virgin represent Asian and Latino audiences in a novel way compared to past negative stereotypical portrayals of both racial-ethnic groups in broadcast television. This research seeks to answer the following question(s):

RQ1: Are Asian characters the largest representation of racial-ethnic groups portrayed in Fresh off the Boat?

RQ2: Is Asian cultural representation present in the broadcast show Fresh off the Boat?

RQ3: What, if any, negative stereotypes of Asians are represented in Fresh off the Boat?

Research also demonstrates that Latinos, in addition to Asians, are underrepresented in broadcast television and have numerous negative stereotypes attributed to them in television programming (Berg, 1990; Mastro, et al, 2016; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Roman, 2000). Considering this, we also present a series of research questions addressing the CW television show, Jane the Virgin:

RQ4: Are Latino characters the largest representation of racial-ethnic groups portrayed in Jane the Virgin?

RQ5: Is Latino cultural representation present in the broadcast show Jane the Virgin?

RQ6: What, if any, negative stereotypes of Latinos are represented in Jane the Virgin?

Method

Sample

A qualitative content analysis of episodes from two television shows, CW's Jane the Virgin and ABC's Fresh Off the Boat, was conducted. The television shows, Jane the Virgin and Fresh off the Boat, were chosen because they focus primarily on Latino and Asian characters, respectively, living in the United States. Jane the Virgin, created by Jennie Snyder Urman, premiered on October 13, 2014. Jane the Virgin is an American adaptation of a telenovela, Juana la virgen. Fresh off the Boat, created by Nahnatchka Khan, premiered on February 4, 2015 and is loosely based on Eddie Huang and his family's life as Taiwanese immigrants recently relocated to the United States during the 1990s.

Analyzing content is significant as content simultaneously represents the social and mental works that audiences not only witness, but that may also potentially impact their interactions outside of mediated context (Tyree, 2011). Potter (1996) noted that qualitative analysis allows researchers to examine text, specifically television content, as these products produce meaningful messages representing a facet of society. Our goal in this study is to analyze the content and function of the messages presented and demonstrate what they represent regarding minority portrayals. Communication researchers commonly use analysis to describe and interpret the characteristics of messages to demonstrate its significance in a larger societal context (Berger, 2015).

Six episodes from Jane the Virgin and Fresh off the Boat were randomly selected using a random number generator (random.org). To select specific episodes the software program used the minimum and maximum number of episodes possible, 1 to 64 for Jane the Virgin and 1 to 60 for Fresh off the Boat, which produced a random number that corresponded to a specific episode. Ten percent of shows were used, totaling 12 episodes. This process aided in removing any bias in episode selection.

Coding and Variables

Two coders conducted the analysis of the data used for this study. Coders were given written rules and procedures to enhance reliability and in addition, coders took part in three, one-hour training sessions (Taylor & Stern, 1997). Coders were given a codebook containing operational definitions of each variable. The items calculated were the percentage of Asian, Latino, black, and white characters, the cultural representations presented during the episodes, and a list of racial ethnic stereotypes portrayed. Only characters with speaking roles were coded for this study. Coders were allowed to pause and replay selected episodes as many times as necessary to complete the coding process. Below are the following variables used in the coding for this qualitative content analysis.

Race. Each character was coded for the following racial identities in both shows: white, Latino, including Spanish speaking cultures and ethnicities (e.g., Mexican, Peruvian, Puerto-Rican, etc.), Asian, including all cultures and ethnicities of South Asian and Asian descent (e.g., Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Taiwanese, etc.), and black. All other races, ethnic groups, and international characters were reported as “other” as their portrayals within the sample were infrequent.

Cultural Representation. Themes identified as ethnic/cultural representation, either acknowledged by, or depicted in the episode, were coded. For example, if characters in Fresh Off the Boat celebrated Lunar New Year, which is a celebration of the start of a new year, specifically within Asian culture, that depiction was coded. The research team identified what constituted Asian, Latino, and U.S. mainstream traditions by outlining events on the American/U.S. calendar and via in-group discussion.

Negative Ethnic Stereotypes. The researchers and coders generated a list of negative stereotypes associated with Asians and Latinos in entertainment media (see Table 1). This list was generated from past research and from discussions among the research team with self-identified Asian American and Latino researchers. Coders listed any negative ethnic stereotype that was portrayed during the selected episodes used for this study.

Results

Fresh off the Boat

Racial representation. One-hundred twenty-eight minutes in total were coded for this study. One-hundred characters with speaking roles were identified throughout the 128 minutes of Fresh off the Boat. Despite the fact that Fresh Off the Boat is centered on the life of an Asian family, results demonstrated that only 36% (N = 36) of characters were identified as Asian, 54% (N = 54) were identified as white, 2% (N = 2) were identified as Latino, 2% (N = 2) were identified as black, and 6% (N = 6) were identified as other. In reference to first research question, results demonstrate that Asians are not the majority racial-ethnic characters portrayed in Fresh off the Boat.

Cultural representation. Although whites held the majority of the percentage of character portrayals, mainstream American cultural traditions were shown less than Asian cultural traditions. Within the six episodes, twelve cultural representations of Asian culture and mainstream American traditions were coded. Asian cultural representation was approximately 67% (N = 8), while mainstream American traditions was approximately 33% (N = 4). Examples of Asian culture included: Lunar New Year, speaking in native Chinese language, and portrayals of Buddhist traditions. An example of American culture that was coded included celebrating President’s Day. Our second research question was supported as the majority of cultural depictions in Fresh off the Boat were aligned with Asian culture.

Negative Ethnic Stereotypes. Coders reported four negative ethnic stereotypes depicted in the sample episodes of Fresh off the Boat. These negative stereotypes included the “model minority”, “tiger mom”, “nerdy Asian”, and the “bewildered immigrant.” In reference to our third research question, it was confirmed from the sample of episodes analyzed, that four of the identified negative stereotypes referenced from past literature were depicted in Fresh off the Boat.

Jane the Virgin

Racial representation. Two-hundred, fifty-one minutes in total of Jane the Virgin was coded for this study. Although only six episodes were

Table 1

Asian and Latino/a Media Stereotypes and Stigmas

Racial Ethnic Group	Stereotype and Stigmas
Asians; Asian Americans; Asian Pacific Islanders	<p>Model Minority (Lee & Joo, 2005; Suzuki, 1989; Zhang, 2010)</p> <p>Nerdy and Socially Awkward (Sun, 2003)</p> <p>Overly Scientific (Sun, 2003)</p> <p>Inassimilable Foreigners (Park, Gabbadon, & Chernin, 2006)</p> <p>Kung-Fu Masters and Cunning Villains (Zhang, 2010)</p> <p>Non-Sexual (i.e., Asian Males; Sun et. al, 2015)</p> <p>Lotus Blossom (Park, et. al, 2006; Sun, et. al, 2015; Tajima, 1989)</p> <p>Dragon Lady (Park, et. al, 2006; Sun, et. al, 2015; Tajima, 1989)</p> <p>Tiger Mom (Stamps & Chang, in-press)</p> <p>Working with Technology (Abrams, 2010; Mastro & Stern, 2003)</p> <p>Absent in Family and Domestic Settings (Asian American Justice Center, 2008)</p> <p>Portrayed as “hard work, no fun” (Paek & Shah, 2003)</p>
Latinos/as; Chicanos/as; Latin Americans	<p>Inassimilable Foreigners (Roman, 2000)</p> <p>Illegal Aliens (Roman, 2000)</p> <p>Snazzy Entertainer (Roman, 2000)</p> <p>The Comic or Buffoon (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005)</p> <p>Blue-Collar, Low-Status Employer (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008)</p> <p>“Macho Men” (i.e., Latino Men; Berg, 1990; Roman, 2000)</p> <p>Gangsters and Drug Cartel (Berg, 1990; Roman, 2000)</p> <p>“Latin Lovers” (Latino Men; Berg, 1990; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Roman, 2000)</p> <p>Hypersexual Spitfire (e.g., Latina Women; Guzmán & <i>Valdivia</i>, 2004)</p> <p>The Harlot (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005)</p> <p>The “Dark Lady” (Berg, 1990)</p> <p>The Tacky and Overly Emotional Mess (<i>Brooks & Hébert</i>, 2006)</p>

coded, *Jane the Virgin* is an hour-long TV show, resulting in an average of 44 minutes per episode (versus 22 minutes for *Fresh off the*

Boat). One-hundred, forty-four characters with speaking roles were identified throughout the 251 minutes of the show. *Jane the Virgin*,

similar to *Fresh off the Boat* is centered around the life of an underrepresented, racial-ethnic family, for this show, Latinos. Results demonstrated that 42% (N = 61) of characters were identified as of Latino descent, 51% (N = 74) were identified as white, .03% (N = 4) were identified as black, and .03% (N = 5) were identified as other; there were no characters identified as Asian in the sample of shows analyzed. In addressing our fourth research question, whites, similar to *Fresh off the Boat*, were the majority racial-ethnic group represented in character portrayals on *Jane the Virgin* and Latinos, as the centered, non-white racial ethnic group, was not as prominent.

Cultural representation. Although Caucasians held majority of the percentage of character portrayals, similar to *Fresh off the Boat*, mainstream American cultural traditions were shown less than non-American cultural traditions. Within the six episodes coded, ten cultural representations were coded. Latino cultural representation made up approximately 60% (N = 6), while mainstream American representations made up approximately 40% (N = 4). Examples of cultural representations of Latino culture in the U.S. included: topics surrounding immigration, green cards, and speaking in native Spanish language. An example of American culture that were coded included depictions of American football. Research question 5 was supported as Latino cultural representation was present in the broadcast show *Jane the Virgin*.

Negative Ethnic Stereotypes. Coders reported three negative ethnic stereotypes depicted in the sample episodes of *Jane the Virgin*. These negative stereotypes included the “sultry Latina vixen”, “the snazzy entertainer”, and the “bewildered immigrant.” In addition, a stereotype depicting multi-generational young, unwed mothers are prevalent throughout the episodes analyzed. In reference to our sixth research question, results confirm several of the identified stereotypes referenced from past literature regarding Latinos were present in *Jane the Virgin*.

Discussion

Fresh off the Boat and *Jane the Virgin* are racially-representative television shows, showcasing Asian and Latino groups while also showcasing Asian and Latino culturally

representative events. Although each show is centered on the lived experiences of non-white characters, both programs depicted larger numbers of white characters over non-white, racially-ethnic characters. Similarly, negative stereotypes of each non-white racial-ethnic group continue to pervade both shows, demonstrating a trend that warrants ongoing observation.

More importantly, the results show that minority-based broadcast television programming has not veered from historical broadcast programming in its stereotypical depictions of non-white, racial-ethnic groups. This can be attributed to several reasons. First, media in the U.S. serves as a cultural tool that educates individuals on how to survive and succeed in Western dominant culture and these messages may be centered around assimilating to mainstream (i.e., white) social norms and groups (Kellner, 2003). Likewise, Lull (2011) states that multiple media platforms, including broadcast television, play a crucial hegemonic role in supporting the status quo and reinforcing the superiority of cultural and social elites over groups who are considered subordinates. The use of negative stereotypes in broadcast media can be attributed to these arguments as both shows perpetuate a history that has used media to reiterate social norms, prioritize certain racial groups over others, and stigmatize individuals whose behaviors and attributes are not aligned with dominant ideologies (Roman, 2000).

Roman (2000) describes the use of stereotyping non-white racial-ethnic groups in media as a tactic in perpetuating ‘otherness’ among social groups in society. The creation and reinforcement of ‘otherness’ may lead to legal and political implications, as well as discriminatory practices that directly affect stereotyped individuals (Goffman, 2009). Also, the creation of ‘otherness’ through media stereotypes positions social groups as outsiders, potentially creating additional barriers, social stigmas, and complications that non-white racial-ethnic groups have to manage (Roman, 2000). These stigmas, according to Roman (2000), include being viewed as inferior, being identified as the enemy among societal members, and potentially being silenced or marginalized concerning racial and social justice issues. These implications are actualized

in U.S. society through immigrants' path to U.S. citizenship and the challenge to affirmative action programs in higher education and occupational sectors. The role of media stereotyping and its implications may be far reaching and should continue to be explored regarding potential societal issues and effects on audiences.

One last obstacle that should be addressed in understanding the portrayals of racial-ethnic groups in television is the role of media content creators. Media content can be influenced by organizational cultures, including the racial make-up of the workplace, production atmosphere, and the values of the stakeholders (Tukachinsky, 2015). Media content is influenced by producers, writers, and the media organizations that oversee the shows' creation. Whether television programs feature majority non-white casts or are created around a non-white character, white males are consistently overrepresented in executive positions in mainstream media industries (Tukachinsky, 2015). Considering this, white-centered norms may be internalized, resulting in the articulation of messages and stereotypes that marginalize non-white individuals (Storman, 2001).

Limitations and Future Research

Within this study our sample included only two minority focused broadcast television programs. Moving forward, the addition of episodes from other television programs including those from cable networks, streaming services such as Netflix and Hulu, or pay channels such as HBO, would potentially present a more detailed picture of racial-ethnic representation and the potential shifts of Asian and Latino stereotypes on television. Future research should also increase descriptive

measures about characters including occupation, age, and socioeconomic status. Lastly, it would be noteworthy to assess how these images impact viewers' perception and explore if those who view shows of this nature are potentially affected.

Conclusion

Prior research has repeatedly demonstrated that Asians and Latinos are nearly invisible on broadcast television (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Mastro, & Stamps, in-press). Unfortunately, progress in the past two decades has moved at a stagnant pace as Asians and Latinos are underrepresented or tokenized in primetime line-ups across broadcast networks (Hardwood & Anderson, 2002; Signorielli, 2009). Considering this, should Asian and Latino audiences simply be satisfied with television programming such as *Fresh off the Boat* and *Jane the Virgin* that attempt to reflect their lived experiences? This research argues that quality over quantity should be valued regarding media representation of underrepresented characters. The goal of this research was to examine and acknowledge mainstream broadcast television programs centered on Asian and Latino experiences, but also thoroughly investigate the role of each show in potentially reinforcing similar patterns of stereotyping and decentralizing non-white racial-ethnic voices and characters in broadcast television. In short, both *Fresh off the Boat* and *Jane the Virgin* do not adequately reflect a shift in equitable racial representation and both shows perpetuate negative stereotypes of Asians and Latinos. Moving forward, a holistic approach regarding storytelling, appropriate representation, and authentic inclusion in television programs may benefit underrepresented audiences and society as a whole.

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