

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Alfred University

Hot, Sexy, and Stereotyped:
The Relationship Between Latina Representations on TV and Their Audiences

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
The Alfred University Honors Program

May 5, 2016

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Introduction

I come from a family of strong women. My Puerto Rican grandma, Abuela,¹ earned the respectful title Doña Ana from the family by helping to raise several of the twelve siblings her mother had after her, and later earning her master's at age 50 after staying at home to raise four boys of her own. If I really think about it, she ultimately does fit into the Latina stereotype that is now on television. She is loud, quick tempered, and independent. In her prime, she was a force to be reckoned with. She is the one we would go to church with on Sundays when we were younger. She is super witty, and her humor has a sharp bite to it. The older I become, the more I realize how comfortable she is with her sexuality and the affection she has for my grandfather. But I also see the ways in which she eludes the stereotype. She is well educated for one thing, and she had exceptional leadership skills. She combated social injustice by encouraging Latinxs² to be a part of their children's education, and made herself and fellow Latinxs visible in a space they were being pushed out of by other parents and educators in the community. Because she was feisty, she did not allow herself to be pushed into the background. I see the way the feisty Latinas on television get shut down by those around them or simply ignored. Abuela wouldn't have it. These leadership qualities are the things I value the most about her.

My Haitian mother is the most respected member of her family even as the youngest of six. She came to this country at age 13, put (almost) two daughters through college, and owns her own business, without a college degree. As a Caribbean woman, there is overlap between her ethnic culture and that of Latinas. Growing up, I remember her bright colored outfits and the way

¹ "*abuela*" is the Spanish word for "grandma"

² "Latinx" is the gender neutral term for a group of mixed Latinos and Latinas. Furthermore, this study focuses mostly on cisgender, heteronormative perspectives, as these are the most prevalent on television, and little supportive research has been done on transgender or queer Latinxs.

she brought life to family parties. She has the curves, and she loves to dance. She was a stay-at-home mother for a couple of years to raise my sister and me, and even when she went back to work, she always had dinner on the stove or the table, waiting for my dad to get home. Her accent makes her stand out as “other” and “foreign” in public spaces. In fact, she’s often mistaken for being Latina, though her first language is French³. This erasure of her culture by people outside of the family ties in to the idea of tropicalism⁴. Her looks and accent are the stereotypical Latina qualities she has, and yet I don’t feel that she truly fits that mold, either. She is compassionate and well-traveled, and she makes funny jokes but isn’t the comic-relief. I wouldn’t classify her as loud or quick-tempered, but I certainly don’t want to make her angry. I value her charisma, and her presence, and her graciousness.

These women in my family tread that line between fitting the stereotype, and not, and I think that kind of “well roundedness” is what I admire most about them. They can be these attractive, outspoken women of color, but also be smart and be taken seriously by the people around them. Of course the success of both of these women is due in part, to supportive, working husbands, but they are the true role models of women in my life.

Because I had such positive representations of women of color in my life as I grew up, I never had to rely on television to show me representations of women “like me.” But when I took a Communication Studies course on media representations my sophomore year, I realized even if I had been looking for these positive portrayals on TV, I wasn’t going to find them. I grew up being inspired by the women in shows like *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, and *Gilmore Girls*. These

³ Language is an extremely important part of culture to me. Neither parent passed on their languages because we spoke the common language in the household English. Because, I grew up with my Puerto Rican grandparents nearby, which is why the emphasis was to learn Spanish first, and why I don’t speak French.

⁴ Tropicalism is a specific look of Latinas that perpetuates the erasure of culture between the different Latin countries

women were petite and fair skinned; Buffy was blonde and Rory had blue eyes. Neither had a stable, present father, though they had father-like figures. They lived in financially stable, middle class homes, where their cultures never really came through. Clearly they were white, but I couldn't tell you if they were of German, Irish, or Italian descent, etc. Perhaps it's even more telling of the lack of representations of strong women that one show involved the supernatural; therefore, they could never actually happen. What's also true for these shows was a severe lack of diversity. Rory lived in a quaint Connecticut town, with the only Latina being Gypsy, the town mechanic. But Buffy was set somewhere in California, a state with a large Latinx population, and they were nearly invisible.

I contrasted this media portrayal with my upbringing, and at first, I couldn't believe how stark opposite they were. But then I realized the same adjectives applied. Like the women in my life, these TV characters are attractive, outspoken, and taken seriously. Rory from *Gilmore Girls* is well-read and ambitious. The show revolves around her relationship with her mother first and foremost, but it also follows Rory's pursuit of education at the Ivy League level, and her mother Lorelai's pursuit of her dream to run a successful business. Buffy from *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is witty and tough. She is extremely independent as she takes on the grand task of saving the world. She is fiery because she doesn't put up with any nonsense, and she doesn't let being physically small and a girl get in the way of that. Acknowledgment of culture⁵ is the only component that is really lacking in these characters. These adjectives: ambitious, educated, witty, independent and tough, overlap with the qualities of the women in my family. Combined, these qualities have built me into the person I am today.

⁵ Here culture is specifically referring to race and ethnicity.

After considering my family sphere and my television sphere, I thought about my academic experience since I've come to college. I did not meet the Latina role model I was looking for outside of my family until I was three and half years through my college experience. That's how long it took to even have a prominent Latina on campus. Patricia Valoy came to visit this past spring semester. She was brought in by ELEAD under the Judson Leadership Center to speak about her experience as a woman in a male-dominated STEM field. For my internship I spent the day walking around with her and getting to know her. Aside from her physical appearance, which was curvy, brown haired, and brown eyed, I didn't find her to be stereotypical at all. None of the Latinas I'd seen on television were in the STEM field. I also realized she was acutely aware of her "double jeopardy" status as both a woman and a person of color in this particular field. She was definitely fiery, but it wasn't in a disrespectful way. One of the profound moments I had with her was when I asked her what she thought about the terms "Latinxs" or "Latin@s" in my research and whether or not the use of those terms would impact my credibility whether it be in American culture or Latinx culture. Her response was basically that it doesn't matter so long as I stick to my guns and understand why I'm using that kind of terminology. It was a moment where I realized that her opinion on that subject as a fellow Latina really mattered to me. It was the moment I realized I had been waiting so long for someone to "get it" in a way that the other role models I'd had in academia and on television just couldn't.

When I saw that Patricia Valoy possessed the same qualities I saw in my mom, and Abuela, it was easy for me to consider her a role model. I think the underlying component here that separates my family and Valoy from the television characters Buffy and Rory is cultural background, or race and ethnicity, and I think that comes from my individual experience. Yes, these television characters are in some ways oppressed on the basis of gender, but I think it takes

something else, something extra special that is ineffable, to be at the cross section of minority groups. Latinas have to exist in a space that is designated twice over as a space that is not for them. This double jeopardy creates an adjective that I don't yet have the name for, which encompasses their drive and spirit and grit.

Overall, seeing these three separate spheres made it clear that there aren't enough representations of Latinas in the spaces where I exist and the spaces I interact with such as the media. When this gaping absence became clear, I was left with this overwhelming need to know *why*? If people are looking to television to see familiar faces and relatable situations, then where was my story on the small screen? Now it's true that my mother doesn't identify as Latina – she is black – but it's also true in this country the conversation about race has become literally black and white. Half of my identity is a silenced minority that is finally shedding light on the silence brought on them by the majority of society. The other half, the Latina half, is a silenced minority that is struggling to even remain visible, despite its growing population.

In my own experience, I see myself adhering to those stereotypes and rejecting them, just like my role models. I'm aware of my sexuality, and I get fired up quickly, which then makes me loud. I'm told I'm funny. But for me, education is my driving force. I'm not particularly religious at this point in my lifetime. I've traveled to at least five different countries, and I am a self-declared feminist. I'm learning to communicate in such a way that will make me heard, and I like to be direct and assertive. At this point in my college career, where my hard work is paying off in award for academics and extracurricular activities, I recognize that as I continue on to my next level of education and ultimately my career, I want to be who Patricia Valoy was for me. I want to be a role model, or a representation for a young Latina out there, wondering if people like her can be successful. This desire, as well as the recognition that this representation is lacking, has

already been validated. Recently after I participated in a CLAS panel with Dr. Goodman during Accepted Students Day, a Latina and her Caribbean friend approached me at the Communication Studies table in the major fair. She wasn't interested in the major, but she said she had wanted to meet me and to tell me how proud she was of me and all my accomplishments. I had never met her before, but I realized in that moment we were creating a space for ourselves in this world. I gave her all the support and encouragement I could. I told her we successful Latinas, we are out there. I told her I know it's difficult when you can't see us, but she has to keep working hard. I told her even if she never sees one, to become that role model she wished she had, and be that role model for someone else.

My individual experience with this has opened my eyes to the duality of truth that exists in relating television to the real world, which relates to Scott's Epistemic approach.⁶ In other words, whatepistemic approach. What is true to me as a Latina is not what is being shared with the dominant audience about the Truth of Latinas. They are sharing a singular experience that is not an adequate representation of the whole. My background in Communication Studies has taught me how influential the media is, and how the audience internalizes what they learn from the media. The information, the perceptions from the media, become the audience's truth about the group being represented. This is a large problem for me, and I now know I'm not the only one. My people are more than just a sexy body and an object for a background. We are more than just maids with funny accents. We are more than the brown eyed, long brown haired beauties. We are individuals hailing from different countries in different generations. We are writers, doctors, mothers, teachers, lawyers, actresses. We can be humble single mothers, a

⁶ Scott's epistemic approach refers to a duality of truth in which big "T" Truth is more common, and little "t" truth is more of an individual experience. Further explained in Literature Review.

nuclear family in the suburbs, rich and decidedly unmarried, or any variation of that. We can even be lesbian!⁷ We can be anything we want to be. But Hollywood isn't quite writing our scripts this way yet. Which means not enough audience knows these truths about us yet.

This pilot study builds on two prior research papers for my Communication Studies major. The first focused on the stereotypes of Latinas on television. The second analyzed Gina Rodriguez as Jane using Scott's Epistemic approach. These research papers highlighted the main paradox of the Latina representations on television: The viewer expects the unrealistic generalized Hispanic culture to be portrayed on television, and Hispanics have to give in to those expectations if they want to be portrayed at all. For this new research, I will focus on four popular television shows and their main Latina characters: "Gabrielle" (Eva Longoria) from *Desperate Housewives*, "Betty" (America Ferrera) from *Ugly Betty*, "Gloria" (Sofia Vergara) from *Modern Family*, and "Jane" (Gina Rodriguez) from *Jane the Virgin*. The first section is the literature review, which explains the media studies frameworks that came together and defines the theories. The second section focuses on a panoramic view of the shows, including the type of show it is, the years they aired, the writers, producers, and directors, as well as the actresses playing these roles. My third section analyzes the methods and procedure, as well as the results of the survey I am issuing to test the recognition of stereotypes, learn the opinion the viewer has on the characters represented, and see how the viewer relates the representations to their idea of an actual Latina. I will be analyzing the same clips they are viewing that accompany the survey. I plan to focus on the women of these shows, and take a closer look at their visibility, physical appearance, and portrayals of their culture including the use of Spanish language, if any is present. The third part is relating all my findings back to theories and ideas from my prior

⁷ The tone here is facetious; as queer people of color are an even less represented group on television.

research, mainly Cultivation theory, Selective exposure theory, Latinidad and Scott's Epistemic approach. The main paradox of the Latina representations on television is this: The viewer expects the unrealistic generalized Hispanic culture to be portrayed on television, and Hispanics have to give in to those expectations if they want to be portrayed at all. My prediction is that even though respondents recognize and identify the stereotypical portrayals of Latinas, they still believe them to be realistic portrayals of Latinas.

To clarify, the stereotypes themselves are not the problem. The women in this study are described as sexy, fiery, and loud, and those adjectives exist in the context of the situations in which they present themselves. These three adjectives specifically carry negative connotations, put in place by society. But what do these adjectives really mean? That we associate beauty, spiritedness, high energy and outspokenness with Latinas is not a bad thing. However, the characters in the shows are not necessarily rewarded for or accepted because of these behaviors. When a Latina character is beautiful, a façade is created that she is being rewarded. Men look at her and are nicer to her; the camera angles literally take in every curve. The audience, our society, is conditioned to consider this attention a reward. We do not simply acknowledge her beauty and move on to her other redeeming qualities. Instead we dwell on, we fixate on it. This is a problem. When we call the character “fiery,” we are not considering what is being done to trigger such a heated reaction. This is a problem. When we call the character “loud” we are acknowledging the tone and sound of her voice, but not what she is actually saying⁸. This is a problem. These problems illustrate how the Latinas are represented in dismissive, objectifying and shallow ways. All these are problems that have inspired this research.

⁸ This is explained in depth in the “Shows” section of the research, with *Modern Family*.

Literature Review

Hot, Sexy and Stereotyped looks at the relationship between representations on television and the viewers internalizing these representations. Because this project in part studies the societal constructions that shape this relationship, and also studies how this is happening through the medium of television, this research is a fusion of sociological and media studies frameworks. The sociological approach provides background to the way society functions and categorizes people, particularly the Latina. The media studies approach focuses on the impact of television as a medium and how this medium affects those choosing to use it. In this research, Latino refers to Latin men, and Latina refers to Latin women. However, Latinx is the gender neutral term for a group of mixed Latinos and Latinas. These terms are used because they are self-designated terms for this racial/ethnic group, whereas the term “Hispanic,” due to it not being a self-designation (Dávila, 2001, p.15-16).⁹

The term stereotype often comes with negative connotations; however, they can be positive or negative. A stereotype is a “belief about a group of individuals,” whether it is generalized or simplified view, or a way of categorizing things – in this case, people – that is recognized by a wide variety of people (Kanahara, 2006). The most common Latina negative stereotypes include sexual availability, a loud attention-getting voice, and a fiery quick-tempered attitude (Merskin, 2007, p. 328). Further studies find additional stereotypes such as Latinas being religious and domesticated, and working in blue collar positions, most commonly as a maid. The stereotypical physical appearance is curvy, with tan skin, long dark hair and dark eyes (Merskin, 2007).

⁹ The term “Hispanic” was designated to the group by the U.S. government for the population census. (Dávila, 2001, p. 15-16)

These stereotypes regarding Latinas' attitudes and physical appearances become part of the perception the audience is developing in regards to Latinxs culture. While the word culture can be used in a variety of ways, when used in this study, it is specifically geared towards the traditions, ways of life, and associations with a particular racial or ethnic group unless designated otherwise (Birukou, Blanzieri, Giorgini & Giunchiglia, 2013).

Television influences the creation of stereotypes, particularly for underrepresented groups. These stereotypes of Latinas exist due in part to their general lack of representation on television. As of 2002, Latinxs constituted 12.5% of the population, but comprised of 1% to 3% of the population of primetime television in contrast to whites, who represent 69.1% of the population but 80.4% of television airtime (Behm-Morawitz, 2005, p.110, 125). A particular study called "The Latino Media Gap: A Report on the State of Latinos in U.S. Media" found despite the steady increase in Latinxs in the country, their lead roles and supporting roles on television are on the decline (Negrón-Muntaner, 2014, p.9). According to the U.S. Census, "Hispanics" are the largest growing minority group in the United States. This indirect relationship suggests that the problem of lack of representation is only going to get worse.

The generalization of Latinxs is a problem that keeps appearing in media. Though Latin America is comprised of twenty Spanish-speaking countries, the individuality of the countries is rarely emphasized. When referring to the idea of "Latinidad" it is the mainstream, hegemonic idea of being Latinx in contemporary U.S. culture, which includes the stereotypical portrayals of the Latinxs on television (Guzmán and Valdivia, 2004, p.205-206). Similarly, "tropicalism" refers specifically to the erasure of culture between the different Latin countries. "Gendered aspects of this trope of tropicalism include...the spitfire female Latina characterized by red-

colored lips, bright seductive clothing, curvaceous hips and breasts, long brunette hair, and extravagant jewelry” (Guzmán et al., 2004, p.211-212).

The Selective exposure theory finds that “viewers usually choose to watch content that is in line with their beliefs and values, and to do otherwise causes viewers to become uncomfortable” (Clark, Lepre & Luther, 2012, p. 91). This goes a step further when we consider the dynamics of race: “depictions of race on television are more favorably received when they accommodate white viewers’ ingroup norms” (Behm-Morawitz et al., 2005, p. 113). In other words, television is more inclined to show what is in line with white viewers’ beliefs and values because they are the majority group. Paradoxically, Latinx have to give in to the generalizations if they expect to be portrayed at all, and the viewer is being socialized by these generalizations of Latinx culture.

Cultivation theory “proposes that long-term exposure to television’s stable set of selective messages ultimately shifts viewers’ social perception towards the television version of reality, regardless of its accuracy (Behm-Morawitz et al., 2005, p. 111). This is based on the idea that television provides knowledge about the social world and is partially responsible for constructing culture; therefore, it is a primary socializing force in society (Behm-Morawitz et al., 2005, p. 112). This theory primarily supports my prediction that the audience respondents in my survey would identify the women as stereotypes, but ultimately contradict themselves and think the same women are also realistic portrayals.

Lastly in my prior research on *Jane the Virgin*, I found that Scott’s epistemic approach refers to his epistemic framework that suggests rather than a single universal truth existing for all there is a duality of truth. He surmised that “truth is never certain, whether in the realm of science or public affairs...” He also calls attention to the relationship between certainty,

knowledge and rhetoric, and the idea that experience leads to our version of the truth (Larson, 2013, p. 81, Harpine, 2004, p. 1-2). My former paper on *Jane the Virgin* and Scott's epistemic approach says:

In an essay on Scott's epistemic approach, author William D. Harpine surmises that Scott recognizes certainty as subjective and objective, and as part of knowledge, hence the idea that truth is socially constructed. Scott's famous claim is that "rhetoric is epistemic" (Larson, 18). He considers these relationships when he divides truth into two versions: big "T" Truth, and little "t" truth. The Truth is the overarching, generalized Truth that is more commonly accepted and known, whereas the truth is more of an individual's experience (Larson, 81). He believed both kinds of truth were important, and that through communicating with others about the two truths, the whole truth could be uncovered (Larson, 81). This communication, or rhetorical encounter can lead to discoveries that are considered epiphanies or eureka moments (Larson, 81). Scott also said, "truth must be seen as dual: the demands of the precepts one adheres to and the demands of the circumstances in which one must act" (Scott, 138). This is reflective of the duality of Truth and truth. (Ramón, 2015)

In considering Scott's epistemic approach, the current stereotypes of Latinas in television have come to be known as the big "T" Truth of Latinas. In other words, the representations based on these stereotypes have become the universal truth about Latinas. *Jane the Virgin* works hard to address and correct the stereotypical roles of Latinas, which are providing the episteme, or framework, for how people view Latinxs. Jane as a character is representative of little "t" truth because she is representative of an individual experience as a Latina. *Ugly Betty* follows this same model.

Even though the existing research is very clear on the stereotypes and generalizations of Latinas, little has been done to study how these representations are impacting the audience that is internalizing them, and who, in fact, is doing the most stereotyping. Another missing link is how the actresses are connecting with the characters they are playing on television. There is evidence of television being the primary socializer of consumers (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli,

18). With research proving the Latina representations on television are specifically impacting how the audience views real Latinas, perhaps people will be encouraged to improve these representations, and more specifically, Latinas will be encouraged to start telling their own stories.

The Shows

The main purpose of this research is to focus on the relationship between the audience and the characters of the shows. It is important to see whether or not the audience is internalizing these representations as stereotypes, and how this impacts their views of the Latinas in their everyday lives, if they know any. By providing background information about the shows and the actresses playing these roles, we can understand more how these roles were created. This section describes what the shows are about, those involved in the creation of the shows, and what some critics are saying about the characters. Also, this section includes the backgrounds of the actresses to see if their opinions on the characters they chose to play are well known.

With the popularity of Netflix and similar online television venues, regular television is struggling to keep up. The number of subscriptions for online streaming is increasing in American homes, and the number of households with broadband internet but no TV subscriptions has grown to more than 10.5 million in 2014 (Kleinman, 2015). Serialized dramas such as *Desperate Housewives*, telenovela crossovers like *Ugly Betty* and *Jane the Virgin* and comedic mockumentaries such as *Modern Family* are attempts by major networks like ABC to maintain that viewership. Still, it's an uphill battle. Even with the success of these four shows on

regular television, audiences can still find *Modern Family* and *Ugly Betty* on Hulu, *Desperate Housewives* on Netflix DVD, and *Jane the Virgin*¹⁰ on regular Netflix.

Eva Longoria, “Gabrielle Solís” of *Desperate Housewives*

Desperate Housewives first aired on Sundays on ABC at 9 pm from October 2004 to about May 2012 (IMDb). Created by Marc Cherry, the series is about four friends who lead scandalous lives as mothers and wives in a fictional quaint suburban town, beginning with the suicide of their friend Mary Alice. There’s the single mother raising her daughter, the stay-at-home mother raising four children while her husband works, the perfectionist mother whose husband and children don’t appreciate her, and then Longoria, who lives with her rich husband who buys her everything she wants. Her boredom with suburban life leads her to have an affair with her underage gardener. Aside from her looks, the only indication of her being Latina is the “paella” she cooks for Mary Alice’s wake. The creators of the show hint that Gabrielle as a character has Mexican roots, though she does not really claim them. And, fun fact, “paella” is a spicy blend of seafood and rice that comes from Spain. It is not even a typical Mexican dish. Gabrielle scarcely, if ever, uses the Spanish language, though her husband Carlos often uses choice phrases (*Desperate Housewives*, 2004). The show brought a lot of attention and fame to the Latina actress. Her performance spurred what was referred to as the “Eva Effect,” which clued Hollywood into the bankability of Latinxs on network television that hadn’t been seen really since Desi Arnaz of *I Love Lucy* (Clark et. al., 2012, 91).

Actress Eva Longoria is American with Mexican ancestry. According to critic Courtney Perales, “Gabrielle Solís in *Desperate Housewives* is the ‘loud,’ ‘divisive,’ housewife whose

¹⁰ *Jane the Virgin* is the only one of the four not to air on ABC, but on CW.

promotional ads show off more skin than plot foundation for the show” (Perales, 2014). Longoria has expressed discomfort and lack of acceptance in the Latinx community because of her inability to speak perfect Spanish (Baftijari, 2015). She only learned later on as she became socially and politically active. In an interview with Barry Egan, Longoria said Gabrielle was a lot of fun to play, but that the character was the exact opposite of the actress, who is into philanthropy, charity and the Catholic religion (Egan, 2014). In another article about Longoria, journalist Bobby Schuessler said, “When we think of Eva Longoria, or ‘Gabrielle Solís,’ we think of two things – unbelievably hot with a fiery personality. Not to our surprise, she is the exact same way in person” (Schuessler, 2016). When he goes on to interview her, she says Gabrielle’s personality was Longoria’s favorite part about playing her (Schuessler, 2016).

The first time Gabrielle Solís comes on screen, it takes a moment to realize the narrative voice over is not connected to Gabrielle at all. She is running in a nice matching pink track suit, and the camera, originally pulled back to take in more of the fictional Wisteria Lane, narrows in on her running. Just when the camera reaches a close up, she runs out of the frame, and the attention shifts to Mary Alice Young, a middle aged white woman, coming out of her front door. These camera angles suggest a sort of dismissiveness, calling attention to the attractive young Latina, only to push her to the backdrop so the real story can be told. The real story revolves around the blond haired, blue eyed woman in a button down white shirt. When we are finally introduced to Gabrielle, the music changes to the kind one might hear preceding a Spanish bull fight. A man in a suit is waiting for her at the end of the driveway, when she steps out in a tight black dress. The camera follows her legs down the steps, before transitioning into her legs on a New York City fashion runway. The male narrator tells us she is bringing spicy paella to Mary Alice’s funeral. He makes her love of material things and rich men no secret. The character of

Gabrielle takes on a more devious twist to the fiery stereotype. The narrator says, “He [Carlos] proposed after the third date. Gaby was touched to see the tears well up in his eyes.” Her expression is of surprise and almost greed as she looks at the size of the ring he gives her. Though she is skinnier and more petite than stereotypical Latinas, she is still curvy, and overtly sexualized. Her husband Carlos even mentions how she managed to work into a conversation that she slept with half the Yankee outfield. Carlos is possessive of her, guiding her with his hand on the small of her back even as they are arguing. He also tone polices her, telling her to keep it down when she snaps at him. Together, they are keeping up the ruse that they are a happy, desirable couple.

Gabrielle not only maintains her Latina stereotype, but she also doubles as the “trophy wife.” It is almost no surprise that by the last impression of Gabrielle in season one, the audience is aware she’s been having an affair with the young gardener. She seems to assert dominance on the stand where she is giving testimony about Carlos, who was accused of “gay bashing.” But she is clearly being manipulative as she appeals to the judge and the jury. She pleads on his behalf, saying “He [Carlos] knows how other men look at me, and I didn’t exactly ease his mind. I falsely led him to believe I was having an affair.” Even though she is lying because the audience knows the affair is real, it still seems to be for Carlos’ benefit. She tends to look at him for approval, and half smile at him when she thinks they’re getting their way. At this point he believes the adultery is made up, though the audience knows differently. At that moment, the young gardener comes into the courtroom, and whispers into Carlos’ ear what has been happening behind the man’s back. Carlos tears through the courtroom, trying to get at the young man and yelling in English and Spanish that he is going to kill the young gardener. Gabrielle screams powerlessly from the stand for her husband to stop. She sounds scathing. But Carlos’

reaction seems to be an example of toxic masculinity, where he is more concerned about someone having his wife than his wife lying and cheating on him. It is also a form of objectification of women, because Carlos seeks to resolve the issue by going outside of her and their relationship.

Gabrielle's response to this objectification is to roll her eyes, thus reinforcing her duality as a Latina stereotype and a trophy wife. Despite her immediate irritation with her husband, her overall feelings for him are unclear. However, it is clear that she wants to stay married to Carlos, further suggesting to the audience she really values his money more than anything else. This greed, manipulation and apathy are more aligned with being a trophy wife than being a Latina.

America Ferrera, "Betty Suarez" of *Ugly Betty*

The *Ugly Betty* series first aired on ABC back in September 2006, and ended in April of 2010 (IMDb). Salma Hayek produced the show based on the Colombian telenovela "*Yo soy Betty, la fea*;" therefore, it is a crossover from Latin culture. The comedy-drama focuses on main character Betty's experience working for a fashion magazine, despite her lack of fashion sense. Early on in the series, she finds out she was only hired as an assistant because the father of her boss thought he wouldn't be tempted to sleep with her. She is constantly surrounded by thinner, better dressed white people in the office, and this is juxtaposed with her home life, where her Mexican culture is thoroughly represented by her family. Within the first five minutes, the multi-generational family is sitting around the dinner table, and Betty's sister is telling Betty's nephew to come eat some flan. Flan is a traditional Mexican dessert. Reggaeton plays when Betty sits on the front stoop talking with her nephew, and telenovelas play on the television in the background. According to researcher Paula Barreiro (2010), "Betty's character provides an

empowered Latina representation by claiming the right to be herself and be welcomed in places where being physically attractive, white and wealthy are implicit prerequisites. However, this does not mean that the show intends to present all Latinas as unattractive or deprived” (Barreiro, 2010).

America Ferrera is a Honduran actress raised by her single mother, since her father moved to Honduras after her parents divorced (Pringle, 2014). Like most first, second and third generation Latin Americans, she fell into the habit of answering her Spanish speaking parents in English, and so she is not fluent. She said on the subject, “I realized how Latina I was, and then also, at the same time, how not Latina enough I was, because I'm born and raised in Los Angeles. I speak Spanish, but I don't speak perfect Spanish, not like a native speaker” (BrainyQuote, 2016). The role of Betty brought to Ferrera’s eyes the issues regarding diversity in Hollywood, making her realize that strong roles for Latinas were few and far between (Pringle, 2014). This realization is what made the role so significant to her. She thoroughly enjoyed Betty’s journey, as well as the message that the character was sending to its audience. The entire cast seemed to have bonded because of the experience. In an interview with Ferrera she says, “what I kept from Betty was my friends because the cast is my family and they were all at my wedding and we’ve all been to each other’s hospital rooms when babies were born and graduations and weddings and birthday parties and life moments” (Pringle, 2014).

The first impression of Betty is a close up of her less than attractive face. While she isn’t really ugly, it’s clear that she is meant to portray Hollywood’s idea of less attractive because of the glasses and the braces. The camera pulls back, and we see her awful pink plaid suit. She makes room for a model beside her on the bench, and it’s clear the audience is supposed to interpret them as opposites. For starters, Betty is certainly not tall or model-thin. Betty is sweet

and compliments the woman's poncho, which gives the audience the cue that she is Latina, because her father got her a poncho from Guadalajara. The model, stiff, cold and white, shut her down and continues to text on her cell phone. Betty's name is called for the interview, and when she turns around, the white man who calls her visibly recoils as she flashes him a metal-filled smile. He, like the model, tries to dismiss her. He is positioned on the stairs looking down at her in a way that signifies their social standings as well. But Betty breaks stereotypes in that rather than being fiery and loud, she is simply persistent, following him up the stairs and talking about her qualifications. The man physically puts his hands on her and ushers her back down the stairs, literally trying to bring her back down to what he has deemed "her place." She follows him back up anyway. The camera angle rises to catch an older white man in a business suit on an upper floor. It's understood that he is higher up on the socioeconomic hierarchy than Betty and this other man. But he is watching Betty, and he appears interested. Still, this younger man ultimately shuts the door in Betty's face. The action literally "others" her and says there's no place for her in their glamorous world.

In the last episode of *Ugly Betty*, Betty is slightly more established. She is running around on the phone, and from the way she looks, it's clear she has not yet conformed to the environment of the fashion magazine that she ultimately got the job at. She answers the door and it's the police, looking for Hilda, Betty's older sister. Betty arrives at the school where Hilda is watching her son perform in the school musical, and it's clear Betty has bad news for her sister. She and her sister share a look before Hilda goes into the hallway with her to get the news that her fiancé has been killed. Betty takes on a nurturing role. Despite being the younger sister, she cradles her sister as they fall to the floor. The camera backs away from them, pulling out so the camera is in the auditorium where the play is happening, but it's watching the sisters through the

door. At first the audience is visible, watching the stage. But the surroundings fade to black until all that is visible are the sisters, remaining the focal point of the scene. Paula Barreiro points out that, “the fact that she is the protagonist makes her physical features stand out and possibly make us connect her peculiarity with her ethnicity” (Barreiro, 2010). Barreiro’s point reinforces the associations between physical features and particular ethnicities. This is how those stereotypes start to form. However, contrary to Barreiro’s idea, the point of the show is about the emphasis of inner beauty over outer beauty, and so in that way Betty arguably has transcended her race.

Sofia Vergara, “Gloria Pritchett” of *Modern Family*

Modern Family is a sitcom that first premiered in September of 2009 and is up to its 8th season today (IMDb). Created by Steven Levitan and Christopher Lloyd, it showcases different types of families that construct today’s society. The cast includes a nuclear family, a gay couple with an adopted daughter, and then Vergara’s family, which contains her, the son from her first marriage, her much older husband who also has been previously married, and later on, their baby. This “mockumentary” portrays the realities of this family while breaking the fourth wall in mock interviews to reflect on their struggles. In *Modern Family*, Sofía Vergara’s obvious accent gives her an edge as the outspoken Colombian wife of Jay Pritchett (Levitan & Lloyd, 2009). Her husband is the patriarch of the family, being the father of Claire, who has the nuclear family, and Mitchell, who has the husband and adopted daughter. The family dynamics are complicated by the fact that Gloria is the same age as her step-children, and her son is the same age as his nieces and nephews. Even though she was born in a small village in Colombia, her son Manny does not speak Spanish.

Sofía Vergara was born in Colombia, and made the crossover from Colombian Pepsi commercials. Critics say about her, “Gloria from *Modern Family* is the “curvaceous,” sun-kissed

trophy wife whose accented English is understood as the natural voice of many Latinas: inarticulate yet filled with attractive passion” (Perales, 2014). Her role is the most popular and well known Latina character today, yet Vergara still finds herself in situations where she has to defend her character of Gloria. Gloria is arguably extremely stereotypical; she is beautiful, curvy, loud and fiery. However, Gloria is the exception where her individual experience as a Colombian woman reflects the largely understood experience of Latinas in general. As proof that Vergara breaks down the generalizations of Latinas, she says in an interview about the character of Gloria being too Mexican, ““I went to the writers and said, 'We wouldn't do this, Colombians don't dress like that,'" she said. "I cannot blame the writers. You write what you know, and you cannot tell an American writer to write about some other culture and expect that it will be as natural as writing about an American person” (Nunez, 2014). Vergara is an interesting Latina in that she toes the line between being objectified, and being the type of feminist that embraces her sexuality. She is comedian that seeks to prove she can be attractive and sexy, but also be funny, too.

In *Modern Family*, in the opening scene when Gloria is yelling at her son, it is because she is encouraging him to play soccer. She is waving her arms around and jumping up and down showcasing the loud and fiery stereotypes. Right away the audience is cued into her heavy accent, further othering herself from the other spectators standing around her expressing much less emotion. Gloria’s own husband Jay doesn’t validate her sentiments; he just sits in his chair and tells her to relax. The scene cuts to the “interview” portion of the episode, where she starts out by telling us how different she and her husband are. We learn right away that Jay is the primary breadwinner with his own business, and she comes from a poor town in Colombia. She sounds proud of him as she leans on his shoulder. But the pride stays in her voice as she talks

about her own background. She can't even think of the English word for "murders," when describing her hometown.¹¹ Her sweet, mellow voice is immediately juxtaposed as the shot cuts backs to her yelling from the sidelines once more. When she turns to yell at the other mom on the sidelines, it is because the woman has said for the coach to take Gloria's son Manny out of the game. Manny is busy checking out a girl riding her bike instead of focusing on the game. Gloria responds to the woman's appeals to the coach with "You want to take him out? Why don't I take *you* out?" Again, her fieriness is being showcased but in a comical way. Logically speaking, of course she's going to be upset about the woman insulting Gloria's son. Instead, the audience is focusing on the cut of her blouse, her flowy brown hair, and an accent that the majority of viewers have deemed as "funny" as it is "foreign." The other man who comes into the scene doesn't validate her either. Instead, he sidles up to her, whips off his sunglasses and hits on her. It is not that she possesses these qualities; it is the way she is treated because of those qualities. The age difference between her and husband is emphasized yet again as the man refers to Jay as Gloria's father.

In the compilation of scenes from the last episode of season 1, Gloria is further secured into her domestic role as a trophy wife, and as a foreign other. Jay walks in asking where his underwear is, and has the expectation that Gloria is going to talk to the maid about. He claims they "speak the same language" though Gloria insists the woman is Portuguese. She even says, "Do you know how offensive it is that you put all of us in the same mixing pot?" This valid point is dismissed by Jay, who goes to answer the door. Gloria reacts with her fieriness, yelling at him even though it does no good. Later on, the whole family is getting ready to take their picture.

¹¹ This could be in relation either to the criminalization of Latinos that is an existing stereotype for the men, or the well-known drug violence in Colombia.

They are all wearing white and heading into the backyard. Jay asks Gloria how to turn the sprinklers off, and she responds angrily, saying just because she is Latina doesn't mean she knows everything about gardening. Jay responds, "You were here when they installed it!" Both situations are similar in that they are right on the brink of touching on major issues in the Latinx community. On the one hand there is the erasure of culture and the grouping of foreign identities, which Jay, the heterosexual, rich white male immediately dismisses. Then, there is the Latinx stereotype that affects the larger community, which is the assumption that Latinxs are only good for those blue collar jobs. The second time, these generalizations are undercut again by Jay, because Gloria realized she misconstrued what he was implying by asking her. This suggests the writers are very aware of the stereotypes they are playing with. Yet they continue to toe the line between that type of dialogue and how they choose to dress Gloria. The entire family is dressed in modest white clothes, springy and loose fitting, with different variations of slacks and button downs. Gloria has on a tight V-neck white dress, emphasizing her curves and cleavage.

Gina Rodriguez, "Jane Gloriana Villaneva" of *Jane the Virgin*

The CW aired *Jane the Virgin* in October of 2014, another crossover show loosely based on the Venezuelan telenovela *Juana la Virgen* (IMDb). The comedy-drama is about a young, Catholic, Venezuelan woman who, after making a pact with her boyfriend not to have sex until marriage, is accidentally artificially inseminated (IMDb). The plot thickens when it is revealed that the doctor who impregnated Jane, is the sister of the man who is the father of Jane's baby, and also Jane's boss (*Jane the Virgin*, 2014). Clearly, a telenovela plot is at work here. Jane was raised by her single mother and her abuela, and didn't know who her father was for the larger part of her life. Her Spanish speaking, undocumented abuela is a staple of the show; however, Jane does not speak Spanish herself. The creator, Jennie Snyder Urman, worked with a writer

named Carolina Rivera, who has experience writing telenovelas, and being a Latina, in order to create the show (Andreeva, 2015) The show portrays the complexities of Latinx culture and some of the barriers that are faced by the culture within the U.S., such as citizenship and language (Zeilinger, 2015). It also embraces some of the stereotypes, but avoids others in such a way that makes the storyline anything but generic.

Gina Rodriguez is an up and coming first generation Puerto Rican actress and Latina activist.

Rodriguez is well aware of not only the struggle of being an actress, but being a woman and being Hispanic in that field. Early on in her career, Rodriguez said, “I’ve specifically decided to say no to projects that weren’t advancing Latinos, that weren’t showing us in a positive light, roles that were gratuitous and spreading untruths” (Thompson). Given these standards, she is the perfect match for Jane on *Jane the Virgin*, a show that is raising awareness and questions about the current Latina representations in television as well as the visibility of Latina actresses in and out of their roles. (Ramón, 2015)

The audience’s introduction is a little more unconventional. It begins with a recap of Jane’s upbringing. Immediately the audience recognizes Jane as the focal point of the show. The three main women in the show, Jane, her mother Xiomara, and her grandmother Alba, all get highlighted in the first couple minutes. Another common trope of Latinas, the practicing Catholic, becomes immediately apparent when Jane and Alba establish God as one of their most important interests. While Xiomara doesn’t share this stereotype, it is clear that she is the more sexualized stereotype. She sits cross legged in shorts with her long hair falling over her shoulder, painting her fake nails. The scene begins with Jane’s abuela giving her a lesson on the importance of virginity. The show moves out of this flashback, juxtaposing Jane’s pitiful look at the crumpled flower in her hand, with the grown up Jane in a heated make out session. The same flower is on the wall of the bedroom. Jane on top of the bed with her boyfriend Michael, is

consumed in their passionate exchange until the flower catches her eye over his shoulder and she pushes him away. The act is almost as if she is literally pushing away the stereotype and rejecting the common view of hypersexualized Latina.

But in the last scene of Jane in season one, she has conformed to the domesticated role Latinas on television commonly find themselves in. However, she is presented as the nurturing, caring mother, who doesn't want to hand over her baby Mateo for a second. She sits up as the nurse carries him out, and watches them leave. She is rather miraculous figure, having delivered a baby without ever even having sex. Despite the first scene where she visibly restrains herself from going too far with boyfriend Michael, she is still sexualized by the assumption that she had sex to have that baby. However, she proves to be a strong character by sticking to her original values in regards to sex and her body. She does not lose her virginity, and she plans to continue on with her passion for writing.

Method and Procedure

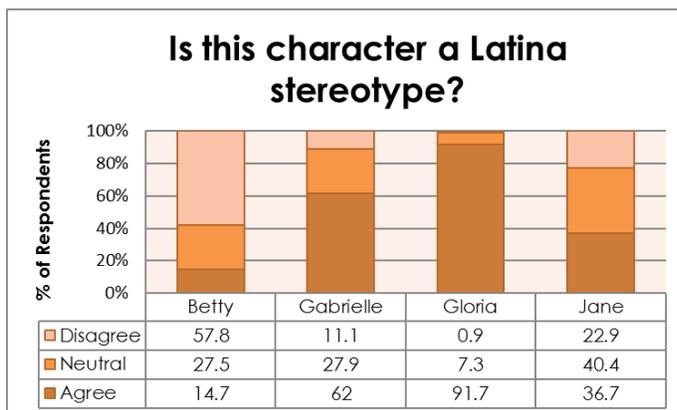
The purpose of the survey is to take a closer look at the relationship between the portrayal of Latinas on television and the audience. The survey tests the recognition of stereotypes, learn the opinion the viewer has about the characters represented, and see how the viewer relates the representations to their idea of an actual Latina. It builds on two theories. The first, selective exposure theory, finds that "viewers usually choose to watch content that is in line with their beliefs and values, and to do otherwise causes viewers to become uncomfortable" (Clark, Lepre & Luther, 2012, p. 91). The next, cultivation theory, proposes long-term exposure to television changes the viewer's perception, ultimately socializing the audience, and furthermore, the society (Behm-Morawitz et al., 2005, p. 111, 112). Given these two theories, my prediction is

even though respondents recognize the stereotypical portrayals of Latinas, they still believe them to be realistic portrayals of Latinas. The research focuses on four popular shows and their four main Latina characters: "Gabrielle" (Eva Longoria) from *Desperate Housewives*, "Betty" (America Ferrera) from *Ugly Betty*, "Gloria" (Sofia Vergara) from *Modern Family*, and "Jane" (Gina Rodriguez) from *Jane the Virgin*.

The voluntary survey was issued to 103 respondents in five classrooms. Two classes were Communication Studies courses, and the other three were Sociology courses. The survey was accompanied by a Scantron and clips of the shows to enable the audience to answer all the survey questions without prior viewing of the shows. I directed the students through the five sections of the attached survey, first showing them a compilation of clips on the main character of one show at a time, and then directing them to answer the corresponding questions. The clips include the main characters' first appearance in the pilot episode of the show, the introduction of the character, and finally the last appearance the character has in the season 1 finale. Each compilation of clips ran from three to four and one-half minutes long. The first four sections were about the four shows, followed by a section of demographic questions pertaining to gender, race and ethnicity. They were asked questions about various adjectives relating to the characters, and whether or not the characters were realistic, stereotypical, or likeable. They also were asked about their familiarity with the shows. Lastly, they were asked demographic questions about their gender, race, ethnicity, and familiarity with Latinxs. The scantron results were put into an Excel file, which was then transferred to the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences computer program, or SPSS. SPSS was used to analyze the data and create the tables found in Appendix B.

Results

By looking at the relationship between the viewers and the representations, the respondents communicate through identifying the characters as stereotypical or realistic that overall, the available representations are not identifiable or relatable. As stated earlier, selective exposure theory is the expectation that viewers are more inclined to watch shows that align with their beliefs and values. They find the characters of these shows more familiar and relatable. Also, cultivation theory talks about the cultivating strength of television as a media form. The existing stereotypes fall more in line with the dominant groups, therefore the audience is being socialized to view the stereotypes as realistic. Because of this, I believed that the participants of the survey would contradict themselves, and claim the characters were both stereotypes and realistic portrayals. The results of the survey disproved my prediction that there would be a contradiction of recognizing the representations are stereotypes, but also believing they are



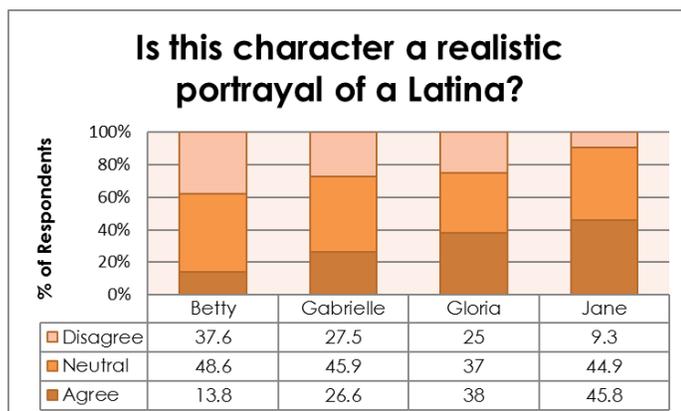
realistic portrayals.

For example, 91.7% of participants agreed Gloria was a stereotype, compared to the 38% that said she was realistic. The case of Gabrielle

was similar, with 62% agreeing she is stereotypical and 26.6% agreed she was realistic.

Interestingly, the numbers matched more closely for the roles that were considered to be less stereotypical. For Betty, 14.7% agreed she was stereotypical compared to the 36.7% that called Jane a stereotype, compared to the 13.8% and 45.8%, respectively, called those characters realistic.

So we have two shows where Latinas are woven into the plot, but are



not central to it. The data suggests when Latinas are not central to the plot, they become the cookie cutter versions of real Latinas. Why and how does that happen? But then arguably, are the white women more realistic or are they also stereotypes? When the culture is brought up and shared, what is the purpose? Gabrielle Solís dislikes being Mexican; she associates them with being poor workers and she doesn't respect her husband's mother, who is also Mexican. Gloria's strong accent and inability to understand all of the nuances of American culture.

But even when the Latinas are central to the plot, they are still seen as stereotypes to a certain degree. Betty was labeled a stereotype by 14.7% of the survey respondents, and 36.7% said Jane was. Betty's position, although better, still seeks approval from white counterparts. Jane's role expresses the individuality of her experience, while recognizing how her culture and upbringing has shaped that experience. Despite being considered an individual's truth under Scott's epistemic approach, not even half of the respondents (45.8%) considered Jane to be a realistic portrayal of a Latina. Interestingly enough, despite being the most stereotypical character, 38% of respondents agreed that Gloria was also a realistic portrayal of a Latina. This suggests a correlation does exist between people assuming the stereotypes are realistic.

Then again, *Modern Family* seemed to be the show the respondents were most familiar with given that only 28.4% had never seen it before the video clips they watched that accompanied the survey. This is compared to the 58.7% that never saw *Ugly Betty*, 58.7% that never saw *Desperate Housewives* and 85.2% that hadn't seen *Jane the Virgin*. A couple conclusions can be drawn about these results. *Modern Family* is a half an hour sitcom; therefore, it is easier to watch more of in a shorter period of time. *Ugly Betty* had a shorter run of just four seasons, and it was also the first attempt of that crossover, which could be why the show isn't as familiar. *Desperate Housewives* came out ten years ago, which for most of the respondents was

when they were preteen or “tween” aged and so in most cases, they wouldn’t be watching the scandalous show. If anything, the 7.3% that had seen every season most likely watched it on Netflix. Lastly, *Jane the Virgin* is the newest show of them all, fresh out of 2014, so it just hasn’t had the run time the others had. It is also the only one that airs on CW, which isn’t as popular of a network as ABC.

Even the range of neutrality for stereotypes was interesting. The range was from Gloria with 7.3% to Jane with 40.4%. This communicates that the audience sees Gloria much more clearly, and understand her to be a stereotype, whereas Jane falls more into unfamiliar territory. Under Selective exposure theory, Jane is not falling in line with the large majority’s beliefs and values. The neutral margin for Betty and Gabrielle are both about 28%, but more than half of the respondents disagree that Betty is a stereotype. Given the percentage and the understanding of the context of the show, it’s clear that the audience does not see the character as a stereotype, and the actress of the show did not intend for them to. As previously stated, Ferrera acknowledged in an interview that the role was created in response to the issues regarding diversity in Hollywood, particularly the limited availability of strong roles for Latinas (Pringle, 2014).

The range of neutrality of respondents that found the characters realistic is much closer, ranging from 37%-48.6%. Averaged together, this is 44.1%, only 1.7% less than those who agree Jane is a realistic portrayal. The rest fall under that. This communicates that the audience, which was already identified as 61% white and 84% non-Hispanic or Latino, does not have a clear understanding of what a realistic portrayal of a Latina would like, despite the 82% that claimed they personally know a Latina. This could mean they found little similarities between the on-screen portrayals and the women they know.

These results could be skewed by the demographic. It's true that this is a predominantly white institution, which is in line with selective exposure theory. In this country the dominant view is white; therefore, they hold the majority of the power. But the respondents to the survey were undergraduate students in the fields of communication studies and sociology. Therefore, they could be familiar with the aforementioned frameworks. Not to mention, the school itself is largely liberal, and so this could be the prevailing viewpoint of this given demographic, rather than the associations with whiteness.

The larger conclusion of the data is that there needs to be more representation of Latinas on television. Not only that, but more Latinxs writing their own story. Marc Cherry, Christopher Lloyd, and Steven Levitan are all white males creating the characters Gabrielle and Gloria. When Sofia Vergara weighed on the character of Gloria and insisted she was being written more Mexican than Colombian, this was one step closer towards eliminating the erasure of individual Latinx cultures. Mexican-Lebanese Salma Hayek created Betty, which was a milestone in its time; it was a breakthrough for Latinas on screen. Jennie Snyder Urman is a white woman, but she consulted with a telenovela writer, Carolina Rivera, which led to such a realistic Latina character that is Jane. The reality of stereotypes is that they need to be established in order to be broken. But stereotypes are based on some truth; therefore, they are for some individuals a realistic portrayal. When we tell our own stories, we become Scott's little t 'truth.' With portrayals of all these individual experiences, there is no pressure for a single character to represent the truth of an entire ethnicity. Given the results of the data, I assert that the creation of more roles for Latinas, by Latinxs, is the only effective way to diminish the existing stereotypes.

Appendix A:

Hot, Sexy and Stereotyped – Survey

Dear Respondent,

My name is Jasmine A. Ramón and I'm a senior Communication Studies major. This survey will go towards my Honors Thesis and WGST minor Capstone, both of which I need to graduate. Your responses include content that I am very interested in analyzing. This is a completely voluntary survey; if at any time you no longer want to participate, you may stop, and your responses will not be collected. Please answer honestly and to the best of your ability based on your knowledge and experience. Thank you so much for your participation!

“Betty Suarez” from *Ugly Betty*

Instructions: Please look up to view the accompanying video clip before completing this section of the survey. After viewing the video clips, answer **only** questions 1 – 10.

1. The character “Betty” is a stereotypical portrayal of a Latina.
 - a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
2. The character “Betty” is independent.
 - a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
3. The character “Betty” is sexy.
 - a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
4. The character “Betty” is smart.
 - a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
5. The character “Betty” is funny.
 - a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
6. The character “Betty” is loud.
 - a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
7. The character “Betty” is fiery.
 - a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
8. “Betty” is a likeable character.

- a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
9. “Betty” is a realistic portrayal of a Latina.
- a. Strongly agree b. Moderately agree c. Neither agree nor disagree d. Moderately disagree e. Strongly disagree
10. Have you seen the show *Ugly Betty*?
- a. Never
 - b. One episode
 - c. A few episodes
 - d. A season
 - e. Every season

“Gabrielle Solís” of *Desperate Housewives*

Instructions: Please look up to view the accompanying video clip before completing this section of the survey. After viewing the video clips, answer **only** questions 11 – 20.

11. The character “Gabrielle” is a stereotypical portrayal of a Latina.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
12. The character “Gabrielle” is independent.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
13. The character “Gabrielle” is sexy.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
14. The character “Gabrielle” is smart.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
15. The character “Gabrielle” is funny.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
16. The character “Gabrielle” is loud.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
17. The character “Gabrielle” is fiery.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
18. “Gabrielle” is a likeable character.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
19. “Gabrielle” is a realistic portrayal of a Latina.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
20. Have you seen the show *Desperate Housewives*?
 - a. Never
 - b. One episode
 - c. A few episodes
 - d. A season
 - e. Every season

“Gloria Pritchett” of *Modern Family*

Instructions: Please look up to view the accompanying video clip before completing this section of the survey. After viewing the video clips, answer **only** questions 21 – 30.

21. The character “Gloria” is a stereotypical portrayal of a Latina.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
22. The character “Gloria” is independent.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
23. The character “Gloria” is sexy.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
24. The character “Gloria” is smart.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
25. The character “Gloria” is funny.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
26. The character “Gloria” is loud.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
27. The character “Gloria” is fiery.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
28. “Gloria” is a likeable character.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
29. “Gloria” is a realistic portrayal of a Latina.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
30. Have you seen the show *Modern Family*?
 - a. Never
 - b. One episode
 - c. A few episodes
 - d. A season
 - e. Every season

“Jane” of *Jane the Virgin*

Instructions: Please look up to view the accompanying video clip before completing this section of the survey. After viewing the video clips, answer **only** questions 31 – 40.

31. The character “Jane” is a stereotypical portrayal of a Latina.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
32. The character “Jane” is independent.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
33. The character “Jane” is sexy.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
34. The character “Jane” is smart.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
35. The character “Jane” is funny.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
36. The character “Jane” is loud.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
37. The character “Jane” is fiery.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
38. “Jane” is a likeable character.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
39. “Jane” is a realistic portrayal of a Latina.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Moderately agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Moderately disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
40. Have you seen the show *Jane the Virgin*?
 - a. Never
 - b. One episode
 - c. A few episodes
 - d. A season
 - e. Every season

Demographics

Instructions: Please answer questions 41 – 44 **only** after you have completed the questions in the prior four sections.

41. Gender

- a. Man
- b. Woman
- c. I do not identify as a man or woman

42. Are you Hispanic/Latino?

- a. Yes
- b. No

43. What is your race?

- a. Black
- b. White
- c. Asian
- d. American Indian/Alaska Native
- e. Pacific Islander

44. Do you personally know any Latinas?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Appendix B: SPSS Results

What is your race?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Black	31	28.2	30.1	30.1
	White	63	57.3	61.2	91.3
	Asian	4	3.6	3.9	95.1
	American Indian/Alaska Native	3	2.7	2.9	98.1
	Pacific Islander	1	.9	1.0	99.0
	6	1	.9	1.0	100.0
	Total	103	93.6	100.0	
Missing	System	7	6.4		
Total		110	100.0		

Are you Hispanic or Latino?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	17	15.5	15.9	15.9
	No	90	81.8	84.1	100.0
	Total	107	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		110	100.0		

Do you know any Latinas?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	87	79.1	82.1	82.1
	No	19	17.3	17.9	100.0
	Total	106	96.4	100.0	
Missing	System	4	3.6		
Total		110	100.0		

Betty Stereotype Simplified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	63	57.3	57.8	57.8
	Neutral	30	27.3	27.5	85.3
	Agree	16	14.5	14.7	100.0
	Total	109	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.9		
Total		110	100.0		

Gloria Stereotype Simplified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	1	.9	.9	.9
	Neutral	8	7.3	7.3	8.3
	Agree	100	90.9	91.7	100.0
	Total	109	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.9		
Total		110	100.0		

Jane Stereotype Simplified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	25	22.7	22.9	22.9
	Neutral	44	40.0	40.4	63.3
	Agree	40	36.4	36.7	100.0
	Total	109	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.9		
Total		110	100.0		

Gabrielle Stereotype Simplified 2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	12	10.9	11.1	11.1
	2.00	29	26.4	26.9	38.0
	3.00	67	60.9	62.0	100.0
	Total	108	98.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.8		
Total		110	100.0		

Jane Realistic Simplified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	10	9.1	9.3	9.3
	Neutral	48	43.6	44.9	54.2
	Agree	49	44.5	45.8	100.0
	Total	107	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	3	2.7		
Total		110	100.0		

Gloria Realistic Simplified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	27	24.5	25.0	25.0
	Neutral	40	36.4	37.0	62.0
	Agree	41	37.3	38.0	100.0
	Total	108	98.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.8		
Total		110	100.0		

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Gabrielle Realistic Simplified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	30	27.3	27.5	27.5
	Neutral	50	45.5	45.9	73.4
	Agree	29	26.4	26.6	100.0
	Total	109	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.9		
Total		110	100.0		

Betty Realistic Simplified

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	41	37.3	37.6	37.6
	Neutral	53	48.2	48.6	86.2
	Agree	15	13.6	13.8	100.0
	Total	109	99.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.9		
Total		110	100.0		

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