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# A Framing Analysis of Latinos in the Facebook Pages of News Organizations

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A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF LATINOS IN THE FACEBOOK PAGES OF NEWS  
ORGANIZATIONS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Juliana Zapata Acosta

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by

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## ABSTRACT

### A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF LATINOS IN THE FACEBOOK PAGES OF NEWS ORGANIZATIONS

by Juliana Zapata Acosta

This study of the Facebook pages of six legacy media organizations extended framing theory to apply to social media. In the study of 557 articles, four new frames and 10 new subframes were identified. The immigration frame and its two subframes, deportation and undocumented, dominated the coverage of Latinos during the period of the study. The politics frame was the second most dominant frame. This study updated the old data and found that no progress has been made, with the exception of a lesser use of the criminal frame. This improvement could be because the study included six months of the presidential campaign. However, Latinos were still framed as Others and as an oppressed community. This study concluded that there was no significant difference between the way legacy TV networks and legacy newspapers covered Latinos.

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Pedro and Ingrid, my grandmother Tita, and my brother Alejo, for the sacrifices they have made and for their patience and encouragement during my time in graduate school. Their love and continuous support have always been my motivation.

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## Introduction

Many scholars have addressed the issue of diversity in the media as a problem in American society. Also, many studies have examined the issue of whether the news is proportional and representing of the U.S. population. Although the Latino population is 17% of the total U.S. population, research has shown that news about Latinos account for less than 1% of the news; 66% of that coverage focuses on crime, terrorism, and illegal immigration (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, Figueroa, & Robson, 2014). In addition, studies have found that television and newspaper news have misrepresented and underrepresented Latinos. Also, scholars have addressed newspaper coverage through content analysis of stories. However, in my search of the literature, I did not find any reported study that examined Latinos in the news on social media.

The purpose of this study was to determine how the news on the Facebook pages of six legacy news organizations presents Latinos. News organizations have come to rely on Facebook as an important platform for disseminating their news. Rather than analyzing news in newspapers and on television, I took a different approach and instead examined their Facebook pages. To achieve this, I focused on six Facebook pages of legacy media. The study included the Facebook pages of: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, CNN News, Fox News, and NBC News. All of the news articles posted on the Facebook pages of the six news organizations during a one-year period from July 1, 2015, to June 30, 2016 were analyzed.

The importance of this research topic was noted as far back as 1988 by Kamalipour and Carillo (1998) who noted that “the mass media play a crucial role in the enhancement

or destruction of images of other people, places, religions, and nations of the world” (p. 19). Therefore, new research should look at the relevance of social media and the presence of Latinos in the news. As these two authors noted, the knowledge we have of distinct cultures is given to us through the news media. Therefore, new research should focus on the presence of Latinos in the new and emerging forms of communications such as Facebook.

## Literature Review

### Introduction

The purpose of this section is to provide a review of the scholarly research on Latinos in the media, specifically their presence in the news. As stated before, previous studies have shown that news about Latinos accounts for less than 1% of the news, and that 66% of that coverage focuses on crime, terrorism, and illegal immigration (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, Figueroa, & Robson, 2014). As a result, the news about Latinos is not representative of Latinos, who account for 17% of the total population of the United States.

In 2004, Santa Ana (2013) found that this “1:100 ratio has not changed in the last 15 years” (p. 17). He noted that numerical parity would be the best way to portray Latinos in the news, which means that stories about Latinos would be proportional to their population. According to Santa Ana, this numerical parity would allow viewers to understand Latinos better. Also, viewers would be able to see Latinos as an integral part of the United States society, rather than as a distant “Other.” Consequently, topic parity is another factor that Santa Ana noted, which means that the “distribution of story topics presented on network news would be mirrored in Latino news stories” (p. 18). However, Santa Ana’s study showed that numerical and topic parity are nonexistent in the news, and the coverage of Latinos is disproportionate to the percentage of their population.

Three theories are used to discuss the effects of the lack of representation of Latinos in the media. For instance, Latino critical race theory is used to explain the consequences of these misrepresentations and serves as one of the primary theoretical frameworks to

understand this complex issue. In addition, social identity theory and social cognitive theory are used to assess the role that media play in the formation of an individual's identity and the relationship between media content and viewer. Most of the literature focuses on network news, newspapers, and their handling of diversity and representation. Also, this section includes research assessing social media and its relationship to journalism. It is crucial to examine the extent to which Latinos are present in the Facebook pages of legacy media.

**Theoretical framework.** The misrepresentation of Latinos in the news media is connected to deeper societal issues, all of which have an impact on the Latino experience in the United States. There have been different approaches to assess and understand the significance of this matter. For instance, Delgado and Stefancic (2001) wrote that critical race theory emerged in the 1970s when many scholars and activists began to realize that new and discreet forms of racism, which society believed had been eradicated during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, were reappearing. Today, critical race theory has become a fundamental aspect of many disciplines. Although Aleman (2011) wrote that critical race theory begins with the idea that “the voice, the ways of knowing, and the survival strategies of minoritized people are elemental in upending inequalities like those embedded within the system of news media production” (p. 333). Taylor (1998) noted that critical race theory is a theoretical framework that attempts to alter the affiliation between race, racism, and power. Also, Graves and Winant (1993), wrote that race is a “social construct” and an informal identity with no genetic and biological ground. Similarly, in regards to critical race theory, Aleman (2011) noted that this theory provides

a framework to examine the experience of Latinos, “their worldview, and the societal forces that uphold racial disparity” (p. 334).

As noted by Mastro and Behn-Morawitz (2005), empirical research showed that exposure to media influences viewers’ perceptions of Latinos in U.S. society, and that mainstream audiences shape their perceptions of Latinos by the way the media represent them. Similarly, Harwood (1999) wrote that social identity theory helps to explain the impact of the media and noted that it "emphasizes the inherent use of group comparisons in managing identity needs and recognizes the important role that media images play in the process” (p. 5). Although social identity theory has been applied to studies of the population in general regardless of age, Rivadeneyra, Ward, and Gordon (2007) focused on adolescents and the impact these negative stereotypes and underrepresentation have on Latino adolescents’ self-esteem. Their work was based on a more empirical approach and exclusively focuses on youth. Graves (1999) noted that the absence of Latinos in the media suggests they are "unimportant and inconsequential and might weaken the perceived worth and value felt by group members" (p. 710).

Rivadeneyra et al. (2007) noted that social cognitive theory can be used to study the relationship and engagement between viewers and media content. Bandura (2001) discussed social cognitive theory and wrote that the audience “constructs the messages they take away from the television viewing experience based on their personal characteristics, the features of the media images, and their personal connection to these images” (p. 267). Although social cognitive theory is used in studies assessing the

impact of television, it has also been used to assess the absence of Latinos in the media in general.

In contrast, Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, Figueroa, and Robson (2014) wrote that the effects of this exclusion are extensive. The authors suggested job discrimination and hostility toward Latinos as some of the many consequences of this absence and representation in the media, which affect not only the individual but also society in general.

Schudson (2003) used a social theory framework to discuss the power of the news in society. He wrote that the news media are “a dominant force in the public construction of common experience and a popular sense of what is real and important,” (p. 60) and used social theory frameworks to describe its power. Schudson noted that in a 1962 work, Habermas detailed his public sphere theoretical framework, which includes public conversation. According to Schudson, Habermas (1962) considered newspapers to be the dominant institution in which society builds a more rational and logical society. Schudson also noted the work of Benedict Anderson and mentioned the imagined community, which includes all the viewers that might share the same ideology (Anderson, 1983). For Anderson, newspaper reading was a mass ritual and, as Santa Ana (2013) wrote that, “this broadly shared interaction of people through news media created a common emotional identity” (p. 24). Anderson and Santa Ana concluded that the exclusion of Latinos from the news media inhibits society’s ability to construct an identity and understand Latinos and their presence in the United States.



Latinos are often portrayed as the Other, which Hall (1980) defined as the necessity to classify those outside of the dominant culture as the Other (p. 134). Said (1978) describes Orientalism as the historical origin of the concept of the Other. Those who are considered to be the Other are not part of the dominant culture. Hall wrote that, “The argument here is that we need ‘difference’ because we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with the ‘Other’” (p. 235).

**Misrepresentation and underrepresentation.** The misrepresentation and underrepresentation of Latinos in the media is paradoxical and according to Amaya (2013), “no other ethno-racial minority group has as much access to the mediated public sphere as Latinas/os, and yet Latino underrepresentation in the field of power is substantive” (p. 41). This paradox is seen in the Latino experience specifically because the more access to the public sphere that Latinos attain, the less political power they experience (p. 42). There appears to be an absence of research addressing this contradiction but, as Mendieta (2003) wrote, the issue of misrepresentation and underrepresentation is more complex than having a presence in the media and having access to it.

A study conducted by Sanchez (1970) was identified as being the first empirical study of Latinos in the news. He analyzed newspaper coverage and found that the majority of stories about Latinos were about “conflict and not cooperation and conflict resolution” (p. 67). However, Greenberg, Heeter, Burgoon and Korzenny (1983) wrote that, “the major shortcoming of the earlier studies is their concentration on specific events or kinds of coverage” such as immigration (p. 203). Greenberg et al. noted that earlier studies did

not provide an analysis of daily coverage of Latinos in the news. Instead they focused on a particular event and did not examine how mainstream media presented Latinos.

Greenberg et al. (1983), wrote that the "representation of Black and Hispanic Americans in the news is consistent with population proportions, but the context of portrayals is questionable" (p. 205).

Mastro and Behm-Morawitz (2005) noted that Latinos are underrepresented and misrepresented in the media, as compared to the rest of the U.S. population. Ramirez-Berg (2002) found that the few times Latinos were portrayed, they were presented in stereotypical ways. Mastro and Behm-Morawitz concurred with Ramirez-Berg and wrote that, "Latinos are frequently characterized by limited intelligence, inarticulate speech, laziness, and verbal aggression" (p. 115). In his work, Ramirez-Berg outlined the different stereotypes about Latinos that are common and addressed their construction. Ramirez-Berg, in a semiotic study of stereotyping, identified two levels of meaning: the denotative and connotative. For example, Ramirez-Berg deconstructed the stereotype of *El Bandido*, the outlaw, and explained that it includes connotative data such as racial, national, narrative, behavioral, psychological, and ideological. Through his deconstruction, Ramirez-Berg showed that a stereotype is a powerful and intense symbol with numerous underlying layers like many of the stereotypes that are present in the media. In their study based on quantitative and qualitative research methods, Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, Figueroa, and Robson (2014) identified what they call the "Latino Media Gap." For instance, they wrote that the exclusion of Latinos in the media is equivalent to the exclusion of "more than the entire states of California (38 million) and

Illinois (12.8 million)” (p. 7). The authors wrote that stories about Latinos represent less than 1% of news coverage (Negrón et. al., 2014). They found that, in 2013, there were no Latino anchors or executives in top news programs, which according to the authors influences the kind of coverage that exists of Latinos in the news. Negrón-Muntaner et al. concluded that Latino participation in the news is almost fictional, and explained that on the 19 primetime television shows that were surveyed, there were 22 anchors. According to the authors, 90.9% of the anchors surveyed were white, and 9% were black. Also, out of 114 producers in their sample, there were only two Latino anchors. It is interesting to note that mainstream news outlets such as Fox News, CNN News, and ABC News did not provide Negrón-Muntaner et al. information about their production staff.

In a report by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, Subervi, Torres, and Montalvo (2005) wrote that from 1995 to 2004, stories about Latinos constituted fewer than 1% in legacy media, and that 66% focused on crime or illegal immigration. Subervi et al. noted that in 2004, out of the 16,000 stories aired on ABC News, CBS News, CNN News, and NBC News, 115 were about Latinos. Subervi et al. also found that out of 548 hours of network news in 2004, only three hours and 25 minutes were about Latinos. According to Subervi et al., it is important to note that Latino coverage does not only misrepresent Latinos but it also lacks complexity since 33% of the stories portraying Latinos lasted 30 seconds or less. Subervi et al. concluded that Latinos are presented as a problem and as a “burden to society”.

Negrón-Muntaner et al. (2014) found that news about crime dominated news coverage of Latinos. In 2012 and 2013, the story of George Zimmerman, the man known

for shooting Trayvon Martin, was the only major news story that included a Latino. Zimmerman's actions sparked national protests, which led to him being charged with second degree murder, and later resulted in his acquittal.

In regards to the adverse images that the media portray of Latinos, Amaya (2013) noted that "the mainstreaming of nativism of the past two decades has meant that noncitizen Latinas/os can be part of news and political speech only as problems, as threats, and, of course, as foreigners" (p. 190). In addition, Santa Ana (2013) noted that, "the news status quo constitutes national erasure of Latinos and perpetuate bias" (p. 15).

When addressing this misrepresentation, the role of the press as a fourth state was constantly mentioned and discussed. As Santa Ana (2013) wrote, "the networks have failed their fourth estate responsibility to establish a full and adequate picture of the nation and world" (p. 6). Similarly, Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) concluded that the press has the responsibility to inform readers so that democracy and society can function. The authors noted that journalism is modern cartography because "it creates a map for citizens to navigate society" (p. 208). According to them, seeing journalism as mapmaking shows that proportion and comprehensiveness are crucial to accuracy. Kovach and Rosenstiel wrote that this map should include news representative of all communities and not just include news of those with popular and desired demographics. However, Santa Ana wrote, "raw numbers indicate that the networks have failed to keep Americans informed about the increasingly important US Latino communities" (p. 6) and highlighted journalists as partially responsible for this misrepresentation and exclusion.

Similarly, Silver (1986) agreed with Santa Ana and noted this underrepresentation invalidates the press' responsibility to aid democracy.

**Latinos as a source.** Not only are Latinos misrepresented and absent as subjects in the news, but also their perspectives are missing (Campbell, 1995; Shirley, 1992). In a study by Mohamed and Fleming Rife (2003) the authors noted that the opinions of Latinos and other minorities as news sources, were only included in stories dealing with race (p. 57). During the 1980s newspapers owned by the Gannett group quoted Latinos and other minorities in every story to produce a "mainstreaming" effect (Basheda 1995). According to this measure, Latinos were quoted in everyday stories that were not necessarily about race. As a result, it was determined that news sources have a defining effect on the news because the gatekeeping power of the media originates from the way they choose sources, which affects the framing of the stories (Lasorsa & Reese, 1990). Mohamed and Fleming-Rife tested Entman's theory (1993) and noted that stories including minority sources included predictable themes such as "advocacy of narrow interests, complaints about their conditions in society, anger about real or perceived social injustices and public policies, and general criticism of the prevailing social order" (p. 66). Entman also found that angry words and tones were associated with minorities.

Mohamed and Fleming-Rife (2003), wrote that the way in which news organizations use minority sources is key to the "understanding of consensus building processes as well as the dynamics of inter-group conflict" (p. 68). Their study confirmed Entman's (1993) hypothesis and showed that news source behavior affects the way news consumers connect Latinos with disliked attitudes toward particular social and political issues. The

authors concluded that "it helps feed the climate of racial animus that we live in within the United States" (p. 70). Amaya (2013) wrote about Spanish media and noted that "the Latino public sphere which relies heavily on Spanish-language media, does not reach the linguistic majority and thus remains isolated" (p. 64). Although Latinos are the main sources in Spanish media, they remain invisible to most of the society because of their absence as sources in English media because as Amaya wrote, "Latinas/os struggle to get access to English-language media but have significant access to Spanish-language media" (p. 42). In addition, Gutierrez (1980) found that the news media tend to include sources that are unfamiliar with the Latino community and the issues affecting them.

**Social Media and news outlets.** Questioning the underrepresentation of minorities in the news media has been happening for many years. There have been measures proposed to combat this issue and technological and societal advancements have been highlighted as beacons of hope and change. Hermida, Lewis, and Zamith (2012) suggested that social media could improve the diversity of the media discourse. Artwick (2014) noted that "despite the promise of diversity offered through Twitter, this technology exists within the hegemony of social, political, and institutional arenas" (p. 1115), which means that although it is an innovative tool for communication, it is bound by societal forces. Hermida et al. only focused on Twitter and noted that when it is examined and reviewed in the context of mainstream media, "it is framed within the context of established journalism norms and values" (p. 15). In regards to the different actions taken by media conglomerates to improve diversity in the media, Guskin and Anderson (2014) noted that since 2010, "six national Hispanic outlets have been launched, all of which are either

owned in full or in partnership by a general-market media company. Not all have been successes.” The efforts of news organizations to present more diverse content and appeal to Latinos appear to have failed, but the reasons behind this failure have not been identified yet.

When addressing the way news outlets use social media, Holcomb, Gross, and Mitchell (2011) noted that Twitter is used as a platform to disseminate news, much like traditional news. Holcomb et al. found that news organizations tend to post links to their content and direct users to their websites, which means that social media behavior is not different from legacy media and remains standard. Holcomb et al. also wrote that news organizations tweeted 33 times per day on average, and 93% of their posts directed readers to their website and content. This study found that news organizations are not using social media in innovative ways. Holcomb et al. noted that there was not a significant difference between legacy media and their social media profile. The agenda promoted on Twitter and Facebook matched the legacy platform of the news source. Although there were more tweets and posts on a particular topic, there was no structured order or hierarchy because of the nature of social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. There was no front-page-status like in traditional newspapers, where stories are prioritized and are arranged by their importance.

Sherwood and Nicholson (2012) wrote that journalists use Twitter to "monitor and research news" (p. 945), meaning that social media have become a powerful tool for journalists not only for disseminating news, but also for reporting and research. In addition, Lasorsa, Lewis, and Holton (2012) noted that journalists tend to regularize

Twitter so that it follows journalistic practices, which means that journalists have a great responsibility and their impact transcends to social media. According to Hermida et al. (2012), social media have the hidden and dormant power to alter society's configurations and structures. Consequently, it is important to examine its role and impact on traditional journalism. When looking at the users of social media, Matsa and Mitchell (2014) wrote that half of Facebook and Twitter users obtain their news from these two platforms. However, they noted that only 34% of Facebook users, who consume news, follow or "like" a news organization or journalist. Matsa and Mitchell determined that 78% of Facebook users read news on Facebook for other reasons, which included seeing a link shared by a friend. They also found that there is a broad range of topics on Facebook, with 75% of the news being about entertainment.

In a report by the Pew Research Center, Barthel, Shearer, Gottfried, and Mitchell (2015) wrote that using Facebook and Twitter as a source to read and find news is increasing every year, and these two sites are now platforms to learn about news and current events. For instance, they noted that 63% of Facebook and Twitter users use social media for this purpose. In 2011 news organizations were not using Facebook and Twitter as reporting tools, and only 2% of the postings asked users to provide information (Barthel et al., 2015). Today, these numbers have changed because of an increase in the use of social media by news organizations and the emergence of interactivity features.

Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, and Patten (2013) focused on Latino users and noted that 68% of Latino Internet users use Facebook, Twitter, and other social media platforms. In comparison, a study by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press found that



58% of all users in the United States access social media sites. According to the study performed by Lopez et al., Latinos are the highest users of social media. Matsa and Mitchell also found that English is the dominant language among Facebook and Twitter users, including among Latinos.

**Media framing.** Media framing is defined as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss & Ghanem, 1991). Robert Entman (1993) noted that frames are manifested “by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.” Bateson (1972) found that a frame identifies a relationship between the elements of a text. Entman wrote, “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). As noted by Gamson (1992), frames usually “diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe.” Similarly, Entman suggested that frames “define problems, diagnose causes, make more judgments, and suggest remedies” (p. 52).

A framing analysis is a method widely used in mass communication research. Ryan (1991) defined framing analysis as “a tool for ordering information about how people perceive political problems.” She also wrote that a framing analysis can be used to “listen and grasp the fears and pains of a class, community, or a nation, and then crystalize their understanding of a problem.” A framing analysis studies framing as a

concept and allows for greater cultural understanding than a content analysis (Ryan, 1991). A framing study was chosen because as McConnell (2011) noted:

Scholars invoking the framing perspective explore media professionals' use of media texts as organizing device that structure information and help shape the social world ... Through framing, members of the media create particular interpretations through the selection, emphasis and juxtaposition of material ... Consequently, media organizations help produce discourse that do not simply reflect an objective reality (p. 181)

**Theoretical framework for study.** Although all the literature reviewed in this section was relevant to the topic and provided the necessary context and background, there were some authors whose research is crucial to the misrepresentation and exclusion of Latinos in social media. These included Santa Ana's book and continuous research on the representation and misrepresentation of Latinos in television network news, because of the framework and rationale he proposed in his book. Another important work was the "Latino Media Gap Report" by Negrón-Muntaner et al. (2014), which provided recent statistics and reports that serve as the context of the absence of Latinos in the media, in regards to their population. Although this report gave an overview of the media in general, it was a useful guide to understanding the key figures of this issue. Amaya's (2013) research is important because it is one of the most recent works that examined this issue and placed the focus on what the author called "citizenship excess." Amaya also integrated different theories such as the public sphere theory to examine the presence of Latinos in the media through a communication studies lens.

Theories such as Latino critical race theory and the works of Delgado and Stefancic (2001) provided useful framework to understand the implications of the exclusion of Latinos from the news. Although critical race theory emerged as a theory from legal

studies, it has been applied to media studies to explain the external societal factors that affect Latinos and the media, and how this exclusion is affected by the relationship of race and power.

In regards to social media and journalism, research by Hermida et al., (2012) was the focus of many studies, and their work provided the journalistic component of this topic. Artwick's (2014) work is one of the most relevant studies when it comes to the social media aspect because her study focused on Twitter and the presence of women as news sources in social media. Artwick concluded that although women spend more time on social media, specifically on Twitter, their perspectives and experiences are excluded from the news.

### **Research Questions**

The purpose of this study was to determine how Latinos were framed in the Facebook pages of the six legacy news organizations. The questions are as follows:

RQ1: What were the frames used by the Facebook pages of the six news organizations?

RQ2: What were the dominant frames in the Facebook pages of the newspapers?

RQ3: What were the dominant frames in the Facebook pages of the television news?

RQ4: Was there a difference between the way Latinos were framed by the Facebook pages of the three newspapers and three television news?

### **Definition of Terms**

For the purpose of this study, the term *Latino* is the preferred term used instead of *Hispanic*, since it includes people from Spain who are a very different group with a

distinctive culture and history. Latino refers to people of Latin American ancestry who were born in the United States or those who, although they were born in Latin America, permanently reside or grew up in the United States. Latin America encompasses Mexico, Central America, Spanish speaking countries in the Caribbean, and South America. It is important to make this distinction because, as previously stated, Latinos represent 17% of the U.S. population.

It should be noted that, since Latinos living in Latin America are outsiders to the issues that affect this segment of the population living in the United States, they are not included in this study.

## Method

The study uses a quantitative framing approach to data gathering. Specifically, the study provides an analysis of the way that Latinos are framed on the Facebook pages of the three newspapers and three TV networks. A set of frames or themes were developed based on a search of terms used in the mass media literature about the presence and representation of Latinos in the news media.

The Facebook pages of CNN News, NBC News, Fox News, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Los Angeles Times* were examined. Although these outlets represent different formats, each has a Facebook page which they use to disseminate content. The TV networks were chosen because they have the largest number of likes on their Facebook pages. For instance, CNN News has 20,981,425 likes, Fox News has 12,053,081, and NBC News has 6,871,208. Also, *The New York Times* has 10,907,558 likes, *The Washington Post* has 3,958,853, and the *Los Angeles Times* has 2,085,587. All of the Facebook pages of the TV networks provide national and international news, and the newspapers provide news that ranges from local to international news.

The period of analysis was one year, from July 1, 2015, to June 30, 2016. The data were gathered through a keyword search of the Facebook pages by using Facebook's search tool. As noted, the keywords were based on words found in the literature reviewed. There were two levels of keywords, the first level included: *Latino*, *Latina*, *Hispanic*, *Mexican*, *Mexico*, and *Spanish*. These were combined with the second level of keywords, which included: *Immigration*, *illegal*, *undocumented*, *drug*, *crime*,

*hardworking, American dream, politics, vote, citizenship, legal status, alien, celebrity, culture, success, diversity, dreamers, and deportation.*

News stories and feature pieces about Latinos were included in the study. Opinion pieces, multimedia content such as graphics and videos were excluded. The criterion for determining whether a story was included in the study was whether the article included any of the six first level keywords. In the case of the word Spanish, if the story was not about Latinos it was excluded. If any of the first level keywords was mentioned, the story was included.

Using Facebook's search tool, the Facebook pages for each of the six news organizations were searched for the first level keywords. A total of 557 articles found in the keyword search were analyzed. The sample size for each news organization is as follows: *The New York Times* (N = 90), *The Los Angeles Times* (N = 130), *The Washington Post* (N = 84), CNN News (N = 57), NBC News (N = 104), and Fox News (N = 92). I identified the most common frames and subframes present in the articles. If some of the news articles contained more than one frame or subframe, they were included in the study; some of the news articles that were coded included more than one frame or subframe.

I began with three frames from a study by Nielsen (2013) about the framing of Sotomayor, five frames from a report by Suverbi et al. (2005), and two frames by a study on the framing of Latinas by Correa (2010). As expected, since the frames were specific to the particular studies, only one of the three frames from the Sotomayor study was used

and only two of the four frames from the Subervi et al. were used. From Correa's study two frames were used.

These were the initial frames from the literature:

1. Latino bloc (Sotomayor study)
2. Pursuing American dream (Sotomayor study)
3. Burden of Diversity (Sotomayor study)
4. Criminal (Brownout report)
5. Latinos as the Other (Brownout report)
6. Threat to public (Brownout report)
7. Pursuing American dream (Brownout report)
8. Oppression (Framing of Latinas)
9. Success (Framing of Latinas)

A pretest was performed and the month of June was coded. The following frames and subframes were identified in the early part of the coding: immigration, deportation, undocumented, politics, Latino politician, drug dealer and gang member. During the pretest, no positive frames were identified. The data had to be recoded to include the frames and subframes identified in the pretest. As noted by Van Gorp (2007), flexibility during the collection of the data is a must since this is part of the nature of a framing analysis. The frames and subframes identified for the study are as follows:

#### 1. Politics

Latino politician

Latino bloc

2. Immigration

Deportation

Undocumented

3. Criminal

Drug dealer

Gang member

4. Success

Hardworking

Family sacrifice

Educated

Celebrity

5. Oppression

Economic oppression

Discrimination

6. Diversity

7. Latinos as the Other.

**Frame Definitions**

1. Politics: This frame, which focused on politics in general, was an important frame for this study because the second half of the sample coincided with the presidential primary campaigns that took place from January 1, 2016, to June 30, 2016. The two subframes under this frame were Latino politician and Latino bloc.



Latino politician: In this subframe, Latinos were presented as politicians at all levels of government. For example, politicians at the national level included Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz.

Latino bloc: This subframe focused on the instances in which Latinos were treated as a "homogenous group" (Nielsen, 2013).

2. Immigration: This frame focused on stories about Latino immigration. This frame included two subframes which dealt with specific aspects of immigration: deportation and undocumented immigration.

Deportation: This subframe was defined as articles that focused on deportation of Latinos and the implications and effects of deportation. Latinos were framed as individuals who are always deported.

Undocumented: This subframe focused specifically on articles that were about undocumented Latinos and illegal immigration.

3. Criminal: This frame was defined as articles that focused on crimes committed by Latinos. Two subframes were included: drug dealer and gang member.

Drug dealer: This subframe focused on news stories that were about drugs and drug transactions that involved Latinos.

Gang member: This subframe was about stories that talked about Latino gang members and gang related crime.

4. Success: This frame focused on news stories that depicted Latino success and accomplishments. Four subframes were included:

Hardworking: This subframe focused on stories about Latinos as hardworking individuals.

Family sacrifice: This subframe was defined as articles that specifically framed Latinos as family oriented people who had to make sacrifices.

Educated: This subframe focused on the portrayal of Latinos as educated individuals or having educational accomplishments.

Celebrity: This subframe focused on Latino celebrities.

5. Oppression: According to Correa (2010), this frame shows Latinos “as victims and hampered by adverse conditions” (p. 433). This frame was divided into two subframes.

Poverty: This subframe focused on economic disadvantages and poverty.

Discrimination: This subframe focused on stories about discrimination of Latinos.

6. Diversity: This frame focused on biculturalism with Latinos portray as part of a diverse society.

7. Latinos as the Other: This frame focused on Latinos as a distinct segment of the population rather than as being part of the U.S. society as a whole. This frame was defined as articles that show Latinos as the "Other," which according to Hall (1980) referred to classifying Latinos as being outside of the dominant culture.

## Results

The purpose of the study was to identify Latino frames and to determine how Latinos were framed in the Facebook pages six legacy news organizations. The three newspapers and three news networks included in the study were, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, NBC News, CNN News, and Fox News.

The immigration frame dominated the coverage of Latinos with 61% of all of the articles studied using this frame. The second most dominant frame was the political frame, which was found in 52% of the articles. The third most dominant frame was the Other frame, which was used in 24% of the articles, and the fourth most dominant was the criminal frame with 18%. The Oppression frame was used in 12% of the articles, and the diversity and success frames were each found in 9% of the articles.

### Analysis of Frames

This thesis provides a descriptive analysis of the frames in the Facebook pages of six legacy news organizations during the time period July 1, 2015, to June 30, 2016. Table 1 shows the combined results for all the frames present in the six Facebook pages and answers the first research question.

### Frames in the Six Legacy News Media

**Immigration.** As shown in Table 1, immigration dominated the coverage with 61% of the stories containing the immigration frame. The deportation subframe was present in 25% of the stories, and the undocumented subframe was found in 33%. The frames analyzed showed that Latinos are primarily framed as immigrants.

Table 1  
*Latino Frames in The Six Legacy News Media From July 1, 2015 to June 30, 2016*

<b>Frames</b>	<b>N = 557</b>	<b>%</b>
<b><u>Immigration</u></b>	<b>343</b>	<b>61%</b>
Deportation	138	25
Undocumented	184	33
<b><u>Politics</u></b>	<b>290</b>	<b>52</b>
Latino Politician	30	5
Latino bloc	130	23
<b><u>Other</u></b>	<b>137</b>	<b>24</b>
<b><u>Criminal</u></b>	<b>102</b>	<b>18</b>
Drug dealer	36	6
Gang member	9	2
<b><u>Oppression</u></b>	<b>65</b>	<b>12</b>
Poverty	12	2
Discrimination	39	7
<b><u>Success</u></b>	<b>51</b>	<b>9</b>
Hardworking	39	7
Family sacrifice	7	1
Educated	16	3
Celebrity	24	4
<b><u>Diversity</u></b>	<b>48</b>	<b>9</b>

*Note.* Percentages in the table add to more than 100% because some stories contained more than one frame.

**Politics.** As seen in Table 1, the politics frame was present in 52% of the stories. It is worth noting that, since the second half of the year was dominated by election coverage, it is not surprising that the politics frame was the second most dominant frame.

However, Latino politicians were found in 5% of the stories, and 23% of the stories framed Latinos as a homogenous group or Latino bloc (Nielsen, 2013).

**Latinos as the other.** Latinos were framed as the Other in 24% of the stories. This was the third most dominant frame. Instead of being framed as a part of the U.S. society, Latinos were framed as distant others despite the fact that many are U.S. citizens. This

frame was present in articles that portrayed Latinos as members outside of the dominant culture. However, Gutierrez (1980) states:

The need to understand the Other and his or her otherness is becoming indispensable because it is integration more and more into the social-cultural, economic and political life of the United States (p. 5)

**Criminal.** Stories that framed Latinos as criminals constituted 18% of the stories. This was the fourth most dominant frame. Under the criminal frame, two subframes were identified: the drug dealer frame which was present in 6% of the stories and the gang member frame which was found in 2% of the stories. This frame was found in the literature reviewed and it was studied because previous reports have shown that 66% of news about Latinos focus on crime, terrorism, and illegal immigration (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, Figueroa, & Robson, 2014).

**Oppression.** The oppression frame was present in 12% of the stories and was the fifth most dominant frame. This frame was divided into two different subframes: poverty and discrimination. The economic oppression subframe was present in 2% of the articles found in the six Facebook pages, and the discrimination subframe was used in 7%.

**Success.** Stories about Latino success accounted for 9% of the coverage. This frame was the sixth most dominant frame. In addition, 7% of the articles framed Latinos as hardworking individuals, and 1% framed them as individuals who are willing to sacrifice for their family. The educated subframe was present in 3% of the articles. These articles were about successful and educated Latinos, who were framed as intelligent and studious individuals. For instance, the articles about the two Texas high school valedictorians who revealed they were undocumented immigrants were included in this frame. Stories

using the celebrity subframe represented 4% of the coverage. These stories were about Latino celebrities such as Sofia Vergara, Lin-Manuel Miranda, Eva Longoria, and others. The stories including this frame and its subframes highlighted the achievements of Latinos in different disciplines. However, this positive frame and subframes represented 9% of the coverage as compared with the other 91% of the stories which were either neutral or negative.

**Diversity.** This frame was used in the same percentage as the success frame, with 9% of the articles using this frame. The articles using this frame were about Latinos as a necessary ingredient for diversity. For instance, there was an article about technology companies, which framed Latinos as important components to a diverse environment.

### **Frames in the Three Newspapers**

**Immigration.** Table 2 answers the second research question and shows that the immigration frame and subframes were the most dominant frames in the *Los Angeles Times* coverage of Latinos, who were present in news stories about immigration reform, mass deportations at the United States-Mexico border, and about undocumented immigrants in California. Similarly, this was the most dominant frame in *The New York Times*. However, the use of subframes varied between the two newspapers, with the deportation subframe found in 19% of the articles in the *Los Angeles Times*, and only 4% in *The New York Times*. In contrast to the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, the most dominant frame in *The Washington Post* stories was the politics frame with 67% of the stories using this frame. *The Washington Post's* use of subframes was similar to that of the *Los Angeles Times*, with the deportation subframe found in 18% of the stories.

In addition, the undocumented subframe was used in 21%, as compared to the 23% of the *Los Angeles Times*.

Table 2  
*Latino Frames in the Three Newspapers from July 1, 2015 to June 30, 2016*

<b>Frames</b>	<b><i>Los Angeles Times</i> % (N = 130)</b>	<b><i>New York Times</i> % (N = 90)</b>	<b><i>Washington Post</i> % (N = 84)</b>
<b><u>Immigration</u></b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>50%</b>
Deportation	19	4	18
Undocumented	23	39	21
<b><u>Politics</u></b>	<b>38</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>67</b>
Latino Politician	0.8	14	8
Latino bloc	26	29	27
<b><u>Latinos as the Other</u></b>	<b>13</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>19</b>
<b><u>Criminal</u></b>	<b>21</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>
Drug dealer	11	4	5
Gang member	3	2	0
<b><u>Oppression</u></b>	<b>6</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>8</b>
Poverty	7	1	1
Discrimination	5	8	17
<b><u>Success</u></b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>
Hardworking	15	8	12
Family sacrifice	4	0	0
Educated	5	3	4
Celebrity	3	3	2
<b><u>Diversity</u></b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>

*Note.* Percentages in the table add to more than 100% because some stories contained more than one frame

**Politics.** Table 2 shows that the politics frame was used in 38% of the stories published by the *Los Angeles Times*, as compared to the 62% in *The New York Times* and the 67% of articles using this frame in *The Washington Post*. In the *Los Angeles Times*, the Latino politician subframe was used in only 0.8% of the stories. This result is surprising since Latinos hold 1 in 4 assembly seats and 27 of 58 counties in California. In comparison, the Latino politician subframe was found in 14% of the stories in *The New York Times* and in 8% of the articles published by *The Washington Post*. The stories

in this subframe included stories about presidential candidates, Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz. In addition, Latino politicians such as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Julian Castro and Congressman Xavier Becerra, were mentioned. As Table 2 shows, the Latino bloc subframe was found in slightly more than one fourth of the articles in all newspapers, despite the fact that Latinos are not homogenous. The papers treated Latinos as being “the Latino bloc”. The articles using this subframe were about Latino voters or the Latino population, and despite of their different cultural traits, the articles used the Latino bloc frame to portray Latinos as a homogenous group.

**Latinos as the other.** Table 2 shows that in the *Los Angeles Times*, the Latinos as the Other frame was found in 13% of the articles collected from its Facebook page. This frame did not have subframes and was present in articles that described Latinos as distant Others, despite of them being born in the U.S. The articles with this frame focused on subjects being Latinos. In addition, *The Washington Post* included this frame in 19% of the articles. This frame was found in 22% of the articles in the *New York Times*, a higher percentage than the other two newspapers. Articles were classified under this frame if a particular and unnecessary emphasis on Latino ethnicity was given to the subjects of the news article. The terms both Hispanic and Latino were employed in the articles.

**Criminal.** Table 2 shows that articles with the criminal frame accounted for one fifth of the articles posted on the Facebook page of the *Los Angeles Times*, as compared to only 7% of the articles in *The Washington Post*. Similar to the *Los Angeles Times*, this frame was present in 18% of the articles in the *The New York Times*. The drug dealer subframe was found in all three newspapers. In the *Los Angeles Times*, the articles with



this frame were about crimes committed by Latino gangs in the Los Angeles Area. Drug crimes at the United States-Mexican border also included this subframe. There were articles with an immigration frame, which also included the crime frame because the articles were about undocumented immigrants being detained at the border, or at immigration centers throughout California.

Although the gang member subframe was found in 3% of the articles in the *Los Angeles Times* and 2% in *The New York Times*, this frame was not included in any of *The Washington Post's* articles.

**Oppression.** Only 6% of the articles in the Facebook page of the *Los Angeles Times* used this frame. In comparison, this frame was found in 27% of the articles published by the *The New York Times*. Similar to the *Los Angeles Times*, only 8% of the articles in *The Post* included this frame. One of the *Los Angeles Times* articles using this frame, was about the killings of Latinos by police officers. The article highlighted the fact that there was a lack of coverage or support for the victims' families. *The New York Times* used this frame in articles about racial profiling in websites designed to connect neighbors, and when covering the Orlando Shooting in which the majority of the victims were Puerto Rican.

The poverty subframe was used in articles about poverty rates, housing issues, and unemployment. In addition, the discrimination subframe was in 17% of *The Post's* articles, as compared to the 5% of the *Los Angeles Times* and 8% of *The New York Times*. *The Washington Post* used the discrimination subframe in articles about Donald Trump and his comments about Mexicans. The *Los Angeles Times* used this subframe in stories

about the Latino federal judge in the Trump University case, and the reactions by Latino leaders across the U.S. The *The New York Times* articles using this frame included topics like Univision's Anchor, Maria Elena Salinas, and the criticism she received for speaking Spanish at a graduation ceremony in Fullerton, California.

**Success.** This frame was in 12% of the articles found in the Facebook page of *The Washington Post*, as compared to only 6% in the *Los Angeles Times*. *The New York Times* used this frame in 11% of the stories. In the *Los Angeles Times*, the articles were about successful Latinos, local students and their test scores, distinguished Latino leaders who were not politicians, and other human interest success stories highlighting Latinos.

In contrast, the articles in *The New York Times* were about Latino politicians such as Julian Castro, Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor, and in some instances about Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio. The educated subframe was found in low percentages across all newspapers, with 5% in the *Los Angeles Times*, 3% in *The New York Times*, and 4% in *The Washington Post*.

**Diversity.** This frame was used in articles that highlighted the importance of diversity. For instance, one article using this frame was about a Latina engineer who added diversity to her field. This frame was used to portray Latinos as necessary for diversity.

### **Frames in the Three TV Networks**

**Immigration.** Table 3 answers the third research question about the most dominant frames in the three TV networks. In addition, it shows that the immigration frame was the most dominant frame used by Fox News, with 75% of the stories posted on its

Facebook page using this frame. In addition, this frame was also dominant in the Facebook page of NBC News, with 63% of the articles. In contrast, the immigration frame was the second most dominant frame in the Facebook page of CNN News. It is worth noting that in Fox News the stories using the undocumented frame included the terms, “illegal immigration” and “illegal immigrant”. In addition, the stories focused on immigration as a political issue, Latinos as the most dominant immigrant group, and immigration as a national problem.

Table 3  
*Latino Frames in the Three TV Networks from July 1, 2015 to June 30, 2016*

<b>Frames</b>	<b>Fox News % (N = 92)</b>	<b>CNN News % (N = 57)</b>	<b>NBC News % (N = 104)</b>
<b><u>Immigration</u></b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>63%</b>
Deportation	15	12	4
Undocumented	48	33	36
<b><u>Politics</u></b>	<b>37</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>52</b>
Latino politician	3	5	3
Latino bloc	15	16	23
<b><u>Other</u></b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>24</b>
<b><u>Criminal</u></b>	<b>41</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>
Drug dealer	6	7	4
Gang member	2	0	1
<b><u>Oppression</u></b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12</b>
Poverty	0	0	1
Discrimination	0	12	5
<b><u>Success</u></b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>17</b>
Hardworking	2	3	5
Family sacrifice	2	0	0
Educated	2	0	1
Celebrity	5	5	7
<b><u>Diversity</u></b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>

*Note.* Percentages in the table add to more than 100% because some stories contained more than one frame.

**Politics.** The politics frame was the most dominant frame in the articles from the Facebook page of CNN News, with 72% of the stories using this frame. In contrast, Fox News used the politics frame in 37% of the stories published and NBC News in 52%. The articles with this frame were about Latinos as a political issue, the 2016 presidential election, and about Donald Trump. The Latino bloc subframe was used in 23% of articles in NBC News, 15% of the articles in Fox News and in 16% of the articles in CNN News. The articles using this subframe were about the collective behavior of Latino voters. Latinos were described as a political body and were grouped together through the use of sentences like "Latino voters are..." or "Latinos feel" (Nielsen, 2013).

**Latinos as the other.** As shown in Table 3, this frame was used in 40% of the articles posted on the Facebook pages of Fox News and NBC News. In contrast, the Other frame was used in 24% of articles in CNN News. The articles using this frame included topics like education, poverty, and immigration. These issues were framed as not affecting the dominant population. In addition, the stories emphasized the Otherness of Latinos, by placing all Latinos outside of the dominant culture and by communicating that Latinos are different and do not belong to the U.S. society.

**Criminal.** Fox News used the criminal frame in 41% of the articles on its Facebook page. In contrast, this frame was used in 17% of the CNN News stories and in 7% of the NBC News articles. Fox News used the criminal frame more than the other two Facebook pages of TV news media. The articles with this frame were about crimes committed by undocumented immigrants, in which the Latino ethnicity of the subject and the legal status were emphasized. For instance, there were articles about the killing of

Kate Steinle, a San Francisco tourist, by an undocumented immigrant. Fox News depicted undocumented immigrants and their unlawful status as a crime. The drug dealer subframe was used in lower percentages compared to the criminal frame, with 6% in Fox News, 7% in CNN News, and 4% in NBC News. The gang member subframe was not found in any story posted on the Facebook page of CNN News. In comparison, 2% of articles in Fox News used this subframe and 1% in NBC News. The articles containing the criminal frame were about the NBL player Jerry Mejia, who received a lifetime ban from baseball. There were also articles about Latino money launderers arrested in the U.S.

**Oppression.** The oppression frame ranged from 12% in NBC News to 9% in Fox News and CNN News. The poverty subframe was not found in Fox News and CNN News, but NBC News used the frame in 1% of the articles. In addition, the discrimination frame was not used in Fox News, but was used only 5% in NBC News. CNN News used this frame in 12% of the articles, a higher percentage than the other two TV networks. For instance, in CNN News, one of the articles using this subframe was about a bank being forced to pay \$33 million for racial discrimination. In NBC News, the poverty and discrimination subframes were used in an article about the difficulties that Latinos experience when buying a home.

**Success.** Although the success frame was found in 17% of articles in NBC News, it barely registered in CNN News (5%) and Fox News (2%). In Fox news the articles with this frame were about hardworking Latinos who support Donald Trump. One of the articles was about a restaurant owner facing criticism because of her support for the

presidential candidate. Another article discussed the trajectory of Secretary Julian Castro, who was framed as a successful and hardworking Latino leader.

**Diversity.** NBC News had the highest percentage of the diversity frame, with 15% of the stories using this frame. In contrast, CNN News did not use this frame at all, and Fox News used the frame in 6% of its stories.

**Comparison Between the Three Newspapers and the Three TV Network News**

Table 4 shows the number of frames used by the three newspapers and the three TV networks. To answer the fourth research question, an ANOVA test was performed. This test was used to determine if there was a statistically significant difference between the framing of Latinos by the three newspapers and the three TV networks. An analysis of variance showed that there was not a statistical difference between the framing of Latinos by the three newspapers and the three TV networks,  $F(2, 35) = 0.1007$   $p = 0.90$ . The fact that there was no statistical difference is an important finding because it shows that the six legacy news organizations frame Latinos in the same way.

Table 4  
*Latino Frames in the Three Newspapers and Three TV Networks from July 1, 2015 to June 30, 2016*

<b>Frames</b>	<b>Newspapers (N = 304)</b>	<b>Network news (N = 253)</b>
<b><u>Politics</u></b>	<b>161</b>	<b>129</b>
Latino politician	21	9
Latino bloc	83	47
<b><u>Immigration</u></b>	<b>172</b>	<b>17</b>
Deportation	44	25
Undocumented	83	101

**(Table 4-Continued on page 37)**

(Table 4-Continued from page 36)

<b>Frames</b>	<b>Newspapers (N = 304)</b>	<b>Network news (N = 253)</b>
<b><u>Criminal</u></b>	<b>50</b>	<b>52</b>
Drug dealer	22	14
Gang member	6	3
<b><u>Success</u></b>	<b>28</b>	<b>24</b>
Hardworking	30	2
Family sacrifice	5	2
Educated	16	3
Celebrity	9	21
<b><u>Oppression</u></b>	<b>39</b>	<b>26</b>
Economic oppression	11	1
Discrimination	27	12
<b><u>Diversity</u></b>	<b>26</b>	<b>22</b>
<b><u>Other</u></b>	<b>53</b>	<b>84</b>

*Note.* Percentages in the table add to more than 100% because some stories contained more than one frame.

## Conclusion

This study extends previous research on how Latinos are framed by the news media. During the initial search of the literature only three reported studies on the framing of Latinos were found. The Sotomayor study (Nielsen, 2013) was specific to the U.S. Supreme court justice, the Subervi et al. (2005) report focused on crime, and the study on the framing of Latinas (Correa 2010) only pertained to the way newspapers in Florida frame Latinas. This study updates ten-year-old research by Subervi et al.

The purpose of this study was to identify the Latino frames used by the legacy news media and analyze the way Latinos are framed in their Facebook pages. The representation of Latinos in the news is an important research topic because as noted by Kamalipour and Carrillo (1998), "the mass media play a crucial role in the enhancement or destruction of images of other people, places, religions, and nations of the world" (p. 19).

Although the study may have been affected by the fact this was an election period, the crime frame seemed to have improved. In comparison, previous reports about the representation of Latinos in the news have shown that news about Latinos account for less than 1% of the news, and 66% of that coverage focuses on crime, terrorism, and illegal immigration (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, Figueroa, & Robson, 2014). This study showed the different frames and subframes used in the articles published on the Facebook pages of a news organization.

The frames that were present in articles published on the Facebook pages of six legacy news organizations, which included *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*,



*The Los Angeles Times*, CNN News, Fox News, and NBC News were examined. Three newspapers and three TV news networks were chosen in order to obtain data from different news formats. A total of 557 news articles published between July 1, 2015, and June 30, 2016 were collected. There were 130 articles from *Los Angeles Times*, 90 from *The New York Times*, 84 from *The Washington Post*, 104 from NBC News, 57 from CNN News, and 92 from Fox News. A total of 19 frames and subframes were identified in the articles.

## **Discussion**

The study revealed the different frames used in the Facebook pages of six legacy news organizations. There were 19 frames and subframes in the articles analyzed for the study. As noted by Entman (1993), frames are an intrinsic part of the news media because:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (p.52)

The global results obtained showed that the immigration frame and its subframes dominated the coverage of Latinos in the period of study, which spanned from July 1, 2015, to June 30, 2016. The 557 articles of Latinos during the year studied used the immigration frame in 61% of the articles to portray Latinos. Under this frame, the undocumented subframe was used in 33% and the deportation subframe accounted for 25% of the frames used, which indicates that Latinos continue to be framed as immigrants and as undocumented immigrants. Immigration and undocumented

immigration continues to be framed as an exclusively Latino issue, which perpetuates the image of Latinos as immigrants.

Additionally, the political frame, used in 52% of the articles, occupied the second place as the most dominant frame. Latinos were the subjects of articles about politics, presidential elections, and legislature, which indicates that the Latino population is framed mostly in political terms, often as a political issue rather than as a vital part of the U.S. society. Twenty-three percent of the articles used the Latino bloc subframe, coined by Nielsen (2013) in her framing study of Sonia Sotomayor. This frame was used to group Latinos into a homogenous group who feels, acts, and thinks in the same way. As noted by Fernandez Ulloa (2014), "It is unquestionable that the interest in immigration and Latino groups is growing, but it becomes even more evident during the election cycle, since with more than 53 million Latinos, the Hispanic community has become the largest ethnic minority in the US". Since the second half of the year was dominated by election coverage, the political frame was the second most dominant frame.

The research also found that the criminal frame, identified in previous studies as a dominant frame in the coverage of Latinos, was only used in 18% of the articles. This represents a positive difference between the Facebook page of the news organization and its original format. Previous studies showed that 66% of the coverage about Latinos focused on crime and terrorism (Negrón-Muntaner, Abbas, Figueroa, and Robson, 2014). However, when looking at the individual Facebook page of Fox News, the study showed that the criminal frame was used 41% of the articles, a higher number than the other Facebook pages analyzed. According to Amaya (2013), "Latinas/os can be part of news

and political speech only as problems, as threats, and, of course, as foreigners” (p. 190). These results seem to partially coincide with Amaya’s findings.

Additionally, the success frame was identified as a positive frame used in a prior framing study by Correa (2010). However, this study yielded significantly lower percentages compared to Correa’s study, which found that 32% of the articles in the *Miami Herald* used the success frame. This might be related to the number of Latinos living in Miami. However, this study did not take into account this variable because it was beyond the scope of this thesis. The low percentage of the success frame might reveal that the coverage of Latinos shifted to the dominant frames of politics and immigration because the study took place during an election year. Similarly, the oppression frame was found in articles about the adverse situations Latinos experience. This frame was used in stories that framed Latinos as helpless victims who in many cases cannot be helped and cannot help themselves. The use of this frame was higher than the success frame, which might reveal that Latinos are more likely to be framed as the victims of all kinds of oppression rather than as successful individuals.

Finally, the diversity frame was found in only 9% of the articles. This frame was used to portray Latinos as a necessary element to achieve diversity. However, this frame was used in articles that lacked understanding of the diversity of the Latino population and ignored the diversity that exists among Latinos. Treating Latinos as the other continues to be a problem. As noted by Gutierrez (2013), English media tend to use the Otherness frames. He writes:

Although they reach multicultural, multiracial audiences, Anglo media have tended to view people of diverse cultures through eyes that see Anglo-Americans

as the norm and others as part of the norm. This 'us and others' media view has offered less accurate images, reporting, and coverage of people of color and the communities in which they live. This is especially apparent in the Anglo media's portrayal and coverage of Latinos. (p. 100)

This frame was used to portray Latinos as foreigners and outsiders who do not share commonalities with the mainstream population, despite being a vital part of the U.S. society.

Although there were articles about the same topics, the frames used differed by publication. Some articles used more than one frame. However, there was not a statistically significant difference between the frames used by the six newspapers and TV network news.

The question of underrepresentation of Latinos in the news published on the Facebook pages of the six news organizations could not be answered because in Facebook it was not possible to find the total number of articles published. Therefore, it is not viable to determine whether the underrepresentation that exists in the news media also exists on the Facebook pages of news organization. Media framing is a powerful technique, which appears to be incidental but has a direct effect on the audience.

### **Contributions to the Literature**

This study extended framing theory to cover social media and analyzed the way Latinos are framed in the Facebook pages of a news organization. This study looked at the news published on the Facebook page of a news organization, and showed that some of the frames used in traditional media also exist in the news articles published on Facebook. In addition, it showed that some of the frames that previous studies found were not present. The research adds to the literature that exists about the

misrepresentation and underrepresentation of Latinos in the news media. The study also adds to the computer mediated communication literature, which is a relevant topic because more news organizations are relying on Facebook to disseminate their content. The identification of three new frames and 11 subframes is also a contribution that will help future research.

### **Limitations to the Study**

The keyword search did not allow me to determine how many stories were published during the period used for the study. In addition, the political election might have affected the number of undocumented keywords that showed up during the study.

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