

Georgia State University

**ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University**

---

Communication Theses

Department of Communication

---

5-4-2007

## **Ethnic Media and Identity Construction: Content Analysis of the Visual Portrayals of Women in Latina and Glamour Magazines**

Patricia Ricle Mayorga

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/communication\\_theses](https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/communication_theses)



Part of the [Communication Commons](#)

---

### **Recommended Citation**

Ricle Mayorga, Patricia, "Ethnic Media and Identity Construction: Content Analysis of the Visual Portrayals of Women in Latina and Glamour Magazines." Thesis, Georgia State University, 2007.

doi: <https://doi.org/10.57709/1061288>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Communication at ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Communication Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@gsu.edu](mailto:scholarworks@gsu.edu).

**ETHNIC MEDIA AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION:  
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE VISUAL PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN IN  
LATINA AND GLAMOUR MAGAZINES**

by

**PATRICIA RICLE MAYORGA**

Under the Direction of Jaye Atkinson

**ABSTRACT**

Media are powerful agents of socialization; mediated images affect individual and group behavior as well as inter-group attitudes. In the case of the Hispanic/Latino community in the U.S., frequently underrepresented and stereotyped in mainstream media, identity politics and perspectives of self-representation are complicated by the vast diversity of this membership. This project analyzed the current discourse on Hispanic/Latino ethnic identity proposed by *Latina* magazine and its social standing in relation to the mainstream culture. A quantitative content analysis that compared *Latina's* visual portrayals of women to the female portrayals found in the mainstream magazine *Glamour* suggested that *Latina* constructed a homogenized and non-conflictive identity for Hispanic/Latino women; an identity that supports U.S. dominant discourses on ethnicity and race and is subjugated to marketing practices.

**INDEX WORDS:** ethnic media, Hispanics, Latinos, women, visual portrayals, images, magazines, ethnic identity, content analysis, *Latina* magazine.

**ETHNIC MEDIA AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION:  
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE VISUAL PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN IN  
LATINA AND GLAMOUR MAGAZINES**

by

**PATRICIA RICLE MAYORGA**

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
in the College of Arts and Sciences  
Georgia State University

2007

Copyright by  
Patricia Azucena Ricle Mayorga  
2007

**ETHNIC MEDIA AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION:  
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE VISUAL PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN IN  
LATINA AND GLAMOUR MAGAZINES**

by

**PATRICIA RICLE MAYORGA**

Major Professor:	Jaye Atkinson
Committee:	Yuki Fujioka
	Merrill Morris
	Mary Ann Ronski

Electronic version approved:

Office of Graduate Studies  
College of Arts and Sciences  
Georgia State University  
May 2007

### Dedication

I want to dedicate this thesis to Cecilia Mayorga, my mother, who believed in me unconditionally and opened the doors to the most wonderful experiences in my life. Her love, her spirit, her strength, and her incredible gift of kindness will continue to be my inspiration and example every day.

I also dedicate this project to Nathan Digby, my husband. Being your accomplice on the journey of life is my main, most exciting, and most rewarding project.

Thank you for so much love and growth.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my thesis director, Dr. Jaye Atkinson, for her contagious energy and never-ending positive attitude. She showed me the brightest side of quantitative research, which I did not believe was possible, and earned my admiration for being a superb professional and a wonderful human being.

I also want to thank Dr. Yuki Fujioka for believing in my aptitudes, challenging me to learn more than I thought I could, and for being a caring and involved teacher.

I am most grateful with Dr. Merrill Morris and Dr. Mary Ann Ronski for walking on this path with me as committee members and giving me such positive and enthusiastic feedback about this project.

I would also like to thank the professors who made me feel grateful to be in this program by teaching the most wonderful and inspiring classes, Dr. Greg Smith, Dr. Mary Stuckey, and Dr. James Darsey.

Finally, I would like to thank the Fulbright Program, for believing in me and giving me the opportunity to come to the United States and carry out this program as a Fulbright scholar.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	v
List of Tables	viii
Chapters	
I Introduction	1
II Literature Review	7
Theoretical Background	8
Issues of the Hispanic/Latino Identity	15
The Image of Hispanics/Latinos in the Mainstream Media	20
Hispanic/Latino Community and the Ethnic Media in the United States	27
Content Analyses of Hispanic/Latino Media Texts	34
III Method	43
Description of Sample	44
Coding	48
IV Results	56
RQ1: Portrayals of Women in Latina Magazine	56
RQ2: Portrayals of Women in Glamour Magazine	61
RQ3: A Comparison between Latina's and Glamour's Portrayals of Women	66
V Discussion	79
Images in Latina Magazine	79



Images in Glamour Magazine	90
Comparison of Images in Latina and Glamour Magazines	93
Summary	99
Limitations	100
Future Research	101
Conclusion	103
Reference List	106
Appendix	115

## List of Tables

Table 1: Intercoder Reliability for All Variables	55
Table 2: Frequencies of Top 5 Occupations	67
Table 3: Age-group Frequencies	68
Table 4: Hair Color Frequencies	69
Table 5: Eye Color Frequencies	70
Table 6: Skin Color Frequencies	71
Table 7: Body Size Frequencies	72
Table 8: Muscle Tone Frequencies	73
Table 9: Type of Background Frequencies	75
Table 10: Frequencies of Activities of Portrayed Subject	76
Table 11: Frequencies of Amount of Clothes Worn by Subject	77
Table 12: Type of Clothing Frequencies	

## Chapter I: Introduction

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2004), over forty million Hispanics or Latinos are currently residing in American territory, constituting the largest minority in the United States. The fact that this category is officially labeled with two different names constitutes the first encounter with a series of difficulties surrounding its definition. However, the recurrent and practically interchangeable use of the labels Hispanic and Latino in every-day American culture drifts attention away from the question of what the difference between being Hispanic or Latino may be or even what it means for a person to identify him/herself as Hispanic or Latino instead of Cuban, Ecuadorian or Argentinean. As a matter of fact, the millions of people who, inside the United States become Hispanic or Latino “are not a seamlessly uniform people... [they] do not necessarily share a culture or a common history... [they] are South Americans, Central Americans, Mexicans, Caribbeans, scrambled and sliced in different ways” (Arana, 2001). Thus, the complications in the Hispanic/Latino category go beyond labeling choices to involve issues of homogenization as well as stereotyping.

Hispanics/Latinos belong to a membership troubled by semantic indeterminacy and, consequently, mystified identities. What does it mean to be Hispanic/Latino? What does this ethnic identification stand for? These are primordial questions that very few are willing to pursue (Del Rio, 2005; Lao-Montes, 2001; Oboler, 1995). The recognition that there is no intrinsic Hispanic/Latino state of being brings about the problem of setting up boundaries that specify the scope of this concept, which still awaits satisfactory resolution (Gracia, 2000). Thus, convention has not been achieved as to whether it is

geographic region, the Spanish language, specific nationalities, blood line, or cultural involvement that defines a Hispanic/Latino identity.

As long as the Hispanic/Latino membership continues to lack a coherent definition, it is severely vulnerable and can lend itself to disjointed, arbitrary racial and ethnic interpretations and representations. Under these circumstances, Del Rio (2005) reports that it is evident from the media and popular culture that “the [Hispanic/]Latino cultural category has emerged as a coherent construct in the U.S. imaginary” (p.1). Evidently, such a phenomenon has not been brought about by the resolution of the problems of indeterminacy, marginalization, and domination that surround the Hispanic/Latino category; it is just the opposite. According to Del Rio (2005), a Hispanic/Latino identity has been materialized in the media by ignoring the inconsistencies of the labels and the diversity of this category while channeling mainstream discourses under its name.

The types of portrayals that are produced by the media are relevant because they are manifestations of the current discourses on the Latino community. Moreover, they are agents in the social processes of acculturation and/or pluralism and they influence both social and personal identities (Johnson, 2003). The concept of ethnic identity is of primordial importance for the understanding of what ethnic groups encounter in their position as minorities inside a dominant culture (Phinney, 1990). Social identity theory posits that people obtain positive reinforcement from a sense of belonging to a distinct group; particular memberships or social identities can be created on the basis of any commonly shared characteristics (Turner, 1999). Provided that the emergence of an ethnic identity implies the definition of the self in terms of a membership, the

individual's personal reality yields to the group's reality in an act of depersonalization that overruns his/her personal identity. Thus, if an ethnic membership holds an unfavorable status in society, this disadvantage can have serious consequences for the group's identity, for intergroup behavior, and for the individual (Turner, 1999).

The mass media are important agents of socialization (Gecas, 1992); they display societal conventions about the characteristics of specific groups that the audience then may acquire. Accordingly, media portrayals of the Hispanic/Latino membership disseminate dominant beliefs about the social status of this minority and through them people belonging to both the majority culture and this ethnic minority negotiate their social attitudes toward each other (Del Rio, 2005). Unfortunately, mass communication literature has repeatedly shown that mainstream media have produced scarce, negative, and stereotypical portrayals of Hispanics/Latinos (Del Rio, 2005; Guzman & Valdivia, 2004; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Taylor & Bang, 1997). Although there are few and more recent cases in which more appealing or palatable depictions of Hispanics/Latinos have been produced, their representations are still stereotypical and exoticized (Del Rio, 2005; Guzman & Valdivia, 2004). This seemingly positive shift in the tone with which mainstream media portrays Hispanics/Latinos has been attributed to the substantial growth of this population and its potential as a profitable market niche (Del Rio, 2005).

It is within this context that ethnic media, mass media directed to specific ethnic groups, create an opening for Hispanic/Latino self-representation. Ethnic media provide the means for minority members to participate in the production of media messages, to create more accurate and favorable portrayals, and ultimately, to conceive and

disseminate ethnic identities (Subervi-Velez, 1993). It is important to remember that while ethnic media can respond to assimilation and/or pluralism purposes (Subervi-Velez, 1986), there are, at the same time, many other functions that ethnic media may perform beyond pluralism and assimilation (Johnson, 2003). Thus, it would be a mistake to overlook the potential that ethnic media texts have for providing insight about ingroup dynamics, prevailing cultural messages, and social identification of the Hispanic/Latino membership. However, research on the content of Hispanic/Latino media texts is limited. Phinney's (1990) survey of research on ethnic identity evidenced that a good deal of attention has been given to the attitudes of majority groups towards minorities. Meanwhile, the relationships established among members of one ethnic group, which are most inherently connected to the constitution of their ethnic identity, have been little explored. For the case of research on the Hispanic/Latino minority this preference for outgroup-ingroup exchanges seems to outnumber interest in ingroup communication as well.

Among those Hispanic/Latino media texts that have captured the attention of scholars in the United States, magazines repeatedly appear as an important source for research. Johnson (2003) affirms that when targeting a membership that is as diverse as the Hispanic/Latino population, "ethnic media content may rely more on visual image-based ethnicity and less on language, especially since the Spanish language... differs from country to country and region to region" (p.281). Thus, magazines, with their meaning-laden visual components, provide researchers with high-quality still material that contributes to richer and more consistent methods of analyzing ethnic identities and manifestations. Furthermore, the direct influence on socialization and identification

processes that magazines exert in conjunction with their vividly visual nature have pointed researchers to the particular case of the female readership and their vulnerability to magazine visuals' impact (Johnson, 2003; Johnson, David & Huey, 2003, 2004; Pompper & Koenig, 2004; Valdivia, 2000).

Considering the above mentioned criteria, the bilingual women's magazine *Latina*, the second largest in circulation among magazines targeting Hispanics/Latinos (Flamm, 2005), stands out among similar ethnic media alternatives as having the "expect[ation] to produce an imagined panethnic Latino community that can be spoken of and understood in familial terms" and the determination to oppose the reduction of the Hispanic/Latino category to a homogeneous profile (Martinez, 2004, p.155). *Latina* currently reports a circulation of over four hundred thousand issues per year (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2006). *Latina* was launched in the year 1996 as a quarterly bilingual publication (Gremillion, 1996) that targeted college educated, acculturated Hispanic women between 18 and 45 years of age (Martinez, 2004). The magazine was enthusiastically welcomed in the market and it promptly turned into a monthly circulation with a very successful growth rate and an impressive group of advertisers to lend it support (Calvacca, 2000).

Having *Latina* magazine as a prevalent and successful ethnic media text, entirely produced by Hispanic/Latina women (Martinez, 2004), the first goal of this project is to analyze the visual portrayals of women produced by this magazine as manifestations of the cultural messages circulated within the Hispanic/Latino community. Considering that both mainstream and ethnic messages have the potential to perform the role of precursors of social/ethnic identities in the Hispanic/Latino audience, it is pertinent to have an

understanding of the visual portrayals of women found in mainstream media as well. Therefore, a second goal of this project is to compare the visual portrayals of women presented in the general audience magazine *Glamour* with those produced by *Latina*.



## Chapter II: Literature Review

Media messages have great influence on the processes of socialization and identification in today's societies. Mass communication literature shows that mainstream media in the United States have produced inaccurate and oversimplified portrayals of the very diverse and complex population of Hispanics/Latinos. At the same time, limited research is available on Hispanic/Latino ethnic media and the types of portrayals they produce of their own membership. Thus, this project intends to analyze the visual portrayals of women featured in the ethnic magazine *Latina* as well as in the mainstream magazine *Glamour*. The purpose of this analysis is to illustrate how the ethnic magazine socially constructs a visual conception of Hispanic/Latina women and how this representation may differ from or resemble the mainstream perspective disseminated in a mainstream medium such as *Glamour*.

Understanding the relevance of this issue requires developing a thorough and accurate vision of the main forces taking part in this communication process. Media use is a complex event that manifests its consequences both in social and individual behaviors. Social identities as well as personal identities are deeply influenced by mediated messages, which create constant renegotiations of the values and beliefs that guide human interaction. Furthermore, the context in which communication practices take place is equally important in the analysis and understanding of the content of media messages. In the case of the U.S. Hispanic/Latino community, its condition as a minority and its social status in the country are fundamental factors that are reflected on both

mainstream and ethnic media messages. Finally, the functions of ethnic media as a minority voice and the content of its messages in the face of a majority-dominated culture is another critical piece in the configuration of issues that make up this research project. Thus, this section will first introduce a review of relevant theories on social identity, media use and socialization, and the functions of ethnic media. Second, an examination of relevant issues of the U.S. Hispanic/Latino community will be covered. Then, an overview of research on the image of Hispanics/Latinos in the mainstream media will be presented and it will be followed by a survey of the Hispanic/Latino media in the United States.

### *Theoretical Background*

Social identity theory explains that individuals present an intrinsic need to find affirmation of their self-concept by belonging to specific social groups. When an identification with a group emerges, individuals define themselves and others in terms of their respective membership affiliations (Turner, 1999). Research suggests that a minimal sense of coalition is enough to generate a social identity and intergroup discrimination or a sense of difference between one's ingroup and outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 2001).

The mere sense of belonging to a group produces positive connotations or values in individuals that motivate them to enhance the similarities shared with ingroup members, as well as to enhance the differences with outgroup members, even at expense of the individual's particular traits (Tajfel & Turner, 2001). This process of self-effacement or depersonalization of the self is studied within the scope of self-categorization theory. Turner (1999) explains that "where social identity becomes

relatively more salient than personal identity, people see themselves less as differing individual persons and more as the similar, prototypical representatives of their ingroup category” (p.11). That is, individuals can forgo their own personal identity, their idiosyncratic characteristics, in order to adhere to an ingroup identity and create a contrast with an outgroup membership. Therefore, the emergence of a social identity implies the self- stereotyping or depersonalization of the self as well as the definition of the self “in terms of others who exist outside of the individual person doing the experiencing. [According to self-categorization theory,] psychologically, the social collectivity becomes self” (Turner, 1999, p.12).

Without a doubt, ethnicity is a construct that can motivate ingroup affiliation. While the specific cultural aspects that compose ethnicity have not been clearly delimited and vary greatly from one research project to another, ethnic identity has been often defined as “the ethnic component of social identity” (Phinney, 1990, p.500). While the sense of belonging to an ethnic ensemble may produce a positive reinforcement of the self-concept, any social identification is to a large extent dependent upon intergroup comparison. Hence, considering the psychological implications that social identification and self-categorization have for the individual, the social status of one’s ethnic membership, as compared to other ethnic groups in society, is of great importance. When the balance of this comparison is unfavorable for the ingroup both the ethnic identity and the positive self-regard it produces are threatened (Phinney, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 2001). Therefore, Phinney (1990) pointed out:

Attitudes toward one’s ethnicity are central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group and its culture are at best poorly

represented (politically, economically, and in the media) and are at worst discriminated against or even attacked verbally and physically; the concept of ethnic identity provides a way of understanding the need to assert oneself in the face of threats to one's identity (p. 499).

Since the profile and characteristics of social memberships are conceived outside the individual, the characteristics of one's ethnic identity are acquired over time through the process called socialization. Socialization refers, in general, to the interactive process through which individuals acquire the cultural characteristics and values of their groups and develop the identities that compose the self (Gecas, 2000). There are two different levels at which socialization occurs. Primary socialization takes place in the familial environment, mainly during childhood, and is considered as the most influential in a person's life. Secondary socialization occurs through all the other instances of communication that people participate in during the course of their lives in their social spheres, which results in the acquisition or modification of beliefs and values in the individual (Gecas, 2000).

In advanced societies, the mass media are among the most conspicuous and powerful agents of secondary socialization. Gecas (2000) pointed to television's ability to present fanciful portrayals of gender and ethnic stereotypes as reflections of reality, to alter behavior, and to modify tastes. Furthermore, Subervi-Velez (1986) reported that the literature on the assimilation functions of mainstream media contended that "access to, exposure to, and use of the mass media of the dominant group influences ethnics and migrants in their processes of learning about and taking part in the dominant society" (p.72). Likewise, Rios and Gaines (1998) acknowledged mass media's socialization

power by describing them as “widespread cultural agencies which develop cultural perspectives for majority and minority ethnic groups in the United States” (p. 746).

Therefore, the content of the mediated messages produced about the Hispanic/Latino population is of high relevance for the social status of the membership and the well being of its individuals, especially when the nature and definition of this category remains so contested.

When analyzing media functions and ethnic identity, Jeffres (2000) explained that while culture maintenance across generations is influenced by communication patterns, when it comes to the connection between ethnic identity and communication the study of this relationship must be developed with three important criteria in mind. First, the outcome of theoretical analyses of this relationship must not be assumed as stagnant when ethnic groups themselves are constantly changing. Second, the inherent diversity within ethnic groups’ members, that is, the differences between generations and their communication processes, should not be homogenized. Third, the role that communication technologies play in the process of cultural transference is mutable. In Jeffres’ (2000) view, “ethnicity is a result of actions not only by ethnic groups as they define themselves and their culture but also the result of external social, economic, and political processes” (p. 497). Evidently, mass media count as some of the external factors that affect the constitution of an ethnicity and the perpetuation of a culture. Both general audience and ethnic media contribute to the adoption, elimination, and modification of values, attitudes, and beliefs within groups as well as between in-groups and out-groups (Renz, 2003).

Research on immigrant ethnic groups and their use of mass media in a host culture has been most commonly conducted on the basis of the theoretical model of assimilation, which dominated the field for a prolonged time (Johnson, David, & Huey, 2003). The underlying assumption of assimilation is that an individual's original ethnic identity is lost in the process of acquiring a new identity within the dominant culture (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). Later on, models for the study of media use and minorities adopted the perspective of acculturation (Johnson, David, & Huey, 2003), which assumes that individuals will successfully integrate the host culture but will maintain some ethnic traits that will make their ethnic difference evident within the majority (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993).

More recently, studies have used pluralism as a theoretical platform for the analysis of ethnic media and their functions within minority groups (Johnson, David, & Huey, 2003). Pluralism assumes that individuals can maintain their original ethnic identities as well as develop a new identity within the larger host culture and still have positive attitudes towards both of them (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). It is important to mention that, according to Jeffres (2000), internal needs of a minority group may lead them to take either assimilation or pluralism attitudes at any given time. For instance, Jeffres (2000) explained, groups that feel threatened in their communal identity or social power by a growing diversity may opt for the enhancement of common characteristics; while groups that feel threatened by homogenization may try to turn to the factors that underlie their distinctiveness. Thus, media functions and ethnic identities are in constant change.

The functions of ethnic media in particular have been explored and outlined in Johnson's (2003) versatile model based upon research on Hispanic/Latino women's magazines. This model of ethnic media functions explains the mediated construction of an ethnic identity as a constant negotiation that takes place around the intersection of two axes. The vertical axis, denominated "Cultural Identity," runs between the polar functions of cultural dissemination and consumer persuasion. The horizontal axis, dubbed "Subcultural Identity," separates the functions of acknowledgement of different subgroup identities and its converse, the unification of subgroups.

Johnson (2003), among other scholars, has suggested that "ethnic media's major function is to deliver an audience to advertisers" (pg. 276). Thus, the "Cultural Identity" axis represents the editorial content of media texts drifting away from the creation of cultural messages in order to focus on messages that encourage the audience to consume specific products/services. Furthermore, the researcher affirmed that market interests equally affected the horizontal axis of this model. Johnson's (2000) research on Hispanic/Latino women's magazines showed that while these media texts did underscore national ethnic identities (e.g. Peruvian, Chilean, etc.), they did so with a sense of reminiscence, as if suggesting that these subgroup identities belonged in the past. At the same time, a "pan-Latina contemporary group identity" (Johnson, 2003, pg. 277) was advanced as the currently prevalent identification for the whole community. Thus, the "Subcultural Identity" axis displays the shift from the affirmation of ethnic diversity to the consolidation of a unified Hispanic/Latino cluster. This shift, the author argued, intended to create a larger and homogeneous category that could be readily turned into a market niche for advertisers.

These vertical and horizontal axes constitute the two identity dimensions that Johnson (2003) distinguishes as part of the mediated construction of an ethnic identity. The intersection of these two dimensions, the area where both axes meet, is the zone that nests hybridity. Johnson (2003) describes hybridity as a state of tension that rejects homogenization, purity, and essentialism. Hybridity entails the combination of native and foreign cultures and traditions without the elimination of their particular traits, condition that has been suggested as characteristic of the U.S. Hispanic/Latino category (Guzman & Valdivia, 2004; Johnson, 2003). Finally, on a second layer of analysis, Johnson's (2003) model takes into account the implications of ethnic media functions within the scope of the mainstream culture by introducing the concept of cultural projection.

The author defines cultural projection as the striving of a minority group to make itself visually present before other minorities and the mainstream culture through images that counteract past negative stereotypes. According to Johnson (2003), cultural projection has a direct influence on two variables: ethnic unity and empowerment. That is, depending on where a specific media text is positioned on the plane created by the intersection of the two identity dimensions, it will cause different impacts on the symbolic ethnic unity and empowerment of the minority group. Thus, the closer a media text is to being a cultural message, the more symbolic empowerment it grants to the ethnic group; the opposite will be true for consumption messages. Likewise, the closer a media text is to being a pan-ethnic manifestation, the more symbolic unity the ethnic group demonstrates in the mainstream society; meanwhile, the more subgroup specific a media message is, the less ethnic unity the minority group will appear to have. Evidently,



Johnson's (2003) model of ethnic media functions is versatile enough to accommodate assimilation, pluralism, symbolism, and visual communication perspectives in its breakdown of layers of signification in mediated messages. Thus, it will be tested in this project through the analysis of women's portrayals in *Latina* and *Glamour* magazines.

### *Issues of the Hispanic/Latino Identity*

It was the U.S. government that originally established the ethnic classification for Spanish-origin populations "for purposes of federal data collection" (Garcia, 2003, p.2), a category that would later officially adopt the term "Hispanic." This categorization is one example of the diverse government controls that, according to Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), intend "to regulate membership in the national collectivity, as well as movement across territorial borders" (p. 1178). Thus, at the same time that the Hispanic category provided the state with a tool for differentiation, it forced those designated by it into an association plagued by inconsistencies.

Gracia (2000) describes the term Hispanic as encompassing "the people of Iberia, Latin America, and some segments of the population in the United States, after 1492, and the descendants of these peoples anywhere in the world as long as they preserve close ties to them" (p.52). Under this definition, geographical markers and a hint of a colonial past suffice to bundle together, as equals, a myriad of different populations. The construal of these populations' historical background as the source of a common identity, culture, and even language, is undoubtedly misleading (Oboler, 1995).

Twenty-two countries or national origins are clustered together under the term Hispanic, which substantiates a problem of identification that comprises a scope broader than that of nationalism. Oboler brings to the surface the multiple layers of conflict

behind this label when explaining that “millions of people of a variety of national backgrounds are put into a single “ethnic” category, and no allowances are made for their varied racial, class, linguistic, and gender experiences” (1995, p.1). Moreover, the induction of this overarching classification by government agencies is another element of struggle that raises the issues of stigmatization, discrimination, and belittlement of the “foreign Other” (Oboler, 1995).

Comas-Diaz (2001) affirms that “ethnic self-designation reflects the dialectics between dominance and self-determination” (p.115). Under this rationale it is important for a minority group to provide itself with recognition and to limit the authoritarian designations imposed on it by foreign agencies. Accordingly, a grassroots strategic opposition to the artificial homogenization of the Hispanic category proposed the use of the term “Latino/a” as a reactive expression of self-determination (Gracia, 2000). While undoubtedly a praiseworthy effort, the construction of a Latino/a representation was undertaken without a mechanism to resolve the debatable origin of the membership and its elimination of diversity. As a result, the resistance between the agencies that conceive of a Hispanic category and the people who advance a Latino identity “becomes a false debate—insofar as, like the label Hispanic, the term Latino or Latina, or even Latin American, does not solve the problems raised by existing national and linguistic, class and racial differences in the U.S. context” (Oboler, 1995, p.165).

Nevertheless, even if by mere reiteration, these labels have carved a place in the public discourse and are widely used to designate forty million people in the United States. Furthermore, the debate about the correctness of one over the other is a common center of attention while the indeterminacy as to what they mean or designate is ignored

(Del Rio, 2005; Lao-Montes, 2001). For example, Oriol Gutierrez (2005) in his article, “‘Hispanic’ vs. ‘Latino:’ Why It Matters,” underscores that, although overlapping, both terms are not interchangeable and reports on the origin and appropriate uses of these terms. Gutierrez argues that different levels of inclusiveness “highlight the real differences between ‘Hispanic’ (which ties to Spain) and ‘Latino’ (which excludes Spain and Portugal but includes Brazil)” (p.48). With this affirmation, Gutierrez overlooks the contested meaning of these terms and simplifies their function with an essentialist claim as to “the real” difference between them, which he reduces to trivial geographic distributions.

Another facet of the complexity of this category is the fact that many people “who identify themselves as Latino or Hispanic generally do so as members of a specific Latino subgroup” (Garcia, 2003, p.10). This reveals a preference for national origins over a unified condition of Latino in the United States. Moreover, the level of awareness and/or acceptance of the artificial ethnic profile attributed by the “Hispanic/Latino identity” varies according to the socio-political situation of the population itself. Around forty percent of all Latinos dwelling in American territory are foreign-born. Their immigrant condition “perpetuates [the] language, culture, and traditions” (Garcia, 2003, p.40) through which national identities percolate and trouble the adoption of a homogenized cultural profile. On the other hand, U.S.-born people of Latino descent may or may not experience the same attachments. Obejas (2001) reports that in the year 2000 “the second-biggest group of Latinos in the census were the people who chose not to identify a national origin at all” (p.1). Therefore, it becomes evident that a common ancestry does not determine a common current ethnic identity for these populations in the United

States. Thus, it is natural to find tensions and ambivalence as to the development of an essential panethnic Hispanic/Latino loyalty (Garcia, 2003).

In truth, “there is no Hispanic or Latino natural kind” (Gracia, 2000, p.23). There are no essential properties defining all those so-called Hispanics/Latinos at all times. Neither when residing in their own home countries, nor when residing in a common foreign land do all people of “Spanish-origin” display the same race, social status, cultural values, economic means, religious beliefs or even language (Gracia, 2000). Nevertheless, in a nation-state whose purpose is to protect the boundaries of the national community, international migration is conceived as a threat. Thus, “foreigners and their foreign attachments are viewed as anomalies expected to disappear”(Waldinger & Fitzgerald, p.1179). One of the strategies applied toward this purpose is a clear delimitation of the foreign societies, which allows a distinction “between members [of the national community] and unacceptable residents of the territory” (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, p. 1179). Consequently, the challenging diversity shown by Latin American peoples was dealt with through a homogenizing classification, which, in Oboler’s (1995) view secures that:

insofar as they are perceived as members of a Hispanic community—which, lacking historical and contextual grounding, is nebulously defined—the implicit suggestion that Latinos are not *really* Americans ultimately undermines the very notion of the right to equality and justice under the law ( p.159).

Within this power struggle, the vision of a panethnic identity is a double-edged sword. While trying to recognize the plurality of cultures that are flattened by the Hispanic/Latino category, the panlatino membership also requires them to come together

in order to gain a voice and political representation. This new collapse of differences, even if for the sake of empowerment, can ultimately favor the interests of U.S. political and marketing institutions that intend to consolidate a distinct ethnic group and turn it into a market niche (Valdivia, 2004). Indeed, public policy and market interests have been the most relevant factors in prescribing a unified profile for the Hispanic/Latino membership (Del Rio, 2005; Garcia, 2003), especially after their demographic explosion and transformation into a worthy market. Thus, Mayer (2004) remarks:

panlatinidad... walks the line between describing the complex interweaving of cultures in economic, political, and social contexts and rendering these invisible... panlatinidad runs the risk of depoliticizing the differences among Latinos as they negotiate with each other in a competitive terrain (p.116).

Oboler (1995) argues that even when integrationist efforts are conducted in order to improve Hispanics/Latinos' quality of life, the diversity of cultures, identities, race and class experiences intertwined with national origins should remain differentiated.

Unfortunately, as Del Rio (2005) asserts, diversity poses a major threat to the agenda of political, marketing, and media interests, hazard that they fight by undertaking the "cultivat[ion of] a Latino category that could be fed into mainstream sensibilities. [Thus, although] de-historicized and de-contextualized in this process, Latinos are nevertheless rising within the national imaginary of the United States" (p. 1). In short, the social discussion about the meaning of *Latinidad* (Latinoness) in the United States has been hindered by mainstream portrayals of the Hispanic/Latino membership which, "favor a new 'Latin' subject—devoid of political struggle and sexed-up for consumption with vibrant colors and pulsating bodies" (Del Rio, 2005).

Evidently, the dominant culture's socio-political discrimination against the Hispanic/Latino population has been taking place in several arenas. One of them, possibly the one with the most impact on the public consciousness, is that of the mass media. In the case of the Hispanic/Latino category, mass media representations are of paramount importance for the evaluation of the current covert and overt discourses that intend to ascribe meanings to it. Indeed, the disputed social identity of the Hispanic/Latino membership has been materialized by taking a leap from conceptual indeterminacy to mediated portrayals that, with impunity, have been popularized as Hispanic/Latino stereotypes (Garcia, 2003).

*The Image of Hispanics/Latinos in the Mainstream Media*

Without doubt, the media have played a major role in the manifestation of Hispanic/Latino ethnic identities (Del Rio, 2005; Guzman & Valdivia, 2004). As research shows, mainstream media have received plenty of attention from researchers who concluded that these have produced scarce, negative, and stereotypical portrayals of the Hispanic/Latino category (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Taylor & Bang, 1997). The most repeatedly detected treatment that the Hispanic/Latino community has received from mainstream media is that of underrepresentation (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Eschholz, Bufkin & Long, 2002; Greenberg & Brand, 1994; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg 2000; Mastro & Stern, 2003; NAHJ, 1996; Stevenson & McIntyre, 1995; Taylor & Bang, 1997; Wilkes & Valencia, 1989). That is to say that the presence of Hispanic/Latino characters in mediated texts has not, at any given time, equated to the percentage of the U.S. population that this group represents.

During the decades of the 70's to the 90's the presence of Hispanics/Latinos in entertainment and/or advertising across the different media was almost negligible. In fact, Greenberg and Brand's (1994) comprehensive review of the research on minorities in the media produced during those years showed that often Hispanics/Latinos were not even considered in a category of their own. While the realm of cinema has featured some Hispanic/Latino leading characters, research on the fifty most popular films of the year 1996 showed that these characters had been mostly featured in all nonwhite productions (Eschholz, Burfkin, & Long, 2002). When only movies with multiracial characters were considered, Hispanics/Latinos were practically absent.

*Television.* Mainstream television has received attention from researchers interested in frequency, depiction, and importance of Hispanic/Latino portrayals. Both in commercials as in regular programming of major networks, results have shown that Hispanic/Latino characters seldom perform main roles (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Wilker & Valencia, 1989). In a content analysis of commercials published in the year 1989, Hispanics/Latinos were found to portray mostly background roles; that is, roles that do not have a direct influence in the development of the narrative and/or share their status with a group of other unimportant characters (Wilker & Valencia, 1989). More than ten years later, Mastro and Greenberg (2000) found that 44% of Hispanic/Latino characters appearing in primetime programming held main roles, however, due to the strong underrepresentation of the group, this only accounted to 1% of the total number of main roles. In an update of the latter study, Mastro & Behm-Morawitz (2005) found that the situation had changed only a little. Proportionally to the number of characters, Hispanic/Latino men were found to have

more main roles than white men did, yet Hispanic/Latino women had fewer main roles than white women did. Altogether, Hispanic/Latino women and men were strongly underrepresented, which made the significance of their main roles very small.

Furthermore, television frequently portrayed Hispanics/Latinos in settings that were either ethnic-exclusive or different from those where whites appeared and in occupations of lower authority than whites' occupations, which made socializing between Hispanics/Latinos and whites on the screen unlikely to take place (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Wilker & Valencia, 1989). Additionally, Hispanic/Latino characters were most frequently portrayed in crime, adventure, or comedy shows. Likewise, their topics of conversation referred mostly to crime and violence and, in a smaller scale, to domestic issues (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Wilkes & Valencia, 1989). These findings, along with several stereotypical traits attributed to Hispanic/Latino characters (e.g. having a heavy accent, being the least articulate, having flashy dressing styles, being verbally aggressive, being the least intelligent) suggest that Hispanic/Latino portrayals are being associated with situations that may carry negative connotations and in which actors have little opportunity to show character development on the screen.

*Newspapers.* Studies on newspaper coverage of Hispanic/Latino news have been generally conducted within a local scope and based on locations with high concentrations of Hispanic/Latino population, which, unfortunately, blurs the boundaries between what constitutes general audience media and ethnic media. Under these circumstances researchers have assessed the coverage of Hispanic/Latino issues as justly representative of the population (Greenberg, Heeter, Burgoon, Burgoon, & Korzenny, 1983; Turk,



Richstad, Bryson, & Johnson, 1989). However, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists sponsored a nation-wide study on network news coverage of Hispanics/Latinos ("Hispanic," 1996). Their content analysis of the country's major networks revealed that coverage of Hispanics/Latinos represented only 1% of the stories. The featured stories were mostly related to crime, immigration, affirmative action, and welfare; the sources for the news reports were reduced to the West Coast and the Southwest mostly and in over half of the stories Latinos were not even shown on camera. While the NAHJ's report refers to a different medium and cannot be directly compared to the research reports on newspapers, it does provide a national perspective that suggests that the scope within which research is conducted is critical for the interpretation of findings and an accurate reflection of reality.

*Magazines.* The portrayals of Hispanics/Latinos have also been studied in magazine advertisements. The most popular mainstream magazines of national distribution have been used as sources for this purpose. Again, results have confirmed a strong level of underrepresentation of the Hispanic/Latino population and their depiction in roles of inferior importance when compared to white models and even models from other minorities (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Taylor & Bang, 1997). While Bowen and Schmid (1997) found that most ads with minority presence were racially integrated; that is, portraying white models and minority models together, they noted that the perceived importance of Hispanic/Latino characters was frequently neutralized by the presence of several other minority characters performing the same type of role as the Hispanic/Latino characters. Additionally, a lack of Hispanic/Latino-only ads was noticed by the

researchers, which was interpreted as an indicator that advertisers may not be trying to reach the Latino market through mainstream media.

In terms of ads' settings and levels of interaction between characters, research showed that Hispanics/Latinos appeared most frequently in business or formal work settings and in the company of white characters (Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Taylor & Bang, 1997). Bowen and Schmid (1997) argued that the use of formal/work settings for the visual integration of races suggests a level of interaction between Hispanics/Latinos and whites that is low and obligated by work circumstances. Thus, the absence of racially integrated ads that use social or home settings hints to the absence of social situations where Hispanics/Latinos and whites socialize or interact freely and spontaneously. Furthermore, Taylor and Bang (1997) exposed that although Hispanics/Latinos were most commonly portrayed in business settings, they were still underrepresented in business scenarios when compared to other minorities, which the authors suggested maybe due to past stereotypes about Hispanics/Latinos being uneducated.

Still within the realm of magazines, Del Rio (2005) conducted a content analysis of mainstream U.S. news magazines that evidenced some of the consequences of the indeterminacy of Hispanic/Latino membership. Through an analysis of the treatment that the Hispanic/Latino category receives as a concept, Del Rio identified two trends in the way mainstream journalists approach Hispanic/Latino issues. He exposed that when negative situations or judgements were expressed, Hispanics/Latinos were compared to or associated with African Americans and the Hispanic/Latino category defined as a race. On the other hand, when more positive situations, namely, pluralist or multicultural

celebratory efforts took place then the Hispanic/Latino category was defined as an ethnicity. Del Rio's (2005) findings revealed that the multiple layers of complexity that problematize the definition of the Hispanic/Latino category can be easily obviated in order to create a space for mass media professionals to profess their biases and impose mainstream discourses on this membership.

It is important to mention that the semantic problems of the Hispanic/Latino category not only create detrimental situations for the membership itself and its image in the media but also complicate the labor of researchers interested in studying the portrayals of this minority. There are no established procedures for the identification of Hispanic/Latino characters and models. Thus, coding processes sometimes rely on the assumption that Hispanics/Latinos can be identified by their accent or simply "at face value" (e.g., Bowen & Schmid, 1997; Greenberg & Brand, 1994; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Taylor & Bang, 1997). In these cases, researchers could be inaccurately constituting the Hispanic/Latino population into either a racial category whose members can be identified by the visual cues of a homogeneous phenotype or into a generation of immigrants that speak English with an accent. In the face of this complexity, Valdivia (2004) questioned, "How does one identify the Latina/o in visual media? Despite enduring tropes of the "brown race," the fact is that Latinas/os span the entire racial and ethnic spectrum belying narratives of purity and identifiable difference" (p.109). Hence, instead of reducing Hispanics/Latinos to a set of fixed characteristics, Valdivia (2004) suggested that a viable way to advance the research is to identify discourses of *Latinidad* and their connections to different populations.

In a study of U.S. popular culture and the visual representations of the concept of *Latinidad*, Guzman and Valdivia (2004) analyzed the Latina iconicity that has been established through the commodified images of self-identified Latina celebrities in the United States. The authors argued that the representations of *Latinidad* in American culture communicate the mainstream narratives about Latina identities, which, in turn, employ gendered and racialized signifiers under a homogenizing tendency. Guzman and Valdivia (2004) asserted that Latinas occupy a disconcerting and, at the same time, appealing position of “desirable other” outside the black/white racial dichotomy entrenched in the mainstream culture. Despite the proliferation of tropicalization markers such as bright colors, olive skins, and long dark hair that intend to create a paradigm of the Latina look and identity, the authors claimed that the hybridity of the Latina image, materialized in the mutable physique of celebrities such as Jennifer Lopez and Salma Hayek, resists essentialist, racializing, and normalizing efforts.

From an overall assessment of the available literature on Hispanic/Latino portrayals in the U.S. mainstream media, a statement can be made about the disadvantaged position of this category within the main culture. Not only strongly underrepresented but also negatively stereotyped or whimsically depicted, Hispanics/Latinos continue to be disempowered through their portrayals in the media. Despite the fact that studies suggest an incipient tendency toward more positive portrayals, this phenomenon does indeed occur in parallel with the growth of interest in the Hispanic/Latino market and does not contribute to the problem of indeterminacy of this category.

*Hispanic/Latino Community and the Ethnic Media in the United States*

Historically, the Hispanic/Latino population has been the only minority in the United States to have a continuous and significant stream of ethnically specific mass media. As early as the 1800s newspapers already circulated in the borderland. Since then, these and many other communication outlets for Hispanics/Latinos have been successfully produced and maintained both in Spanish and English (Subervi-Velez, 1993). The flourishing and pervasiveness of the Hispanic/Latino and other ethnic media is not surprising in a country where the metaphor of the “melting pot” seems each day more inadequate to describe the social dynamics within the population. Indeed, recent research on ethnic minorities’ media use in California, a state characterized by great ethnic diversity, showed that 84% of the respondents relied on ethnic radio, television, and print publications instead of on general audience media (“California,” 2002).

Traditionally, most of the Hispanic/Latino media have operated in Spanish, but bilingual and, more recently, English-language media texts have also entered the market (Subervi-Velez, 1993). The emergence of different language offers and demands not only defies the long-held stereotype that all Hispanics/Latinos speak Spanish, but also reveals the challenge that is posed, in terms of communication and marketing, by the constantly changing Hispanic/Latino audience. For instance, numbers collected in the U.S. Census showed that the groups of Spanish-dominant and bilingual Hispanics/Latinos accounted for about 40% of the population each. Thus, given that the majority of Hispanics/Latinos speak Spanish, this language could be seen as the most encompassing choice for a medium such as the radio, which is the favorite of this ethnic group followed by television and newspapers. However, studies of radio preferences showed that almost

half of time Hispanics/Latinos tune into English-language programming instead of Spanish broadcast (Burleson, 2006).

At the same time, a little over 20% of Hispanics/Latinos are English-dominant, which means that at least 60% of this minority speaks the English language. Nevertheless, ethnic media have been traditionally produced in Spanish, leading marketing specialists to affirm that the acculturated segments of this minority have been neglected by their ethnic media (Zbar, 1999b). Furthermore, the segmentation of the Hispanic/Latino audience is not exclusively connected to language, but also closely related to age. In general, Hispanics/Latinos constitute a young population (Burleson, 2006) with a median age of 24.8 years and over a third of their members being under 18 years old (U.S. Census, 2000). In the year 1998, research reported that young and acculturated Hispanics/Latinos made up 57% of the community (Zbar, 1999b). It is precisely this segment of the Hispanic/Latino population that has also expressed a preference for English language media (Fitzgerald, 1999; Shoemaker, Reese & Danielson, 1985), yet the production of formats that respond to their needs has been slow (Fitzgerald, 1999; Zbar, 1999b). Nonetheless, despite the language puzzle that advertisers and media makers need to put together, Hispanic/Latino media are thriving.

*Radio.* Radio broadcasting in Spanish was already a reality in the 1920s and has grown to produce hundreds of stations, several associations, and specialized news and advertising services (Subervi-Velez, 1993). In 2001, in the city of Los Angeles, with a population of 6.9 million Hispanics/Latinos, as much as 25% of the total number of radio stations were Spanish-language. Such significant presence in the market was defined by media experts as “a preview for other major *Latino* markets” (Tiegel, 2001, p.1), for in

the past, media trends developed in Los Angeles have tended to become nationally adopted.

*Television.* Hispanic/Latino oriented television has been on air for five decades. The first Spanish-language station began operating in 1955, not long after mainstream television started broadcasting. Since their origin, Hispanic/Latino television stations in the United States have had strong connections especially with Mexico and their media, as well as with other Latin American countries. That is to say that part of the programming broadcast in U.S. territory has been produced in Mexico or elsewhere and imported into the United States (Subervi-Velez, 1993). However, while such choice of programs has been embraced by Mexican nationals and to some degree by peoples of other Latin American origins, research has encountered that, in the very diverse Hispanic/Latino community, audience identification with media texts from a single culture only on the basis of the Spanish language is not always successful (Rojas, 2004).

Moreover, other factors such as degree of acculturation, generation, and language preference also influence audience's receptivity. As Chiqui Cartagena (2006) explains:

“Thirty years ago, Hispanics in the U.S. were predominantly foreign-born and Spanish-dominant... Spanish-language media were really the only way to go... [Now] research has started to show the unthinkable: younger, second- and third-generation Hispanics are not Spanish-dominant. Younger Hispanics, especially those born in the U.S., are actually consuming more media in English. Why? Because the choice and quality of what is available are not relevant to them” (p.1).

Thus, while the three major Hispanic/Latino oriented television networks, Univision, Telemundo, and Galavision have been successful since 1960's with their

Spanish-language programming (Subervi-Velez, 1993), different audience needs, namely those of U.S. born Hispanics/Latinos, prompted them to renovate their products. In the year 1998, Telemundo started putting English subtitles in several of its programs with a satisfactory response from the audience and Galavision started offering English-language shows. Additionally, two more Hispanic/Latino oriented cable networks, Si TV and Gems, were launched offering U.S. produced, bilingual programming (Fitzgerald, 1999).

The language dilemma for Hispanic/Latino oriented media has no easy response. Trying to reach the audience from the point of view of a prevalent language implies homogenizing subgroup differences. Both languages can be suitable depending on what audience niche is being targeted. Nonetheless, with the publishing of the U.S. 2000 Census results, which made official the Hispanic/Latino explosion in the country, Hispanic/Latino ethnic media flourished in all fields, including television. New Spanish-language networks, namely Telefutura and Azteca America, and numerous cable channels have joined the already existent networks while the English-language cable channel Si TV remains in operation (Cartagena, 2006).

*Newspapers.* Within the realm of newspapers, the history of Hispanic/Latino print production is longer than in any other kind of media. The first Hispanic/Latino oriented publication in the United States, “El Misisipi,” circulated in the year 1808 in New Orleans and was written in Spanish with some translations into English. This pioneer media text was followed throughout the years by a myriad of smaller and larger publications, some of which ran for decades while others were a one-time event (Subervi-Velez, 1993). By the year 1998, the number of Hispanic/Latino dailies and weeklies throughout the United States reached five hundred and fifteen, out of which only twenty



were dailies. When all other publications were included, the total amounted to around 1,250 publications (Zbar, 1999a).

While newspapers take the smaller share among the Hispanic/Latino media in terms of advertisers' money, they still produce ad revenues that are registered in the hundreds of millions of dollars (Schnuer, 2006). Despite the absence of daily publications of nation-wide distribution, which lessens the consolidating power of this medium, and amidst a general crisis of the newspaper industry, in the year 2003 the Hispanic/Latino newspaper business managed to produce a revenue of eight hundred and fifty four million dollars. The evident profitability of this medium and its steady growth rate year after year has moved media specialists to affirm that it is only in the Hispanic/Latino oriented publications that there is a possibility for growth in the newspaper industry (Wentz, 2004).

Not surprisingly, mainstream newspapers' publishers have created projects for Spanish-language publications with which to access the Hispanic/Latino market and obtain a portion of its revenue (Wentz & Cardona, 2004). Although print media publishers complain about the disadvantages that newspapers have in terms of capturing readership when compared to broadcast media, new products have continued to appear in major as well as in smaller Hispanic/Latino markets. However, media experts affirm that a major impairment in the fight to obtain advertisers' investment for newspapers is the lack of research on print publications' readership. Unlike television, the newspaper industry has very limited information on consumption and readership numbers, which hinders their ability to guarantee profits for their advertisers' investments (Schnuer, 2006).

*Magazines.* For over a century, magazines addressing the Hispanic/Latino population have been published in U.S. territory. While a comprehensive collection of all these publications is not available, traces of the history of this ethnic medium can be found in the library collections of several universities throughout the country. Covering a broad range of topics and addressing particular subgroups in Spanish, English, and bilingual formats, Hispanic/Latino magazines have built a successful trajectory in the market with some of them running for over fifty continuous years (Subervi-Velez, 1993). Just like in the other branches of ethnic media, the current trend in the magazine industry seems to be paying attention to market segmentation. Schnuer (2005) reported that “instead of looking at Hispanic magazine publishing as a niche, publishers are looking to publish niche magazines for Hispanics” (p.1). Once again, the young acculturated masses are the target, but often in the magazine industry special attention is given to women, who are traditionally in charge of the household shopping (Johnson, 2000; Llorente, 1996).

The largest Spanish-language magazine publisher, Editorial Televisa, a Mexican company with offices in the United States, has controlled the production of the big majority of Spanish-language magazines for women that circulate both in the United States and in Latin America for decades (Johnson, 2000). However, in the year 2004, with a remarkable list of twenty publications in the U.S. territory only, Televisa decided to invest in the expansion of its market and acquired two new English-language publications. This innovation in the trajectory of such a long-established Spanish-language publishing company confirmed the direction in which the Hispanic/Latino

magazine industry anticipated growth, the English or bilingual products for acculturated audiences (Schnuer, 2005).

By the second semester of the year 2005, the Spanish-language version of *People* magazine, “*People en Español*,” was at the top of the category of Hispanic/Latino-oriented women’s magazines. A solid second place was occupied, as predicted, by the predominantly English-language magazine called *Latina*, a publication of Alegre Enterprises and Essence Communications (Flamm, 2005; Gremillion, 1996). Christy Haubegger, a Mexican American law-school graduate, who could not find in the market a magazine that would reflect her lifestyle and cultural heritage, conceived the project of *Latina* magazine. Haubegger’s frustration moved her to conduct extensive research and create a magazine project that would offer a possibility of identification for all those women who, like her, were of Hispanic/Latino descent but also American and English-dominant (Llorente, 1996; Martinez, 2004).

*Latina* entered the market in 1996 as a quarterly publication with 175,000 issues and immediately surpassed all positive projections becoming a bi-monthly and then a monthly publication in just one year. (Gaouette, 1997; Llorente, 1996; Martinez, 2004). Currently, the Audit Bureau of Circulations reports a press run of over 400,000 issues for *Latina*, which implies a growth of more than double the original run. Likewise, the number of advertisement pages reported in April 2003 was 224.58, a significant increase from the original 12.3 ad pages in their first issue, which evidenced the major support that *Latina* has received from prominent advertisers (Calvacca, 2000; Martinez, 2004).

Underlying the research on the quantity and variety of Hispanic/Latino media available in the market and beyond the issue of representation, there emerges a concern

about the quality of the ethnic media texts. Unlike the constant monitoring on the quantity and growth rates of Hispanic/Latino media, which responds to both ethnic and mainstream market/advertising interests, studies on the content of Hispanic/Latino media products are scarce. On the one hand, there are those who affirm that the treatment of Hispanics/Latinos in ethnic media has been more accurate, positive, and thorough than in the mainstream media (Subervi-Velez, 1993), benefits that include the symbolic power that the presence of ethnic media bestows on a minority group before the majority culture (Johnson, 2000). However, considering that a significant part of the Hispanic/Latino media companies are actually owned, funded, and/or operated by Anglo individuals, researchers like Viviana Rojas (2004) have raised the question of how Hispanic/Latino texts compare to mainstream media texts and whether the former would actually prove more valuable than the latter.

#### *Content Analyses of Hispanic/Latino Media Texts*

Among the content analyses that have been conducted on Hispanic/Latino media in the United States, Fullerton and Kendrick (2000) searched the commercials aired in the Spanish-language television network "Univision" in order to evaluate men's and women's portrayals. This study was based on two premises. First, Spanish-speaking cultures have been generally considered to have more traditional and conservative perceptions of gender roles. Second, the ways of life of Hispanics/Latinos in the United States have undergone adaptations that may no longer fit conventional conceptions. Thus, the authors were interested in whether the ethnic media portrayals would reflect any of these changes. The results showed that traditional gender roles were still prevalent in Univision's television commercials. Over 50% of the advertisements showed

traditional male-dominant or other stereotypical roles; that is, men were mostly portrayed as professionals while women were mainly presented in the role of homemakers and parents. Additionally, women appeared to be younger than men and were more likely to be suggestively dressed. When the authors compared these results to data on gender role portrayals in the U.S. market, they found out that there were no significant differences between them, except for a higher presence of nudity in U.S. commercials.

Rojas (2004) conducted a textual analysis on the most popular talk shows of the networks Univision and Telemundo followed by a series of in-depth interviews with 27 Hispanic/Latina women from diverse age, class, cultural origin, and lengths of residence in the United States. Her content analysis revealed the presence of stereotypical, male-dominant gender roles and excessive sexualization and objectification of female bodies in several general interest shows. During the course of the interviews, Rojas (2004) discovered a generalized dissatisfaction of the female viewers with the portrayals of women presented by the networks as well as the origin and content of the shows.

Many of the shows broadcast by Univision and Telemundo are actually produced and aired in specific Latin American countries and transmitted through satellite to the U.S. territory. The monopoly of air-time by certain country-specific or nationalist-toned productions, such as Mexican or Venezuelan soap operas, caused disappointment among the viewers who did not necessarily relate to these cultures, which speaks of the marked intercultural differences within the Hispanic/Latino category. Additionally, the researcher found an inversely proportional relationship between the level of acculturation of the women interviewed and the level of satisfaction with the contents of the Spanish-language shows. The more acculturated, bilingual, U.S. born or long time immigrant

residents reported that their interests were not catered to or that their social and cultural realities were not portrayed on air. On the other hand, all women, independently from acculturation level and social milieu, showed a common concern for markers of class, which they defined in terms of good taste in shows.

Within the booming world of Hispanic/Latino print magazines, Johnson (2000) undertook a qualitative and quantitative textual analysis of the five most popular English-language/bilingual women's magazines. Her study showed that the most developed topics in these publications were personality features, beauty, fashion, romance, and sex, respectively. Hispanic/Latino heritage, customs, and values were featured in only 4% of the articles coded. In contrast, the researcher found that "most of the content was more reflective of a consumer culture... than [of] classic Latin American heritages" (p.242).

References to an U.S. Hispanic/Latino membership were present in 38% of the contents while references to individual national cultures appeared in 27% of the articles. Johnson (2000) also noted that *Latina Style* and *Latina* magazine were more likely to foment activism and tended to feature Hispanic/Latina role models other than entertainers; that is, women who had succeeded in U.S. territory and evoked ethnic pride. Finally, the researcher concluded that "by featuring heritage articles and by focusing in the future [of a common U.S. Hispanic/Latino culture], Latina magazines are accomplishing th[e] creation of a Latino identity" p.(243). However, the small percentage of heritage articles and the predominance of components encouraging consumption lead to the question of who does this Hispanic/Latino identity actually represent, the people or the market?

Subsequently, Johnson, David, and Huey (2003) continued their study of Hispanic/Latina magazines by conducting a content analysis of the portrayals of skin color in editorial photographs of 13 different publications. The authors performed a pre-test of the magazine images in order to operationalize the variable “skin color.” After detecting that the range of skin color variation was not as broad as one could expect from the diverse racial composition of the Hispanic/Latino identity, the authors composed a 5-point Likert scale to measure the variable. Results showed that an overwhelming majority of images showed lighter-skinned women while less than 1% of the pictures showed black skin.

When the results from Spanish-language and English-language/bilingual magazines were compared, Johnson, David, and Huey (2003) found that Spanish-language magazines tended to show more light-skinned women than English-language/bilingual magazines and the latter, in turn, tended to show more dark-skinned women than Spanish-language magazines. The authors remarked that skin color in the American society is closely tied to social prejudice by which light skin is privileged and dark skin is discriminated against; phenomenon that transpires in the editorial content of Hispanic/Latina magazines. The authors expressed concern about the role that ethnic media play in the creation of a panlatino identity and their choice to represent “images of the ideal Latina... [a]s someone light- skinned” (p. 167).

In a third complementary study on Hispanic/Latina magazines, Johnson, David, and Huey (2004) conducted a new content analysis of editorial photographs with the purpose of describing the body images of women portrayed in 13 magazines. The coded variables were body size and muscle tone. Results showed that over 80% of images

ranged from thin to very thin, while an overwhelming 98% of images were toned. That is to say that, as Johnson, David, and Huey (2004) explained, “the average woman was thin and mostly smooth-skinned, with some muscle lines showing.” (p. 47). The authors concluded that instead of being an alternative to the homogenizing messages of the mainstream media, Latina magazines were pushing the same globalized standards of beauty into the Hispanic/Latino social identity. Additionally, noticing the differences between Spanish-language and English-language/bilingual magazines, the authors argued that Spanish-language publications are not actually ethnic but international media while English-language/bilingual magazines have a sense of contrast between the ethnic group and the majority culture and thus produced a more varied repertoire of images.

Still within the scope of Hispanic/Latino magazines, Martinez (2004) carried out a textual analysis and a series of interviews with the editorial staff of *Latina* magazine in order to outline its approach to the construction of a Hispanic/Latino identity. The author affirmed that *Latina* intends to prompt an identification of the readers with the celebrities featured on the covers and inside pages, an identification that reflects the success of Hispanic/Latino personalities upon the rest of the community. Additionally, references to particular national origins and cultures and remembrances of the achievements of older generations of Hispanic/Latino entertainers are ingredients that, according to Martinez (2004), position the reader “within an imagined panethnic Latino family” (163). Thus, *Latina*’s articles intend to create bonds that overcome individual differences and consolidate a communal identity without ignoring the diversity and social implications of Hispanic/Latina women’s experiences. Martinez (2004) is even willing to challenge



Johnson's (2000) claim that political activism is lacking in Hispanic/Latino magazines arguing that this does not prove completely true for the case of *Latina*.

However, Martinez (2004) was adamant to underscore a conceptual difference between a Hispanic/Latino panethnic identity and Hispanic/Latino ethnic mobilization. She described the former as a media product, as the consolidation and recognition of the ethnic group as a profitable market. The latter, Martinez (2004) explained, is the self-motivated act of mutual identification and mobilization of the Hispanic/Latino community members in order to fight for social, political, and cultural power in society. Therefore, although in the researcher's view *Latina* does take a critical stand, Martinez (2004) stated that:

“The question remains as to whether the magazine, an indeed readers, will fall victim to the inclusionary promises of niche marketing. Latino panethnic identity could conceivably culminate solely in the development of a middle class oriented cultural product like *Latina* magazine” (p. 171).

*The importance of images in Hispanic/Latino media texts.* Having worked with the same type of media texts, Hispanic/Latino magazines, Martinez (2004) echoed Johnson's (2000) observations on the communicative power of images. Particularly in a full-color print medium such as the magazine, images have the potential to provide meanings parallel to those of texts through their rich symbolism. Thus, Johnson (2003) asserted that visual features should be given as much attention as texts for different reasons. In her view, given the language debates and divisions that surround the Hispanic/Latino media, images may become the icons that ethnic identification relies on. Moreover, images are essential components of Johnson's (2003) concept of cultural

projection; that is, they constitute the visual presence of a minority in the multicultural landscape; they manifest difference while asserting social recognition. Additionally, Johnson (2003) insisted on the fact that mediated body images are imbued with “cultural symbolism and [are] reflective of social power relations” (p. 282); for images function as tokens through which ethnic minorities negotiate social values and attitudes among their members and with the society at large (Renz, 2003).

Finally, Johnson (2003) argued that “physical identity is integral to ethnic identity” (p. 282), which in the case of Hispanic/Latino women and men is problematized by the prevalence of physical stereotypes in the mainstream media (Davila, 2001; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Guzman & Valdivia, 2004). Moreover, according to Johnson (2003) women are especially affected by the visual for they are traditionally more judged on their looks than men are. On the relationship between mass media and body image—the perception of a person’s general appearance, weight, and size (Pompper & Koenig, 2004), Johnson, David, and Huey (2004) pointed out that research has discovered a connection between magazines, body image, and eating disorders. Additionally, Johnson, David, and Huey (2004) noted that studies have shown that Hispanic/Latino women tend to have bigger body frames and higher body fat content than non-Hispanic white females. Thus, living in the United States, Hispanic/Latino women may be more vulnerable to fall victim of disorders related to acculturation to U.S. standards for thinness.

On this matter, Pompper and Koenig (2004) asserted that “mediated images have become the standard rather than the exception “(p. 91) causing unachievable ideals of beauty to become the source of unhealthy behaviors in media consumers. In their cross-

generational study of Hispanic/Latino women and magazine body type standards, Pompper and Koenig (2004) found that both women in the age group of 18 to 35 and women aged 36 to 59 buy into magazine standards of thinness equally and associate these standards with personal opportunities for career, social, and romantic success. These findings become even more worrying when considering Davila's (2001) research on the world of advertising for Hispanics/Latinos.

Davila (2001) discovered that advertising professionals, as well as any other person she interviewed related to the industry, "took for granted and made constant reference to some sort of generic "Latin look" that any Hispanic can recognize and identify upon seeing" (p. 110). The author explained that what determines this "pan-Hispanic look" is the outcome of a complex interweaving between the obsession with beauty in the advertising industry, the demand for advertisements to be representative of the Hispanic/Latino community, and the socio-political situation of this group as a minority in the United States.

In this way, while models could present any skin color in the spectrum from white to black, for that is the racial diversity found in Ibero-Latin American countries, advertisers argue that neither black nor blond, white models are representative of the U.S. Hispanic/Latino community. In other words, those "looks" have been already "taken" by the African-American and mainstream cultures respectively, and ambiguity is not tolerated in the industry, so what is needed is for the Hispanic/Latino models to portray the "brown look." Nevertheless, as Davila (2001) found out, Hispanic/Latino portrayals must also be "aspirational (in the sense of showing beautiful, educated, or accomplished individuals)" (p.110) as well as representative, but what that visually translates into is a

whiter “Latin look.” According to Davila (2001), twenty years ago when advertisers wanted to stress authenticity, ads showed darker Hispanic/Latino models. Nowadays, when advertisers want to display a representative and aspirational Hispanic/Latino, they cast a light-skinned model. Thus, Davila (2001) emphasized that what the industry has done is to supplant an old stereotype with a new whiter-one that is ultimately less representative of the average Hispanic/Latino; for advertisers consider ethnic looks to represent authenticity, not beauty.

Evidently, the universe of Hispanic/Latino media texts offers much to be explored. As a field of study, it can provide helpful insight into the messages that are produced for and by the ethnic community, the standing of these in comparison to the mainstream media messages, and the responsibility that each member of the U.S. Hispanic/Latino community has, either as a media maker or a media consumer, in the structure of power that surrounds this group. Thus, on the basis the reviewed literature, this project poses the following research questions:

RQ 1: What are the characteristics of the visual portrayals of women found in *Latina* magazine?

RQ2: What are the characteristics of the visual portrayals of women found in *Glamour* magazine?

RQ 3: How do *Latina*’s portrayals differ from or resemble the visual portrayals of women found the general audience women’s magazine *Glamour*?

In addition, RQ3 will specifically encompass a comparison of the visual portrayals of Hispanic/Latino women found in both magazines.

### Chapter III: Method

Gathering the information necessary to answer RQ1 and RQ2 required, methodologically, an immersion into the images of *Latina* and *Glamour*; this immersion allowed their visual content to speak for itself and reveal the characteristics that constitute their messages. At the same time, and in order to answer RQ3, the data collected had to be quantifiable and suitable to a comparative analysis. Thus, given the methodological needs posed by the research questions, quantitative content analysis was the most suitable method to carry out this research project.

Content analysis allows researchers to approach any kind of text or object of study systematically; it provides the possibility to identify, compile, analyze, and synthesize message units with the steadiness of statistical measures. Neuendorf (2002) provided the following definition of this method:

Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented (p.10).

Content analysis is a valuable tool in the field of study of media representations of U.S. Hispanics/Latinos. Given that media messages constitute filters for the understanding of as well as statements about the social world, in which the situation of Hispanics/Latinos is disadvantaged, Olivarez (1998) emphasized the need to conduct content analysis research, for it “provide[s] us with baseline data for comparison

purposes and also give[s] us the initial framework in which to continue monitoring [the treatment received by this minority in the media]” (p. 431).

### *Description of Sample*

The best selling magazine in the category of Hispanic/Latino women’s magazine is *People en Español*, which, as its name indicates, is the Spanish-language version of the very popular English-language magazine *People*. As such, *People en Español* does not constitute a Hispanic/Latino-born media product but an adaptation of a general-audience magazine. While no mission statement was found for *People en Español*, a simple survey of its contents evidences little or no emphasis on U.S. Hispanic/Latino culture or identity and a very strong and narrow thematic focus on celebrities. Thus, this disconnection between *People en Español* as a Hispanic/Latino oriented magazine and the complex reality of the U.S. Hispanic/Latino community makes it a less interesting subject for the purpose of this study. Consequently, *Latina*, the next best-selling magazine in the category and a very culturally engaged Hispanic/Latino product by origin, is a much more pertinent subject of study.

In the genre of mainstream women’s fashion and lifestyle magazines, *Cosmopolitan* is the number one selling magazine in the United States. *Cosmopolitan*’s media kit describes it as a young women’s magazine; that is, its target audience is constituted by 18 to 34 year-old women. The largest share of *Cosmopolitan*’s contents, over one-third of editorial pages, is dedicated to the topic of love, sex, and relationships, followed by articles on fashion and beauty. According to this data, *Cosmopolitan*’s circulation volume, target audience, and topic coverage are far from resembling those of *Latina* and make *Cosmopolitan* a less suitable match for comparison purposes.

Consequently, the next best-selling magazine in this category, *Glamour*, presents an adequate alternative for this project.

*Glamour* was chosen as the mainstream magazine with which to compare *Latina* on the basis of several characteristics that both magazines have in common. First of all, *Glamour*'s total circulation is, in proportion to the mainstream population in the United States, almost equivalent to the circulation volume that *Latina* has in proportion to the U.S. Hispanic/Latino population. Second, *Glamour* and *Latina* occupy, each one in their own category, equal rankings in the list of best-selling women's magazines; they both are ranked second. Third, both magazines have a similar target audience in terms of age range and lifestyle. Finally, *Glamour* and *Latina* mention common goals in their mission statements; in addition to beauty and fashion, they are both concerned with women's issues, that is, the culture, society, and politics that surround women's day to day practices.

*Latina magazine.* *Latina* is a monthly publication that was introduced in the market ten years ago in the northeast region of the country and progressively extended its circulation to cities with significant Hispanic/Latino populations (Martinez, 2004). *Latina* is the best-selling among English-language/bilingual Hispanic/Latino magazines (Flamm, 2005), with a current overall circulation of 410,416 (Audit Bureau of Circulations). *Latina*'s mission is to inform its readers about beauty, fashion, and celebrities as well as to provide them with culturally relevant and empowering information for their lifestyle as educated, acculturated, Hispanic/Latino women in the 18 to 45 age group (Martinez, 2004; [www.latina.com/latina/aboutus.jsp](http://www.latina.com/latina/aboutus.jsp), September, 2006).

At the time of execution of this research project, *Latina* magazine was not yet readily available at bookstores or newstands in Atlanta and no collection of its past issues could be found in Atlanta's public libraries. Thus, due to the difficulty in obtaining issues of this publication, this project employed a convenience sample of 11 *Latina*'s issues from 2005 acquired through the electronic shopping system of e-Bay. This *Latina* sample, with an average of 153 pages and 58 images per issue, yielded a total of 640 images qualified for coding.

*Glamour magazine.* The English-language magazine, *Glamour*, is a monthly publication that has been in the U.S. market for 66 years. After a period of crisis due to low ad revenues and readership, *Glamour* underwent a deep thematic transformation in the late 80s (Dezell, 1995). Its renewed sections intended to go beyond simple beauty tips in order to create a more investigative character for the magazine. *Glamour*'s transformation proved to be successful and nowadays the magazine is among the best selling owned by the publisher Conde Nast (Dezell, 1995). According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, with a press run of 2,248,961, *Glamour* is the second-best selling in the category of women's fashion, beauty, and lifestyle mainstream magazines, surpassed only by *Cosmopolitan*. *Glamour*'s mission is to inspire readers in their 20s, 30s, and 40s with information on health, fitness, fashion, beauty, and issues related to women's rights (Dezell, 1995; [www.condenastmediakit.com/gla/index.cfm](http://www.condenastmediakit.com/gla/index.cfm), September, 2006).

All twelve issues of the year 2005 of *Glamour* magazine were acquired through e-Bay. In order to have a pool of magazines that was comparable to that of *Latina*, only eleven *Glamour* issues were employed in this study, leading to the random elimination of



one monthly issue. The final *Glamour* sample, with an average of 265 pages and 188 images per issue, produced 2065 images adequate for coding.

*Image selection.* Only editorial photographs were selected for coding. Melissa Johnson (2003) defines editorial photographs as the images that the editorial staff of a magazine produces or selects and incorporates in the layout of their publication in accord with any of their featured sections. As such, editorial images constitute messages that portray a magazine's perspective as opposed to advertisements, which represent the extraneous interests of other businesses. Therefore, all editorial images portraying women were coded for this project under two conditions. First, images had to be at least an inch by an inch and clear enough to show their details. In the case of group pictures, each woman in the picture was coded as a unit unless they appeared too small or blurry, which caused their elimination. Second, images had to clearly show that the subject in the picture was a woman. Isolated body parts (e.g. hands or legs) were not coded. Head-shots were coded if they matched the required size. Face-less images (e.g. back-shots, hat-covered faces) were coded only if the image showed the woman's body at least down to her hips.

All advertising images were omitted as well as illustrations or computer generated graphics. Duplicated pictures were considered only once and minimized images of past covers, inside page-spreads, and articles, mostly present in the section of readers' letters, were omitted due to the modified level of meaning they acquire through this secondary use. Images that were juxtaposed, that is, edited to form collages or ensembles that logically or sequentially represented one idea were coded as group pictures; the individual women's portrayals found in them were coded separately and if portrayed

subjects were duplicated only one portrayal was coded. Images of book covers, movie posters, cd covers, and any other visuals of market products were not taken into account.

*Image ID.* Every image to be coded was identified by an ID code composed of four parts. First, a capital letter indicating what magazine the image came from (L=*Latina*, G=*Glamour*) followed by the month of the issue (e.g. L09, *Latina*'s September issue). Then, the page number on which the image was found was added after a dash (e.g. L09-86, *Latina*'s September issue, page 86). Finally, after another separation with a dash, the number of the image in the magazine issue was entered (e.g. L09-86-03, *Latina*'s September issue, page 86, image 3).

### *Coding*

Basic demographic information was gathered through the following variables: ethnicity, occupation, age, hair color, eye color, skin color, body type, muscle tone, and number, gender, and people included in group photographs. Specific characteristics of the images portraying women were also coded by using the following variables: purpose of the image, size of photograph, type of background or setting, type of activities the coded subject is performing, amount of clothes worn by the coded subject, and type of clothes worn by the subject in the photograph (See Appendix A for Codebook). Finally, all headlines, captions or texts that may be inserted, juxtaposed or surrounding the images were taken into account as verbal cues to guide the coding process.

*Ethnicity.* Ethnicity was determined on the basis of accompanying captions or texts; there were three categories for this variable. The first one included all editorial images that explicitly identified the subjects as Hispanic/Latino, be it as a panethnic identity or a subgroup identification (Cuban, Puerto Rican, etc.). The second category

included all subjects that were explicitly identified as Non-Hispanic/Latino. Finally, the third category included all images whose subjects' ethnicity was not explicitly identified.

*Occupation.* Occupation was coded as an open ended question and filled out either on the basis of accompanying texts providing this information or visual cues that clearly revealed an occupation (e.g. a nurse wearing her uniform, a police officer, a nun). In the case of women who were professionally portrayed in the magazine but not featured or identified in it, that is, women who posed as models for conceptual pictures, fashion or beauty sections, coders agreed to assign them the occupation of professional models.

*Age.* An adapted version of Neuendorf's (2000) demographics coding scheme was used for the age variable, which breaks down this category into six age groups instead of gathering individual numbers. This variable was filled out according to information provided by accompanying texts or, in the absence of these, by the coders' appraisal of the subject's age. Seven categories composed this variable: child (0-12 years), adolescent (13-19 years), young adult (20-39 years), middle-age adult (40-54 years), mature adult (55-64 years), senior adult (65 and up), and in case it was not possible to identify the age of a subject, a "cannot tell" category was included.

*Hair color.* The hair color variable was coded with a modified version of Neuendorf's (2000) coding scheme that included eight categories: black, brown, red, blonde, gray, white, "does not apply," and "cannot tell."

*Eye color.* The eye color variable was coded with a modified version of Neuendorf's (2000) coding scheme that included five categories: blue, green, hazel, brown, and "cannot tell."

*Skin color.* The coding for the skin color variable was composed on the basis of Johnson, David, and Huey's (2003) and Mastro and Greenberg's (2000) Likert type scales. Mastro and Greenberg (2000) created a five-point scale ranging from 1=dark to 5=fair for their study on portrayals of Caucasians, African Americans, and Hispanics/Latinos on television. On this subject, in their content analysis of 13 Hispanic/Latino women's magazines, Johnson, David, and Huey (2003) noted that the range of skin colors presented in these magazines was smaller than what could be actually found in the general population, requiring scales with smaller intervals. Their final operationalization of this variable was a five-point scale with the following structure: 1=fair skin, 2=light brown, 3=medium brown, 4=dark brown, 5=black skin. Although Mastro and Greenberg (2000) do not specify the middle descriptors in their scale, their five-point instrument was sufficient to accommodate three different ethnicities and resembled Johnson, David, and Huey's (2003) scale in its range delimitation (from fair skin to dark/black skin). Thus, this project borrowed the definitions and intervals from Johnson, David, and Huey's (2003) five-point Likert scale for the coding of both *Latina* and *Glamour*.

As recommended by the authors, sample images of each unit in the scale were added to the codebook in order to assist coders in maintaining consistency. These images were selected from magazines of the sample and, when necessary, from additional sources that portrayed the full span of measures. A sixth category, "cannot tell," was added to this variable for those cases in which identification was impossible.

*Body type and muscle tone.* The coding schemes for the body type and muscle tone variables were borrowed from Johnson, David, and Huey (2004). The researchers

operationalized these variables in the form of two five-point Likert scales. The body type scale ranged from 1=very thin (size 0-2), 2=moderately thin (size 4-6), 3=moderate (size 8-10), 4=moderately large (size 12-14), 5=very large (size 16 and up). The authors explained that this scale had, again, smaller range and intervals due to the relative absence of large women in Hispanic/Latino magazines. Images representative of each measure were added to the coding book to assist coders in their evaluation. Additionally, the “cannot tell” category was added to the variable for full coverage of possibilities.

Johnson, David, and Huey (2004) defined the Likert scale for muscle tone as follows: 1=obvious muscle throughout the body, 2=some muscle lines visible on the legs, arms, and /or stomach, 3=not visible muscles but skin that has overall smoothness, 4=some visible loose skin, 5=lots of loose skin. For this variable as well, image samples of each unit in the scales were added to the codebook as an aid for coders to maintain consistency and the option of “cannot tell” was added to the categories.

*People included in group photographs.* For purposes of cultural-value comparison, the presence of multiple people in the photographs was coded in terms of gender, number, and relation to the coded individual. In the case of group pictures, the number of people portrayed accompanying the coded subject was entered as an open question. According to information obtained from surrounding text, the relationship of these additional people to the coded subject was determined as family, non-family or unknown. Finally, the gender of all people accompanying the subject was coded as all-female, all-male or mixed female and male.

*Purpose of the image.* The purpose of each image was defined in two categories: cultural and commercial. An editorial image had a commercial purpose whenever it

accompanied or displayed a specific product or service. On the other hand, images had a cultural purpose when they accompanied or illustrated articles on career, education, health, personal achievements, holidays, traditions, and food.

*Size of photograph.* The size of photographs was assessed taking into account both the portrayed subject and the background in which they appear. This variable was composed by the following categories: two full pages, one and three-fourths of a page, one and a half of a page, one and a fourth of a page, one full page, three-fourths of a page, one half of a page, a fourth of a page, and eighth of a page, a sixteenth of a page or smaller, and “cannot tell.” The size of photographs was coded with the visual assistance of cards representing modular segmentations of the total area of the magazine pages.

*Background or setting of the photograph.* An adapted version of Michelson’s (1996) coding schemes for the analysis of visual imagery in medical advertising was used on this variable. The scheme was composed of the following ten categories: home, hospital or medical facility, commercial setting, generic, outdoor urban setting, outdoor natural setting, ocean, other identifiable settings, “none,” and “cannot tell.” Coding categories were supported by descriptive examples so as to make them clear and exclusive.

*Activities of subject in photograph.* This variable was coded on the basis of an adapted version of Michelson’s (1996) coding schemes. A set of seven categories was specified for the possible activities of the subject in the picture: recreational, exercising, work-related, posing, chores, other, and “cannot tell.”

*Amount of clothes worn by subject and type of attire worn by subject.* These two variables were coded with a modified version of Michelson’s (1996) coding schemes.

The amount of clothes worn by the subject was assessed on the basis of four categories: fully clothed, partially clothed, unclothed, and “cannot tell.” The type of attire worn by the portrayed subject was classified in twelve categories: casual, sports, bathing suit, uniform, professional, formal, nightwear, underwear, hospital, ethnic costume, costume, and “cannot tell.” The requisite that images show women’s bodies at least down to their hips was indispensable to proceed with the coding of these two variables; all images that did not meet this condition were assigned the value “cannot tell.”

*Intercoder reliability.* For the purpose of establishing intercoder reliability, a second coder was selected to analyze a subset of the final sample. This additional coder received approximately 12 hours of training. The initial stage of training of the additional coder included receiving a description of the material to be used in the project, the general topic, the method to follow, an explanation of the codebook followed by a discussion about unclear directions, and the shared analysis of sample images. Next, a pilot coding was performed on a set of 30 images taken from a pool different from the final sample. An evaluation of the results of the pilot coding determined the need for further training. Thorough discussions of the instrument led to the refinement of categories within variables, be it in terms of their definitions or in the elimination/combination of some of these. The consequent modifications of the codebook were performed as necessary. Then, a second pilot coding was performed to a different sample which resulted in acceptable levels of percentage agreement (80%).

The images that constituted the reliability sample were a subset of the final sample, chosen from both *Latina* and *Glamour* magazines by random selection. One full issue of each magazine was coded by the additional coder yielding a total of 216 images

(8% of the total sample). Given that the level of agreement between coders on the reliability sample was acceptable, the cases in which disagreement was found were reviewed by both coders and potential reasons for the discrepancies were discussed and taken into account for the remaining coding. The researcher performed the coding on the entire final sample.

Both percentage agreement and Scott's Pi indicated adequate intercoder reliability, Scott's Pi (Holsti, 1969) was used to take into account for the multiple categories that were present in several of the variables in this study and the possibility of intercoder agreement taking place by mere chance. Considering the exploratory character of this study and the conservative nature of the index employed 0.75 and above was specified as an acceptable intercoder reliability to be demonstrated with Scott's Pi. Reliability was not calculated for variables that were operationalized as open-ended questions and whose answers could not be assessed but only transcribed from magazine references such as occupation and number of people in the photographs. See reliabilities for all the variables in Table 1.

*Data analysis.* Research questions 1 and 2 were analyzed on the basis of variables measured at the nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio levels. Hence, measures of central tendency, such as mode and mean, were the statistical recourses employed to answer them. In order to answer research question 3, that is, the comparison between the two magazines, analyses of variance (ANOVA) were employed for the variables measured at an interval or ratio level. All the other variables with data of either nominal or ordinal level were compared with Chi-square tests.



Table 1

*Intercoder Reliability for All Variables*

Variables	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement	Scott's Pi
Ethnicity	.99	.33	1
Age	.89	.14	.88
Hair Color	.87	.12	.85
Eye Color	.82	.20	.78
Skin Color	.85	.16	.82
Body Size	.83	.16	.80
Muscle Tone	.81	.16	.77
Purpose	.89	.50	.78
Size of Image	.85	.09	.84
Background	.81	.10	.78
Activities of subject	.85	.14	.82
Amount of Clothes	.98	.25	.98
Type of Clothes	.95	.08	.95

## Chapter IV: Results

The information gathered from the coding process was originally entered in Excel worksheets. All the Excel files were then combined into one with the assistance of the analytical software SPSS; the calculations and statistical tests performed on the data were conducted in SPSS as well. Results are detailed below according to the research questions posed. However, the second part of research question 3, which proposed a comparison between Hispanic/Latino women's portrayals found in *Latina* and *Glamour*, was dropped because of the extremely low number of Hispanic/Latino portrayals found in *Glamour*.

### *RQ 1: Portrayals of Women in Latina Magazine*

Research question 1 asked about the characteristics of the visual portrayals of women found in *Latina* magazine, which led to the analysis of 640 images from the year 2005. In terms of ethnicity, an overall 69.5% ( $n = 445$ ) of the portrayed women were explicitly identified as Hispanic/Latino. The breakdown of this total revealed that while 277 images (43.3%) were accompanied by specific references to sub-group ethnicities, only 168 (26.2%) were identified under the panethnic label "Latina." Among all the specified sub-group ethnicities, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban, respectively, were the most frequently recurrent. A remaining 30.2% of images ( $n = 193$ ) did not provide any information as to the ethnic identification of the portrayed subjects and a meager 0.3% ( $n = 2$ ) explicitly identified subjects as belonging to Non-Hispanic/Latino ethnicities.

The range of occupations of the portrayed subjects, either acknowledged by the magazine or identified by the coders, was broad in *Latina* with 140 different entries. Some examples included: comedienne, army dentist, bartender, CEO of public relations company, documentary film maker, lawyer, martial arts champion. Most images (71.9%,  $n = 460$ ) had occupations that were either verbally expressed or manifested in the images. Of these, 25% ( $n = 160$ ) of the sample was made up by models; 8.4% ( $n = 54$ ) were actresses, and 3.6% ( $n = 25$ ) were singers. Outside these occupations that commonly attract public attention, 34.9% of the portrayed women were recognized in their performance of less exposed jobs, such as students who accounted for 2.2% ( $n = 14$ ) and writers who represented 1.9% ( $n = 12$ ). A total of 180 images (28.1%) of the sample did not present any information on occupation.

In terms of age, the vast majority of women portrayed in *Latina* were young adults: 83.8% ( $n = 536$ ) of the sample appeared to be between the ages 20 to 39. Middle-aged adults were portrayed in an 8.4% ( $n = 54$ ) of cases, adolescents followed with a 4.4% ( $n = 8$ ), and then children, with 1.7% ( $n = 11$ ). Mature and senior adults made brief appearances in the magazine with a meager 0.8% ( $n = 5$ ) and 0.3% ( $n = 2$ ) respectively.

Hair color among portrayed women was predominantly brown, with 55.6% ( $n = 356$ ). Black was the next most displayed color in the sample with 30.6% ( $n = 196$ ) of the cases. Blonde hair followed from a distance and was found in 7.8% ( $n = 50$ ) of the sample. Red hair had very few instances adding up to 0.9% ( $n = 6$ ) of the sample; gray hair appeared in only 1 case (0.2%) and no occurrences of white hair were registered in *Latina*.

The eye color variable also resulted in a marked predominance of brown; most of the images 68% ( $n = 435$ ) contained women with brown eyes. The other colors were rarely represented. Blue eyes appeared in 2.2% ( $n = 14$ ) of the sample, hazel eyes scored closely behind with 2% ( $n = 13$ ), and green eyes were the least portrayed with 1.3% ( $n = 8$ ) of the cases. In 26.6% ( $n = 170$ ) of the sample, the eye color of the portrayed subjects could not be determined due to varied conditions such as the use of sunglasses, the position of the subject's face, the size or quality of images, and the use of black and white pictures.

Results for skin color showed a strong inclination towards the lighter side of the spectrum. A total of 383 women, 59.8% of the sampled images, had light-brown skin (number 2 on the 5-point scale). In turn, the category of fair skin accounted for 22.2% ( $n = 142$ ) of the sample and was followed by 13.9% ( $n = 89$ ) of portrayals showing women with medium-brown skin. Only 4 coded images, that is, 0.6% of the sample fit the category of dark-brown skin while no images at all were counted in the category of black skin. A total of 22 images (3.4%) could not be coded for skin color due to characteristics of the images, such as black and white pictures, monochromatic pictures or an overall poor quality.

The category of body size showed a tendency towards portraying thinner women. Close to half of the sampled images, 46.4% ( $n = 297$ ), were moderately thin (sizes 4-6). Women between sizes 8 and 10 occupied second place by accounting for 10.8% ( $n = 69$ ) of the images. Very thin women were portrayed in a fairly distant 3.6% ( $n = 23$ ) of cases as were moderately large women, who appeared in only 2.3% ( $n = 15$ ) of the sample. Very large women were rarely seen in *Latina* with a total of 5 images or 0.8% of the

sample. Altogether, the mean body size of *Latina*'s women was 2.22 ( $SD = 0.66$ ), that is, a moderately thin body, equivalent to sizes 4-6. It is important to note that 36.1% ( $n = 231$ ) of images could not be coded for body size; in most cases this was due to an exclusion of the subject's body from the pictures or an obstructed view of it.

A high volume of images (61.1%,  $n = 391$ ) turned out to be unsuitable for coding the muscle tone variable mostly due to lack of exposed flesh on which to evaluate. Of the remaining 38.9% of images, almost all of them (29.8%,  $n = 191$ ) revealed moderate muscle tone. Moderate-high muscle tone was found in 7% ( $n = 45$ ) and moderate-low muscle tone was found in 1.7% ( $n = 11$ ). High-tone images were found in only 0.3% ( $n = 2$ ) of cases while low-tone images were not found at all. Overall, the mean muscle tone for *Latina*'s women's portrayals was 2.85 ( $SD = 0.48$ ); this indicates that women's skin had an overall smoothness and a slight tendency to show some muscle lines.

Within the scope of characteristics of the photographs as a whole, results showed that in a substantial 78.4% ( $n = 502$ ) of the cases subjects were portrayed alone. The 21.6% ( $n = 138$ ) of images that showed subjects accompanied by other people was made up by 11.3% of photographs that did not portray subjects with family members, 5.6% photographs in which accompanying people were not clearly identified, and only 4.7% of images that specifically portrayed family members. When the entire sample was taken into account ( $N = 640$ ), the average number of people portrayed with the coded subject was 0.57 ( $SD = 1.54$ ). When only group pictures ( $n = 138$ , images with 2 or more people) were taken into consideration, the mean number of people accompanying the subject was 2.63 ( $SD = 2.35$ ). The gender distribution of accompanying subjects was

51.4% ( $n = 71$ ) for all female, 26.1% ( $n = 36$ ) mixed female and male, and 21.7% ( $n = 30$ ) all male.

As for the general purpose of the images, 58.4% ( $n = 374$ ) of *Latina*'s photographs fulfilled culture-related functions, such as featuring a successful or inspiring woman, presenting readers' opinions on specific topics, and illustrating sections with financial advice. The remaining 41.6% ( $n = 266$ ) of the portrayals were used for commercial purposes, such as the promotion of singers' new records, modeling of designers' fashion or featuring make-up products.

In terms of size, the most common size for these images was a sixteenth of a page or smaller amounting to 29.5% ( $n = 189$ ) of the sample; images the size of one full page occupied the second place in this variable with 23.3% ( $n = 149$ ). One eighth of a page and one fourth of a page were the next most recurrent sizes with 19.2% ( $n = 123$ ) and 18.3% ( $n = 117$ ), respectively.

The variable of backgrounds in *Latina*'s images did not reveal much detailed information with 35.2% ( $n = 225$ ) of cases in which backgrounds could not be identified and 30.5% ( $n = 195$ ) of images with generic backgrounds such as plain colors or photo studio sets. In 9.5% ( $n = 61$ ) of the sample, backgrounds were digitally edited out or simply not included in the shot. Outdoor urban and outdoor natural settings appeared in 8% ( $n = 51$ ) and 4.4% ( $n = 28$ ) of the sample, respectively. Non-medical, commercial facilities were identified in 3.8% ( $n = 24$ ) of cases and ocean settings were portrayed in 1.9% ( $n = 12$ ).

The most commonly found activity of the subjects in *Latina*'s photographs was posing, 76.7% ( $n = 491$ ). With a distant 8.9% ( $n = 57$ ), the second most repeated activity

was the performance of work-related tasks, such as runway modeling, movie directing, singing, and wrestling. In 6.9% of the cases no clear activity could be identified while recreational activities, such as dining, dancing, and conversing were present in 5.2% ( $n = 33$ ) of the sample. Exercise-related activities were coded in only two cases, representing a 0.3%.

A strong majority of *Latina*'s portrayals showed fully clothed women, 62% ( $n = 397$ ) of the sample. In 35.2% ( $n = 225$ ) of the cases the amount of clothes worn by the portrayed subjects could not be identified due to the use of headshots or photographs that did not show women's bodies at least down to their hips. Thus, a meager 2.7% ( $n = 17$ ) of images showed partially clothed women and in only one instance, equivalent to 0.2%, was a woman portrayed unclothed.

As for the type of attire worn by the subjects, in 36.4% ( $n = 233$ ) of the sample a specific dressing style could not be identified due to the ambiguity of certain clothes and the lack of full body views. However, dressing casually was common, 27.3% ( $n = 175$ ) of the sample, and formal or evening-wear and business casual styles followed with 13.4% ( $n = 86$ ) and 12.5% ( $n = 80$ ) of the cases, respectively. Ethnic or traditional costumes appeared in 2.2% of the sample with a frequency of 14 cases.

#### *RQ2: Portrayals of Women in Glamour Magazine*

Research question 2 asked about the characteristics of the visual portrayals of women found in *Glamour* magazine. An analysis of eleven issues resulted in 2065 images. An overwhelming majority of *Glamour*'s women's portrayals did not identify the ethnicity of their subjects (96.5%,  $n = 1992$ ). Only 3.1% ( $n = 65$ ) of the sample was

ethnically identified within the category of non-Hispanic/Latino and a scant 0.3% ( $n = 7$ ) explicitly identified as Hispanic/Latino women.

Despite the extensive list of approximately 150 occupations gathered from *Glamour's* sample, 45.9% ( $n = 948$ ) of the images did not provide any accompanying or self-evident information about the subjects' work situation. Within the 54.1% ( $n = 1117$ ) that did indicate occupation, the most represented professions were ones that commonly dwell in the public eye, 30.8% ( $n = 635$ ) were models and 6.6% ( $n = 136$ ) were actresses. Far behind them were writers with 1.6% ( $n = 33$ ), students with 1.4% ( $n = 9$ ), and singers with 1.3% ( $n = 27$ ).

In terms of age, *Glamour's* most frequently portrayed group was by far the young adults (20 to 39 years old) accounting for 87.6% ( $n = 1808$ ) of the sample. Middle-aged adults occupied a distant second place with 7.2% ( $n = 148$ ). Further behind, children and adolescents ranked equally at 1.5% each ( $n = 31$  and  $n = 30$ , respectively) and were followed by the mature-adults group with 1.2% ( $n = 24$ ). Finally, senior adults appeared in a slim 0.2% ( $n = 5$ ) of the cases.

The hair color variable was dominated by brown-hair women, 44.7% ( $n = 923$ ) of the sample. Blonde hair was also very common and appeared in 31.6% ( $n = 652$ ) of the cases. Black hair and red hair were considerably less frequent at 13.7% ( $n = 282$ ) and 3.1% ( $n = 63$ ), respectively, followed by gray hair that was seen in only 0.3% ( $n = 7$ ) of the portrayals. White hair was not found at all. A substantial 45% ( $n = 929$ ) of *Glamour's* images did not allow easy identification of eye colors. Nevertheless, 35.9% ( $n = 741$ ) of the sample was coded as having brown eyes, 8.6% ( $n = 178$ ) had blue eyes; 6.3% ( $n = 131$ ) of women had hazel eyes, and 4.2% ( $n = 86$ ) had green eyes.



Skin color was coded most frequently in the lighter end of the measures, but Glamour did present examples of all skin tones. More than half of the women (55%,  $n = 1136$ ) portrayed in *Glamour* had fair skin; light-brown skin also had a strong presence covering 28.8% ( $n = 595$ ) of the sample. Results concerning the darker end of the scale included women with medium-brown skin who appeared in 6% ( $n = 123$ ) of the images, women with dark-brown skin who appeared in 4.2% ( $n = 87$ ) of the sample, and women with black skin who appeared in 1% of the sample with 21 cases. A total of 5% of the sample could not be coded for skin color due to images' characteristics, such as black and white pictures and color alterations.

In terms of body size, thin women were more common in Glamour's pages than heavier women. The moderately thin category prevailed over the others with 53.5% ( $n = 1104$ ); very thin women were portrayed in 7.6% ( $n = 156$ ) of cases, and moderate women followed closely with 7.4% ( $n = 152$ ) of the sample. Far behind, moderately large women had a representation of 1.5% ( $n = 31$ ) and very large women were portrayed in 1.3% ( $n = 26$ ) of the cases. Overall, the mean body size of women in Glamour was 2.09 ( $SD = 0.67$ ), which corresponds to a moderately thin body with sizes 4-6 in clothes.

Unfortunately, a significant number of images did not lend themselves for the coding of the muscle tone variable; 53.9% ( $n = 1112$ ) of the sample could not be identified on this scale. The remainder of the sample scored high on the moderate muscle tone category with 39.9% ( $n = 823$ ) and was followed, from a distance, by the moderate-high muscle tone category with 4.7% ( $n = 97$ ). The moderate-low muscle tone cases represented 1% ( $n = 21$ ) of the sample, while high muscle tone images added up to 0.3% ( $n = 7$ ) and low muscle tone portrayals to 0.2% with only four cases. Altogether, the

mean muscle tone of *Glamour*'s images was 2.91 ( $SD = 0.40$ ), that is, skin with overall smoothness although it may not show muscle lines.

Within the variables that gathered overall image characteristics, results for the variable of people included in group photographs showed that women in *Glamour* were portrayed alone in 71.3% ( $n = 1473$ ) of the cases. From the 28.7% of group pictures coded, 11.9% ( $n = 245$ ) did not identify the relationship of the people in the picture to the coded subject. 9.4% ( $n = 194$ ) of images indicated that the people portrayed with the subject were not family members and only 7.4% ( $n = 153$ ) of people accompanying subjects were identified as family members. The average number of people accompanying the coded subject was 0.54 ( $SD = 1.344$ ) when all the cases ( $N = 2065$ ) were included in the calculation. When only group pictures were selected ( $n = 592$ ), the mean number of additional people was 1.89 ( $SD = 1.94$ ). The gender distribution of the people portrayed with coded subjects was 46.4% for all-female, 39.6% for all-male, and 14% for mixed female and male.

A total of 58.9% ( $n = 1217$ ) of *Glamour*'s images were coded as fulfilling cultural purposes, such as illustrating articles on health, financial planning, exercising, and romantic relationships. The remaining 41.1% ( $n = 848$ ) of female portrayals performed functions of commercial nature, such as modeling couture for which prices and shopping resources were provided or demonstrating the qualities of hair products featured by brand and price.

The most recurrent size for these images was one sixteenth of a page or smaller with 40.1% ( $n = 828$ ) of the sample. Next, images the size of an eighth of a page accounted for 25.9% ( $n = 534$ ) of the cases and were followed by images sized at one full

page with 16.2% ( $n = 334$ ). Photographs the size of one fourth of a page were featured in 11% of the sample ( $n = 228$ ), while images that covered two full pages as well as images sized at one half of a page appeared in 2% ( $n = 42$ ) of the sample each.

The analysis of the backgrounds in *Glamour's* sample showed that in 26.3% ( $n = 543$ ) of the cases, these were too ambiguous or unclear to be identified. At the same time, in 23.3% ( $n = 481$ ) of the sample, backgrounds had been digitally removed or omitted from the shot. A total of 20% ( $n = 414$ ) of images used generic backgrounds such as plain colors or studio-sets, while outdoor urban settings appeared in 9.3% ( $n = 191$ ) of the photographs and outdoor rural settings were featured in 7.5% ( $n = 154$ ).

As for activities of the subjects in the image, the majority of women were simply posing for the photograph (72.3%,  $n = 1494$ ). Recreational activities were performed by 14.6% ( $n = 301$ ) of the subjects portrayed and work-related tasks by 6.2% ( $n = 128$ ); exercise-related activities were performed by subjects in only 0.4% ( $n = 9$ ) of the sample. In 5.5% ( $n = 114$ ) of the cases, coders were not able to determine the activity performed by the coded subjects.

*Glamour's* images showed fully clothed women in 64.9% ( $n = 1342$ ) of the sample; partially clothed women appeared in 7.3% ( $n = 151$ ) of instances and unclothed women were found in a scant 0.2% ( $n = 5$ ) of images. The most recurrent type of clothes worn by women in *Glamour* was the casual attire with 31.9% ( $n = 659$ ), followed by formal or evening-wear, 18.4% ( $n = 380$ ), and business casual attires, 11.6% ( $n = 240$ ). In 28.1% ( $n = 581$ ) of the cases the type of attire could not be determined.

*RQ3: A Comparison between Latina's and Glamour's Portrayals of Women*

Research question 3 required a comparison between the results previously obtained for RQ1 and RQ2 in order to find out how *Latina*'s visual portrayals of women may differ from or resemble the visual portrayals of women found in *Glamour* magazine. Additionally, due to the marginal scores obtained for some categories within several variables, those categories were collapsed so that statistical tests of difference could be performed more efficiently. The collapsed variables were: hair color, size of photograph, background of the photograph, activities of the subject in the image, and type of attire worn by the subject. In the case of the body size and muscle tone variables, the cases coded in the category "cannot tell" were excluded from the calculation of mean values ( $M$ ). Likewise, in the case of the variable people portrayed with subject, all individual portrayals were excluded from the calculation of mean values ( $M$ ). Finally, in the category of amount of clothes worn by the subject, the scores for the "unclothed" category were not included in the tests due to their insignificant value.

In a first instance, due to the striking difference in the number of total cases gathered for *Latina* and *Glamour* ( $N = 640$ ;  $N = 2065$ , respectively), the proportion of number of images to number of pages per issue was calculated for each magazine. *Latina* ( $M = 0.38$ ,  $SD = .06$ ) registered a significantly lower average of images per page than *Glamour* ( $M = 0.72$ ,  $SD = .14$ ) as confirmed by an ANOVA test,  $F(1, 20) = 53.353$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

In regard to the explicit identification of ethnicity, a chi-square test confirmed that the magazines differed significantly,  $\chi^2(2, N = 2705) = 1681.20$ ,  $p < .0001$ ,  $V = .79$ . While 69.5% of *Latina*'s women were explicitly identified as Hispanic/Latino, only 0.3%

of *Glamour*'s women were identified as part of this group. Conversely, an overwhelming 96.5% of *Glamour*'s portrayals were non-explicitly identified in terms of ethnicity, a condition that was found in 30.2% of *Latina*'s sample.

Data on occupation was gathered in 71.9% of *Latina*'s sample and in 54.1% of *Glamour*'s sample. A chi-square test of the data on occupation of the portrayed subjects showed that *Latina* provided this information in a significantly larger segment of its sample than *Glamour* did,  $\chi^2 (1, N = 2705) = 63.55, p < .0001, \phi = .15$ . Nevertheless, when comparing the breakdown of the percentages of identified occupations in both magazines, results showed that the five most represented occupations in *Latina* and *Glamour* were the same. See frequencies of most represented occupations in Table 2.

Table 2

*Frequencies of Top 5 Occupations*

Occupation	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Models	25	30.8
Actresses	8.4	6.6
Singers	3.6	1.3
Students	2.2	1.4
Writers	1.9	1.6

*Note.* Total number of cases featured in table,  $N = 1125$ . For *Latina*,  $n = 263$ , (41.1%). For *Glamour*,  $n = 862$ , (41.7%).

The comparison of data on age of the coded subjects through a chi-square test revealed that the age-group frequencies per magazine differed enough to reach

significance,  $\chi^2(6, N = 2705) = 22.62, p < .001, V = .09$ . The low Cramer's V indicates this difference was slight; in fact, the most represented age groups were similar in both magazines. Young adults (ages 20 to 29) were by far the most represented in both publications and constituted the converse of senior adults (> 65 years old) who were the least portrayed. See age-group frequencies in Table 3.

Table 3

*Age-group Frequencies*

Age-group	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Child	1.7	1.5
Adolescent	4.4	1.5
Young adult	83.8	87.6
Middle-age adult	8.4	7.2
Mature adult	0.8	1.2
Senior adult	0.3	0.2
Cannot tell	0.6	0.9

Note. Total number of cases,  $N = 2075$ . For Latina,  $n = 640$ , (100%). For Glamour,  $n = 2065$ , (100%).

A chi-square test for the hair color variable in *Latina* and *Glamour* showed that there was statistically significant difference in the representation of hair colors between magazines,  $\chi^2(4, N = 2705) = 209.85, p < .0001, V = .28$ . *Latina* and *Glamour* shared the most represented category, brown hair (55.6% and 44.7%, respectively), as well as their least represented category, gray hair (0.2% and 0.4%, respectively). However,

results indicate that *Latina* leaned toward darker tones with 86.2% of brown or black hair, while *Glamour* tended to lighter tones with 76.3% of brown or blonde hair. Both magazines had minimal scores in the gray hair group and no occurrences of white hair as well as very low numbers for “cannot tell” and “does not apply,” thus, these categories were collapsed for this test. See frequencies for hair color in Table 4.

Table 4

*Hair Color Frequencies*

Color	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Black	30.6	13.7
Brown	55.6	44.7
Red	0.9	3.1
Blonde	7.8	31.6
Gray/White/Cannot tell		
/Does not apply	5	7

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 2075$ . For *Latina*,  $n = 640$ , (100%). For *Glamour*,  $n = 2065$ , (100%).

The comparison of scores of the eye color variable evidenced a statistically significant difference between magazines,  $\chi^2(4, N = 2705) = 214, p < .0001, V = .28$ . Both *Latina* and *Glamour* had fairly high numbers of non-identifiable cases for the variable of eye color (26.6% and 45%, respectively) as well as they had brown eyes as the most portrayed eye color. However, *Latina* (68%,  $n = 435$ ) showed a stronger presence of brown eyes, almost double the percentage of brown eyes in *Glamour* (35.9%,

$n = 741$ ). Additionally, *Glamour* showed a more even distribution of frequencies for the remaining eye color categories than *Latina*. See eye color frequencies in Table 5.

Table 5

*Eye Color Frequencies*

Color	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Blue	2.2	8.6
Green	1.3	4.2
Hazel	2	6.3
Brown	68	35.9
Cannot tell	26.6	45

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 2075$ . For *Latina*,  $n = 640$ , (100%). For *Glamour*,  $n = 2065$ , (100%).

*Latina* and *Glamour* differed significantly in the frequencies of the skin colors depicted,  $\chi^2(5, N = 2705) = 308.68, p < .0001, V = .33$ . Both publications decreased the frequency of cases as the measures in the skin color scale got darker; however, *Latina* did it more drastically. Over 80% of both samples was distributed between the fair and light-brown categories. Fair was the predominant skin tone in *Glamour*, while in *Latina* light-brown skin was predominant and fair skin took a distant second place. *Latina* (13.9%,  $n = 89$ ) portrayed more than twice the proportion of medium-brown skinned women found in *Glamour* (6%,  $n = 123$ ). At the same time, *Glamour* (4.2%,  $n = 87$ ) featured seven times the proportion of dark-brown women found in *Latina* (0.6%,  $n = 4$ ) and 1% of



*Glamour*'s sample portrayed black women while the category of black skin did not have a single case in *Latina*. See skin tone frequencies in Table 6.

Table 6  
*Skin Color Frequencies*

Tone	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Fair	22.2	55
Light-Brown	59.8	28.8
Medium-Brown	13.9	6
Dark-Brown	0.6	4.2
Black	-	1
Cannot tell	3.4	5

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 2075$ . For *Latina*,  $n = 640$ , (100%). For *Glamour*,  $n = 2065$ , (100%).

In terms of body size, more than 70% of both samples was made up by moderately thin women, that is, women's dress sizes revolved around 4 or 6. Even so, an ANOVA test comparing the mean body sizes of women in *Latina* ( $M = 2.22$ ,  $SD = .65$ ) and *Glamour* ( $M = 2.09$ ,  $SD = .66$ ) revealed that female portrayals in *Glamour* were significantly thinner than those featured in *Latina*,  $F(1, 1876) = 12.20$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The proportion of very thin women portrayed in *Glamour* almost doubled that of *Latina*'s. In order to calculate the mean body size for both magazines, the cases in the category "cannot tell" were omitted. See the frequencies of body size categories in Table 7.

Table 7  
*Body Size Frequencies*

Size	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Very thin	5.6	10.6
Moderately thin	72.6	75.2
Moderate	16.9	10.3
Moderately large	3.7	2.1
Very Large	1.2	1.8

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 1878$ . For Latina,  $n = 409$  (65.9%). For Glamour,  $n = 1469$  (71.2%).

In an ANOVA test of the muscle tone variable, the means obtained for *Latina* ( $M = 2.85$ ,  $SD = .48$ ) and *Glamour* ( $M = 2.91$ ,  $SD = .40$ ) achieved statistically significant difference, confirming that women in *Latina*'s portrayals were more toned than women in *Glamour*'s portrayals,  $F(1, 1199) = 4.90$ ,  $p < .027$ . Indeed, the low-tone category was completely unrepresented in *Latina* magazine and scored low in *Glamour*, and both publications presented women with moderate tone most frequently. In order to calculate the mean muscle tone scores for both publications, the cases coded in the category "cannot tell" were omitted. See Table 8 for muscle tone frequencies.

Table 8

*Muscle Tone Frequencies*

Tone	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
High tone	0.8	0.7
Moderate-high tone	18.1	10.2
Moderate tone	76.7	86.4
Moderate-low tone	4.4	2.2
Low tone	-	0.4

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 1201$ . For Latina,  $n = 249$  (38.9%). For Glamour,  $n = 952$  (46.1%).

An ANOVA test of the mean numbers of people portrayed with the subject in *Latina* ( $M = 2.63$ ,  $SD = 2.35$ ) and *Glamour* ( $M = 1.89$ ,  $SD = 1.93$ ) revealed that *Latina* portrayed significantly more people in group pictures than did *Glamour*,  $F(1, 728) = 15.08$ ,  $p < .0001$ . Thus, the type of magazine considered had an effect on the number of people that appeared in group pictures. At the same time, the portrayal of family with the coded subject significantly affected the number of people portrayed in the picture,  $F(1, 448) = 9.40$ ,  $p < .002$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ ; the mean number of people accompanying the coded subject was lower when family members were portrayed ( $M = 1.94$ ,  $SD = .20$ ) than when non-family members were portrayed ( $M = 2.70$ ,  $SD = .142$ ); this interaction was found across both magazines. Finally, no significant effect was found between magazine type and depiction of family members,  $F(1, 448) = 2.23$ ,  $p = .136$ ,  $\eta^2 = .005$ ; that is, the magazines did not differ significantly in their depiction of family members over non-

family members. For the performance of these tests, all individual pictures were omitted from the sample; thus, *Latina*'s group pictures added up to 21.6% ( $n = 138$ ) of the magazine's total sample; *Glamour* had 592 group pictures, equivalent to 28.9% of its sample.

A chi-square test of *Latina*'s and *Glamour*'s scores on gender of the people portrayed in group pictures revealed that there was statistically significant difference between them, although of small impact,  $\chi^2(2, N = 727) = 21.71, p < .0001, V = .17$ . Both *Latina* and *Glamour* portrayed all-female group pictures with most frequency (51.8% and 46.6%, respectively). However, *Glamour* (39.8%) portrayed all-males accompanying the coded subject almost twice as often as *Latina* (21.9%) did; in turn, *Latina* (26.3%) portrayed mixed female and male people with the coded subject almost twice as much as *Glamour* (13.6%) did.

No significant difference was found between *Latina* and *Glamour* in terms of the purpose of their images,  $\chi^2(1, N = 2705) = .05, p = .823, \phi = -.004$ . Both magazines featured more cultural than commercial images although the distribution was even. Cultural images accounted for 58.4% ( $n = 374$ ) of *Latina*'s sample while commercial images represented 41.6% ( $n = 266$ ). *Glamour* had 58.9% ( $n = 1217$ ) of cultural images in its sample and 41.1% ( $n = 848$ ) of commercial ones.

When the results of size of images were compared for both magazines, a chi-square test revealed that they significantly varied,  $\chi^2(2, N = 2705) = 50.36, p < .0001, V = .13$ . *Glamour* (4.3%,  $n = 88$ ) featured images larger than one full page with 2.5 times the frequency that *Latina* (1.7%,  $n = 11$ ) did. In turn, *Latina* (31.3%,  $n = 200$ ) almost doubled the proportion of half to one page sized images portrayed in *Glamour* (18.7%,  $n$

= 387). However, less than half a page was the most recurrent size of images for both magazines, with 67% ( $n = 429$ ) for *Latina* and 77% ( $n = 1590$ ) for *Glamour*.

For the type of background variable, a chi-square test of *Latina*'s and *Glamour*'s scores revealed statistically significant differences,  $\chi^2 (7, N = 2705) = 116.74, p < .0001, V = .20$ . While *Latina*'s main choice of backgrounds was the generic type (30.5%,  $n = 195$ ), *Glamour*'s first choice was to eliminate backgrounds altogether, which was registered in 23.3% ( $n = 481$ ) of its sample. In turn, *Latina*'s second most frequent choice was the elimination of backgrounds (9.5%,  $n = 61$ ) and *Glamour*'s second choice of backgrounds was the generic type with 20% ( $n = 414$ ). See Table 9 for background frequencies.

Table 9

*Type of Background Frequencies*

Background	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Home	0.8	3.4
Commercial Settings	4.1	3.2
Generic	30.5	20
Outdoor Urban	8	9.3
Outdoor Natural	6.3	11.1
Other Identifiable	5.8	3.3
None	9.5	23.3
Cannot tell	35.2	26.3

Note. Total number of cases,  $N = 2075$ . For *Latina*,  $n = 640$ , (100%). For *Glamour*,  $n = 2065$ , (100%).

Statistically significant difference, although of minor impact, was found for the variable of activities of the subject in the image as demonstrated by a chi-square test,  $\chi^2(3, N = 2705) = 45.63, p < .0001, V = .13$ . A difference of scores in the portrayal of recreational or sports related activities was evident where *Glamour* tripled the percentage of cases registered for *Latina* (15%,  $n = 310$  and 5.5%,  $n = 35$ , respectively). However, for both magazines posing was the most frequently displayed activity with 76.7% ( $n = 491$ ) of cases for *Latina* and 72.3% ( $n = 1494$ ) for *Glamour*. See Table 10 for frequencies of the activities of the subject variable.

Table 10

*Frequencies of Activities of Portrayed Subject*

Activity	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Recreational/Sports	5.5	15
Work related	8.9	6.2
Posing	76.7	72.3
Chores/Other/		
Cannot Tell	8.9	6.4

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 2075$ . For *Latina*,  $n = 640$ , (100%). For *Glamour*,  $n = 2065$ , (100%).

In the amount of clothes worn by the subject variable, a chi-square test revealed a statistically significant difference between *Latina* and *Glamour*,  $\chi^2(2, N = 2699) = 27.59, p < .0001, V = .10$ . *Glamour* portrayed almost 3 times the proportion of partially clothed women that were found in *Latina* and had approximately 8% more portrayals suitable for

coding than *Latina*. At the same time, both samples displayed parallel scores in their portrayal of more than 60% of fully clothed women and their minimal representation of unclothed women, 2% for both magazines. The scores for unclothed women were so marginal in both magazines that these were excluded from the statistical test. See Table 11 for frequencies on the amount of clothes worn by the subject variable.

Table 11

*Frequencies of Amount of Clothes Worn by Subject*

Amount of clothes	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Fully clothed	62.1	65.1
Partially clothed	2.7	7.3
Cannot tell	35.2	27.5

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 2699$ . For *Latina*,  $n = 639$  (99.84%). For *Glamour*,  $n = 2060$  (99.8%).

The scores in the type of clothes variable varied enough between publications to achieve statistical significance,  $\chi^2(5, N = 2705) = 39.98, p < .0001, V = .12$ . Casual dressing was the main style portrayed in both magazines and formal and business casual styles followed it as the most popular categories in both samples. Ethnic costumes were found in a slim 2.2% of *Latina*'s images and in 0.8% of *Glamour*'s images. See Table 12 for frequencies of dressing styles.

Table 12

*Type of Clothing Frequencies*

Clothing	Percentage	
	Latina	Glamour
Casual	27.3	31.9
Sports/Bathing Suit	3.3	6.2
Business Casual/Uniform	16.1	12.3
Formal wear	13.4	18.4
Ethnic Costume	2.2	0.8
Nightwear/Underwear/Costume/Cannot Tell	37.7	30.5

*Note.* Total number of cases,  $N = 2075$ . For Latina,  $n = 640$ , (100%). For Glamour,  $n = 2065$ , (100%).



## Chapter V: Discussion

This research project is based on the recognition that “analysis of media images can be useful in calibrating social change” (Busby & Leichty, 1993). Thus, a content analysis of the female portrayals found in *Latina* and *Glamour* magazines was performed in an effort to find out what the ethnic media’s discourse on the Hispanic/Latino membership is and where this discourse stands in relation to the mainstream culture. Three research questions were addressed through this quantitative analysis. First, what the characteristics of female portrayals are in *Latina*; second, what the characteristics of female portrayals are in *Glamour*; and last, how these portrayals differ from or resemble each other. What follows is a discussion about the results obtained for these research questions in the order they are stated and, finally, closing this chapter there is a summary of the findings, an explanation of limitations encountered during this project, and ideas for future research.

### *Images in Latina Magazine*

The results of the visual analysis of *Latina*’s female portrayals of the year 2005 indicate that the magazine focuses on specific traits, enhanced through repetition, that compose *Latina*’s iconic woman: a brown-haired, brown-eyed, light-brown skinned, size 4 young adult who dresses casually and has very smooth skin. Now, where does this emblematic *Latina* woman stand in the midst of all the controversy about the membership? The answer is neither single nor fixed. It is composed of several layers of meaning interacting at all times. First of all, it appears that *Latina*’s stated intentions to fight homogenization by featuring the diversity that composes the Hispanic/Latino

membership (Davila, 2001; Martinez, 2004) have been thwarted, within the scope of female imagery, by the media makers' ideals of beauty and representation.

*Latina* had absolutely no portrayals of black women in its pages and only four dark-brown portrayals were registered in the year; the vast majority of women in the magazine had light-brown or fair skin. All but 15% of the women in the sample had brown or black hair and almost three fourths of them all had brown eyes. These findings suggest that the editorial direction of the magazine may have bought into commonly held racial stereotypes. Indeed, *Latina's* portrayals of women in many ways resemble the "brown race" image that several Hispanic/Latino studies scholars strive to deconstruct (Guzman & Valdivia, 2004; Valdivia, 2004). The female features that the magazine chooses to portray most frequently conjure up this constrained space outside the black and white racial divide, as described by Guzman and Valdivia (2004), where Hispanics/Latinos become a non-conflicting brown race devoid of ethnic intensity and diversity.

The possibility of a for-profit communication medium, such as a magazine, to be influenced even in its editorial choices by advertisers' interests and marketing practices has been supported by research (Mastin, 1996). Thus, *Latina's* need to capture sponsorship as well as to function within the established media production and marketing system can offer a plausible explanation for its editorial choices of female imagery. After all, *Latina* does provide advertising space to major general audience companies and is published by a joint effort with Essence Communications, the African-American publishing house that, like *Latina*, supports market segmentation (Calvacca, 2000; Martinez, 2004).

Furthermore, in her research on the Hispanic/Latino advertising industry, Davila (2001) discovered a generalized consensus on what she called a generic “Latin look,” a marketing strategy determining that Hispanic/Latino models should be, in a nutshell, aspirational and representative. As explained to Davila (2001) by advertising professionals, “aspirational” implied upward social mobility and beauty, both of which, according to the industry’s standards, are embodied by a Nordic type: white skin, blue eyes, blonde hair. However, marketing also dictates that, in order to be representative of their market, Hispanic/Latino models must be unambiguous enough to avoid any confusion with white (mainstream) or African-American models and the public they represent. Thus, brown/black-haired, brown-eyed, neither too light nor dark skinned models became the industry’s prototype of Hispanics/Latinos. Such is the way, as Davila (2001) exposed, in which the market-oriented, modern Hispanic/Latino look was born; a color-bound, pseudo racial category in which the idea of cultural authenticity is at odds with the concept of beauty, and *Latina* may very well find itself stuck with it.

At the same time, it is important to mention that while Hispanics/Latinos have become visual tokens of the “brown people,” a homogenized category in and of itself, this category varies according to specific variables in each medium. Thus, in the case of advertising and women’s magazines beauty is a variable that turns the category “light-brown,” because of the prevailing white-equals-beauty standards. Likewise, Davila (2001) also found out that when ethnic authenticity was the main message to be conveyed, that is, the variable affecting the communication effort, only models with darker tones of brown skin were used, even if to the “detriment” of the beauty factor.

This fluctuation was evident in *Latina*, particularly in its “Real Mujeres” fashion section, which featured non-model, Hispanic/Latino professional women wearing the latest trends in fashion. In this section, *Latina* dared show a broader variety of body types and darker skin tones with the purpose of communicating authenticity, to demonstrate that “real, average women,” those outside the paradigm of “*Latina* beauty,” could look charming and fashionable. These interactions echo Del Rio’s (2005) findings on the variables that made the treatment of the Hispanic/Latino label as a concept in U.S. mainstream news magazines change. When the purpose of news articles was to expose negative experiences with the Hispanic/Latino community, the label was defined in racial terms. Conversely, when news reports had a celebratory, pluralistic tone, the membership was defined as an ethnicity.

These arbitrary reinterpretations of the Hispanic/Latino label, as a visual concept or otherwise, are enabled by its indeterminacy and exploited by those involved in both ethnic and mainstream media making. Davila (2001) found that not only Hispanic/Latino advertising professionals but also their clients contend that employing black models for Hispanic/Latino advertisements might be insulting to the Hispanic/Latino audience and that featuring Indo-Hispanic or otherwise “ambiguous” models would only disfigure the “uniqueness of Hispanic marketing as not only a cultural but also a racially specific market” (Davila, 2001, pg.114). Therefore, the lack of portrayals of Afro-Hispanic women in *Latina* and the fact that it is the sister magazine of *Essence*, the African American women’s magazine, suggest that both magazines may be working in coordination with each other in order to avoid visual overlapping and conflict with their respective markets, which advertisers have so neatly divided.

Furthermore, according the last U.S. census almost 47.9% of the Hispanic/Latino population identified themselves as white, in which case *Latina*'s 22% of fair skin portrayals would not be congruent with reality either. Plus, 42% of Hispanics/Latinos surveyed did not identify themselves in terms of race but mentioned subgroup nationalities as their racial markers. It suffices to compare images of Eva Mendes and Cameron Diaz, both of Cuban descent, to understand that a subgroup national origin does not equate homogeneity of physical or racial traits. Thus, what this big segment of the population could look like is simply unknown. Consequently, an accurate and proportionate representation of the community's physical diversity in *Latina* magazine or in any other medium is technically impossible; but at the same time, the visual elimination of this diversity and treatment of the label as racial category, especially when considering Latin American, Iberian, and American history, is completely unfounded, illogical, and market imposed.

Beyond the difficulty to justify the overload of light-brown skin portrayals and random frequency of appearance of all other skin tones, the dominance of light-brown skin in *Latina*'s portrayals confirms the results obtained by Johnson, David, and Huey (2003) who analyzed skin color in all major Latina-oriented magazines in the United States. The researchers concluded that these ethnic media were performing assimilation functions by downplaying diversity within the Hispanic/Latino community and pushing a pan-Hispanic racial identity by featuring images of an ideal light-skinned Latina. Likewise, the predominance of "brown" in traits such as hair and eyes, the positioning of this "brownness" as distinctive from white and black stereotypes, and, in short, the treatment of the Hispanic/Latino label as a racial category reiterate the findings of other

researchers in the field (Del Rio, 2005; Guzman & Valdivia, 2004; Len-Rios, 2002; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Rojas, 2004; Valdivia, 2004).

It is fair to grant *Latina* some credit for the consistent featuring of non-model or “average” women in its sections and the fact that over a third of female portrayals did not display full views of women’s bodies and more than half did not clearly expose flesh. Many of the latter portrayals focused on headshots, which has been associated with prioritizing brains over body (Guzman & Valdivia, 2004). Nevertheless, the body size and muscle tone score of *Latina*’s iconic woman indicates that this ethnic magazine is infused with the western thin ideal of beauty. These findings confirm Johnson, David, and Huey’s (2004) results on the survey of Hispanic/Latino women’s magazines in which they concluded that “rather than provide a pluralistic alternative and a refuge from mainstream media, the Latina magazines fulfill an assimilationist function of socializing to the ‘modern’” (Johnson, et al., 2004, pg. 48).

The cruelty that the modern thin ideal of beauty represents against women and the dangers that repeated exposure to thin images through magazine consumption pose to their psychological, emotional, and physical health have been evidenced by research (Hendriks & Burgoon, 2003). Hispanic/Latino women of all age groups are indeed vulnerable to these standards (Goodman, 2002; Johnson, David, & Huey 2004; Pompper & Koenig, 2004; Warren, Gleaves, Cepeda-Benito, Fernandez & Rodriguez-Ruiz, 2005). Thus, inasmuch as the present study was conducted on editorial images of the magazine, as opposed to images from advertisements, it seems that *Latina*’s editorial staff is not upholding the ethical responsibility they have with their readership when it comes to the ideal women they portray.

On the other hand, *Latina*'s iconic woman does charge against past stereotypes of Hispanics/Latinos as homebound, lazy, lacking work ethic, less intelligent, and uneducated (Davila, 2001; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Taylor & Bang, 1997) and *machista* sex role stereotypes of women as being home-makers (Fullerton & Kenrick, 2000). Even without taking into consideration the proportion of models that the magazine featured, close to half of the portrayed women were recognized in their professional careers or occupations. Plus, intellectual activities, such as being a student or a writer, were highlighted repeatedly. Likewise, *Latina*'s portrayals defied visually what is considered to be traditionally one of the most salient Hispanic/Latino values, the possession of a collective mindset that leads the individual to rely heavily on family and develop their life in a communal manner (Davila, 2001; Tan, Nelson, Dong & Tan, 1997; Torres, 2004).

Despite articles making references to family and narratives that talked about *mami* or *la abuela*, visually, an overwhelming majority of women were portrayed unaccompanied. Furthermore, within the few group pictures found, the predominance of portrayals of non-family members was very clear. In *Latina*'s lay-out, the iconic *Latina* woman has several avenues leading her to independence. Not only does the magazine enhance education and professional preparation which, in conjunction with the commercial imagery, wraps up the message of women having buying power and self-sufficiency. But *Latina* also grounds its message in the existence of an already acculturated readership; that is, an audience that has already been socialized to American values.

*Latina* reaches out to the young women who speak English and know the American way of life. Portraying individualism may be one of the editorial recourses employed by *Latina* to manifest an adaptation to the mainstream culture or the hybridity that some scholars envision (Guzman & Valdivia, 2004; Johnson, 2003). In this case, this mixing of cultures involves the displacement of traditionally Hispanic/Latino ways of thinking that are frowned upon in the mainstream culture, such as dependence on family.

Furthermore, findings suggest that *Latina*'s visuals avoid the exoticized portrayals of women that have become a stereotype of Hispanics/Latinos in both mainstream and ethnic media (Del Rio, 2005; Fullerton & Kenrick, 2000; Guzman & Valdivia, 2004; Rojas, 2004); namely, *Latina* avoids woman who are dressed scantily, suggestively, inappropriately or wrapped up in flashy colors. *Latina*'s choice to feature an overwhelming majority of fully-clothed women in either casual, business casual or formal attires does support a more progressive and less objectifying vision of the Hispanic/Latino woman. It is important to notice that photographs with provocative tones were present, mostly when celebrities were featured, but even in those cases, no nudity or partial nudity was found.

This study's findings on *Latina*'s predominant acknowledgement of subgroup ethnicities over a pan-ethnic identification is not in accord with Johnson's (2000) textual analysis of English-language Hispanic/Latino women's magazines, where the researcher found the recognition of the membership as a whole to be more frequently mentioned than individual national cultures. This discordance may originate, on the one hand, in the multiple magazines that made up Johnson's (2000) sample versus a study of only *Latina* magazine. In fact, Johnson did mention in her report that the magazines *Latina* and



*Latina Style* were different from the rest of the sample in that they were more likely to cover heritage, activism, and ethnic pride issues. Thus, results for only this magazine may lead to a different conclusion.

On the other hand, there may also be a difference in the operationalization of this variable between the studies. This project focused on the women portrayed and their demographic information, thus, only one entry per woman as to ethnic identification was made and subgroup identifications were counted even if the pan-ethnic “Latina” identification was used as well. In Johnson’s (2000) textual analysis, the concept of Hispanic/Latino as a whole may come up more frequently per article since it can be used abstractly, without describing a specific subject, and is one of the main referents of the nature of the magazine. Moreover, the term “Latina,” as in one ethnic ensemble, is the keyword used for the headings and subheadings of several sections and articles. Thus, the consideration of these textual characteristics may also provide pointers as to the differences in the performance and results between a textual analysis and a visual one.

In terms of the purpose of *Latina*’s images, the division between cultural and commercial functions was very even, although non-commercial images did predominate. Conversely, Johnson (2000) affirmed in her textual analysis of Hispanic/Latino oriented magazines that culture was given little attention in the overall lists of contents. However, it is important to remember that the researcher pointed out *Latina* as different from the majority of publications and more culturally oriented. Moreover, differences of medium and operationalization between the analysis of texts and of visuals again play an important role in these results. While Johnson (2000) may have deemed a whole section, such as fashion, as focused on consumerism, all the female portrayals contained within it

may not necessarily feature a product for sale; thus, taking each image as a unit makes results more specific and quantifiable.

Nevertheless, it is worth to remember the possibility of multiple messages being conveyed through a single image. For instance, when a Hispanic/Latino celebrity who has succeeded in the mainstream market is portrayed, the intention of the editorial staff might be to convey a sense of identification and ethnic pride in the reader (Martinez, 2004). However, the mainstream media industry affects celebrities' image powerfully, to the point they may become products themselves; thus, their mere appearance may constitute a tool for promotion or marketing of tangible and intangible products that celebrities may be involved with (e.g. movies, records, *TV* shows, etc.).

Going back to Johnson's (2003) model for study of the functions of ethnic media, the concept of cultural projection is a helpful tool to analyze overall what discourse *Latina*'s iconic woman creates about the Hispanic/Latino membership. First of all, it is important to recognize that *Latina*'s mere presence on the newsstands is a signifier of power, a medium for recognition and a representative for social dialogue. However, *Latina*'s female portrayals may constitute but an echo of mainstream discourses about Hispanic/Latino women and men as a racial cluster of brown people. The homogenized, not too dark, not too light portrayal of women reinforces prevalent stereotypes at the same time that it ignores the racial diversity of the people in the membership. *Latina*'s depiction of a Hispanic/Latino "phenotype" may very well be the result of colonizing marketing discourses that attempt to dictate the characteristics of the ethnic female body, and as such, this stereotypical representation of women is a stumbling block for the empowerment of the group.

Overall, a fluctuation between the extremes of ethnic unity and segregation, as well as empowerment and vulnerability, characterize the female portrayals in *Latina* magazine. At the same time that the recognition of subgroup ethnicities fights the possibility of a flat cultural identification, this pluralistic understanding leans towards membership division according to Johnson's (2003) subcultural identity axis. This polarization is a reflection of the lack of definition that the Hispanic/Latino membership faces. If there was at least one common characteristic keeping all Hispanics/Latinos together at all times, the threat of splitting up into an unpredictable number sub-groups would not linger over community, menacing its political representation.

Indeed, the presence of U.S.-based, partitioned ethnic affiliations, such as Nuyorican, Chicano or Tejano only complicates the issue of ethnicity in the membership. Nevertheless, the constant display of the word "Latina," as a single thread that visually strings together the images that it surrounds, constitutes the magazine's visual call for unity. Moreover, even the common look among the women featured in the magazine, despite deserving strong criticism for its homogenizing nature, visually constitutes an agent of unification; the "*Latina* look" is used as a form of visual alliance, an invocation of likeness or similarity within the community.

On the cultural identity axis, the fact that a commercial function was not prevalent in the coded portrayals does not necessarily indicate recognition of Hispanic/Latino cultural markers. More traditionally American standards such as the modern look of ethnic beauty, individualism, and access to buying power are evident across *Latina*'s images. While emphasis on education, career development, appropriate dress styles, and independence can provide positive reinforcement for women, unrealistic ideals of

thinness and the conspicuous portrayals of light-brown and smooth skin respond less to Hispanic/Latino cultural heritage and more to beauty industry standards. Thus, the concept of hybridity that Johnson's (2003) model proposed, as a space for mainstream American and Hispanic/Latino values to encounter and formulate a dialogue, seems dwindled by the submission of *Latina* magazine to marketing standards that are deeply ingrained in the mainstream and ethnic media.

#### *Images in Glamour Magazine*

*Glamour's* paradigm of feminine physique was found in young, fair-skinned, brown-eyed, brown or blonde haired, size 4-6 women with smooth skin. Medium-brown, dark-brown, and black women appeared much more rarely in comparison to white and light-brown women and their numbers progressively decreased as the measuring scale for skin color got darker. Hair colors that are naturally occurring in white people, such as brown and blonde were conspicuous in *Glamour's* portrayals; likewise, lighter eye colors such as blue and hazel were consistently featured even if in a lower proportion than brown eyes were in the sample. Considering the tendency to "lightness" in *Glamour's* portrayals, it is evident that the magazine supports its visual concept of femininity on white racial markers, which hints at *Glamour's* condition more as a mainstream magazine than a general audience magazine. These results confirm existent research on media and market segmentation (Davila, 2001) and the globalized dominance of the Nordic ideal of beauty (Frith, Shaw & Cheng, 2005).

Indeed, historically, U.S. conventions on female beauty have not been founded on any form of diversity. In her research on the development of American beauty pageants, such as Miss America, Perlmutter (2000) asserts that beauty-queen standards in this

country have been built on the basis of two social factors: race and class. The original rules of the Miss America contest established that only women of white race could compete for the crown which, Perlmutter (2000) explains, implied having the opportunity to be publicly recognized as American royalty, literally, the ruling class. Thus, conventions on the beauty-queen-look were “governed by upper-class patriarchal values of what constitute[d] a proper woman” (Perlmutter, 2000, p. 156). In the present, not much has changed; although African-American women have already taken part in and even won the pageant, Perlmutter (2000) notes that all of them have had Caucasian features and lighter skin.

It is evident from the images across the media, *Glamour* included, that what these beauty standards defined as an element of physical fitness (Perlmutter, 2000) has evolved into an unhealthy and threatening obsession for women, an excessively thin ideal (Spillman & Everington, 1989; Yun, Park, Bush Hitchon & Gunther, 2005). In fact, very thin and moderately thin women obtained much more attention than their larger counterparts; two thirds of the female portrayals found in *Glamour* corresponded to women between sizes 0 and 6. Furthermore, in terms of muscle tone, women with smooth skin and sometimes showing some muscle lines were the most commonly portrayed in the magazine. These characteristics, as a group, are a reflection of the thin ideal of beauty.

*Glamour* included very few group pictures in its pages; almost three fourths of its photographs portrayed women unaccompanied. Among the few group pictures found, the relationship of the additional people portrayed with the subject was not identified in most cases and family members were portrayed the least. This visual emphasis on

individualism and detachment from family may be a reflection of what are traditionally considered American values such as freedom and independent action and responsibility (Tan, Nelson, Dong & Tan, 1997). At the same time, the additional people found in group pictures were most frequently females, which makes sense in a women's magazine, but males were almost as frequently featured as the companions of the coded subjects as women were. This attention to the portrayal of men as companions of the women featured in the magazine may correspond with the kinds of topics covered in *Glamour*, which dedicates a few of its sections to love, sex, and romance.

A strong majority of the women featured in *Glamour* appeared fully clothed; in comparison, only a small section of images showed women partially clothed, and an insignificant number of photographs portrayed women unclothed. The dress styles most frequently portrayed were casual, formal, and business casual. Bathing-suits were the next most featured type of clothes and they mostly corresponded with the partially clothed portrayals. According to these results, *Glamour* is breaking with current tendencies to portray over-sexualized women in the media. Carpenter and Edison's (2005) content analysis of mainstream magazines showed that women in advertisements are treated as sexual objects much more often than men, situation that has remained true for 40 years; this stereotyping is mostly evident in the small amount of clothing that women are portrayed in and the provocative style of their attire.

Although this study was based on editorial images, many of them explicitly display commercial content and are of commercial nature; moreover, a stereotypical representation that strongly ingrained in American media culture can spread to all sorts of image production. Thus, *Glamour* can be recognized in its attempt to avoid these

exploitative representations of women. In summary, *Glamour* conforms to previously researched, commonly held standards of mainstream values and visual representation of ideal female beauty; however, in its editorial portrayals, it does oppose over-sexualized female representations.

#### *Comparison of Images in Latina and Glamour Magazines*

The comparison between *Latina*'s and *Glamour*'s portrayals was undertaken on the premise that neither magazine should be racially-specific given that *Glamour* is a general audience magazine and *Latina* is an ethnically-oriented magazine arguing for diversity in the Hispanic/Latino culture. According to the U.S. census, the American population is composed of a white majority as well as of African American, American Indian, Asian, Pacific Islander, and other undefined groups; thus, representatives from all these groups could potentially be portrayed in *Glamour*'s pages. The U.S. Census also indicates that the Hispanic/Latino population is composed of a white majority, smaller proportions of African American, American Indian, Asian, Pacific Islander populations, and a large segment whose race is undetermined. Moreover, in recognition of the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-racial character of the Hispanic/Latino population, *Latina*'s staff members have stated their intentions to oppose the homogenization of this identity (Martinez, 2004). In summary, both publications have broad racial diversity in their target audience, a diversity that could be reflected in their pages. Thus, no specific difference in their visual portrayals could be logically anticipated.

A vast initial difference noticed between publications was the higher number of images per page and issue featured in *Glamour*. *Glamour* doubled the number of female portrayals per page that *Latina* featured, which may be considered as evidence of the

forcefulness with which *Glamour* attempts to place visual messages in its audience's mind. Messaris (1998) proposes that images in advertising have the power to make statements and recommends approaching them with a critical eye. While this project analyzed only editorial images, it has become clear through the performance of this content analysis that the space of editorial pages can also be used for product placement and advertising purposes. Thus, all images featured in a magazine can be of persuasive nature and not only their characteristics but also their incidence may have an effect on readers' perceptions by making a mediated message more readily available in an individual's mind (Carpenter & Edison, 2005).

Morgan (2005) suggests that beyond eliciting an emotional response, images prompt viewers to formulate arguments of their own; this denotes a cognitive connection between image and viewer that can be very powerful. Whether *Latina* is disadvantaged in comparison to *Glamour* when it comes to engaging its readership through the use of images is hard to say. The fact *Latina* has admitted to having problems with modeling agencies for not providing a wider variety of looks in their models and that it has stated its intentions to reduce the display of models as much as possible (Davila, 2001) may seem possible explanations for a reduced use of female portrayals. Nevertheless, models still account for 25% of the women featured in the magazine, percentage that is not much different from *Glamour*'s portrayal of models (30.8%).

Another significant difference was found in the explicit identification of ethnicity between magazines, which is not surprising considering that only one of them is trying to position a minority in the social spectrum of the U.S. cultural scene as a whole. *Glamour*, as a mainstream magazine, does not find itself in the need to emphasize the



importance of American culture or affirm the diversity within it; consequently, the ethnic identifications of most portrayed subjects are omitted. With only seven explicitly identified Hispanic/Latino portrayals, it can be said that this ethnic group was underrepresented in *Glamour*'s pages, which impeded the comparison of exclusively Hispanic/Latino portrayals found in both magazines. However, despite *Latina*'s declaration to combat homogenization and stereotyping (Martinez, 2004), *Latina*'s portrayals were less diverse than those in *Glamour*. Indeed, while *Latina* did not feature any black women and very few dark brown women, *Glamour* did have representatives of all skin tones and portrayed women with dark brown or black skin more frequently than *Latina* did.

A closer examination of results on portrayed skin color shows that both magazines linger over the lighter end of the scale. This emphasis would be logical if both magazines portrayed a majority of white people. Yet, *Latina* adopts light-brown as its predominant skin color and *Glamour* adopts white as its most common skin tone. Furthermore, *Latina* features medium-brown skin much more frequently than *Glamour*, but then drastically reduces its portrayals of the two darkest skin colors. Again, market segmentation strategies seem to prevail in this scenario.

Although both magazines emphasized women of sizes 4 to 6, a concentration on thinner women was comparatively stronger in *Glamour* than in *Latina*. While *Latina* does seem to be influenced by the modern thin ideal of beauty, its visual portrayals appear less adamant about this issue than those of *Glamour*'s. Research has provided contradictory results on the level of vulnerability that women present to the thin ideal according to their ethnicity. While some researchers affirm that the community-oriented

Hispanic/Latino women have a stronger self-concept and are less vulnerable than Caucasian women, others affirm that both groups are equally susceptible to suffer because of unrealistic expectations of thinness (Altabe, 1998; Crandall & Martinez, 1996; Goodman, 2002; Johnson, David & Huey, 2004; Hebl, King & Lin, 2004; Warren, Gleaves, Cepeda-Benito, Fernandez & Rodriguez-Ruiz, 2005).

Comparative studies on portrayals of muscle tone across ethnicities have not been found. According to this study, women in *Latina* showed a slight tendency to have higher muscle tone in their body than women in *Glamour* did, which was visually represented by smoother skin. Overall, the comparison of skin color, body size, and muscle tone between magazines' portrayals, brings into light evidence of stereotypical representations in *Latina* that become evident through their differentiation from *Glamour*'s portrayals. These characteristics that have been traditionally associated with stereotypes of Hispanics/Latinos (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000) are found in what Guzman & Valdivia (2004) defined as markers of tropicalization, namely, the smooth, olive skin and a voluptuous figure; attributes found in *Latina*, which are more clearly revealed through their comparison with the portrayals of women found in *Glamour*.

Both magazines coincided in the predominant featuring of young adults in their portrayals, which can be anticipated given their similar target audiences. *Latina*'s readership is composed of women between 18 and 45 years and *Glamour* defines its audience as women in their 20s, 30s, and 40s. Now, while both *Latina* and *Glamour* are categorized as lifestyle magazines, *Latina* has separated its segment in the market and based its identity on its cultural and ethnic engagement with the Hispanic/Latino

community; thus, when compared to a magazine that makes no claim about fomenting culture such as *Glamour*, it seems appropriate for *Latina* to offer proportionately more space for cultural manifestation. However, the proportion of commercial and cultural images featured in both magazines was very similar, which results hard to justify given the different nature of both publications.

Nevertheless, cultural messages may be enhanced in *Latina* through different recourses. *Latina* identified the profession of the women it portrayed in a larger proportion than *Glamour* did. Even more, if models are removed from both groups of results, *Latina*'s advantage over *Glamour* is even larger, which means that *Latina* did portray and provide information about non-model females more than *Glamour* did. This emphasis on professional occupations on *Latina*'s part and its lower concentration on beauty-related careers in comparison to *Glamour* reinforce women's values beyond the patriarchal fascination with beauty and fight past stereotypes about the lack of education or intelligence of Hispanics/Latinos (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005).

While neither magazine emphasized familial relationships and both tended to portray less family members than non-family members, *Latina* did portray, in average, more people in group pictures than *Glamour* did, which could be a visual manifestation of the communally-oriented mentality that has been traditionally attributed to Hispanics/Latinos (Davila, 2001). It was common for both publications to portray women in all-female circles; however, *Glamour* featured twice the proportion of women accompanied by men only that *Latina* did and, in turn, *Latina* doubled the proportion of women portrayed with mixed male and female crowds found in *Glamour*. *Latina*'s featuring of mixed groups may again be a response to an emphasis on community values

held by Hispanics/Latinos (Davila, 2001); additionally, the portrayal of mixed male and female groups could manifest a sense of paternalism, which has also been attributed to Hispanics/Latinos (Tan, Nelson, Dong & Tan 1997), by which men are seen as a protective and desirable presence in women's lives. *Glamour's* visual focus on men as companions for women may respond to the sections the magazine traditionally develops which seem to emphasize love, sex, and relationships more than *Latina's* sections do.

The comparison of the backgrounds employed in *Latina's* and *Glamour's* images revealed that *Glamour* portrayed women in home settings four times more than *Latina* did. Taking into consideration the stereotypical representations in mainstream media of Hispanics/Latinos as home-bound or lazy and particularly of women as home-makers (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Taylor & Bang, 1997), plus *Latina's* apparent effort to portray women as independent and distanced from family-ties, it makes sense to assume that the magazine may be purposely avoiding portrayals in home settings. An additional and interesting difference that emerged from the data on backgrounds was *Glamour's* use of photo editing techniques to eliminate backgrounds altogether, using only the silhouettes of the women portrayed as elements in its layout. *Glamour* employed this recourse almost three times more than *Latina* did.

There are two possible explanations for the use of these graphic techniques. First, the deletion of additional imagery around a portrayed subject eliminates the visual noise or distracting elements around the person, leaving only the female body or silhouette as the main focus of attention. Page (2005) asserted that advertising images frequently use the "human figure as referent, embodying desire, need, or identification with the product" (pg. 14), and explained that the female form is the referent most frequently used for

persuasive purposes. Thus, given *Glamour*'s emphasis on thinness and beauty, this "overexposure" of women may serve to reinforce the magazine's aesthetic stance.

Second, the elimination of the box shape of regular photographs reduces the space that images occupy as well as creates organic shapes that can be more easily overlapped.

Thus, considering the high volume of images that *Glamour* features per page and issue, cutting backgrounds may be a good strategy to allow more pictures to fit.

### *Summary*

Media are powerful agents of socialization; the messages that are spread by them do not only affect individuals and their behavior but also social groups and their group-based attitudes to each other. Mainstream media messages about the dominant culture and about minority groups have been studied repeatedly. On the contrary, ethnically-specific media and the messages they produce about their own communities have been looked into far less.

The Hispanic/Latino community in the United States finds itself in the peculiar situation of being a wildly diverse membership that lacks consensus or definition as to the underlying traits that identify its members. At the same time, Hispanics/Latinos are the new largest minority in this territory; thus, the attempts to consolidate a Hispanic/Latino identity, particularly by the ethnic media are of great interest. This project studied one Hispanic/Latino media text produced in the United States, the English-language women's magazine *Latina*. Created and edited by an entirely U.S. Hispanic/Latino staff, *Latina* magazine has expressed its determination to feature the diversity of the community, fight stereotyping, and construct a pan-ethnic Hispanic/Latino identity. Through an analysis of the visual portrayals of women found in *Latina* and their comparison to the visual

portrayals of women found in the mainstream women's magazine *Glamour*, this project set out to identify *Latina*'s current discourse on this pan-ethnic identity and its social standing in relation to the mainstream culture.

### *Limitations*

The main limitation in the performance of this research project was the lack of further resources to handle a sample of such large size. The availability of multiple coders in the analysis of a large sample seems indispensable to make the coding process faster and less taxing. Inevitably, coder fatigue was a noticeable problem. Over twenty five hundred images were analyzed by the researcher with a total of 17 variables to code per image; thus, the extensive list of variables multiplied by the number of images in the sample made the process extremely time consuming for only one coder.

At the same time, these circumstances demanded a significant time commitment on the additional coder's part. The high number of variables to code made the training very slow and extended. One of the main consequences of the extended time commitment that both training and coding meant for the additional coder was evidenced in the size of the final control sample used to check for intercoder reliability. The additional coder could only commit to analyzing one issue of each magazine type, which produced a sub-sample equivalent to 8% of the final sample.

Image quality was another technical limitation encountered in the project. The characteristics of the portrayed images varied greatly within and between publications. While blurry and obviously inadequate images were left out, subtle differences of resolution, color composition, contrast, and focus slowed down the coding process or simply did not allow the measurement of certain variables.

The difficulty to obtain coding schemes for still images and for the variables selected for this project was another limitation encountered. While coding schemes for very important variables such as skin tone, body size, and muscle tone were obtained from research projects conducting very similar coding, for most variables only one set of schemes was found. In a few cases, full descriptions of the variables or code books were not available either, which determined that adaptations particular to this project had to be performed without a comparison between different options of coding schemes.

Finally, the identification of Hispanics/Latinos in the media presented some challenges to this project. While several research projects opt to recognize Hispanics/Latinos at face value, this project specified that a portrayed subject would only be considered as part of the membership if there was information in the magazine explicitly identifying him or her as such. In this way, the identification of Hispanics/Latinos on the basis of racial or physical stereotypes was avoided. The use of names or surnames as a form of identification was obviated as well because there are people who despite having Spanish-sounding names identify themselves with a different ethnicity; thus, the imposition of ethnicity on a subject was eliminated by the use of explicit identification.

#### *Future Research*

Immediate perspectives of extended research begin with the data that has already been gathered for this project. Such a high volume of information was obtained from the coding that analyses deriving from it are countless. Many interesting relationships within and between variables can be explored. For instance, information obtained from the occupation variable could be collapsed or recoded to reveal the proportion in which

professions that catch the public eye are portrayed in relation to less exposed careers, which could hint at the preferred subjects of a magazine. Additionally, connections between the variables of purpose of the image and image size could be explored to find out whether cultural images prevail in number as well as in page area covered or if commercial images, despite being less in number, actually receive more page space.

Furthermore, variables such as hair color, eye color, and skin color could be tested as dependent and independent variables for each other in order to find out the more common combinations of traits per magazine. The information on type of backgrounds and type of attire could be further analyzed in relation to the portrayed subjects' occupation in order to find out whether certain professions, such as actress or singer, are portrayed in more extravagant locations and with more glamorous looks. New variables to be measured could also be proposed such as verbal language, and so on.

A similar but complementary study can also be proposed to analyze images on the basis of the sections in which they are included. A coding of the sections existent in the magazines and then an analysis of the types of portrayals that they encompass can reveal other interesting details about the visual communication strategies of the magazines. Moreover, other graphic elements employed in the page spreads could be included in further analysis, such as headings, subheadings, icons, symbols, fonts, and colors. Lastly, images contained in advertisement pages could also be included in the analysis in order to find out if and how the female portrayals produced by the editorial staff of a magazine and those produced by the advertisers and sponsors differ.

Another possibility for future research includes the conduction of a longitudinal study on female portrayals of *Latina* magazine. Once the magazine reaches a publication



period of fifteen or twenty years, enough lapses between samples would be available to make comparisons across time. Such a study would require taking into account not only the changes in graphic communication styles, but also in prevailing societal beliefs.

Finally, a study across different kinds of ethnic media could be developed in order to find out how the Hispanic/Latino membership is manifested in each case. The characteristics of the discourses on the membership and the variables that influence those discourses in each medium could provide rich information about societal communication processes and how messages can be translated or transfigured from one medium to the other.

### *Conclusion*

Taken as a whole, the comparison of female portrayals between *Latina* and *Glamour* was important because it allowed the emergence or identification of nuances in the constitution of these portrayals that may have been overlooked otherwise. When images are analyzed within their particular medium or text only, it can be easy to assume that their observed characteristics are categorical; a comparison helps to avoid this assumption by testing the gathered information in a bigger context. Thus, comparing *Latina's* and *Glamour's* portrayals not only evidenced the editorial choices performed by the staff of each magazine, but it provided information on the social spaces they have established for their texts and how they propose to their audience to interact within them.

*Glamour* provided adequate and valuable material for this comparison. While it produced representations of mainstream values that were indispensable for the detection of contrast between publications, it also contained information that was congruent with *Latina's* profile, which allowed the identification of assimilationist and pluralistic

tendencies found in the ethnic media text. *Glamour* featured women under the perspectives of the dominant notion of ideal beauty. White, thin, toned, and independent women populated *Glamour*'s pages. But, at the same time, diversity and the opposition to over-sexualized representation of women also found space for representation in the pages of this magazine.

*Latina* magazine offered contradictory representations of what it envisions as the U.S. pan-ethnic Hispanic/Latino identity. While the magazine intends to generate an example of the integration of cultures: American and sub-groups of Hispanic/Latino, visually, *Latina* portrayed difference. *Latina* established a delimited and non-conflictive space where Hispanic/Latino women can dwell without interfering with U.S. dominant discourses on ethnicity and race or marketing practices.

Ethnic, cultural, racial, economic, class diversities were flattened to fit a modernized but pre-existing mold; *Latina* offered to its readers an acculturated identity painted in brown. Although it wrestled with pre-existing stigmas of class connected to the condition of "non-whiteness," *Latina* ended up producing a new *mestizaje* (mixing) in which "brown" was not reaffirmed or claimed as valuable on its own but was reinterpreted through the whitening of its image, through its breeding with the modern Caucasian standard. In doing so, *Latina* offered an essentialist, racialized view of the Hispanic/Latino community and it overlooked its diversity.

However, there were some positive aspects showing *Latina*'s potential and maintaining it as an ethnic medium that is worthy of attention. *Latina* offered a counter-stereotypical and progressive view of Hispanic/Latino women; it enhanced education, professional preparation, independence, and values that are not founded on the concept of

beauty. *Latina* consistently featured average women and their achievements and it did not oversaturate its pages with ideal images of women. Unfortunately, *Latina* did not yet reflect all the possibilities that the community in its strong diversity may offer and proved to be too dependent on advertisers and marketing practices.

In short, the identity *Latina* portrays may undoubtedly trigger feelings of identification among some of its readers. However, *Latina*'s pan-ethnic identity would require a large segment of the Hispanic/Latino population to internalize values and expectations about skin tone, body size, hair color, social class, and financial status that do not reflect their reality. These discrepancies between a social identity and the individual's identity may not only create problems with the individual's self-concept, but also between the individual and the ethnic membership and/or between the ethnic membership and the general culture. Thus, although *Latina* does provide the Hispanic/Latino community with cultural projection, it cannot be considered as fully opposing stereotyping or truly inclusive of its members as a whole.

## Reference List

- Altabe, M. (1998). Ethnicity and body image: Quantitative and qualitative analysis. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 23, 154-159.
- Arana, M. (2001, Summer). The elusive Hispanic/Latino identity. *Nieman Reports*, 8-10.
- Audit Bureau of Circulations (2006). *Consumer magazines: Paid Circulation*. Retrieved September 8, 2006, from <http://abcas3.accessabc.com/ecirc/magform.asp>
- Bowen, L., & Schmid, J. (1997). Minority presence and portrayal in mainstream magazine advertising: An update. *Journal of Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74(1), 134-146.
- Burleson, D. (2006). Spanish 101. *Media Week*, 16(13), (1055176X).
- Busby, L., & Leichty, G. (1993). Feminism and advertising in traditional and nontraditional women's magazines 1950s-1980s. *Journalism Quarterly*, 70(2), 247-264.
- California minorities rely on ethnic media. (July/August, 2002). *Quill*, 90(6).
- Calvacca, L. (2000). 'Latina' dances into spotlight. *Advertising Age*, 17(11), ps8-s8.
- Carpenter, C., & Edison, A. (2005). Taking it all off again: The portrayal of women in advertising over the past forty years. *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*.
- Cartagena, C. (1999). Love 'Wives'? No surprise, it's closest to a telenovela. *Advertising Age*, 77(5).

- Comas-Diaz, L. (2001). Hispanics, Latinos, or Americanos: The evolution of identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 7(2), 115-120.
- Crandall, C. S., & Martinez, R. (1996). Culture, ideology, and antifat attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22, 1165-1176.
- Davila, A. (2001). *Latinos Inc.: The marketing and making of a people*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Del Rio, E. (2005). Latinos, U.S. news magazines, and multiculturalism as a form of professional bias. *Conference Papers – International Communication Association*, Annual Meeting, New York, 1-26.
- Dezell, M. (1995, March 4). Women's mags wise up: Now more than skin deep, glossies scramble for the savvy reader. *The Boston Globe*, p. 59.
- Eschholz, S., Bufkin, J., & Long, J. (2002). Symbolic reality bites: Women and racial/ethnic minorities in modern film. *Sociological Spectrum*, 22, 299-334.
- Flamm, M. (2005, September 12). Meredith en Espanol: Publisher pushes glossy title for immigrant women. *Crain's New York Business*, 2.
- Fitzgerald, K. (1999). Latino lifestyle missing from English-language fare. *Advertising Age*. 70 (36), pS18, 2p, (2216483).
- Frith, K., Shaw, P., & Cheng, H. (2005). The construction of beauty: A cross-cultural analysis of women's magazine advertising. *Journal of Communication*, 55(1), 56-70.
- Fullerton, J. A., & Kenrick, A. (2000). Portrayal of men and women in U.S. Spanish-language television commercials. *Journal of Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(1), 128-142.

- Garcia, J. (2003). *Latino politics in America: Community, culture, interests*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Gaouette, N. (1997, March 4). Hot new read: Latino magazines. *Christian Science Monitor*, p. 13.
- Gecas, V. (1992). Socialization. In E. F. Borgatta & M. L. Borgatta (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Sociology* (Vol. 4, pp. 1863–1872). New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.
- Goodman, J. (2002). Flabless is fabulous: How Latina and Anglo women read and incorporate the excessively thin body ideal into everyday experience. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(3), 712-727.
- Gracia, J. (2000). *Hispanic/Latino identity: A philosophical perspective*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- Greenberg, B. S., & Brand, J. E. (1994). Minorities and the mass media: 1970s to 1990s. In J. Bryant, & D. Zilmann (Eds.). *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 273-314). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Greenberg, B., Heeter, C., Burgoon, J., Burgoon, M., & Korzeny, F. (1983). Local newspaper coverage of Mexican Americans. *Journalism Quarterly*, 60, 672-676.
- Gremillion, J. (1996). Young, gifted & “Latina.” *Media Week*, 6 (24), 34.
- Gutierrez, O. (2005, September). “Hispanic” vs. “Latino:” Why it matters. *Diversity Inc*, 4 (7), 48.
- Guzman, I. & Valdivia, A. (2004). Brain, brow, and booty: Latina iconicity in U.S. popular culture. *The Communication Review*, 7, 205-221.
- Hebl, M., King, E., & Lin, J. (2004). The swimsuit becomes us all: Ethnicity, gender, and

- vulnerability to self-objectification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(10), 1322-1331.
- Hendriks, A., & Burgoon, M. (2003). The Relationship between fashion magazine consumption and body satisfaction in women: Who is most at risk of influence?. *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*. San Diego, CA.
- Hispanic portrayals. (1996, July/August). *Quill*, 83(6), 14.
- Holsti, O.R. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Jeffres, L. (2000). Ethnicity and ethnic media use: A panel study. *Communication Research*, 27(4), 496-535.
- Johnson, M.A. (2000). How ethnic are U.S. ethnic media: The case of Latina magazines. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3, 229-248.
- Johnson, M. A. (2003). Constructing a new model of ethnic media: Image-saturated Latina magazines as touchstones. In A. N. Valdivia (Ed.), *A companion to media studies* (pp. 272-292). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Johnson, M. A., David, P., & Huey, D. (2003). Beauty in brown: Skin color in Latina magazines. In D. I. Ríos & A. N. Mohamed (Eds.), *Brown and Black communication: Latino and African American conflict and convergence in mass media*, (pp.159-174). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Johnson, M. A., David, P., & Huey, D. (2004). Looks like me? Body image in magazines targeted to U. S. Latinas. In A. Tait & G. Meiss (Eds.), *Ethnic media in America: images, audiences, and transforming forces*, (pp. 43-64). Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

- LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114(3), 395-412.
- Lao-Montes, A. (2001). Mambo montage: The latinization of New York City. In A. Lao-Montes, & A. Davila (Eds.), *Mambo montage* (pp. 1-54). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Len-Ríos, M. (2002). Latino professionals in public relations: More than meets the eye. *Public Relations Quarterly*, 47(1), 22-26.
- Llorente, E. (1996, July 21). *The Record*, p. L01-L04.
- Martinez, K. Z. (2004). *Latina* magazine and the invocation of a panethnic family: Latino identity as it is informed by celebrities and *papis chulos*. *The Communication Review*, 7, 155-174.
- Mastin, T. (1996). Essence: Advertising and editorial content. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 7(3), 221-229.
- Mastro, D. E. & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2005). Latino representation on primetime television. *Journal of Mass Communication Quarterly*, 82(1), 110-130.
- Mastro, D. E. & Greenberg, B. S. (2000). The portrayal of racial minorities on prime time television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 44(4), 690-703.
- Mastro, D. E. & Stern, S. (2003). Representations of race in television commercials: A content analysis of prime-time advertising. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 47 (4), 638-647.
- Mayer, V. (2004). Please pass the pan: Retheorizing the map of panlatinidad in communication research. *The Communication Review*, 7, 113-124.
- Messaris, P. (1998). Visual aspects of media literacy. *Journal of Communication*, 48, 70-



81.

- Michelson, J.A. (1996). *Visual imagery in medical journal advertising*. Unpublished master's thesis, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH.
- Morgan, S. (2005). More than pictures? An exploration of visually dominant magazine ads as arguments. *Journal of Visual Literacy*, 25(2), 145-166.
- Neuendorf, K.A. (2000). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Obejas, A. (2001, September 21). Carving out a new American identity: Nationalism is an obsolete idea as Latinos outgrow labels. *Chicago Tribune*, section 2, p.1.
- Oboler, S. (1995). *Ethnic labels, Latino lives: Identity and the politics of (re)presentation in the United States*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Olivarez, A. (1998). Studying representations of U.S. Latino culture. *Journal of communication Inquiry*, 22(4), 426-437.
- Page, J. (2005). The perfect host: Indexical images of the female body as persuasive strategy in house beautiful. *Media Report to Women*, 33(3), 14-20.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.
- Perlmutter, D. (2000). Miss America: Whose ideal? In P. Zieglin (ed.), *Beauty Matters*, (pp.155 -168). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Pompper, D. & Koenig, J. (2004). Cross-cultural generational perceptions of ideal body image. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1), 89-107.
- Renz, B. (2003). Theoretical foundation underlying minority group and media interaction.

- In. Meiss, G. & Tait, A. (Eds.), *Ethnic media in America: Images, audiences and transforming forces*, (pp. 3-25). Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.
- Rios, D. & Gaines, S. (1998). Latino media use for cultural maintenance. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75 (4), 746-761.
- Rojas, V. (2004). The gender of *Latinidad*: Latinas speak about Hispanic television. *The Communication Review*, 7, 125-153.
- Schnuer, J. (2005). Magazines: the new generation. *Advertising Age*, 76(5).
- Schnuer, J. (2006). Newspapers target TV for bigger share. *Advertising Age*, 77(5).
- Shoemaker, P., Reese, S., & Danielson, W. (1985). Spanish language print media use as an indicator of acculturation. *Journalism Quarterly*, 62(4), 734-742.
- Smith, A.M. (1999). *Girls on film: Analysis of women's images in contemporary American and "Golden Age" Hollywood films*. Unpublished master's thesis, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH.
- Spillman, D. M., & Everington, C. (1989). Somatotypes revisited: Have the media changed our perception of the female body image? *Psychological Reports*, 64, 887-890.
- Stevenson, T. & McIntyre, P. (1995). A comparison of the portrayal and frequency of Hispanics and whites in English language television advertising. *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, 17(1), 65-74.
- Subervi-Velez, F. (1986). The mass media and ethnic assimilation and pluralism: A review and research proposal with special focus on Hispanics. *Communication Research*, 13, 71-96.

- Subervi-Velez, F. (1993). Mass communication and Hispanics. In N. Kanellos & C. E. Fabregat (Eds.), *Handbook of Hispanic cultures in the United States: Sociology*, (Vol 4, pp. 304-357). Houston, TX: Arte Publico Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (2001). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In M. Hogg & D. Abrams (Eds.), *Intergroup relations: Essential readings*, (pp. 94-109). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Tan, A., Nelson, L., Dong, Q., & Tan, G. (1997). Value acceptance in adolescent socialization: A test of a cognitive-functional theory of television effects. *Communication Monographs*, 64(1), 82-97.
- Taylor, C. R., & Bang, H. (1997). Portrayals of Latinos in magazine advertising. *Journal of Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74(2), 285-303.
- Tiegel, E. (2001). Radio's future? Listen to L.A. *Advertising Age*, 72(35).
- Torres, M. (2004). To the Margins and Back: The High Cost of Being Latina in "America". *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 3(2), 123.
- Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity: Context, commitment, content*. (pp. 6-34). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.
- Turk, J., Richstad, J., Bryson, R., & Johnson, S. (1989). Hispanic Americans in the news in two southwestern cities. *Journalism Quarterly*, 66 (1), 107-113.
- Valdivia, A. N. (2004). Latina/o communication and media studies today: An introduction. *The Communication Review*, 7, 107-112.
- Waldinger, R. & Fitzgerald, D. (2004). Transnationalism in question. *American Journal*

*of Sociology*, 109, 1177-1195.

Warren, C., Gleaves, D., Cepeda-Benito, A., del Carmen Fernandez, M., & Rodriguez-

Ruiz, S. (2005). Ethnicity as a protective factor against internalization of a thin ideal and body dissatisfaction. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 37(3), 241-249.

Wentz, L. (2004). Print sees hope in Hispanics. *Advertising Age*, 75(18).

Wentz, L. & Cardona, M. (2004). Newspapers turn to Hispanics. *Advertising Age*, 75(1).

Wilkes, R. & Valencia, H. (1989). Hispanics and Blacks in television commercials. *Journal of Advertising*, 18(1), 19-25.

Yun, G., Park, S., Bush Hitchon, J., & Gunther, A. (2005). Misperceiving the norm of ideal thinness by overestimating media effects on others: Third-person effects and pluralistic ignorance on the norm of ideal thinness. *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*.

Zbar, J. (1999a). Hispanic one-order, one-bill growing more realistic. *Advertising Age*, 70(18).

Zbar, J. (1999b). Telemundo puts English on schedule. *Advertising Age*, 70(6).

## Appendix A

**Codebook - Women's Portrayals in *Latina* and *Glamour* Magazines**

**Coder ID:** Number assigned to the coder. Paty: 01. Nathan: 02.

**Image ID:** the initial and the month of the magazine issue followed by the page number and then by the image number in the page (image numbers are assigned from left to right and top to bottom (e.g. G03-48-05, *Glamour*, March issue, page 48, image 5). Cover images will have the page number 00.

**Ethnicity:** Give specific national/ethnic identification of the coded subject if indicated in any accompanying caption, legend or text. If a subject has been identified as Hispanic/Latino but a subgroup identification is mentioned (Cuban, Bolivian, Peruvian, etc.), please specify this identification in the coding sheet.

- 01-Explicitly identified as Hispanic/Latino
- 02-Explicitly identified as Non-Hispanic/Latino
- 03-Not explicitly identified.

**Occupation:** Give the profession/occupation of the coded subject if indicated in any accompanying caption, legend, text, or if evident from the image.

**Age:** Write in the number corresponding with the apparent or real age (if specified) of the coded subject.

- 01-Child, 0-12 years old
- 02-Adolescent, 13-19 years old
- 03-Young Adult, 20-39 years old
- 04-Middle-Age Adult, 40-54 years old
- 05-Mature Adult, 55-64 years old
- 06-Senior Adult, > 65 years old
- 99-Cannot tell

**Hair color:** Write the number of the hair color that most resembles that of the coded subject.

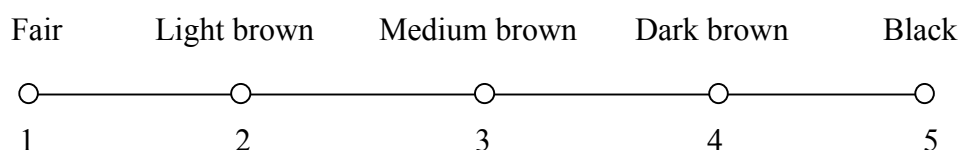
- 01-Black
- 02-Brown
- 03-Red
- 04-Blonde

05-Grey  
 06-White  
 07-Does not apply  
 99-Cannot tell

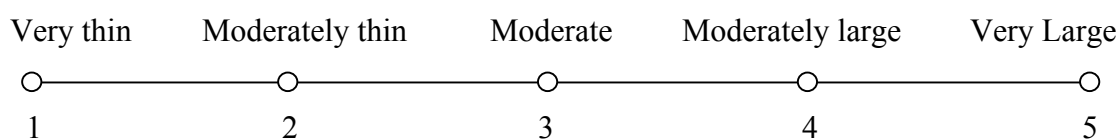
**Eye color:** Write the number corresponding with the eye color that most approximates that of the coded subject.

01-blue  
 02-green  
 03-gray  
 04-brown  
 99-Cannot tell

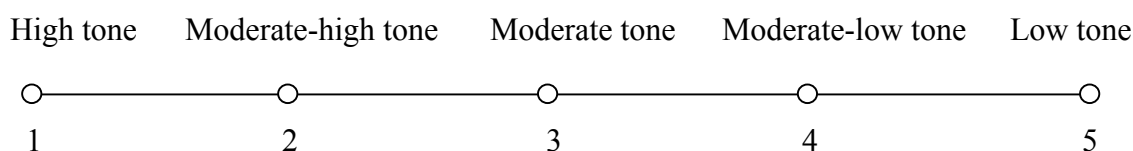
**Skin color:** Write the number corresponding with the skin tone that most approximates that of the coded subject. Use the photo samples as a guide. If the image is not in full color (black & white or altered) and the skin tone cannot be assessed, enter 99 for “Cannot tell.”



**Body size:** Write the number corresponding with the body size that most approximates that of the coded subject. Scale units are explained as follows: 1=very thin (size2), 2=moderately thin, 3=moderate (size 8-10), 4=moderately large, 5=very large (size 16 and up). Use the photo samples as a guide. If the body size of the subject in the image cannot be assessed, enter 99 for “Cannot tell.”



**Muscle tone:** Write the number corresponding with the level of muscle tone that most approximates that of the coded subject. Scale units are explained as follows: 1=obvious muscle throughout the body, 2=some muscle lines visible on the legs, arms, and /or stomach, 3=not visible muscles but skin that has overall smoothness, 4=some visible loose skin, 5=lots of loose skin. Use the photo samples as a guide. If the muscle tone of the subject in the image cannot be assessed, enter 99 for “Cannot tell.”



**People in the photograph:** Indicate whether the coded subject appears alone or in a group picture by entering the number of additional people that appear in the image. Use zero "0" for individual pictures or, for group pictures, enter the number of people in the picture without counting the coded subject

If with other people, indicate whether the subject is portrayed with family members.

01-Yes

02-No

99-Cannot tell

If with other people, specify gender of others.

01-All female

02-All male

03-mixed male and female

**Purpose of the photograph:** Write the number corresponding with the most approximate purpose of the image. An editorial image will have a commercial purpose whenever it accompanies or displays a specific product or service. On the other hand, images will have a cultural purpose when they accompany or illustrate articles on career, education, health, personal achievements, holidays, traditions, and food.

01-cultural

02-commercial

**Size of photograph:** Write the number corresponding with the most approximate size of the photograph coded (use measure cards to help assessment).

01-Two full pages

02-One and three fourths of a page

03-One and a half of a page

04-One and a fourth of a page

05-One full page

06-Three fourths of a page

07-One half of a page

08-One fourth of a page

09-One eighth of a page

10-One sixteenth of a page or smaller

99-Cannot tell

**Background of photograph:** Write the number corresponding with the type of setting that most approximates that of the background of the coded photograph.

01-Home

02-Subject depicted inside hospital or medical office/facility or on the outside of such facility where the facility constitutes the sole background element.

03-Subject depicted in non-medical office or commercial settings: eg. industrial plants, classrooms, factories, grocery stores, malls.

- 04-Generic: eg. room with white walls, photo sets.
- 05-Outdoor urban settings: eg. city landscapes, views of the street.
- 06-Outdoor natural settings: eg. Mountains, forest, lake, garden.
- 07-Ocean/seashore
- 08-Other identifiable settings-indicate
- 09- None
- 99-Cannot tell

**Activities of the subject in photograph:** Write the number corresponding with the most approximate activity that the coded subject is performing in the photograph.

- 01-Recreational: eg. shopping, playing cards, socializing, gardening, boating, walking, sewing/knitting
- 02-Exercising/Sports: eg. working out, aerobics, jogging, tennis, golf
- 03-Work related: eg. those activities that relate to a person's occupational role
- 04-Posing
- 05-Chores: eg. taking out the trash, doing laundry
- 06-Other
- 99- Cannot tell

**Amount of clothes worn by subject:** Write the number corresponding with what most approximately describes the appearance of the coded subject's body. Code only images that show women at least down to their hips.

- 01-Fully clothed
- 02-Partially clothed: eg. underwear, bathing suit
- 03-Unclothed
- 99-Cannot tell: eg. head-shot, shots from the edge of the shoulders up

**Type of attire worn by subject:** Write the number corresponding with the type of attire the coded subject is wearing. Code only images that show women at least down to their hips.

- 01-Casual: eg. jeans, t-shirt
- 02-Sports/exercise clothes: eg. body-suit, tennis dress
- 03-Bathing suit
- 04-Uniform: eg. policeman, athletic, medical
- 05-Professional: eg. suit, business casual
- 06-Formal/evening wear: eg. gown
- 07-Nightwear: eg. nightgown, pajamas, nightshirt
- 08-Underwear: eg. bra, underpants, undershirt
- 09-Hospital: eg. examining gown
- 10-Ethnic costume: e.g. traditional clothes of an ethnic group.
- 11-Costume
- 99-Cannot tell