

Prime Time for Latinos

Report II: 2000-2001 Prime Television Season

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Children Now

National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts

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Acknowledgements

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Mission Statement

"Creating Opportunities, Rewarding Excellence"

The National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts was created in 1997 to advance the presence of Latinos in the media, telecommunications and entertainment industries. The Foundation has concentrated in increasing access for Hispanic artists and professionals while fostering the emergence of new Hispanic talent.

The Hispanic community--which makes up 12 percent of the U.S. population and will soon become the nation's largest ethnic minority group--increasingly is recognized for its potentially enormous consumer and political power. Yet the entertainment industry has failed to acknowledge the size and impact of an audience that is 35 million strong.

Paradoxically, while the entertainment industry and its advertisers tap into the Hispanic community's resources, its programming ignores or distorts Hispanic culture and offers children limited, stereotypical and generally negative role models. This omission deprives an entire community of a source of cultural pride and reality and the country-at-large of a true picture of the American mosaic, thus deepening the racial and ethnic rifts that divide us.

The Foundation's mission has two principal goals:

- to offer graduate scholarships at prominent colleges and universities; and
- to expand career opportunities for existing talent in all aspects of entertainment and the performing arts.

The Foundation is the initiative of actors Jimmy Smits, Sonia Braga, Esai Morales and Washington, D.C. attorney, Felix Sanchez.

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HIGHLIGHTS

- **Latinos comprised only two percent of all prime time television characters, down from three percent last year.**
- **When examining only primary recurring characters, Latino representation dropped from a total of 14 characters in 1999 to eight in 2000.**
- **Of the 48 Latino characters on prime time, nearly 40% (18) were tertiary characters that were not relevant to the plot.**
- **Most Latino characters were male, with Latinas representing only about a third (37%) of the Latino population.**
- **Latina characters were far more likely than the general adult TV population to be young.**
- **Latinos were more likely to appear in dramatic programs than in situation comedies.**
- **The majority of Latino characters—those in non-recurring roles—generally held lower status occupations than those with primary or secondary recurring roles.**
- **Similar to last season, Latino characters were often identified as “sexy” or interested in sex.**

INTRODUCTION

According to 2000 U.S. census data, Latinos make up 12% of the national population and 16% of the youth population¹ and are the fastest growing minority group in the United States. Yet despite their growing numbers, when young Latinos turn on the television, they do not see themselves represented on the prime time screen. Latinos comprise only 2% of the prime time television population, and their representation has actually decreased since the 1999 season, when it stood at 3%.

Not only is the Latino national population increasing, but also is their time in front of the television. Between 1993 and 1999, the number of Latinos in TV households increased 27%, from 22.2 million to 28.3 million.² Further, Latino households watch an average of four hours more television per week than non-Latino households.³ There is no question that it makes good business sense for network executives to reach out to Latinos, as their total spending is estimated to exceed \$561 billion this year.⁴ Yet prime time programmers are still not creating characters and programs that reflect this burgeoning audience.

The lack of Latinos on prime time also sends strong messages to our nation's youth, who are growing up in an era of increasing racial and ethnic diversity. While youth see diversity in their communities, schools and family life, they do not see it reflected in the television they so readily and heavily consume. Children Now research shows that over half of Latino children (51%) reported seeing their race on television "every now and then or never."⁵ Research indicates that youth, particularly during their formative years, internalize many of the values and attitudes presented on television. The absence of certain groups suggests that these groups are not worthy of viewers' attention, while stereotyped or negatively valued roles indicate that they are not worthy of respect. And children interpret these messages about other races as well, helping to shape their earliest opinions of others as well as themselves.

In order to determine the kinds of messages children receive about race, class and gender from the television they watch most, Children Now commissioned its second annual study of diversity in prime time, *Fall Colors 2000-01*. Released in May 2001, the study, found that prime time television still remained overwhelmingly populated by able-bodied, single, heterosexual, white male adults under 40, and Latino representation had in fact decreased from the year before.

Last year, Children Now partnered with the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts to conduct our first annual study of Latinos in prime time. This year's study revisits

¹ US Census Bureau, 2000.

² Nielsen Media Research, "2000 Report on Television, the First Fifty Years," 2000.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Goo, Sara Kehaulani, "Coalition Makes Plea for Ads That Target Hispanics," *Washington Post*, May 26, 2001, E01.

⁵ Children Now, *A Different World: Children's Perceptions of Race and Class in the Media*, 1998.

Fall Colors 2000-01, specifically focusing on Latino portrayals. This new report, *Prime Time for Latinos*, poses many questions about Latino characters and storylines. When we see Latinos on prime time, how are they portrayed? Are their characters relevant to the storyline? Do they have significant, recurring roles? Are they portrayed in a range of occupations? How do portrayals of Latinas differ from those of Latinos? And do Latino stereotypes still persist?

Prime Time for Latinos examines both the *quantity* and *quality* of Latino portrayals on television, because research indicates that both are important when considering potential social learning impacts of entertainment.⁶ While the mere inclusion of characters of color has been shown to positively impact the attitudes and self-esteem of viewers in those racial groups, consistent negative portrayals can have an adverse effect.⁷

Youth watch prime time more than any other programming on television. They say that it is important to see themselves reflected on the small screen because “it tells children that people of their race are important” (84%); “it makes children of that race feel included” (81%); and “it provides role models” (78%).⁸ As America’s primary cultural storyteller, television creates a common picture of who’s important and who’s not. *Prime Time for Latinos* finds that television is leaving the fastest growing minority group out of the picture and concludes that progress must be made to increase the quantity and quality of Latino portrayals in prime time.

⁶ Greenberg, B. “Some Uncommon Television Images and the Drench Hypothesis.” *Television As A Social Issue* (1988): 88-102.

⁷ Huston, A. et al, *Big World, Small Screen*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

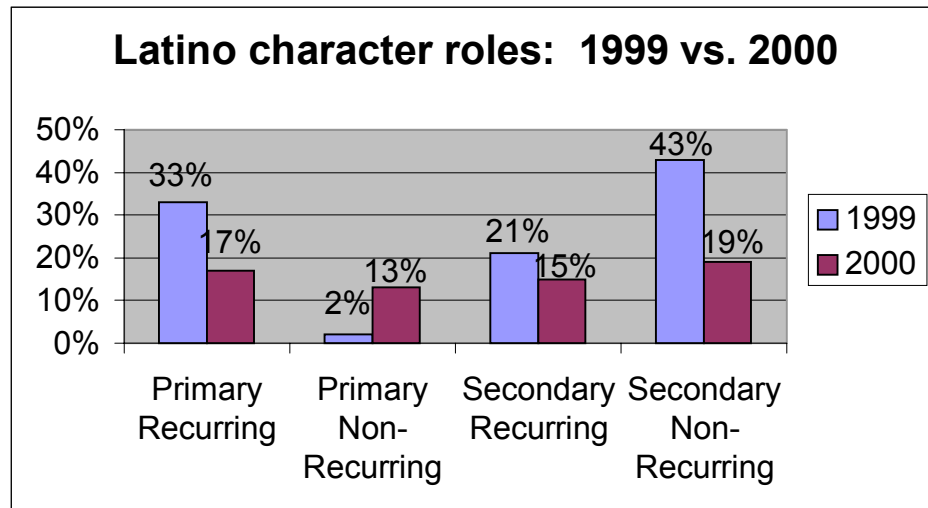
Latinos on Prime Time: Has the Picture Improved?

- **Latino representation on prime time television decreased from the 1999 season to the 2000 season, from 3% to 2% of the total prime time population.**

Although the number of Latino characters increased from 1999 to 2000 (from 42 to 48), their proportional representation in the sample decreased. Latinos comprised three percent of all prime time characters in 1999, compared to just two percent of characters in 2000. In addition, the number of shows featuring Latino characters remained essentially the same: 30 in 1999 and 31 in 2000.

- **The number of plot-relevant and primary recurring Latino characters dropped by almost one third from 1999 to 2000.**

The total number of *plot-relevant* Latino characters dropped from 42 to just 30, a 30% decrease from the 1999 season. This decrease in Latino representation is especially dramatic in the *primary recurring* category, where Latinos dropped from 14 in 1999 to eight in 2000. In addition, of these eight primary recurring Latino characters, six (including all three females) appeared on programs that have been cancelled for the 2001 season.



Note: Tertiary characters were not coded in the 1999 study and therefore not included in this chart.

Looking for Latinas

- **Latinas were severely under-represented on prime time television.**

Latinas appeared on prime time much less frequently than their male counterparts. Of the 48 Latino characters appearing in the 2000 season, only 18 (37%) were female. Latinas also accounted for only two percent of the 782 female characters on prime time.

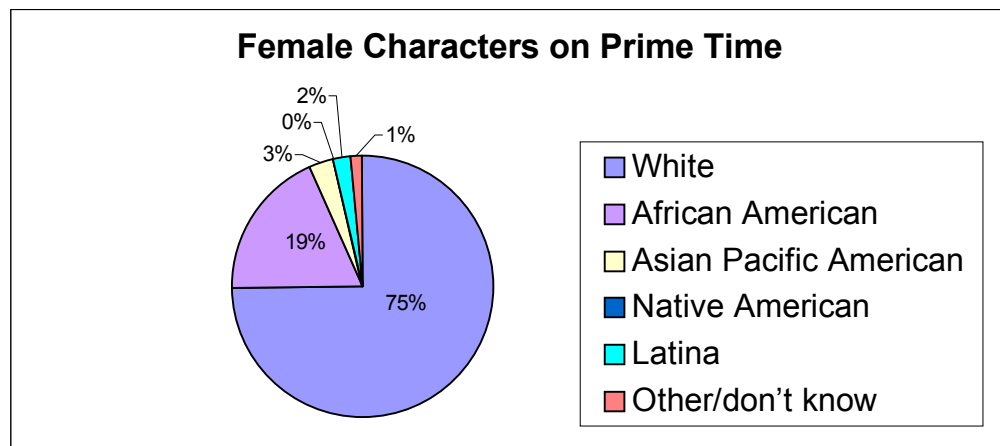
- **Very few Latinas were seen in recurring roles.**

Only six of the 18 Latina characters on prime time appeared in either primary or secondary recurring roles. These characters were:

- Rhona Mitra as Alejandra “Ollie” Klein, a physician on *Gideon’s Crossing* (ABC)
- Nia Peeples as Sydney Cooke, a Texas Ranger on *Walker, Texas Ranger* (CBS)
- Priscilla Garita as Samantha Sanchez, a personal assistant on *Titans* (NBC)
- Laura Cerón as Chuni, an emergency room nurse on *ER* (NBC)
- Lisa Vidal as Dr. Sara Morales, a physician on *Third Watch* (NBC)
- Shelley Morrison as Rosario, a maid on *Will & Grace* (NBC)

Further, three of these shows, the only ones to feature primary recurring Latina characters, have been cancelled for the 2001 season.

According to U.S. Census figures for 2000, Latinas represent 6% of the total U.S. population, 12% of the female population and 50% of the U.S. Latino population.⁹ However, Latinas on television did not come close to matching these percentages. This paucity of visible Latina representation on television sends a strong message to all viewers, as well as to young Latinas, that Latinas are not an important, valuable segment of our society.



⁹ US Census Data, 2000.

- **Latinas were even more likely than the general adult TV population to be young.**

More than 80% of Latinas were identified as being younger than 40 years old, compared to only 59% of Latino males. Only three Latina characters were identified as older than 40. All three primary recurring Latina characters from the current season were identified as either young adults (approximately 18-29) or adults (approximately 30-39).

Further, only two child characters were Latino. Both were non-recurring male characters whose parents had committed crimes.

- **Marital status was more likely to be identified for Latina characters than for male Latino characters.**

Although Latino television characters were less likely to have their marital status identified than the general television population, the marital status of half of Latina characters was identified while only one third of male Latinos' marital status was known.

Of those characters whose status was obvious, 70% of the males (n=7) and 89% of the females (n=8) were identified as single. Only two male characters and one female character were married. More surprisingly, of all 48 Latinos on prime time television, only two (one male and one female) were identified as parents of dependent children.

Latinos and Program Genre: No Laughing Matter

- **Latino characters were far more likely to appear in dramatic programs than in situation comedies.**

Nearly three out of four Latino characters (73%) appeared on dramatic programs. In addition, while 13 of the 48 Latino characters appeared in comedies, only four were recurring characters—those that viewers saw in a particular program with some frequency.

- **Latinos were slightly more likely than Latinas to appear in situation comedies.**

While 30% of Latino characters (n=9) had roles in comedies, only 22% of Latina characters (n=4) could be found in similar roles. Three of these four Latinas were tertiary characters that only had a very minor role in one episode of a program. Shelly Morrison, who plays a maid on *Will & Grace*, was the only recurring Latina in a comedy. Three of the nine male Latinos in comedies had recurring roles (30%) and four appeared as tertiary characters.

The minimal number of Latinos in comedies limits the range of roles in which viewers may be exposed to them. In addition, since children overwhelmingly prefer situation comedies to dramas, young viewers are not likely to be exposed to Latino characters.

Latinos in the Workforce

- **Recurring Latino characters generally held higher-status occupations than non-recurring Latino characters.**

While Latino characters were shown in a wide variety of occupations, from physician to domestic worker, most high-status occupations were held by recurring characters. For example, recurring Latino characters were shown in the professions of physician, paramedic, social worker and law enforcement officer. By contrast, primary non-recurring Latino characters were featured primarily as violent criminals or victims, while secondary and tertiary non-recurring characters included a forklift operator, a desk attendant, a maid and a grocery bag boy.

The high visibility of the recurring characters, which does give viewers a chance to see Latinos in prestigious occupations, is counterbalanced by the fact that twice as many Latino characters are seen in non-recurring and tertiary roles. This suggests that viewers may be more likely to see lower-status than professional Latinos on prime time.

- **Primary recurring Latino characters that hold high-status occupations were often cast in the role of assistant or “sidekick.”**

Even those primary recurring characters who held high-status jobs often had the prestige of their position diminished by the fact that they were primarily identified as the apprentice, assistant, companion or comedic “sidekick” of another primary character. For example:

- *Walker, Texas Ranger* (CBS): Ranger Sydney Cook was clearly identified as a rookie ranger who received frequent feedback from the more experienced rangers.
- *Nash Bridges* (CBS): Investigator Joe Dominguez played a traditional “sidekick” role to title character Nash Bridges. He was often available for comic relief, and deferred to Nash for problem solving.
- *Gideon’s Crossing* (ABC): Max Cabrenas was a psychiatrist and hospital administrator whose central role in the episodes examined was to offer emotional support to his friend, title character Ben Gideon.
- *Titans* (NBC): Samantha Sanchez, executive assistant to a wealthy business tycoon, was the daughter of the family’s former housekeeper who grew up playing with the employer’s children. Although she held a business degree from Brown University, she was employed as an assistant to the tycoon’s family.
- *The Norm Show* (ABC): Danny Sanchez was a social worker whose role as Norm’s best friend was his central identity.
- *Third Watch* (NBC): Carlos Nieto was a rookie paramedic who worked under the guidance of his older, more experienced partner, “Doc.”

- **Recurring Latina characters were shown in both traditional and non-traditional female occupations.**

Two of the recurring Latina characters in the 2000 season were physicians, an occupation that no Latina held in the 1999 season. As with the general Latino population, most of the Latina characters with professional occupations were found in recurring roles. Nearly all of the non-recurring characters held traditional or low-status occupations. The six recurring Latina characters held the following positions:

- Physician (Alejandra Klein on *Gideon's Crossing*, ABC; Sarah Morales in *Third Watch*, NBC)
- Law Enforcement Officer (Sydney Cooke in *Walker, Texas Ranger*, CBS)
- Nurse (Chuni in *ER*, NBC)
- Maid (Rosario in *Will & Grace*, NBC)
- Executive Assistant (Samantha Sanchez in *Titans*, NBC)

Of the 12 non-recurring Latina characters, only one played a professional (Meera Simhan as a reporter covering a rape case in *The District*, CBS). The remaining characters' occupations included a maid, a nurse, crime victims, criminals and a student.

Portrayals of Latinos on Prime Time

- **Latino characters were often identified as “sexy” or interested in sex.**
- Fez on *That 70’s Show* (FOX), a high school exchange student who fantasized about another boy’s girlfriend and commented in one episode, “All the ladies want a piece of Fez.”
- Rico on *King of Queens* (CBS), a new guy at Doug’s office whose Latin accent became the focus of one episode’s story line. Doug imitated Rico’s accent to get his wife interested in sex, and she soon told him that she was only interested when he spoke with Rico’s accent.
- Natalie on *Felicity* (WB), a fiery “man destroyer” from Latin America whose whirlwind romance with Noel led to marriage and his decision to quit college.
- Rosie on *Becker* (CBS) talked loudly in a movie theatre about her suspicion that her husband was having an affair with her sister.

- **In two instances, the Latino heritage of the characters was the focus of humor:**
- *That 70’s Show* (FOX):
Fez, a foreign exchange student from an unidentified Latin American country, appears in Red’s dream sequence as a drug dealer smuggling marijuana “fresh from whatever the hell country I am from.”
- *Yes, Dear* (CBS):
Jimmy visits a Native American casino and remarks to the dark-skinned blackjack dealer, “Hey, I think it’s great that the government let’s you Indians operate these casinos without paying any taxes. It’s the least they can do after stealing all that land from you.” The dealer responds, “I’m Mexican,” which leads Jimmy to answer, “Really. Nah, that’s all right. I think we took some stuff from you guys, too.”

CONCLUSION

Television is our primary cultural storyteller and has the capacity to influence attitudes, shape perceptions, educate and enrich. Whether selling a candidate or selling a product, educating or entertaining, television is an extraordinarily powerful medium. At its best, television serves as an intentional teacher, introducing viewers to everything from the ABCs to the current state of international politics. At its worst, television programming can act in seemingly unintentional ways to reinforce cultural stereotypes, to repress the powerless and to negatively impact some viewers' concept of themselves and of others.

A look at the 2000-01 prime time television line-up would lead the average viewer to believe that, contrary to the most recent Census figures, Latinos are not a significant segment of the U.S. population. What's more, by relegating Latino characters to mostly secondary and non-recurring roles, these television programs create the impression that Latinos are not worthy of society's attention. There are simply not enough Latinos on prime time television to provide an accurate picture of the many and diverse roles that they play in our society. The picture of Latinas is even worse, as they are nearly invisible on prime time television.

When Latinos do appear on television, they often hold such low-status occupations as service worker or maid or play the role of criminal. When they do have higher-status occupations, they are often relegated to the role of "sidekick" or companion to another non-Latino character. Latino characters are rarely shown in the context of their families or even identified as parents or spouses. Further, stereotypes are often employed to portray Latino characters as "sexy" or engaged in the pursuit of sex.

As the Latino population continues to grow in the United States, Latino representation on television is steadily decreasing. Young Latino viewers trying to understand how they fit into the larger U.S. culture are presented with a bleak picture of relative unimportance. In addition, all viewers are not being exposed to the diversity that exists in the world that surrounds them. These images and messages presented on television become part of the audience's worldview, influencing how they think about themselves, their place in society and their options for their futures. At the same time, these messages also influence how viewers think about those who are different from them.

Children of all races deserve to see a world on their television screens that accurately reflects the reality of our society and represents all people, in all of their diversity, in respectful and fair ways. Today's children need role models to teach them how to interact in our increasingly diverse world and show them that their futures should not be restricted by a culture that judges people by their race, class or gender. Television, with its power to create images that inspire, inform and influence, can play a significant role in sending these messages.

METHODOLOGY

The findings from this study are based upon data from *Fall Colors 2000-01*, a comprehensive review of prime time diversity conducted by Children Now. This study, *Prime Time for Latinos*, details the characterization of Latinos appearing in speaking roles in the first two episodes of all series airing in the fall of 2000 and compares them with representations of Latinos on prime time in the fall of 1999.

The two data sets that were examined are:

Season 1 (Fall 1999): The first three episodes of each of the 101 fall-premiering entertainment series airing during prime time on the six broadcast networks were recorded for analysis. All characters who contributed to the plot of the episodes were identified, analyzed and used as a basis for Children Now's publication, *Fall Colors 1999-2000*. Forty-two characters were identified as Latino (3% of the total population of 1477 characters). This sub-sample was selected for further analysis and comparison with Season 2 data.

Season 2 (Fall 2000): The first two episodes of each of the 88 fall-premiering entertainment series airing during prime time on the six broadcast networks were recorded for analysis. A complete inventory of all characters with speaking roles was created, analyzed and used as the basis for Children Now's publication, *Fall Colors 2000-2001*. From that analysis, it was determined that just 48 out of a total of 2,252 characters were Latino (2%). This report presents a further analysis of the sub-sample of 48 Latino characters and a comparison with Season 1 data.

For both data sets, the sub-sample of programs with at least one Latino character was reviewed by the author, Katharine E. Heintz-Knowles, Ph.D., and one other trained coder (who also worked on both *Fall Colors* reports). Detailed notes were taken about each Latino character and his/her contribution to the program episode. Actor names were identified when possible.

There were two important differences in the data sets. The Season 1 sample included the first three episodes of each series, while the Season 2 sample included the first two episodes of each series. This change was made because it was determined that the nature of the data was not enhanced by the larger size of the program sample. Patterns of representation remained stable and, thus, sampling a larger number of program episodes did not change overall data configurations. Comparisons between the two samples were reasonably made using percentages of total populations.

The Season 2 sample included all characters with speaking roles, while the Season 1 sample included only those characters relevant to the plot. This change was made in an attempt to assess the presence of characters of color in background or tertiary roles. Where appropriate, character roles were identified for comparison across samples.

APPENDIX A Key Definitions

Prime Time for Latinos uses the key definitions and concepts developed for Children Now's original study of diversity in prime time, *Fall Colors 1999-00*.

Character Role Type

All Latino characters with speaking roles were included for analysis in this study. However, all speaking roles are not created equal. To determine if there are differences in the ways characters of different racial groups contribute to the story lines of the sample episodes, each character was classified according to his/her importance to the plot and frequency of occurrence. The following *character role types* describe the contributions of different characters to the story lines of program episodes:

- Primary Recurring: Actor appears in opening cast credits, is involved in the primary story line of most episodes.
- Primary Non-Recurring: Actor does not appear in opening cast credits, is a guest star involved in the primary story line of one or two episodes (clearly identified as a non-recurring character).
- Secondary Recurring: Actor does not appear in opening cast credits but appears regularly on the series and contributes to story line development.
- Secondary Non-Recurring: Actor does not appear in opening cast credits but plays a supporting guest role.
- Tertiary: Character with minor speaking part which does not affect the outcome of the story line.¹⁰

¹⁰ Tertiary characters were not included in the analysis for last year's study, *Latinowood: Prime Time for A Reality Check*.

For example, on the NBC hit, *Law and Order*, the characters may be defined as:

Character Role Type	Actor	Character	Description
Primary Recurring	Jesse L. Martin	Ed Greene	One of two primary detectives; appears in opening credits cast.
Primary Non-Recurring	Megan Follows	Megan Parnell	Mother accused of murdering her disabled son; guest stars in one episode
Secondary Recurring	J.K. Simmons	Dr. Emil Skoda	Psychiatrist who appears regularly to consult on defendants' mental health. Appears in secondary credits.
Secondary Non-Recurring	Brian Delate	Colin Parnell	Husband of accused murderer; plays secondary role in one episode
Tertiary	Rita Gardner	Jury Foreperson	One line reading the verdict.

Program Character Set

The *Character Role Types* allow us to examine the level of diversity in different subgroups in the sample. For this report, analyses were conducted on the following *Program Character Sets*:

- *Entire Cast of Characters*: Includes all the speaking characters appearing in the two episodes examined.
- *Plot-Relevant Characters Only*: Includes primary and secondary characters only; excludes characters identified as “tertiary” who did not contribute to the development of the story line.
- *Recurring Characters Only*: Includes all primary and secondary characters who have recurring roles.
- *Primary Recurring Characters Only or Opening Credits Cast*: Includes the main characters who appear in the programs’ opening credits sequences.

APPENDIX B Character List by Character Type

Primary Recurring Latino Characters (n=8)

- *The Norm Show* (ABC): Ian Gomez as Danny Sanchez, a social worker and Norm's best friend
- *Gideon's Crossing* (ABC): Rhona Mitra as Alejandra "Ollie" Klein, a physician
Ruben Blades as Max Cabrenas, psychiatrist and hospital administrator
- *Walker, Texas Ranger* (CBS): Nia Peeples as Sydney Cooke, a Texas Ranger
- Third Watch* (NBC): Anthony Ruivivar as Carlos Nieto, a New York City paramedic
- *Titans* (NBC): Priscilla Garita as Samantha Sanchez, personal assistant to a wealthy businessman
- *Nash Bridges* (CBS): Cheech Marin as Joe Dominguez, special investigator
- That 70's Show* (FOX): Wilmer Valdarrama as Fez, a high school exchange student from an unknown Latin American country

Secondary Recurring Latino Characters (n=7)

- ER* (NBC): Laura Cedron as Chuni, a bilingual Emergency Room nurse
- Family Law* (CBS) Cristian De La Fuente as Andres Diaz, an office assistant in a law firm
- Felicity* (WB): Ian Gomez as Javier Clemente Quintana, a college freshman and café manager
- JAG* (CBS): Randy Vasquez as Gunnery Sargent
- *The PJs* (WB): Sanchez, a resident in the projects
- Third Watch* (NBC): Lisa Vidal as Dr. Sara Morales, an Emergency Room physician

Will & Grace (NBC): Shelley Morrison as Rosario, a maid

Primary Non-Recurring Latino Characters (n=6)

Angel (WB): Eliza Dushku as Faith, a pregnant woman attempting to keep her baby safe from bad demons

C.S.I. (CBS): Timilee Romolini as Jamie, a woman who kills her boyfriend after he refuses to share his gambling winnings with her

Family Law (CBS): Marlene Forte as Sylvia Guerrero, a poor woman from Guatemala who kidnaps her son from the adoptive U.S. parents to whom he had been sold

Louis Lerma as Tommy Bowmer, Sylvia's son

The District (CBS): Marco Rodriguez as Pablito Alvarez, a rapist and murderer

Touched by an Angel (CBS) Alexis Cruz as Raphael, an angel who helps college
Freshman Max break free from his controlling father

Secondary Non-Recurring Latino Characters (n=9)

**City of Angels* (CBS): Albert Garcia as Kenneth Narbonne, a forklift operator injured in a motorcycle accident who comes into the E.R. with a particularly bad injury requiring controversial surgery

**Deadline* (NBC): Mateo Gomez as Hector, a desk attendant in Mr. Benton's apartment building

**Diagnosis Murder* (CBS): Jerry Rector as the uniformed police officer working on a murder investigation

Felicity (WB): Ali Landry as Natalie, the "fiery man destroyer" whose whirlwind romance with Noel leads to marriage and a quick divorce

<i>King of Queens</i> (CBS):	Angelo Pagan as Rico, a new worker at the package delivery service whose accent is considered sexy by both men and women
<i>King of the Hill</i> (FOX):	Gambler who threatens to beat up Hank's boss after he attempts to leave without paying his debts
* <i>Nash Bridges</i> (CBS):	Mike Martinez as Mario Torres, drug dealer
<i>The District</i> (CBS):	Segun Ajaga as Ricky Alvarez, a young boy who witnesses his father murder his mother
<i>Third Watch</i> (NBC):	unidentified E.R. nurse

Tertiary Latino Characters (n=18)

<i>Becker</i> (CBS):	Shirley Roeca as Rosie, a woman talking loudly in a theatre during the movie
<i>Boston Public</i> (FOX):	Amy Correa as Miss Washington, a high school student in an unruly class Ricky Luna as Brian, a high school student in a literature class
<i>C.S.I.</i> (CBS):	Unidentified hotel security guard
* <i>Freakylinks</i> (FOX):	Unidentified boxer Unidentified county sheriff
<i>Girlfriends</i> (UPN):	Unidentified grocery store bag boy
<i>King of the Hill</i> (FOX):	Lupino, a maid
<i>Law and Order</i> (NBC):	Building superintendent
<i>That 70's Show</i> (FOX):	Charro as herself in a cameo appearance
<i>That's Life</i> (CBS):	Mauricio Ochmann as Samuel, a college student
<i>The District</i> (CBS):	Cee-Cee Harshaw as Laura Clayson, rape victim Meera Simhan as a reporter covering the rape case

Unidentified woman at the zoo who escaped being raped

**The Michael Richards Show*: Santos Morales as a janitor who eavesdrops on a private conversation
(NBC)

The Simpsons (FOX): Dr. Nick Riviera, author of a diet book

Third Watch (NBC): Joe Gonzales as Miguel, a man who calls the police after his neighbor is raped

**Yes, Dear* (CBS): John Mendoza as a Mexican blackjack dealer in a Native American casino

* Denotes programs that have been cancelled for the 2001-2002 season

APPENDIX C SAMPLE PROGRAM LIST

(* denotes program with a primary recurring Latino character)

Fall 1999	Fall 2000
<i>Action</i> (FOX)	<i>Angel</i> (WB)
<i>Chicago Hope</i> (CBS)*	<i>Becker</i> (CBS)
<i>Cold Feet</i> (NBC)*	<i>Boston Public</i> (FOX)
<i>Cosby</i> (CBS)	<i>C.S.I.</i> (CBS)
<i>Dharma and Greg</i> (ABC)	<i>City of Angels</i> (CBS)
<i>ER</i> (NBC)	<i>Deadline</i> (NBC)
<i>Early Edition</i> (CBS)	<i>Diagnosis Murder</i> (CBS)
<i>Family Law</i> (CBS)	<i>ER</i> (NBC)
<i>Felicity</i> (WB)	<i>Family Law</i> (CBS)
<i>Get Real</i> (FOX)	<i>Felicity</i> (WB)
<i>It's Like... You Know</i> (ABC)	<i>Freakylinks</i> (FOX)
<i>JAG</i> (CBS)	<i>Gideon's Crossing</i> (ABC)*
<i>Jesse</i> (NBC)*	<i>Girlfriends</i> (UPN)
<i>King of Queens</i> (CBS)	<i>JAG</i> (CBS)
<i>Law and Order</i> (NBC)	<i>King of Queens</i> (CBS)
<i>Law and Order: Special Victims Unit</i> (NBC)	<i>King of the Hill</i> (FOX)
<i>Mission Hill</i> (UPN)	<i>Law and Order</i> (NBC)
<i>Nash Bridges</i> (CBS)*	<i>Nash Bridges</i> (CBS)*
<i>Popular</i> (WB)*	<i>That 70's Show</i> (FOX)*
<i>Ryan Caulfield: Year One</i> (Fox)*	<i>That's Life</i> (CBS)
<i>Safe Harbor</i> (WB)	<i>The District</i> (CBS)
<i>Snoops</i> (ABC)*	<i>The Michael Richards Show</i> (NBC)
<i>Suddenly Susan</i> (NBC)*	<i>The Norm Show</i> (ABC)*
<i>That 70's Show</i> (FOX)*	<i>The PJs</i> (UPN)
<i>The Norm Show</i> (ABC)*	<i>The Simpsons</i> (FOX)
<i>The Pretender</i> (NBC)	<i>Third Watch</i> (NBC)*

<i>Third Watch</i> (NBC)*	<i>Titans</i> (NBC)*
<i>Time of Your Life</i> (FOX)*	<i>Touched by an Angel</i> (CBS)
<i>Walker, Texas Ranger</i> (CBS)*	<i>Walker, Texas Ranger</i> (CBS)*
<i>Will & Grace</i> (NBC)	<i>Will & Grace</i> (NBC)
	<i>Yes, Dear</i> (CBS)