"Bad *Hombres*"?
An Examination of Identities in U.S. Media Coverage of Immigration

Abstract

When discussing immigration on the campaign trail in 2016, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump used the term "bad *hombres*" to criticise immigrants, and in particular Latino men. Using a novel dataset of images accompanying immigration news stories in three major news magazines from 2000-2010, we examine the extent to which press coverage helped set the stage for this sort of racialised and gendered association. We find overwhelming support for the "bad *hombres*" hypothesis, demonstrating that in comparison to the true demographics of immigrants in the U.S., press portrayals significantly over-represent Latino men and under-represent all other immigrant groups. Our results are particularly important in light of research demonstrating that individuals' political attitudes are influenced by the perceived "target group," or beneficiary, of a given policy, as well as scholarship demonstrating the media's role in fostering a sense of "Latino threat."

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In the third and final 2016 U.S. presidential debate, Republican nominee Donald Trump proclaimed, with respect to immigration policy, "We have some bad *hombres* here, and we're going to get them out" (Zezima 2016). Trump's use of the Spanish word for "man" evoked a certain type of immigrant – specifically, a Latino man – and he completed this characterisation by pointing to drug lords and other "bad people" presumably engaged in criminal behaviour. Trump's language represents a particularly gendered version of the "Latino threat," in which Mexicans and other immigrants from Latin America are portrayed as criminals uninterested in integrating into U.S. life ("Full Text" 2016; Chavez 2008; Abrajano and Singh 2009; Suro 2008; Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Haynes et al. 2016), thereby imperiling traditional U.S. culture (Huntington 2004a, 2004b). In this paper, we examine the extent to which the U.S. news media similarly portrays immigrants as "bad *hombres,*" by disproportionately presenting images of Latino men in their coverage of immigrants and immigration policy.

Although immigration is frequently thought of as a "Latino" issue, immigrants arrive in the U.S. from all over the world for a wide range of reasons, and under a variety of circumstances. Indeed, although Latinos comprise the largest share of immigrants in the U.S., they are a plurality rather than a majority of the overall immigrant population. Estimates suggest that Asian immigrants have now outnumbered Latinos as new immigrants since 2008 (Pew 2013) and also constitute a growing share of the undocumented population (Casselman 2014). Moreover, contrasting with Trump's rhetoric, the number of unauthorised immigrants peaked in 2007 and gradually declined since that time (Krogstad and Passel 2015).

Given the power of images and the press to evoke responses among individuals and shape policy attitudes (Tversky and Kahneman 1981; Iyengar and Kinder 1987), we seek to understand whether the news media accurately portrays immigrants in a way that reflects the demographics

of the immigrant population in the U.S. To do so, we conduct a content analysis of images appearing in major national news magazines alongside stories about U.S. immigrants or immigration politics throughout the 2000s. In so doing, we build on a range of research both in the US and in Europe that examines whether the press emphasises negative characteristics of immigrants (Abrajano, Hajnal, and Hassell 2017; Abrajano and Hajnal 2015; Blinder and Allen 2016; Blinder and Jeannet 2018; Branton and Dunaway 2008; Chavez 2001; Chavez 2008; Farris and Silber Mohamed 2018; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Haynes et al. 2016; McLaughlin 2017; Pérez 2016; Philo et al. 2013). Our research also sits at the intersection of race, gender, and immigration policy, connecting to a range of scholarship related to racialised and gendered press representations of social policy issues (Clawson 2000 and Trice; Gilens 1996b; Gilens 1999; van Doorn 2015; van Doorn and Bos 2017).[1] We expand this previous analysis by exploring the racialised and gendered nature of immigration media images in the U.S. press throughout the 2000s.

Media Framing and Immigration Policy Attitudes

An established body of scholarship stresses the media's important agenda-setting function (McCombs and Shaw 1972; McCombs 2005). According to agenda-setting theory, issues that receive the most media coverage are seen by the public to be those of greatest importance (Baumgartner and Jones 1995; Iyengar and Kinder 1987). In addition to shaping opinions about policies, the press can also significantly influence individuals' racial attitudes (Domke, McCoy, and Torres 1999; Gilliam, Valentino, and Beckman 2002; Sigelman and Welch

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[1] As defined by Chavez (2008, p. 24), the term racialised refers not to "genetic-based categories of race but, rather, labels that are socially and culturally constructed based on perceived innate or biological differences and imbued with meanings about relative social worth."

1993). Similarly, the media helps to develop social constructions of "target groups," referring to the population most affected by a particular policy debate, which in turn shapes popular opinion about policy issues (Schneider and Ingram 1993). Thus, the way the issue of immigration is framed, or the constructed storyline, can significantly influence individuals' policy attitudes both in general (Iyengar 1991; Nelson; Clawson and Oxley 1997) and toward immigration specifically (Abrajano and Singh 2009; Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008; Haynes et al. 2016; Lee, McLeod, and Shah 2008; Merolla et al. 2013; Pérez 2016).

The connection between press coverage of immigration policy and individual attitudes is well-established. For instance, observational research shows that a relationship exists between the volume of press coverage of immigration, the tone of this coverage, and the percentage of people reporting immigration to be among the country's most important problems (Dunaway et al. 2010; Dunaway et al. 2011). The more individuals watch television from any source, the more likely they are to support restrictive immigration policy measures, with the effects especially strong among viewers of Fox news (Gil de Zúñiga, Correa, and Valenzuela 2012).

Likewise, experimental research demonstrates the varying ways that the images and frames used to describe immigrants influence popular attitudes about immigration policy. Using an innovative research design, Brader and colleagues (2008) provided participants with fictional news stories describing either high-skilled or low-skilled immigrants, paired with images of individuals of European or Latino descent. They find that the combination of words and images influenced participants' attitudes about immigration policy, concluding that "only the low-skilled Latino cue triggered anxiety" among participants (p. 973). Pérez (2016) argues that the media connects Latinos with the notion of illegality, virtually ignoring legal immigrants (see also Golash-Boza 2012). He demonstrates that press coverage activates implicit negative associations

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about this target group, shaping attitudes about immigration policy. Similarly, Dunaway et al. (2011) find that negative press coverage contributes to individual perceptions of whether or not immigrants in the U.S. are in the country legally, a trait associated with Latino immigrants in general and Mexican immigrants in particular (Hood and Morris 1998; Ngai 2004). Indeed, the more Mexicans are profiled as immigrants or foreign, the more likely it is that group members will be associated with social problems such as crime or undocumented immigration (Aguirre 2004; Johnson 1997).

Similarly, Haynes and colleagues (2016) find that frames presenting a positive image of immigrants (for instance, emphasising that they have lived in the U.S. for a long period of time) have the power to positively influence individuals' attitudes, while negative frames (for example, those emphasising "amnesty" or criminality) make individuals more supportive of restrictive policies. Masuoka and Junn (2013) evoke the concept of the racial hierarchy to demonstrate that in comparison to respondents of color, whites are more influenced by negative messages about immigrants, and express less negative views about immigration when viewing images of Asian immigrants. Together, this body of research suggests a powerful role for the quality and content of press coverage in general, and images in particular, to shape immigration policy attitudes.

Bias in Media Coverage

The power of news stories and images to influence individual attitudes toward immigration policy and immigrants alike illustrates the importance of better understanding whether the news media accurately captures immigrant demographics in their coverage of these news stories. We are particularly interested in studying images of immigrants in light of a growing body of research demonstrating that press coverage of poverty and welfare disproportionately features photographs of a distinct target group, African Americans, reiterating

the popular misperception that members of this group are the primary recipients of these programs (Clawson and Trice 2000; Gilens 1996, 1999; van Doorn 2015). In the welfare case, through their use of images, the news media contributes to a gendered, stereotypical portrayal of an African American "welfare queen" (Hancock 2004; van Doorn and Bos 2017). Here, we extend this line of research to examine the ways in which the press advances distinctly racialised and gendered portraits of immigrants.

Similar to the racialised and gendered portrayals of poverty, we anticipate that immigration will be cast in racial terms, with Latinos featured as the target group. We expect that, in comparison to the actual demographics of immigrants in the U.S., Latinos will be significantly overrepresented by the press. Yet, in contrast to research demonstrating that Black women are overrepresented in news stories about welfare, we expect that Latino men, not women, will feature disproportionately in these images, consistent with a narrative of "bad *hombres*" and ethnic threat. We draw on a range of literature demonstrating that the media is not unbiased in their coverage of immigration issues, and build on this research by emphasising the importance of *images* of immigrants in mainstream press accounts in the U.S.

Cross-national research finds that the press creates an incomplete construction of immigrant groups. Focusing on the United Kingdom, scholars have found that the press selectively portrays immigrants in a negative light, emphasising illegality as well as the economic cost of migrants (Blinder and Allen 2016; Blinder and Jeannet 2018; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). As but one example, British journalists have shifted away from using the term "refugees" and toward the language of "asylum seekers," implying that newcomers are seeking social welfare benefits, with this coverage driving negative public opinion toward refugees (Philo, Briand, and Donald 2013). Likewise, scholars focusing on the U.S. have similarly noted

the connection between immigration, undocumented immigrants, crime, and illegality. Chavez (2008) argues that the press has developed a narrative of fear surrounding immigration politics, evoking ideas of a "Latino threat." In a comprehensive analysis of three major newspapers and three television evening news programs in the U.S. over a thirty-year period, Benson (2013) finds that threat frames were evident in nearly three-quarters of his sample, with television news even more likely to emphasise this angle than print. Elsewhere, Farris and Silber Mohamed (2018) find that criminality and an emphasis on undocumented status are featured disproportionately in magazine portrayals of immigrants. Similarly, Coutin and Chock (1995) show that the media promote a sense of crisis surrounding the issue of illegal immigration, advancing negative stereotypes about immigrants.

In an extensive content analysis of television and newspaper coverage of immigration, Kim et al. (2011) demonstrate that this coverage disproportionately emphasises crime and criminality. Similarly, citing statistics from the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ), Abrajano and Singh (2009) note that a substantial portion of English-language press coverage about Latinos is likely to emphasise immigration or crime (see also Hayes et al. 2016, Pérez 2016). Other accounts likewise find inaccurate press representations about the character of immigrants, including stories that racialise the Mexican-American experience (Skerry 1993), dehumanise immigrant work (Santa Ana 1999), inaccurately portray immigrants as stealing jobs (Chomsky 2007), and emphasise "criminality" (Farris and Silber Mohamed 2018, Gonzalez O'Brein et al. 2018, Menjívar 2016, Suro 2008), including the abuse of social welfare benefits (Calavita 1996).[2]

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[2] Our expectation that Latinos will be significantly overrepresented in press coverage of immigrants contrasts with research demonstrating that in general, Latinos are *underrepresented*

As the above examples suggest, press coverage about immigration has contributed to the development of an ethnic threat narrative in which Latino immigrants are distinct from other Americans, with immigrants portrayed as foreigners threatening the safety, security, prosperity, and continuity of the majority group (Chavez 2001, 2008; see also Benson 2014; Ono and Sloop 2002). Moreover, press coverage of immigrants and immigration is consistent with a more general tendency by the news media to disproportionately represent nonwhites as criminals and prone to violence (Dunaway, Branton, and Abrajano 2010; Entman 1990, 1992; Gilens 1995; Gilliam et al. 1996; Gilliam and Iyengar 2000). Such media portrayals are concerning given the media's role in providing information about racial stereotypes, and the connection between racial stereotypes and policy attitudes (Brader, Valentino and Suhay 2008; Burns and Gimpel 2000; Domke, McCoy, and Torres 1999).

Focusing specifically on images of immigrants featured on magazine covers between 1965 and 1999, Chavez (2001) finds that out of 76 total images, Whites accounted for just 10 percent of all immigrants for whom race could be determined, with most of these images being of early European immigrants during the early years of the twentieth century. Surprisingly, Chavez finds that 40 percent of the individuals featured on magazine covers were Asian. However, he notes that this figure is largely due to the fact that covers featuring Asian refugees typically included a large number of individuals, in comparison with other images that may

in media portrayals (van Doorn 2015; Clawson and Trice 2000; Wilkes and Valencia 1989; Bowen and Schmid 1997). For instance, in news stories about poverty, Latinas are particularly absent; while Latinas constitute 15.7 percent of the *actual* poor, they are featured in just 3.8 percent of news images published between 1992 and 2010 (van Doorn and Bas 2017).

contain only one or a few immigrants. He finds that just 26 percent of his sample featured Latin Americans, most of whom were Mexican.

Our research presents an updated, expanded perspective on this question by looking specifically at immigration images in popular news magazines between 2000 and 2010. In particular, we are interested in understanding whether immigration is both racialised and gendered, with immigrants in magazine images disproportionately comprised of group members who might appear to be more threatening. Despite the fact that less than half the foreign-born population living in the U.S. is of Latino descent, in recent years, immigration issues and the overall immigration debate have become increasingly synonymous with Latinos in general, and Mexicans in particular (Chavez 2008; Hero and Preuhs 2007; Newton 2008, Rim 2009). Similarly, in contrast to Chavez' findings, we expect that images of immigrants will share this emphasis, arguably helping to pave the way for rhetoric about "bad *hombres*" used by President Trump. Accordingly, we test the following hypothesis:

H1. We anticipate that the vast majority of images included in stories about immigration policy will feature immigrants of Latino or Hispanic descent.

Additionally, although immigration has historically and globally been perceived as largely affecting men, women's migration has increased worldwide since 1980. In 2013, women immigrants comprised 51 percent of immigrants in the U.S. (Ruiz, Zong, and Batalova 2015). Interestingly, while Chavez (2001) finds that a majority of magazine images related to immigration include Latino men, his discussion and interpretation of the role of gender in advancing the Latina/o threat focuses primarily on the unique threat posed by Latina women. In particular, he argues that the themes of hyperfertility and reproduction are advanced by the media to evoke this threat (Chavez 2001, 2008; see also Gutierrez 2008).

In contrast to Chavez's emphasis on the "Latina threat," we expect that media coverage of immigration will focus on Latino men, who are often portrayed as violent and threatening (Romero 2000). Latino men are frequently associated with a number of negative stereotypes, including *machismo*, which emphasises being controlling and authoritarian (Stevens 1965; Torres, Solberg and Carlstrom 2002), and the Mexican "*bandido*," (Mirandé, 1994; Ramírez Berg 1990) emphasising violence and dishonesty. In recent years, enforcement has also become increasingly racialised and masculinised. For instance, as the number of immigrant deportations has steadily climbed over the last two decades, an estimated 85-95 percent of these deportees are Latino men, resulting in what Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2013) describe as a "gendered racial removal program." Similarly, we expect that press portrayals of immigrants will overwhelmingly feature this population:

H2. We anticipate that images of immigrants will disproportionately include men, and in particularly, Latino men, further contributing to the Latino threat narrative.

Our research extends the ideas advanced by Chavez and other scholars examining media bias towards immigrants to a more recent time period. Moreover, we expand beyond magazine covers to examine the images featured alongside magazine stories about immigrants or immigration policy. To evaluate these hypotheses, we identified and coded images appearing alongside news stories related to immigrants and immigration policy in three major national news magazines (*Newsweek, Time,* and *U.S. News and World Report*) between 2000 and 2010. The following section discusses our methods in greater detail.

Data and Methods

To test the questions outlined above regarding whether or not news magazines accurately portray immigrants, we conducted an analysis of an original dataset of images that were featured

in news stories related to immigration from three major news magazines – *Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News and World Report* – over a ten-year period, from 2000 to 2010. These periodicals are considered the "big three" national news magazines (Chavez 2001), and have also been used by other scholars to evaluate press coverage of policy issues (van Doorn 2015, van Doorn and Bos 2017).

News magazines represent a useful avenue for studying these questions because they represent high quality and highly analytical journalism sources (Entman 2012). As Chavez (2001, p. 14) explains, "magazines actively contribute to a national discourse on immigration. They become sites on which to examine the struggle over the way the nation is to be conceptualised and the place of immigrants in that conceptualization." Images are an especially useful form of data because people are more likely to see an image than they are to read an article, and they are more likely to recall the content of an image than data (Gilens 1996b). Our approach of specifically examining images builds on a range of existing research that explores the way that national magazines portray immigration and other social policy issues (Chavez 2001; Clawson and Trice 2000; Gilens 1996b, 1999; van Doorn 2015; van Doorn and Bos 2017).

Notably, our research focuses on a time of dramatic change within the media industry. In 2005, *Time*'s circulation was over 4 million, while *Newsweek's* circulation was 3.2 million and U.S. News was over 2 million. By 2010, those numbers decreased significantly to 3 million, 1.6 million, and 1.1 million, respectively (Peters 2010). We are especially interested in images of immigrants in light of research on "visual primacy," which emphasizes the importance of images over text, with images particularly likely to result in emotional reactions (Posner, Nissen, and Klein 1976; Grabe and Bucy 2009). We anticipate that as more media moves online and into different formats, images are likely to become even more central to news consumption. As such,

our understanding of the ways in which groups are portrayed visually across different mediums becomes ever more important.

We focus in particular on press coverage of immigrants and immigration between 2000 and 2010, a decade encompassing several major national events related to immigration policy.[3] During this period, immigration reform was frequently at the forefront of U.S. politics, with debate focusing in particular on the question of what to do with the roughly 11 million undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. (Passel 2006; Fennelly, Pearson, and Hackett 2015). Republican President George W. Bush sought comprehensive immigration reform when he first took office in 2001, but these efforts were soon stymied by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. This period also includes the historic wave of Latino protests that emerged across the U.S. in opposition to H.R. 4437, a Republican immigration proposal pending before Congress in the spring of 2006, as well as several high-profile bipartisan attempts at enacting comprehensive immigration reform, all of which were unsuccessful. Notably, our analysis excludes images of large protest crowds from 2006, given the impossibility of determining who was meant to be portrayed as an immigrant. Because a large majority of participants at these events were Latino (Silber Mohamed 2013, 2017), this choice is likely to bias our results *against* our hypothesis that Latinos will be prominently featured in press images. .In addition to policy debates at the

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[3] In addition to the 2006 protests, we also excluded images from the 2000 controversy that ensued when five year old Elián González was rescued at sea after his mother drowned in her efforts to bring him to the U.S. from Cuba. Protests unfolded across Miami in an effort to keep him in the U.S. before he was finally returned to his father to live in Cuba. Due to the difficulty of evaluating who in these situations is an immigrant, we did not instruct our RAs to code these images.

national level, during this time, there was also an unprecedented spike in the introduction and passage of state and local-level laws related to immigrants and immigration (NCSL 2009, Williamson 2018, Wong 2012). This wide range of events provides ample opportunity to explore the ways in which the national news media portrays immigrants in varying political contexts.

We test our hypotheses that the media inaccurately portrays immigrants using an original dataset of media images from two national news magazines that we constructed with the assistance of three undergraduate research assistants. We first identified all articles with the keyword "immigration" or "immigrant" in *Newsweek, Time,* and *U.S. News and World Report* between January 1, 2000 and December 21, 2010 using EBSCO's Academic Search Complete.[4] Next, we reviewed the articles, retaining those in which the majority of the content focused on immigration or immigrants in the U.S., and which also indicated that they contained photographs.[5] We then retrieved hard copies of the original magazine and scanned the relevant

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[4] Due to limited data availability, our analysis of *U.S. News and World Report* extends only through December 31, 2009. Our specific focus on "immigrant" and "immigration" is consistent with Pérez (2016). Although some of our stories included discussion of "migrants" or "refugees," we did not explicitly search for these terms. Focusing on a similar time period, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) find that in the United Kingdom, the news media described all of these groups similarly; more recently, Blinder and Allen (2016) find that between 2010-2012, the British press continued to describe migrants and asylum seekers similarly to immigrants, but portrayals of refugees began to diverge. Future research could extend this analysis into the U.S. context.

[5] We eliminated cartoons from our sample given the small number of images to fall into this category. We also eliminated author photographs from our image count.

images, for a total of 177 articles with any images related to immigration. Table 1 presents the distribution of stories, number of images featuring immigrants, and number of immigrants coded by magazine. Notably, while *Newsweek* presents slightly fewer articles about immigration, the number of images including immigrants, and the total number of immigrants appearing in that publication, are dramatically lower as compared to *Time* and *U.S. News.* As described in Farris and Silber Mohamed (2018), across publications, we find that the number of immigration images peaked in 2006, during the wave of unprecedented immigration protests described above, and in 2007, as Congress continued to actively debate bipartisan immigration reform proposals, before declining again in 2008.

Table 1. Representation of Immigrants by News Magazine, 2000-2010

Periodical	Number of Articles	Number of Images Featuring Immigrants	Number of Immigrants
Newsweek	47	37	77
Time	66	96	198
*U.S. News and World Report**	64	69	189
Total	177	202	464

Source: Authors' Database of Major Newsmagazine Images of Immigrants (2000-2010).
*Images for *U.S. News and World Report* extend only through 2009 due to data availability.

When examining individuals in the magazines' photographs, we began by counting all of the people in the photo. We then coded for whether an individual was an immigrant, a non-immigrant, or unknown status. In deciding whether or not to categorise someone as an immigrant, we did so only in cases where we could reasonably infer from the caption or the headline of the article that the individuals were indeed immigrants, or that it was the magazine's intention to portray them as such. We erred on the side of conservative coding, choosing not to code an individual as an immigrant nor a non-immigrant if they were not identified as such.

We next examined the demographic characteristics of each person in the images. For coding the racial /ethnic background of immigrants, we categorised individuals as either Latino/Hispanic, Asian, African, European, Middle Eastern, or Other/Unknown. We also coded each person's gender (man, woman, or unknown). These categories allow us to examine the extent to which the images of immigrants in national news magazines are a true reflection of immigrant demographics in the U.S. We anticipate that journalists will use a range of criteria in determing whether a story is newsworthy, and recognize that demographics are unlikely to be the only factor contributing to press coverage of a policy issue. Yet, consistent with other scholarship about images in social policy (Clawson and Trice 2000; Gilens 1996b, 1999; van Doorn 2015), we believe that *who* is included in news stories can be an important barometer for measuring accuracy and representation in press coverage, particularly in light of scholarship demonstrating that social perceptions and details such as national origin contribute to attitudes about the illegality of immigrants in the U.S. (Flores and Schachter 2018).

Immigrant Demographics

In order to evaluate whether immigrants are accurately portrayed by the press, we begin by discussing the actual demographics of immigrants in the U.S. During the decade of our period of

study, the foreign born population in the U.S. increased from 31.1 million to 39.9 million (Brown and Stepler 2016). While immigration is frequently portrayed as just a "Latino" or "Mexican" issue (Hero and Preuhs 2007), in reality, the true population of first-generation immigrants, or individuals born outside of the U.S., represents a far more diverse range of backgrounds. As Figure 1 shows, the largest immigrant population during this period of study came from Latin America. However, from 2000 to 2010, the percentage of immigrants from South and East Asia grew at a slightly higher percentage than those from Mexico and other Latin American countries, constituting nearly a quarter of all immigrants residing in the United States (Brown and Stepler 2016).

Figure 1. Origin of the U.S. immigrant population, 1960-2010. Source: Brown and Stepler 2016.
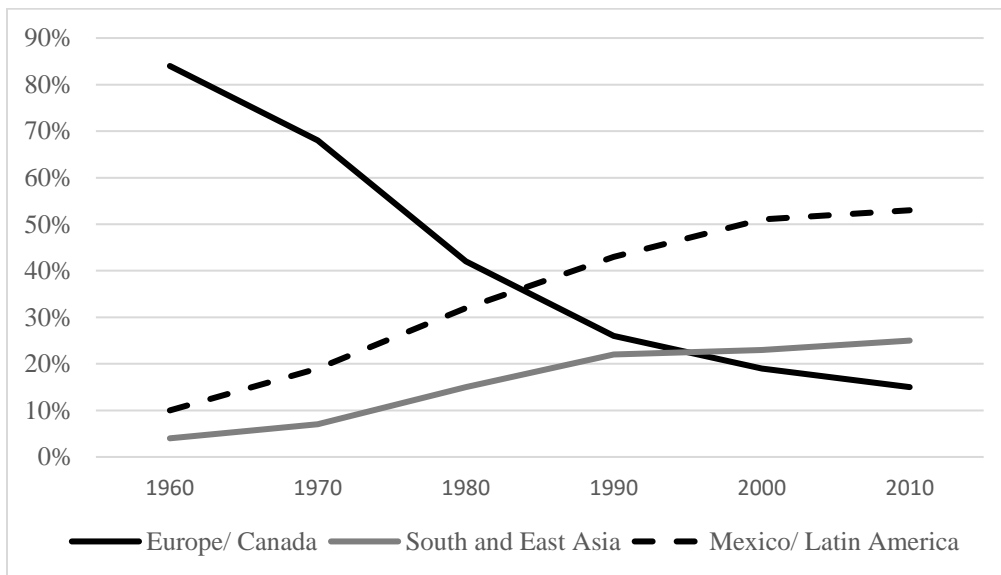
With respect to gender, women have represented a slim majority of immigrants since at least 1975, reaching a high of 53.2 percent in 1980 before declining slightly (Fry 2006). From 2000 to 2010, the percentage of women immigrants increased from 50.2 to 51 percent. As Figure 2 shows, the percentage of women from Asia and Latin America increased from 2000 to 2008.

Figure 2. Origins of Immigrant Women in the U.S., 2000-2010
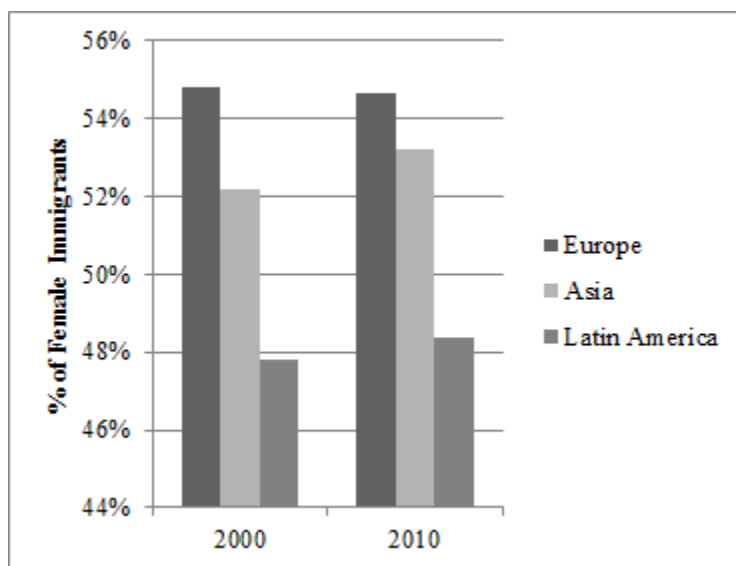
We are interested in knowing whether images advanced by the U.S. media properly represent this diversity in background and gender. In particular, with respect to national origin, scholars suggest that the media portrays immigration as primarily a Latino issue. For instance, in discussing the high Latino turnout at the spring 2006 immigration protests, Rim (2009, p. 716) refers to the "mainstream media's consistent discussion and deployment of images of Latinos as the primary ''offenders'' of U.S. immigration laws." Similarly, we hypothesise that media representations of immigrants will over-represent Latinos, and in particular, Latino men, who are portrayed as "bad *hombres*."

Findings

Of our catalog of images, we found that *Newsweek, Time,* and *U.S. News and World Report* included 464 immigrants in their images accompanying stories on U.S. immigration policy and immigrants. Together, the publications also included 201 non-immigrants in their photos, the vast majority of which were White.

Table 2 tests our first hypothesis, which anticipates that images of immigrants would disproportionately feature Latinos. We use 2005 American Community Survey (ACS) data as a point of comparison for national immigrant numbers. Table 2 demonstrates strong support for our first hypothesis, with approximately three-quarters of all identifiable immigrants in our dataset categorised as Latino compared to just over half in the ACS data. In contrast, Asians constituted more than a quarter of all immigrants in 2005, but represented an estimated 13 percent of those pictured in magazine images. In other words, this population is significantly underrepresented in magazine images of immigrants.

Table 2. Comparison of Immigrants' Race/ Ethnicity in Magazine Images (2000-2010) and the American Community Survey (2005)

Origin	Immigrants Photographed	Immigrants Nationally, 2005 ACS
Latino	75.9% (n=349)	53.5% (n=19,018,949)
Asian	13.3% (n=61)	26.7% (n=9,534,429)
Middle Eastern	5.2% (n=24)	NA*
African	2.0% (n=9)	3.5% (n=4,869,898)
European	3.7% (n=17)	13.6% (n=1,252,020)
Total*	460	34,675,296

Source: Authors' Database of Major Newsmagazine Images of Immigrants (2000-2010) and American Community Survey (2005). In a difference of proportions test, all differences are statistically significant (p<0.01) except for European, for which there is no statistically significant difference.
*ACS 2005 does not include Middle East as a separate category. The results from the Authors' dataset above omit 3 images for whom race/ ethnicity was coded as "other."

Our second hypothesis anticipates that press coverage of immigrants would be distinctly gendered, with men featured more often than women in immigrant images. Table 3 tests this hypothesis, comparing the percentage of men and women immigrants in our dataset of images with the national figures of the 2005 American Community Survey.[6] Once again, we find support for our hypothesis that men are significantly overrepresented, with more than three-quarters of the immigrant images in our dataset featuring men, despite constituting roughly half of the overall immigrant population. Our results suggest that press portrayals of immigrants are both racialised and gendered.

Table 3. Comparison of Gender of Immigrants in Magazine Images (2000-2010) and American Community Survey (2005)

Gender	Immigrants in Magazine Images (2000-2010)	Immigrants Nationally (2005 ACS)
Men	76.5% (n=355)	50.1% (n=17,871,494)
Women	23.5% (n=109)	49.9% (n=17,818,348)
Total	464	35,689,842

Source: Authors' Database of Major Newsmagazine Images of Immigrants (2000-2010) and American Community Survey (2005) .Note: In a difference of proportions test, this difference is statistically significant (p<0.01). Data based on results of one coder (Cohen's Kappa = 0.90).

Intersectionality theory emphasises the importance of examining the interaction between different "categories of difference," such as race/ ethnicity and gender (Crenshaw 1989, Farris and Holman 2014, Hancock 2004, 2007, Hardy-Fanta 2006, Hardy-Fanta et al. 2016, hooks 1984, Silber Mohamed 2015). Similarly, we further test our hypotheses by looking at the

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[6] Notably, the 2005 ACS data is majority men in terms of its U.S. foreign-born sample, which is not in line with the overall trends during this time period.

intersection between race/ ethnicity and gender. Consistent with our threat hypothesis outlined above, we anticipate that in particular, Latino men will be overrepresented in magazine images.

Of the immigrants in our dataset, we were able to code 460 individuals for both their racial/ ethnic background and gender. Among these individuals, men significantly outnumbered women: there were 351 men pictured in the three magazines during our period of study, compared to only 109 women. As Figure 3 reflects, the gender bias in images of immigrants is prevalent across nearly all racial/ ethnic groups, and is particularly distorted among Latinos, for which Latinas comprised just 21.5 percent of the images of all Latinos, as well as immigrants from the Middle East, for which women constituted only 16.7 percent of all images from that group. In contrast, women represented nearly 30 percent of Asian immigrants, 33 percent of African immigrants, and 53 percent of European immigrants. Notably, however, given the extremely small number of immigrants portrayed from the Middle East (24), Africa (9), and Europe (17), the gendered trends for these groups should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 3. Number of Immigrants by Race/ Ethnicity and Gender in News Magazine Images, 2000-2010
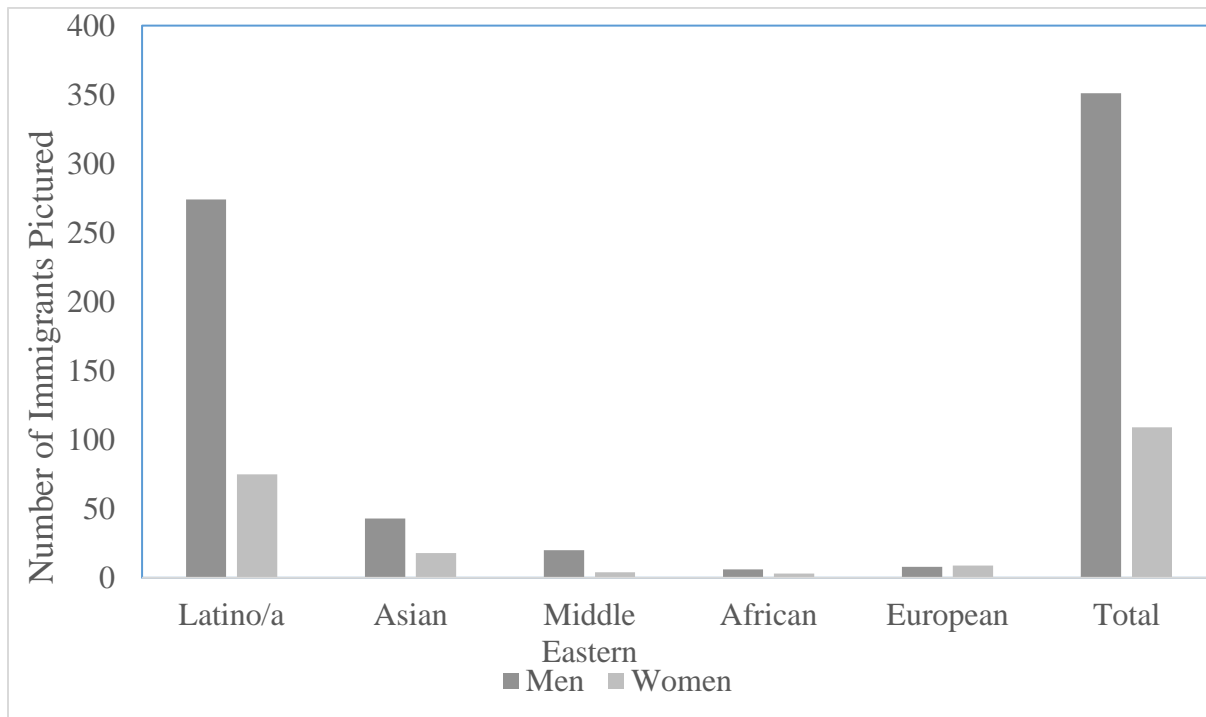
Source: Authors' Database of Major Newsmagazine Images of Immigrants (2000-2010).

An examination of some common themes in immigrant photographs further demonstrates the media's role in promoting images consistent with our "bad *hombres*" hypothesis. Multiple images feature groups of Latino men in prison (see, for instance, *U.S. News* articles "Alien Alarm," July 30, 2001; "Desert Cat and Mouse," May 31, 2004; and "Getting Tough with Illegal Border Crossers," April 28, 2008). Another common theme in immigration coverage includes images of men in groups crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, as exemplified in *U.S. News* articles such as "Border Battles," from June 25, 2007, and "A Balancing Act," from March 24, 2008. Our findings are consistent with existing scholarship underscoring the prevalence of frames related to illegality and criminality in immigration coverage (Abrajano and Singh 2009; Chavez

2008; Golash-Boza 2012; Kim et al. 2011; Pérez 2016), while emphasising the presence of a distinctly masculinised image of illegality. Indeed, elsewhere, we find that our dataset of images disproprotionately portrays immigrants as engaged in criminal activity and as undocumented. Moreover, when immigrants are shown to be working, they are more likely to be engaged in low-skilled activities in comparison to the actual demographics of the immigrant workforce in the U.S. (Farris and Silber Mohamed 2018).

Discussion

Why does it matter whether media images accurately portray immigrant demographics? While there is some evidence that fears of economic displacement contribute to individual attitudes toward immigration policy (Scheve and Slaughter 2001), a wide range of scholarship emphasises that concerns about cultural threat play a more central role in influencing support for immigration policy (Citrin, Green, Muste and Wong 1997; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014; Masuoka and Junn 2013; Schildkraut 2011). Moreover, the media plays a role in this process by developing racialised stereotypes about minority groups, with ethnic cues about immigrants significantly influencing individual's attitudes about immigration policy (Burns and Gimpel 2000; Brader, Valentino and Suhay 2008; Domke, McCoy and Turner 1999; Pérez 2016). Indeed, even implicit racial messages have been found to operate as racial primes by making racial attitudes both more accessible and more influential in voting decisions (Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002; Pérez 2016). Thus, the question of whether the media is presenting an inaccurate portrait of immigrants has both scholarly and practical significance.

Similarly, research on social welfare policy demonstrates a relationship between "race-coding" and public opinion about these policy issues (Gilens 1996a). For instance, Gilens

(1996b, 1999) argues that the racialisation of poverty underlies Americans' opposition to social welfare spending, while Hancock (2004) emphasises the intersection of race and gender in the promotion of the image of the stereotypical "welfare queen." More generally, ethnocentrism, or prioritizing one's own in-group at the expense of an out-group, is thought to influence attitudes toward immigration policy as well as many other policy areas (Kinder and Kam 2012).

Our analysis of images of immigrants from major national news magazines between 2000 and 2010 supports our hypotheses that portrayals of immigrants during this time period was both racialised and gendered, with magazines disproportionately featuring pictures of Latino immigrants, and in particular, Latino men. We argue that this choice by the media contributes significantly to the construction of the Latino threat narrative (Chavez 2001, 2008), setting the stage for hostile rhetoric about immigrants in general and "bad *hombres*" in particular.

Although we anticipated that Latinos would be overrepresented in media portrayals of immigrants, we were surprised by the significant underrepresentation of Asian immigrants in our sample. While all groups but Latinos are disproportionately absent from the magazine images, the lack of Asian Americans in these images is particularly striking. Although Asians represented 26.7 percent of immigrants nationally in 2005, they appeared in less than 5 percent of the magazine images in our sample. In contrast to the negative stereotypes surrounding press coverage of Latinos, Asian Americans are commonly portrayed as the "model minority" (Junn 2007; Masuoka and Junn 2013; Osajima 2005; Taylor and Stern 1997). Consistent with what other scholars have found (Clawson and Trice 2000), this underrepresentation of Asian Americans and overrepresentation of Latinos suggests that the media is advancing images of not only a Latino threat, but an immigrant threat more generally, while minimizing the presence of an immigrant group that tends to be portrayed more favorably.

In Chavez' (2001) analysis of immigrants featured on magazine covers between 1965 and 1999, he finds that the majority of those pictured are Asian Americans, noting that 79 percent of these images feature men. While our findings about race/ ethnicity are a significant departure from Chavez, in our examination of images from 2000-2010, we find that 77.8 percent of images for whom we could clearly identify gender featured immigrant men. These numbers suggest a high degree of consistency in the media's significant overrepresentation of immigrant men over a long period of time, both on magazine covers and in news stories. While women have comprised a slight majority of immigrants in the U.S. over the last four decades, estimates of undocumented immigrants suggest that within this group, men were the majority; according to 2005 Current Population Survey figures, an estimated 58 percent of the undocumented population was men, compared with 42 percent of women (Passel 2006). Yet, even using these numbers, the portrayal of immigrant men in media images is significantly disproportionate.

Although we expected that images of immigrants would predominately feature men, we were also surprised by how much larger the gender difference was in media portrayals of Latino immigrants compared with most other racial/ethnic groups. These findings further demonstrate support for our expectation that media images would disproportionately portray immigrants in the context of a Latino – and not Latina – threat, evoking the image of "bad *hombres*." As news consumption continues to evolve, with more individuals increasingly getting their current events from on-line and partisan sources, future research should continue to extend these findings by exploring the ways in which different news sources portray immigration and immigrants.

Conclusion

In our analysis, we sought to understand whether the media portrayed immigrants in racialised and gendered terms, consistent with the idea of an ethnic threat. We found extensive

support for our hypotheses that the press would disproportionately feature images of Latinos, of men, and in particular, of Latino men in their coverage of immigrants and immigration issues.

Given the evidence that ethnic cues can significantly influence individuals' attitudes about public policy (Burns and Gimpel 2000; Brader, Valentino and Suhay 2008; Domke, McCoy and Turner 1999), and the relationship between public opinion and policy outcomes, these findings are cause for concern. Consistent with literature on social welfare (Clawson and Trice 2000; Gilens 1996b, 1999; van Doorn 2015), we find that images advanced by the press disproportionately emphasise policy beneficiaries who are most associated with negative stereotypes, while underrepresenting other groups, particularly Asian Americans. In light of evidence that Latino men represent an overwhelming majority of recent deportees (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013), as well as language from President Trump evoking the threat posed by "bad *hombres,*" our research underscores the role of the media in furthering racialised, gendered stereotypes embodied in the Latino – but not Latina – threat.

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