The **Opportunity** Agenda

Power of POP

Media Analysis of Immigrant Representation in Popular TV Shows
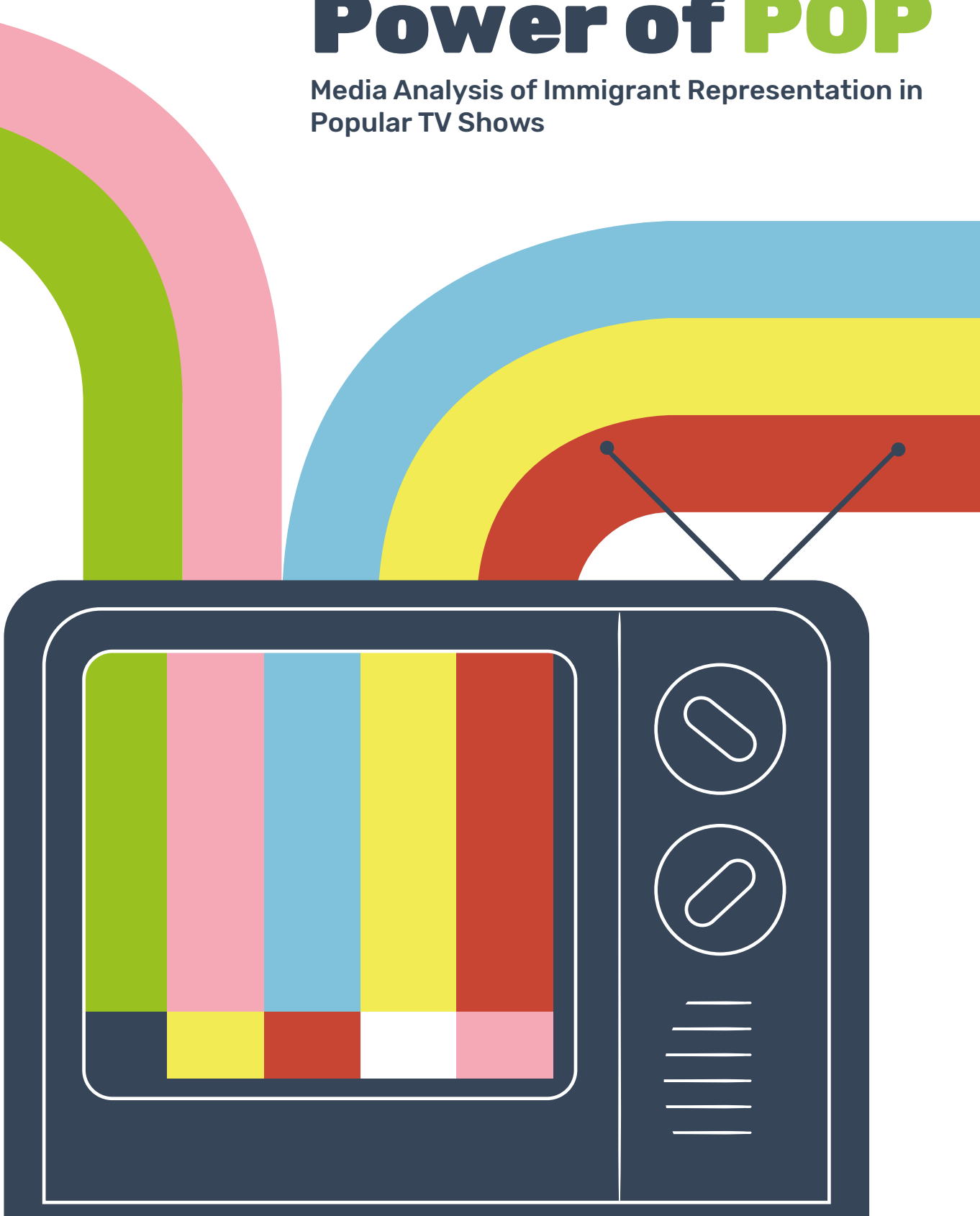
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research examines the representation and dominant storylines associated with immigration, immigrants, and immigrant and border communities within popular television programs during the **April 2014 to June 2016** television seasons.

This report is intended to offer advocates, activists, entertainment executives and creatives, media commentators, and media literacy promoters a more holistic understanding of the popular media narratives currently influencing public attitudes and behaviors toward immigrants. This report also offers guidance and tips for improving the portrayal of immigrants in popular entertainment and best practices for using popular culture to advance a social justice cause and engage new audiences.

THE FOLLOWING KEY FINDINGS EMERGED FROM OUR ANALYSIS:

IMMIGRANT CHARACTER REPRESENTATION

Identifiable immigrant characters are underrepresented in popular television shows:
Our analysis of 40 randomly sampled shows reveals that immigrants are significantly underrepresented in popular broadcast, cable, and streaming television shows. Foreign-born nationals currently comprise roughly 13.5 percent of the U.S. population,[1] a figure that increases to 16.9 percent when factoring in the estimated 11.1 million undocumented immigrants.[2] Yet between fall 2014 and spring 2016, identifiable immigrant characters comprised just 6 percent of leading and minor character roles. Specifically, of the 1,164 leading and minor characters present in the 40 television episode we examined, only 70 characters were identifiable as immigrants.

Immigrants are significantly more likely to be depicted in historical dramas and science fiction/fantasy shows:
Historical dramas had the highest rate of immigration representation, with 16 percent of characters in the historical dramas representing immigrant characters. In other words, of the 164 leading and minor characters featured in the historical dramas in our sample, 26 were identifiable immigrant characters. Sci-fi and fantasy follow with the second highest rate of immigrant representation, with 9 percent of characters identifiable as immigrants. Frequency of representation is significantly lower within the comedies and dramas. Immigrants accounted for just 4 percent of leading and minor character representation in popular dramas included in our sample, 3 percent for comedies, and just 2 percent for horror.

White, European immigrants are overrepresented in television programming:
In the 2014–2016 television seasons, white, non-Hispanic immigrants were significantly overrepresented in the popular television shows. Specifically, of the 70 leading and minor characters identifiable as immigrants, 46 characters (66 percent) represented white immigrants from various regions. The nationalities of white immigrant characters skewed heavily European, with roughly 48 percent of white characters originating from Western and Eastern European countries, despite European immigrants (of all races) comprising only 11.3 percent of the foreign-born population in the United States as of 2014.[3]

Immigrants of color are less likely than white immigrants to be cast in recurring[4] roles:
White immigrants from Europe are significantly more likely than immigrants of color to not only be represented, but also depicted in leading roles. Sixty-seven percent of white, non-Hispanic immigrant characters were represented in leading regular and recurring roles, compared to 50 percent of Asian immigrant characters, 20 percent of Black immigrant characters, and 12.5 percent of Latino immigrant characters. Latino immigrants are significantly more likely than other demographics to be represented in minor, non-recurring roles. Nearly 90 percent of Latino immigrant characters occupied minor non-recurring roles, compared to just 6 percent of white immigrants, 25 percent of Asian immigrants, and 40 percent of Black immigrant characters.

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[1] Pew Research Center, " U.S. foreign-born population trends," September 2015, http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/chapter-5-u-s-foreign-born-population-trends/. Retrieved April 3, 2017.

[2] This figure does not account for the estimated 11.1 million undocumented immigrants currently residing in the United States. See Pew Research Center, "5 facts about illegal immigration in the U.S.," November 2016, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/03/5-facts-about-illegal-immigration-in-the-u-s/. Retrieved April 3, 2017.

[3] Migration Policy Institute, "European Immigrants in the United States," December 2015, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/european-immigrants-united-states. Retrieved April 3, 2017.

[4] Characters appearing in a series periodically or repeatedly.

Immigrant characters are more likely to be male than female:

Male immigrant characters comprised 73 percent of immigrant character representation, compared to 27 percent for female characters—a distribution that is in stark contrast to the foreign-born gender distribution in the United States. As of 2013, women represent roughly 51 percent of the foreign-born population[5] and roughly 46 percent of undocumented immigrants, according to data from the Migration Policy Institute.[6]

The occupation and socioeconomic status of immigrant characters vary significantly among racial/ethnic groups:

White immigrants are more likely than immigrants of color to represent working in discernible occupations, but they also are depicted in high-ranking positions or highly skilled professions. Thirty-nine percent of white immigrant characters were represented in discernible, traditional occupations, with the vast majority (83 percent) cast in senior roles in the military, and another 11 percent appearing as doctors or scientists. At the same time, Latino immigrants tended to be represented in lower-skilled professions or as unemployed due to involvement in unlawful activity. For instance, only 25 percent of Latino immigrant characters were depicted in any discernible occupation.

Bilingualism and subtitles play an important role in immigrant representation:

In-depth analysis of trends in character representation revealed a strong correlation between immigrant character representation and bilingual or multilingualism. In the episodes in our sample, code switching—that is, the practice of alternating between two or a variety of languages or dialects in conversations—was a prominent tool used by show creators to signify immigrants. For instance, of the 16 episodes in our sample that featured an immigrant character, 50 percent (eight out of 16) included a character speaking English alongside another language.

LGBTQ immigrants are largely absent in television content:

Our sample included no representation of trans or non-conforming immigrants, and only one immigrant character openly identified as gay.

5   Pew Research Center, "Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065: Views of Immigration's Impact on U.S. Society Mixed," 2015, Washington, D.C, http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2015/09/2015-09-28_modern-immigration-wave_REPORT.pdf, p. 65. Retrieved April 5, 2017.

6   Migration Policy Institute, "Profile of the unauthorized population: United States," 2014, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/unauthorized-immigrant-population/state/US. Retrieved April 5, 2017.

DOMINANT STORYLINES AND THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH IMMIGRATION

Storylines focused on historic immigration and European colonialism—dominant immigrant character representation:
More than one-third of episodes featuring identifiable immigrant characters included an overarching storyline centered on historical immigration, generally within the context of colonialism and imperialism. Historical dramas accounted for the majority of this category of storytelling. Storylines centered on historical immigration were almost exclusively tied to European nations'/ethnic groups' exploration and colonization of territories around the globe, with several based loosely on real historical events.

14%
of immigrant characters were directly tied to some form of unlawful activity including murder, human trafficking, and drug dealing.

A significant portion of storylines tied to immigration or immigrants centered on unlawful activities:
Storylines about unlawful activities accounted for 25 percent of storylines involving immigrant characters. These storylines depicted immigrant characters directly participating in unlawful activities or being questioned by police, often as a direct result of their status as an immigrant. Overall, 14 percent (10 of 70) of immigrant characters were directly tied to some form of unlawful activity including murder, human trafficking, and drug dealing.

Latino immigrants are significantly more likely to be tied to storylines about unlawful activities and depicted participating in unlawful acts:
A troubling 50 percent (four of eight) of Latino immigrant characters were represented committing an unlawful act. Thirty-eight percent (three) were depicted as incarcerated. This compares to a third of black immigrants who were depicted participating in an unlawful act (33 percent), 25 percent of Middle Eastern immigrants, and just 9 percent of white immigrants.

50%
of Latino immigrant characters were represented committing an unlawful act.

Comedies are a space where discrimination against immigrants and anxieties related to demographic change are being challenged through humor:
Twenty-two percent of total episodes reviewed included storylines about the everyday life of immigrant characters, often within the genre of comedy. Beyond simply conveying the everyday lives of immigrants in receiving countries, comedic depictions of immigrant characters also emerged as an important space where nuanced stories of the immigrant experiences are being told and where stereotypes and social anxieties related to specific immigrant groups are being creatively challenged through humor. Popular comedies *Parks and Recreation* and *The Big Bang Theory* are illustrative of this point.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Our findings and analysis lead to a series of recommendations for how social justice advocates, media commentators, entertainment executives, and creatives can improve the overall portrayals of immigrants and immigration and also leverage popular entertainment to advance a social justice issue.

STRATEGIES FOR
IMPROVING THE PORTRAYALS OF IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION:

Uplift nuanced portrayals of immigrants in popular entertainment. From Aziz Ansari and Alan Yang's original Netflix series, *Master of None*, to Eddie Huaug's comical depiction of the immigrant experience in ABC's *Fresh Off the Boat*, the spring 2014 to fall 2016 television season gave way to a number of more complete and varying depictions of immigrant communities that we were unable to touch upon in this study. Acknowledging and uplifting helpful and nuanced representations when they exist is essential to improving the overall portrayal of immigrants and immigration in popular entertainment. Advocates should positively reinforce existing character portrayals and storylines that provide a positive example of nuanced and compelling storytelling.

Challenge and reframe negative portrayals of immigrants in popular entertainment. Our research unveiled a troubling trend in the representation of immigrant characters, specifically a correlation between immigrant character representation and storylines focused on unlawful activities, particularly in the case of Latino immigrant characterization. In a time when political discourse has become more openly hostile to immigrant communities and people of color, challenging harmful portrayals in popular entertainment is of critical importance. Advocates should actively challenge and reframe negative portrayals of immigrant characters when they occur by not only drawing attention to particularly stereotypical depictions, but also providing audiences with a context for understanding why a particular representation is problematic. As our research notes, prolonged and recurring representations of immigrants typically results in more authentic and positive representation. As such, advocates should also pressure entertainment executives to provide more varied and quality representations of immigrant characters.

Encourage new storylines that avoid tired and harmful stereotypes and more authentically depict the immigrant experience. Key to increasing and improving the overall portrayals of immigrants in popular entertainment is developing new storylines and characters. In recent years, as the media landscape has become increasingly interactive and the line between content producer and consumer has blurred, the opportunity for social justice advocates, entertainment executives, and creatives to collaborate has increased. Social justice advocates seeking to more actively engage popular culture should seek to involve entertainers and creatives in the development of new storylines that better reflect the complex immigrant experience.

STRATEGIES FOR
USING POPULAR CULTURE TO ADVANCE YOUR CAUSE AND ENGAGE NEW AUDIENCES:

Use storylines and popular characters to frame your issue. For those seeking to leverage popular culture in their own work, making use of popular cultural storylines can help build an emotional understanding and connection to your issue. Research has shown that we develop para-social relationships with characters that we regularly watch on television, identifying them (in our brains) as friends of sorts. So talking to some audiences about the immigration or cultural experiences of Raj from the *Big Bang Theory*, for instance, will help them see those experiences in a new light and likely with more empathy. As with any individual storytelling, however, doing this needs to be balanced with other kinds of stories that broaden the focus so that audiences aren't just focused on that individual's plight, strengths, and weaknesses.

Help audiences become educated consumers of entertainment and other media. The importance television preferences play in predicting political decision-making has come to the forefront of media research in recent months and presents an important new avenue for advocates to reach otherwise disengaged audiences. Audiences educated in media literacy are less likely to be susceptible to stereotypical portrayals. Advocates and creatives seeking to minimize the impact of stereotypical media representation need to help young people become educated consumers of entertainment and other media.

Engage progressive fandoms. Our analysis of social media data revealed that audiences are actively engaging in online discussions of popular television shows, a cultural phenomenon that represents an important opportunity for social justice advocates to leverage popular entertainment to tell more accurate and empowering stories about immigrant communities. Fans of shows developed or headed by people of color and children of immigrants in particular are prime for cross-issue engagement concerning immigrants' rights, women's rights, and racial justice. These fan bases should be prioritized for outreach and engagement and targeted during show premieres or season finales—periods when they are most active online.

Define immigration in the modern context. In our analysis, historical dramas emerged as an important space where stories of immigration are being told in complex and innovative ways. The representation of immigration within this genre touched on a variety of themes, including the establishment of new identities and homes. These historic representations of immigration, specifically to the United States in shows like *TURN: Washington's Spies*, may not be viewed by audiences as related in any way to contemporary immigration. It is important for advocates and media commentators to make this connection explicit for audiences. Linking the desire of characters in historical shows to find a new home and begin a new life to current immigrant communities' desire to do the same may be a strategy for engaging and educating new audiences.

Our analysis consisted of a random sample of 40 shows, with some genres better represented than others. Future research projects should focus on representation with specific genres and also expand the scope of research to include additional mediums.

INTRODUCTION

In the weeks following the 2016 presidential election, and the almost immediate threats posed to the civil liberties of immigrant and Muslim communities, the long-running sketch show *Saturday Night Live* emerged as one of the most vocal and widely viewed critics of the new administration. Melissa McCarthy's now infamous characterization of White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer is just one example of the critical role humor and satire have come to play in challenging abuses of power and also in providing much needed relief and hope in the new Trump era.

Popular culture—which can be defined as "those elements of culture capable of sustaining and perpetuating themselves based on endorsements and participation by large groups of people"[7]—has long been recognized as a space of creative expression that has given way to lasting social and cultural change. Popular culture has the power to shape our understanding of complex issues and our attitudes toward people we perceive to be different.

However, when depictions in popular entertainment persistently reflect biases, stereotypes, and inaccuracies about people and communities, they help sow division and drive audiences toward unhelpful and inaccurate perceptions. Such negative outcomes have been widely documented in existing research, which has shown how patterns of stereotypical depictions of black men and boys, and communities of color in general, can negatively affect people's attitudes toward these groups.[8] As popular entertainment continues to shape the cultural and political landscape, and is increasingly recognized as an important predictor of political decision making, identifying harmful trends and understanding how to counter them through better informed storytelling, media literacy, and advocacy will be of critical importance.

In an effort to better understand the role popular entertainment is playing in shaping attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, this report examines narratives concerning immigrants, immigration, and border communities within a medium with the largest reach and one of the highest levels of audience engagement—broadcast, cable, and streaming television. According to the latest data published by Nielsen, television remains the most widely consumed medium among American adults.[9] Eighty-six percent of adults (aged 18+) watch television an average of five days a week. This figure increases to 92 percent for individuals 50 and older.[10] These statistics do not include the millions of Americans who now access television content through streaming services such as Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon Prime. As of 2015, Netflix alone had an estimated 60 million subscribers. In addition to attracting large audiences, television programs have been shown to play a central role in shaping dominant narratives and social norms, particularly attitudes toward people of color, immigrants, formerly incarcerated people, and other traditionally marginalized communities.

This study sets out to answer several key questions: What are the dominant narratives concerning immigration, immigrants, immigrant communities, and related topics as presented in popular television programs; what common storylines or themes emerge; what types of characters or spokespeople are generally represented; and how are these overarching narratives, themes, and characters discussed by engaged audiences on social media?

The report begins with an overview of the frequency and quality of immigrant character representation, dominant narratives, and themes that tend to be associated with immigrants and immigration and concludes with recommendations for audience engagement.

[7] PopJustice, Nathan B. Cumming Foundation, 2016, p. 11, http://www.nathancummings.org/sites/default/files/popjustice_volume_1_promise_of_pop_strategies_2.pdf. Retrieved April 17, 2017.

[8] The Opportunity Agenda, "Media Portrayal of Black Men and Boys," 2013, https://opportunityagenda.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/2011.11.30%20_%20Report%20_%20Media%20Representation%20and%20Impact%20on%20the%20Lives%20of%20Black%20Men%20and%20Boys%20_%20FINAL.pdf. Retrieved April 20, 2017.

[9] Nielsen, "The Nielsen Total Audience Report Q1 2016," 2016, http://www.nielsen.com/content/dam/corporate/us/en/reports-downloads/2016-reports/total-audience-report-q1-2016.pdf. Retrieved January 15, 2017.

[10] Ibid.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITY AGENDA

The Opportunity Agenda was founded in 2006 with the mission of building the national will to expand opportunity in America. Focused on moving hearts, minds, and policy over time, the organization works with social justice groups, leaders, and movements to advance solutions that expand opportunity for everyone. Through active partnerships, The Opportunity Agenda synthesizes and translates research on barriers to opportunity and corresponding solutions, uses communications and media to understand and influence public opinion, and identifies and advocates for policies that improve people's lives. To learn more about The Opportunity Agenda, go to our website at www.opportunityagenda.org.

METHODOLOGY

TELEVISION CONTENT ANALYSIS

The television analysis in this report is based on a content analysis of 40 randomly sampled television episodes from popular television shows aired on broadcast, cable, and streaming services between **April 2014 and June 2016.**

For the purpose of this research, popular television shows were defined as shows that attracted a large general audience when originally aired on broadcast and cable networks in the United States, and/or shows that were "binge-watched"[11] on streaming services. Binge-watching describes the practice of watching multiple episodes of the same television show in a single sitting[12]—a growing trend that highlights the need for media researchers to rethink the way popularity and audience engagement are measured. In an effort to better capture these emergent consumer habits, our population of popular television shows was generated using a combination of traditional rating metrics from consumer habits research firm, Nielsen, and viewership measurements from the leading streaming service, Netflix.[13]

Nielsen ratings include top broadcast, cable network, and syndication network television, with viewing estimates based on both live viewing and DVR playback on the same day. In recent years, Nielsen has also included ratings based on the level of online audience engagement during the airing of series and specials. These data include a measure of relevant U.S. social media activity grossed across Facebook and Twitter from three hours before through three hours after broadcast.

Rating metrics from Nielsen were integrated with findings from a recent Netflix study examining the amount of time users spend watching different streaming titles on the service. In the study, Netflix analyzed more than 100 TV series available on their service between October 2015 and May 2016.[14] The study found that shows watched to the completion of the first season are typically consumed in one of two ways—"devoured" or "savored."[15] A "devoured" series is a show generally consumed in roughly four days and typically viewed for more than two hours in a single sitting. A "savored" series is generally consumed in more than six days and viewed more than two hours per day. Although Netflix findings are not directly correlated to ratings, they do provide insights into which shows are being watched through to the completion of the first series and "binge-watched"[16] by audiences.

Using Netflix's list of both devoured and savored streaming shows alongside the Nielsen ratings, we were able to identify 53 popular television series and generate a total population of 640 possible episodes. We made use of Research Randomizer, an online random sampling tool, to generate a random number sequence and select 40 episodes for in-depth content analysis.

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[11] Matrix, Sidneyeve. "The Netflix effect: Teens, binge watching, and on-demand digital media trends." *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures 6,* no. 1 (2014): 119-138.

[12] West, Kelly. "Unsurprising: Netflix Survey Indicates People Like To Binge-Watch TV." Cinema Blend. Retrieved February 12, 2014.

[13] As of January 2017, Netflix has an estimated 89 million paid subscribers globally: USAToday, January 2017,
      http://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/news/2017/01/18/netflix-shares-up-q4-subscriber-additions/96710172/

[14] These data includes metrics from 190 countries, including the United States

[15] Netflix, 2016, https://media.netflix.com/en/press-releases/netflix-binge-new-binge-scale-reveals-tv-series-we-devour-and-those-we-savor-1

[16] Matrix, Sidneyeve. "The Netflix effect: Teens, binge watching, and on-demand digital media trends." *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures 6,* no. 1 (2014): 119-138.

SAMPLE

The 40 shows selected in our random sample include 13 dramas, eight horror dramas, five historical dramas, six sci-fi/fantasies, five comedies, two action shows, and one reality television show. Twenty-one shows were aired on broadcast television (CBS, ABC, NBC, Fox, and CW), 13 were aired on cable television (AMC, A&E, FX, Showtime, History Channel, and HBO), and six aired on the streaming service Netflix.

CODING & TERMINOLOGY

Each episode was viewed and coded by a team of two-coders. To ensure inter-coder reliability,[17] the coding team created and then trained using a project codebook (see *Appendix II*), which established guidelines for the specific episodic and character variables to be analyzed. The codebook includes 20 episode variables, including genre, plot, and setting, and 49 character variables that detail the specific indices used to identify an immigrant character. To ensure more accurate character counts per episode, we made use of both coder notes and IMDb databases.

In the coding of episodes, an immigrant was defined as a character who moved permanently or for a prolonged period to another country or nation-state, including historical and future representations of migration (e.g., movement between Kingdoms or, in the case of science fiction shows set far into the future, planets). Immigrants represented in countries outside the United States (e.g., an American immigrant residing in another country) were also included in our coding of immigrant characters.

TWO MAIN CRITERIA WERE USED TO IDENTIFY IMMIGRANT CHARACTERS:

1 | An explicit reference was made to a character's immigrant status or nation of origin in the context of the show or storyline.

2 | Particular social and cultural markers were used by show creators to implicitly signify an immigrant character. Signifiers identified include the use of accents and multilingualism to differentiate immigrant characters from native-born characters and/or the use of symbolism, such as national flags.

LIMITATIONS

The goal of this research is to provide insights into patterns of representation in popular television shows and the potential impact of these representations on audiences' perceptions of immigrant/immigrant communities. As such, this research makes use of both qualitative and quantitative content analysis methods. However, because of the relatively small sample size compared to the overall population, it is important to note limitations in the generalizability of our research findings. In future studies, we aim to analyze a larger sample size and include a mixture of popular entertainment mediums.

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[17] As noted by Matthew Lombard and colleagues, inter-coder reliability describes the "extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion." Inter-coder reliability is a central part of content analysis and help to control for coding accuracy and the quality of findings. See: Lombard, Matthew, J. Snyder-Duch, and C. C. Bracken. "Intercoder reliability", 2010. Retrieved April 3, 2017.

	SHOW TITLE	NETWORK	EPISODE	AIR DATE
1	Big Bang Theory (Season 8)	CBS	15	September 22, 2014–May 7, 2015
2	NCIS (Season 12)	CBS	10	September 23, 2014–May 12, 2015
3	Empire (Season 1)	FOX	6	January 7, 2015–March 18, 2015
4	NCIS: New Orleans (Season 1)	CBS	23	September 23, 2014–May 12, 2015
5	Marco Polo	CBS	1	September 26, 2014–May 1, 2015
6	Grace and Frankie	Netflix Original	2	September 15, 2014–May 19, 2015
7	Sense 8	Netflix Original	4	September 24, 2014–May 20, 2015
8	Sense 8	Netflix Original	6	September 24, 2014–May 20, 2015
9	Sense 8	Netflix Original	12	September 24–May 12, 2016
10	Bates Motel	NBC	1	September 21, 2015–May 23, 2016
11	Game of Thrones (Season 5)	HBO	5	April 12, 2015–June 14, 2015
12	Scandal (Season 5)	ABC	8	September 24, 2015–May 12, 2016
13	Scandal (Season 5)	ABC	11	September 24–May 12, 2016
14	TURN: Washington Spies (Season 2)	AMC	1	April 13, 2014–June 8, 2015
15	TURN: Washington Spies (Season 2)	AMC	2	April 13, 2014–June 8, 2015
16	TURN: Washington Spies	AMC	7	April 13, 2014–June 8, 2015
17	Penny Dreadful	Showtime	8	May 3, 2015–July 5, 2016
18	Penny Dreadful	Showtime	10	May 3, 2015–July 5, 2016
19	The Bachelorette	ABC	13	May 18, 2015–July 27, 2015
20	Parenthood (Season 6)	NBC	12	May 11, 2014–January 29, 2015
21	American Horror Story: Hotel	FX	13	October 7, 2015–January 13, 2016
22	Pretty Little Liars(Season 6)	ABC Family	14	June 2, 2015–March 15, 2016
23	Parks and Recreation (Season 7)	NBC	7	June 2, 2015–March 15, 2016
24	Parks and Recreation (Season 7)	NBC	9	January 13, 2015–February 24, 2015
25	Grey's Anatomy(Season 12)	ABC	10	September 24, 2015–May 19, 2016
26	Grey's Anatomy(Season 12)	ABC	17	September 24, 2015–May 19, 2016
27	The Following (Season 3)	FOX	6	March 2, 2015–May 18, 2015
28	Arrow (Season 3)	The CW	19	October 8, 2014–May 13, 2015
29	Arrow (Season 3)	The CW	13	October 8, 2014–May 13, 2015
30	The Walking Dead (Season 5)	AMC	6	October 12, 2014–March 29, 2015
31	The Walking Dead (Season 5)	AMC	2	October 12, 2014–March 29, 2015
32	The Walking Dead (Season 5)	AMC	9	October 12, 2014–March 29, 2015
33	The Walking Dead (Season 5)	AMC	11	October 12, 2014–March 29, 2015
34	Vikings (Season 3)	History	8	February 19, 2015–April 23, 2015
35	The 100 (Season 2)	The CW	16	October 22, 2014–March 11, 2015
36	Between (Season 1)	Netflix Original	1	May 21, 2015–June 25, 2015
37	Blue Bloods (Season 5)	CBS	20	September 26, 2014–May 1, 2015
38	NCIS (Season 12)	CBS	3	September 23, 2014–May 12, 2015
39	Modern Family (Season 6)	ABC	15	September 24, 2015–May 20, 2015
40	Orange Is the New Black (Season 4)	Netflix Original	2	June 17, 2016

TABLE 1: SAMPLED PRIME-TIME AND ON-DEMAND TELEVISION SHOWS

PART I:

CHARACTER REPRESENTATION

FREQUENCY OF IMMIGRANT CHARACTER REPRESENTATION

Our analysis of 40 randomly sampled shows reveals that immigrants are significantly underrepresented in popular broadcast, cable, and streaming television shows. Foreign-born nationals currently comprise roughly 13.5 percent of the U.S. population, a figure that increases to 16.9 percent after also factoring in the estimated 11.1 million undocumented immigrants. Yet between fall 2014 and spring 2016, identifiable immigrant characters comprised just 6 percent of leading and minor character roles. Specifically, of the 1,164 leading and minor characters present in the 40 television episode we examined, only 70 characters were identifiable as immigrants.
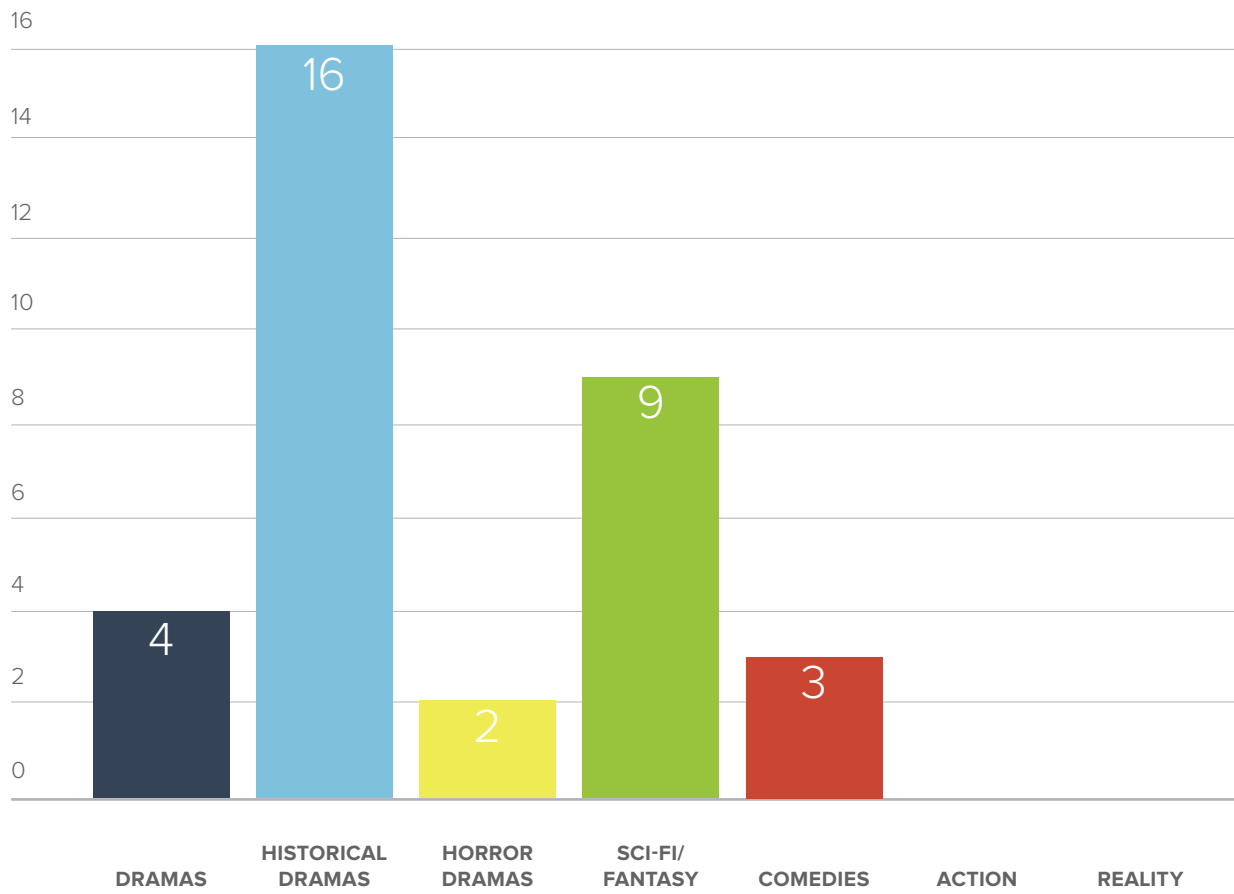
IMMIGRANT CHARACTER REPRESENTATION (% BY GENRE)

FIGURE 1: FREQUENCY OF IMMIGRANT CHARACTER REPRESENTATION BY GENRE

The rate of representation varies significantly between genres. Historical dramas—that is, series based upon historical events and famous people—had the highest rate of immigration representation, with 16 percent of characters in the historical dramas representing immigrant characters. In other words, of the 164 leading and minor characters featured in the historical dramas in our sample, 26 were identifiable immigrant characters. Sci-fi and fantasy follow with the second highest rate of immigrant representation, with 9 percent of characters identifiable as immigrants. Frequency of representation is significantly lower within comedies and dramas. Immigrants accounted for just 4 percent of leading and minor character representation in popular dramas included in our sample, 3 percent for comedies, and just 2 percent for horror drama. No identifiable immigrant characters were present in the action and reality television shows included in our sample. When focused specifically on television shows set in contemporary America, immigrant characters account for just 3 percent of leading and minor character roles in popular television shows.

3%

When focused specifically on television shows set in contemporary America, immigrant characters account for just 3 percent of leading and minor character roles in popular television shows.

QUALITY AND DEPTH OF IMMIGRANT CHARACTER REPRESENTATION

Alongside examining the frequency of immigrant character representation, we also analyzed the types of roles characters occupied in order to access the quality and depth of immigrant character representation. Characters were categorized using the following role types:

Leading, regular role: central cast member, core to the show storyline (including show protagonists)

Leading, recurring role: regular and highly featured character, not necessarily a member of the core cast

Leading, non-recurring role: heavily featured character in a single episode

Minor, recurring role: character is featured in multiple episodes within a season

Minor, non-recurring role: character was featured once in a series

Despite being underrepresented in popular television content, when immigrants are represented, they tend to occupy leading regular or recurring roles. Fifty-six percent of immigrant characters played a leading regular or leading recurring character, including two show protagonists. Another 4 percent occupied leading, non-recurring roles. Twenty-six percent of identifiable immigrant characters were represented in minor, non-recurring roles, and 14 percent held minor roles that were recurring.

56%
Leading regular or leading recurring character

4%
Leading non-recurring

26%
Minor, non-recurring roles

14%
Minor recurring roles

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND NATION OF ORIGIN

Although the depth and quality of immigrant character representation in television contents can be seen as a positive trend, there are significant variations in the frequency and quality of representation when immigrants are coded by racial/ethnic group and nation of origin.

In the 2014–2016 television seasons, white, non-Hispanic immigrants were significantly overrepresented in the popular television shows. Specifically, of the 70 leading and minor characters identifiable as immigrants, 46 characters (66 percent) represented white immigrants from various regions. The nationalities of white immigrant characters skewed heavily European, with roughly 48 percent of white characters originating from Western and Eastern European countries, despite European immigrants (of all races) comprising only 11.3 percent of the foreign-born population in the United States as of 2014.[18] Twenty-three percent of immigrant characters were from the United Kingdom, and another 24 percent of episodes included immigrants from other parts of Europe including Italy, Germany, Poland, and Russia.

The overrepresentation of white, European immigrants is contrasted by the significant underrepresentation of immigrants of color, particularly Latino and East/South Asian immigrants. Although 45 percent of foreign-born nationals living in the United States self-identify as Hispanic or Latino as of 2015,[19] Latino characters represented just 11 percent (eight) of immigrant character representation in our sample.

Mexican immigrants account for 27 percent of the foreign-born population in the U.S, but identifiable Mexican immigrants accounted for just 1.4 percent of immigrant character representation in our sample.[20]

Foreign-born nationals from other parts of the globe are far less represented in television programming. As of 2015, Indian immigrants comprise roughly 6 percent of the total foreign-born population in the United States but constituted just 1.4 percent of immigrant characters represented.[21] Although Chinese immigrants make up roughly 5 percent of the total foreign-born population, Chinese and other East Asian immigrants also comprised just 1.4 percent of immigrant character representation.[22]

The rate of African immigrant representation (excluding North African immigrants) was more in line with existing demographics. According to data from Pew Research Center,[23] African immigrants make up 4.8 percent of the foreign-born population in the United States as of 2015 and, similarly, consisted of 4.2 percent of immigrant characters. There was also a slight overrepresentation of characters from the predominantly Arab countries. As of 2013, immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) represent 2.5 percent of the total foreign-born population[24] but constituted 6 percent of immigrant character representation in our sample.

QUALITY AND DEPTH OF REPRESENTATION

Alongside disparities in the frequency of character representation, the quality and depth of representation also varied significantly between racial and ethnic groups. White immigrants from Europe are significantly more likely than immigrants of color to not only be represented, but also depicted in leading roles. Sixty-seven percent of white, non-Hispanic immigrant characters were represented in leading regular and recurring roles, compared to 50 percent of Asian immigrant characters, 20 percent of black immigrant characters, and 12.5 percent of Latino immigrant characters. Latino immigrants are significantly more likely than other demographics to be represented in minor, non-recurring roles. Nearly 90 percent of Latino immigrant characters occupied minor non-recurring roles, compared to just 6 percent of white immigrants, 25 percent of Asian immigrants, and 40 percent of black immigrant characters.

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[18]   Migration Policy Institute, *European Immigrants in the United States*, December 2015, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/european-immigrants-united-states. Retrieved April 5, 2017.

[19]   Migration Policy Institute, *Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States*, March 2017, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states. Retrieved April 5, 2017.

[20]   Ibid.

[21]   Ibid.

[22]   Ibid.

[23]   Pew Research Center, *African immigrant population in U.S. steadily climbs*, February 2017, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/14/african-immigrant-population-in-u-s-steadily-climbs/. Retrieved April 24, 2017.

[24]   Migration Policy Institute, June 2015, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/middle-eastern-and-north-african-immigrants-united-states. Retrieved April 24, 2017.
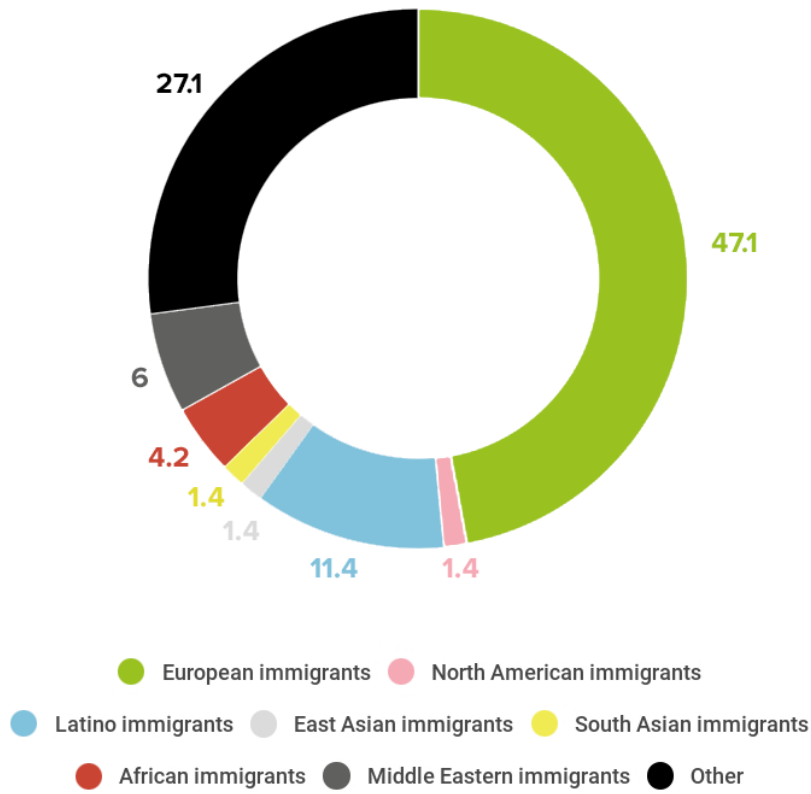
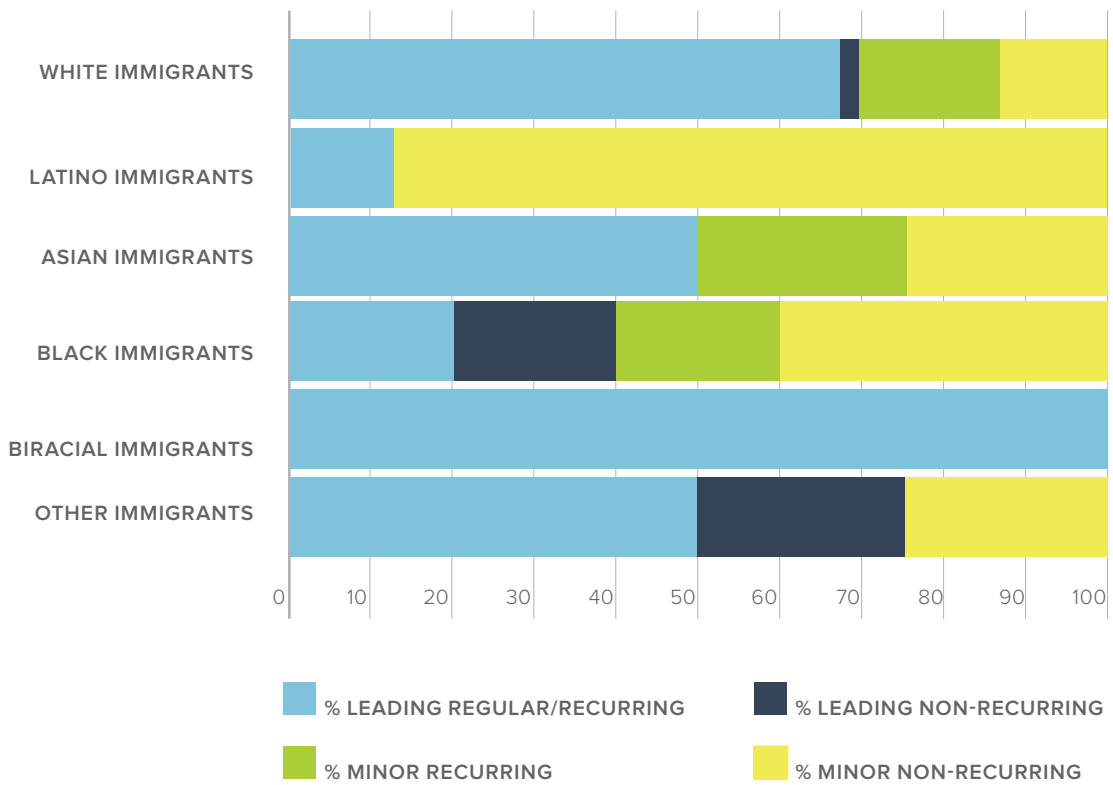FIGURE 2: PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT CHARACTER REPRESENTATION BY REGION OF ORIGIN

FIGURE 3: PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT CHARACTER REPRESENTATION BY ROLE TYPE AND RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP

GENDER IDENTITY AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION

In the television episodes included in this research, immigrant characters were significantly more likely to be depicted as male than female. Male immigrant characters comprised 73 percent of immigrant character representation, compared to 27 percent for female characters—a distribution that is in stark contrast to the foreign-born gender distribution in the United States. As of 2013, women represent roughly 51 percent of the foreign-born population[25] and roughly 46 percent of undocumented immigrants, according to data from the Migration Policy Institute.[26]

Male characters are also more likely to occupy lead roles compared to their female counterparts. In the episode analyzed, 59 percent of male immigrant characters occupied leading regular and recurring roles, compared to 42 percent of female immigrant characters.

We found no explicit representation of trans or non-conforming immigrants, and only one immigrant character was openly identified as gay. These findings are in keeping with the latest figures from GLAAD's report on LGBTQ inclusion, an annual report measuring LGBTQ representation in scripted primetime, broadcast programming. The latest installment notes that of the 895 regular characters forecast to appear in scripted broadcast programming in the 2016 to 2017 television season, 43 will be LGBTQ, and of that number, only three will be recurring transgender characters.[27]

OCCUPATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Alongside differences in the frequency of representation, there are significant disparities in the occupation and socioeconomic statuses of immigrant characters based on nation of origin and race/ethnicity. Overall, immigrant characters occupied a variety of professions and socioeconomic statuses; however, working for the military or government and business owner are occupations that tend to dominant immigrant character representation.

White immigrants were more likely than immigrants of color to be depicted working in discernible occupations, which also tended to be high ranking positions or highly skilled professions. Thirty-nine percent of white immigrant characters were represented in discernible, traditional occupations, with the vast majority (83 percent) cast in senior roles in the military, and another 11 percent appearing as doctors or scientists. At the same time, Latino immigrants tended to be represented in lower-skilled professions or as unemployed due to involvement in illegal activity. For instance, only 25 percent of Latino immigrants were depicted in any discernible occupation, whereas the remaining 75 percent of Latino characters were represented as incarcerated or the victims/perpetrators of criminal activity, specifically human trafficking and drug trafficking.

25   Pew Research Center, "Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065: Views of Immigration's Impact on U.S. Society Mixed," 2015, Washington, D.C, http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2015/09/2015-09-28_modern-immigration-wave_REPORT.pdf, p. 65. Retrieved April 3, 2017.

26   Migration Policy Institute, "Profile of the unauthorized population: United States", 2014, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/unauthorized-immigrant-population/state/US. Retrieved May 1, 2017.

27   GLAAD, "Where we stand on TV 2016," 2016, http://www.glaad.org/whereweareontv16. Retrieved May 5th, 2017.

BILINGUALISM, ACCENTS, AND DIALECTS

In-depth analysis of trends in character representation revealed a strong correlation between immigrant character representation and bilingualism. In the episodes in our sample, code switching—that is, the practice of alternating between two or a variety of languages or dialects in conversations—was a prominent tool used by show creators to signify immigrant characters. For instance, a third of immigrant characters (33 percent) were depicted speaking English alongside another language. Code switching generally took place when immigrant characters were communicating with others of the same nationality and wanted to have a private conversation or, in the case of two episodes, when the character was acting as the role of translator for a monolingual English speaker.

Alongside multilingual skills, when communicating in English, every immigrant character represented in our sam-ple with a speaking role communicated in an accent that was distinct from the majority of other characters. This was also true for immigrant characters who spoke primarily in English—namely, the British immigrant characters.

The use of code switching in the television episodes examined in this research functioned in a competing way. In some instances, switching between languages was used to demonstrate specialized skill sets and in others to convey otherness or suspicion—a duality that may present important implications for the way viewers perceive multilingualism and, specifically, the speaking of non-English languages.

Guten Tag!

Hola!

Bonjour!

Hello!

CODE SWITCHING

Alternating between two or a variety of languages or dialects in conversations, used by show creators to signify immigrant characters.

Code switching generally took place when immigrant characters were communicating with others of the same nationality and wanted to have a private conversation, or, in the case of two episodes, when the character was acting as the role of translator for a monolingual English speaker.

PART II:

DOMINANT STORYLINES & THEMES

This section provides an overview of the dominant storylines associated with immigrant characters and immigration more broadly. Several recurring storylines tend to dominate the representation of immigrants and immigration in popular television shows, many of which act to reinforce negative stereotypes that link immigrants to unlawful activity, particularly drug trafficking and terrorism. At the same time, several storylines focused on the everyday life of immigrants residing in the United States, including their experiences with casual racism and discrimination.

Similar to character representation, there are significant differences in representation between genres. Historical dramas are more likely to focus explicitly on immigration as a central storyline, whereas comedies emerged in our analysis as a space where stereotypes and anxieties related to immigrants were challenged through humor and satire.

DOMINANT STORYLINES

A total of 16 episodes in our sample included identifiable immigrant characters, the vast majority (88 percent) of which featured an immigrant character/s whose role played a central role to the overall episode story arc. Within these 16 episodes, storylines associated with immigrant characters typically fell into one of five categories. The most common storyline associated with immigrant characters focused specifically on historical immigration (37.5 percent). This was followed by storylines centered on immigrant characters' involvement in activities deemed to be unlawful (25 percent), storylines depicting the everyday life of immigrants in receiving countries and/or immigrants pursuing the American Dream (22.5 percent), and immigrant characters seeking asylum (6.25 percent).

Historical Immigration & Colonialism (37.5%)

More than one-third of episodes featuring identifiable immigrant characters included an overarching storyline centered on historical immigration, generally within the context of colonialism and imperialism. Historical dramas accounted for the majority of this category of storytelling.

Storylines centered on historical immigration were almost exclusively tied to European nations'/ethnic groups' exploration and colonization of territories around the globe, with several based loosely on real historical events. Stories were typically told from the perspective of European immigrants; however, several stories also touched on the subjugation experienced by indigenous communities and the enslavement and forced migration of people of African descent. Collectively, stories were characterized by both positive and negative depictions of historic immigration within the context of colonialism. Positive aspects focused on the establishment of new national identities and the military prowess of invading forces and presented a heroic and somewhat romanticized image of colonialization. Negative aspects focused on the displacement and loss of identity experienced by groups who lost access to land and sovereignty—a focus that at times appeared as a subtle critique of imperialism. The History Channel's original series *Vikings* and AMC's *Turn: Washington's Spies* are illustrative of this point.

Vikings is a series inspired by Norse mythology that follows the story of Viking warriors seeking to conquer nations and expand their territory. The story of the Vikings' migration and occupation of new land is representative of the duality that characterizes the depiction of historical immigration.

As the show's central characters, Viking chieftain, Ragnar, and his subjects are depicted as skilled and strategic warriors, committed to the heritage and growth of their people. At the same time, the Vikings' use of violence and more nomadic lifestyle are presented in contrast to the more developed and stable Kingdoms they attempt to invade. The scene shown in *Figure 4* depicts the end of the Vikings' failed invasion of historic France. The French emperor looks upon a group of slain Vikings and remarks, "*Indeed they appear almost human.*" Although the Vikings in this instance are the aggressors and invading force, the comment from the emperor is reflective of the link made in several stories between control over land and personhood. A loss of land was often directly tied to the loss of status and, in extreme cases, dehumanization.

This link between land, identity, and agency is seen again in the episode of *TURN: Washington's Spies* examined in our analysis. The series centers on American colonialists' struggle to establish an independent state and identity from the British. At the backdrop of this central storyline are the nameless figures of indigenous Americans and enslaved Africans. Their silent presence and, in some instances, mocking and shaming are again reflective of the show runner's attempt to convey that the pursuit of new territories and identities for waves of Europeans often came at a significant loss of autonomy and identity for others.

FIGURE 4: SCENE FROM *VIKINGS* WITH SUBTITLES
(SEASON 3, EPISODE 8)

Unlawful Activities (25%)

Storylines about unlawful activities accounted for 25 percent of storylines involving immigrant characters. These storylines depicted immigrant characters directly participating in unlawful activities or being questioned by police, often as a direct result of their status as an immigrant. For instance, in the scene depicted in *Figure 5* from the cop drama *Blue Bloods*, a Polish immigrant and successful landlord is questioned by a detective about the disappearance of one of his tenants. Despite his residence in New York "for more than 30 years," his status as a Polish immigrant is still viewed as a source of suspicion by the detective, who makes subtle references to the cultural differences between "American kids" and Polish people. In subsequent scenes, as the detective attempts to locate another person of Polish descent, a passing reference to "forged passports" is made. Although subtle, when viewed in the context of other representations of immigrant characters in our samples, these interactions form part of a wider trend in which people's immigrant status or right to be in the United States was questioned or viewed with suspicion.
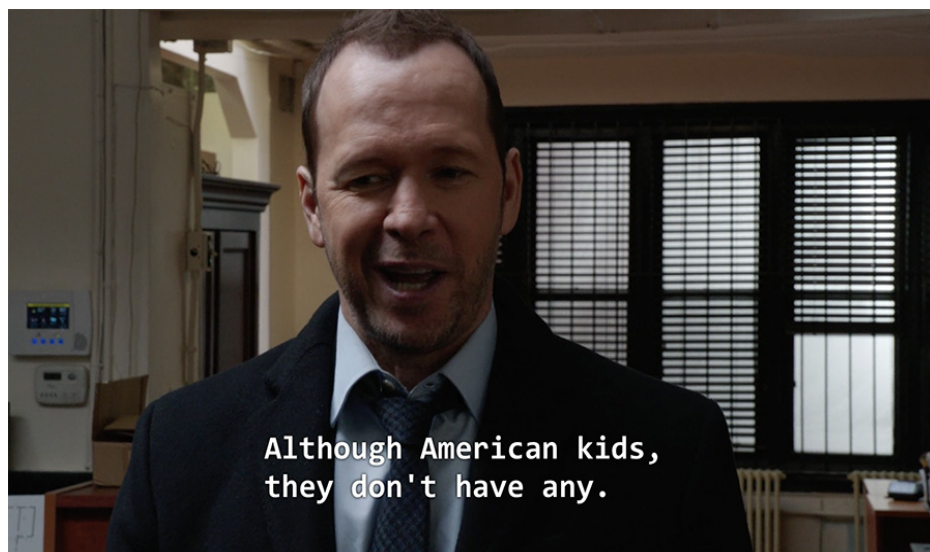
FIGURE 5: SCENE FROM *BLUE BLOODS* WITH SUBTITLES (SEASON 3, EPISODE 20)

Subtle references to immigrants' involvement in unlawful activities like those outlined were also accompanied by more overt references to immigrants/immigration in connection to unlawful activities. Overall, 14 percent (10 of 70) of immigrant characters were directly tied to some form of unlawful activity including murder, human trafficking, and drug dealing. This pattern of representation was particularly true in the case of Latino immigrant characters. A troubling 50 percent (four of eight) of Latino immigrant characters were represented committing an unlawful act. Thirty-eight percent (three) were depicted as incarcerated. This compares to a third of black immigrants depicted participating in an unlawful act (33 percent), 25 percent of Middle Eastern immigrants, and just 9 percent of white immigrants.

In three of the episodes reviewed (7.5 percent of the total sample of 40) explicit references were made to terrorism related to specific immigrant groups. In the case of the drama *NCIS New Orleans*, an entire episode centered on the threat posed by a "West African terrorist group" residing in the United States. References to terrorism in relation to specific nationalities were coupled with a tendency to reference other countries in the context of those countries posing a threat to the United States or being corrupt. For instance, specific references to China, West Africa, and the Middle East in the context of terrorism or weapons of mass destruction emerged in three of the sampled television shows.

[all speaking Spanish] Homeland forever!

NCIS

Amigo? I ain't your amigo.

FIGURE 6: SCENE FROM *ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK* (SEASON 4, EPISODE 2), *NCIS: NEW ORLEANS* (SEASON 1, EPISODE 23), AND *BETWEEN* (SEASON 1, EPISODE 1) WITH SUBTITLES

50%

of Latino immigrant characters were represented as the perpetrators

Everyday Life, New Beginnings, and Satire (22.5%)

Twenty-two percent of episodes included storylines about the everyday life of immigrant characters, often within the genre of comedy. Other stories within this category focused on characters' pursuit of an opportunity in a new country or, in the case of Ethan Chandler from *Penny Dreadful*, attempt to escape from their past and have a new beginning.

In this category, a character's immigrant status was not necessarily directly tied to the storyline but was a central part of the character's overall persona within the show. As such, this form of storytelling generally involved a regularly featured, leading character, such as Gloria from ABC's *Modern Family* or Raj in the *Big Bang Theory*. Beyond simply conveying the everyday lives of immigrants in receiving countries, comedic depictions of immigrant characters also emerged as an important space where nuanced stories of the immigrant experiences are being told and where stereotypes and social anxieties related to specific immigrant groups are being creatively challenged through humor. Popular comedies *Parks and Recreation* and *The Big Bang Theory* are illustrative of this point.

In the sampled episode of *Parks and Recreation* titled "Pie-Mary," leading characters Andy, April, and Ron make a visit to the office of Fielding Milton. Milton is a minor, recurring character on the show—an elderly and disgruntled council man best known for his tendency to express racist and sexist views. In one scene in "Pie-Mary" Milton is seen having his shoes shined, something he explains is his way of remembering the good old days, "*when a shoe shine was two bits and there were no Mexicans in the music industry*" (*Figure 7*). The implication was, of course, that the shoe shiner (at least in Milton's mind) is Mexican and also in his rightful place. *Parks and Recreation*'s satirical representation of Milton formed part of a wider trend of comedies poking fun at casual racism and discrimination. In the episode of the *Big Bang Theory* reviewed, lead character Raj talks about his experience moving to the United States from India and his first interactions with an acquaintance, Mrs. Walowitz. Raj recounts, "*Mrs. Walowitz was pretty special. When I first moved to America, Howard was my only friend and she made me feel so welcomed in her home. Which says a lot because those first few years she thought I was the gardener.*"

and there were no Mexicans in the music business.

FIGURE 7: SCENE FROM *PARKS AND RECREATION* (SEASON 7, EPISODE 9)

In addition to satirical discussions of discrimination, in dramas like *Orange Is the New Black*, racism and anxiety related to immigration were tackled in much more in-depth and critical ways. Season 4, episode 2 of *Orange Is the New Black* revolves around growing tensions among the prison population of Litchfield Penitentiary as a result of an influx of new prisoners and significant overcrowding. In the course of the episode, frustrations over space begin to exacerbate existing racial and ethnic conflicts, culminating in a physical confrontation between two white inmates and regular character Blanca Flores.

In the midst of the confrontation, Blanca directly alludes to white Americans' anxiety over demographic change, arguing, "*Your country is turning browner and there is nothing you can do about it*" (*Figure 8*). Although there is little indication in the episode that Blanca and a number of other Latina characters are, in fact, immigrants to the United States,[28] Blanca's status and right to belong are viewed aggressively by the white inmates during their confrontation. This scene and the overall story arc of the episode, which featured multiple scenes in which inmates expressed a variety of racist and xenophobic beliefs, can be seen as a commentary on the state of race relations in the United States, specifically the frequent questioning of and attempts to delegitimize the Americanness of particular racial/ethnic groups, particularly Latino Americans.

FIGURE 8: SCENE FROM *ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK* WITH SUBTITLES
(SEASON 4, EPISODE 2)

Seeking Asylum (6.25%)

Just over 6 percent of episodes in our sample included a storyline that touched on an immigrant seeking asylum/refugee status in the United States or other regions. There are marked differences in the way this storyline was represented based on the quality of immigrant character representation—that is, whether the character included in the storyline occupied a minor as opposed to a leading role. In three of the four episodes that touched on an issue of deportation, asylum, or other legal issues, this storyline played a minor role in the overall narrative arc of the episode—more often than not emerging as a passing comment or a background issue that was not integral to the overall story being told.

However, in the single instance where an individual's immigration status was a central feature of the storyline, a much more nuanced story was told. An example of this more in-depth storytelling took place in an episode of the popular television show *Scandal*. The episode featured an asylum seeker named Navid, a translator visiting the United States from a fictional Middle Eastern nation called Bandar. The episode centers on Navid's battle to gain asylum in the United States with the help of protagonist Olivia Pope.

In the course of the episode, it is revealed that Navid is seeking refuge in the United States to avoid persecution in Bandar because of his sexuality. Throughout the episode, his claims for asylum are met with suspicion and disbelief as government officials working with Olivia Pope question his motivation and the truthfulness of his claims that he fears for his own safety. Despite this initial questioning, the overall presentation of Navid's story positions him as a character deserving empathy and concern on the part of the viewer.

The more sympathetic depiction of Navid is in keeping with prior research findings that suggest that prolonged or recurring depictions of people of color and immigrants in film or television often result in much more authentic and likable representation.[28] In contrast, when immigrants or people of color occupy minor character roles, their representation is more likely to be based on negative stereotypes that act to reinforce the "othering" of said community.

28   See; Tukachinksy, R., Mastro, D., &Yarchi, M, 2015,"Documenting Portrayals of Race/Ethnicity on Primetime Television over a 20-Year Span and Their Association with National-Level Racial/Ethnic Attitudes." *Journal of Social Issues* 17-38.

THEMES & SYMBOLISM

Although this research is largely focused on explicit representations of immigrant communities and immigration, our analysis of television content also revealed that even when immigration is not explicitly referenced, related themes such as movement, home, citizenship, and borders frequently emerge in television storytelling.

Home, Safety, and Movement

The themes of movement, home, and safety are featured heavily in television programming, reflecting the importance of these concepts to American culture. Even when immigration is not touched upon explicitly, the themes of movement or migration are present and often represented as something precarious or dangerous, sometimes emerging in the context of war, unrest, or loss of civilization. Themes about movement play a prominent role in post-apocalyptic shows like AMC's *The Walking Dead*. The group's nomadic status is linked to a loss of safety and civilization, which can only be regained by finding and securing a home. The search for a home or territory is frequently linked with the use of force and violence, an association that also emerged frequently within fictionalized historic dramas.

The connection between movement and danger gives some insights into recent research noting the connection between the popular zombie genre and anxiety over immigration and, more recently, the targeting of AMC's *The Walking Dead* fans by Republican campaigners. Historian and author Dora Apel notes the long tradition of both cinema and television to draw on cultural anxieties and the rising popularity of zombie movies and television shows as a direct response to "contemporaneous threats of catastrophe in an era when the state is widely perceived as either corrupt or unable to protect and sustain the population against any number of possible threats."[29] The zombie genre had a resurgence following 9/11, as popular films and shows like Danny Boyle's *28 Days Later* and, more recently, *The Walking Dead* played directly on audience's growing anxiety related to extreme inequality, immigration, and national security. Referencing American–Canadian director George Romero's 2005 zombie apocalypse film *Land of the Dead*, Apel argues the imagery of zombie's flooding over a wall acted to evoke "the anxiety of immigrants crossing the Mexican border into the United states at a time when the government was proposing to build a border fence and deploy National Guard troops."[30]

[29]   Apel, D., 2015. *Beautiful terrible ruins: Detroit and the anxiety of decline.* Rutgers University Press, p. 136.

[30]   Apel, D., 2015. *Beautiful terrible ruins: Detroit and the anxiety of decline.* Rutgers University Press, p. 139.

In the current political and social climate, with similar anxieties related to immigration and border security resurfacing and being exploited, the continued popularity of this particular sub-genre presents important implications for social justice advocates seeking to counter these anxieties.

Migration and Masculinity

As previously noted, immigrants were significantly more likely to be represented as male than female or non-conforming. Male immigrant characters comprised 73 percent of immigrant character representation, compared to 27 percent for female characters.

The prominence of male migrants was also coupled with what we observed to be storylines implicitly centering on the movement of men, particularly in historic dramas. For instance, in the opening episode of the popular Netflix series *Marco Polo*, the viewers are introduced to Marco Polo as he embarks on his first trade voyage. Throughout the episode, migration is represented as something that is dangerous, rooted in economic gain, and innately masculine. Only men are depicted traveling the trade route, while women remain in the home, both physically and symbolically in the imagination of male characters, who made frequent references to women (mother, wives, mistresses) left back home.

Apel argues the imagery of zombies flooding over a wall acted to evoke "the anxiety of immigrants crossing the Mexican border into the United states at a time when the government was proposing to build a border fence and deploy National Guard troops."
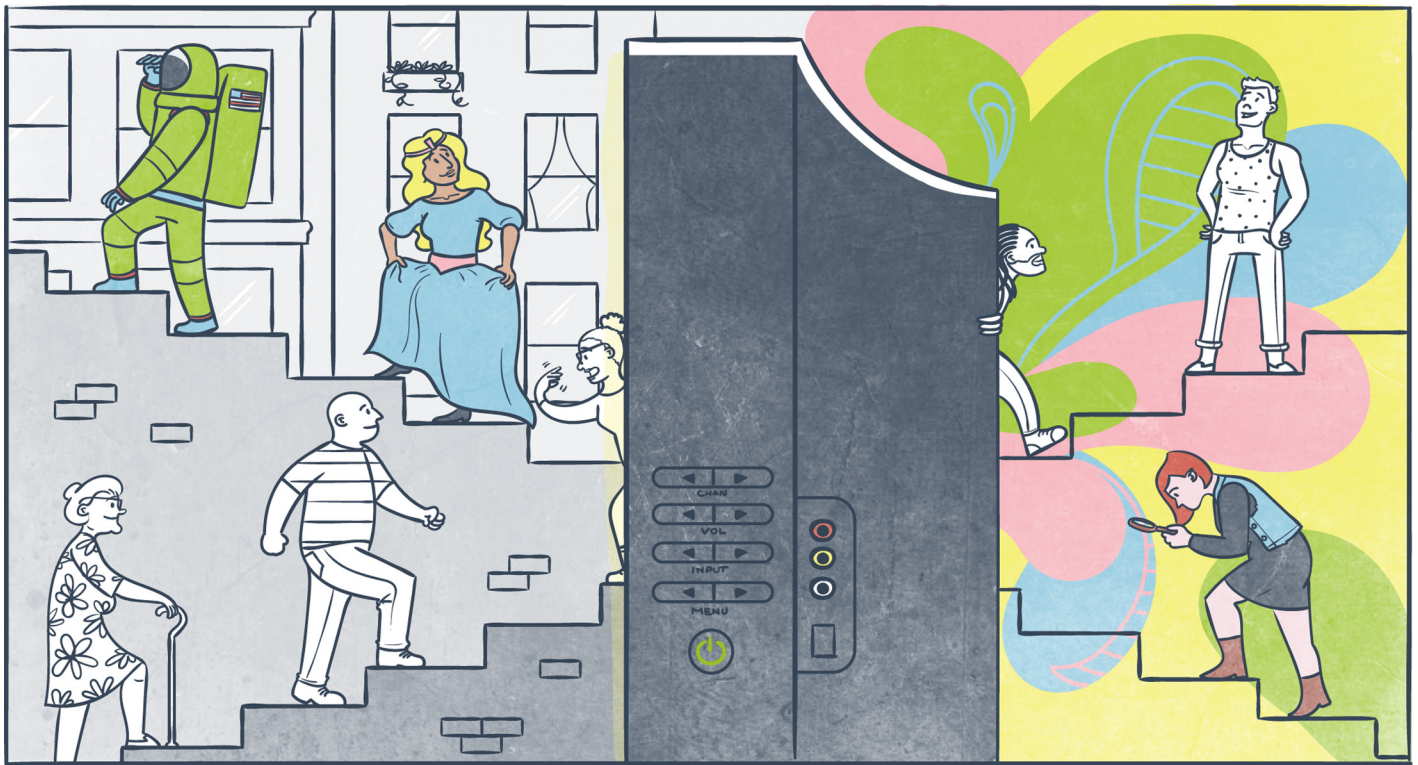
AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT
(SOCIAL MEDIA ANALYSIS)

In recent years, transformations to the media ecosystem have enabled audiences to engage more directly with media content and content producers—a heightened interactivity that has given way to new modes of media commentary. The popular *#OscarsSoWhite* hashtag is just one recent example of the role social media has come to play in challenging media representation and pushing for more accurate and inclusive storytelling in popular entertainment.

In an effort to understand this evolving media landscape and the potential it presents for wider social change, we analyzed how audiences are currently engaging with television content on social media. Specifically, we examined online audience engagement with the 40 television series sampled in our research with the following three-fold goal:

1 | Mapping long term trends in audience's engagement with popular television content over a 2-year period

2 | Identifying when, if ever, discussions concerning social justice issues emerge in the context of discussions of popular television content

3 | Identifying key influencers and drivers of content at the intersection of popular culture and social change

Our analysis revealed several patterns of audience engagement that present important implications for social justice advocates seeking to better leverage popular entertainment in the advancement of social justice issues.

METHODOLOGY

Social Media Analysis

Analysis of social media data was conducted using Crimson Hexagon, a leading social media analytics software that provides access to publicly available social media data including, but not limited to, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, blogs, forums/popular message boards such as Reddit, mainstream news article comments, reviews, and YouTube comments. Crimson Hexagon enables users to create monitors for any topic or set of phrases and establish customized timeframes for data analysis. Once a monitor is established, Crimson Hexagon's algorithm, created by Harvard University professor Gary King, categorizes relevant social media data—identifying content volume trends, patterns in conversation, demographics, sentiment shift over time, and audience segment interests/affinities. Interests and affinities are generated by analyzing the social media habits of audiences partaking in particular online discussions (i.e., what brands, topics, or media sources this audience segment tends to share) to generate a list of interests, which can then be compared to other audience segments.

The analysis in this report is based on a content analysis of gross social media activity between **April 2014 and June 2016**—in other words, all social media posts generated related to the 40 television series in our sample over a 27-month period. Including data focused on television series in general (not simple the episode analyzed) over a two-year period enabled us to examine patterns of audience engagement over a significant period and, in doing so, gain a deeper understanding of how audiences are typically engaging with television content online.

The majority of data analyzed originated from Twitter (42 million posts), followed by forums (14 million posts), Facebook (472,198 posts), popular blogs, news comment sections, and Google Plus comments.

Search Parameters

Data were generated through the creation of a monitor with search terms that included the full title of television series and also the most popular abbreviations used by fans and networks.

OVERARCHING TRENDS

Volume of Engagement

Between April 2014 and June 2016, more than 57 million social media posts were made reacting to the 40 television series examined in this research, totaling an average of 2 million posts a month in the 27-month period examined.

Audiences' engagement with television content spiked dramatically during the original airing of episodes on broadcast and cable television or shortly following the release of a series on streaming service Netflix. Shows aired on Netflix also tended to generate a much larger social media response than shows aired on broadcast and cable television, resulting in large part from the ability of streaming services to release an entire series on the same day. As seen in *Figure 9*, the volume of engagement spiked significantly in June 2014, June 2015, and once again in June 2016; each time period corresponds with June premiere dates on Netflix for shows, including *Orange Is the New Black*.

TOTAL VOLUME (23,574,869)
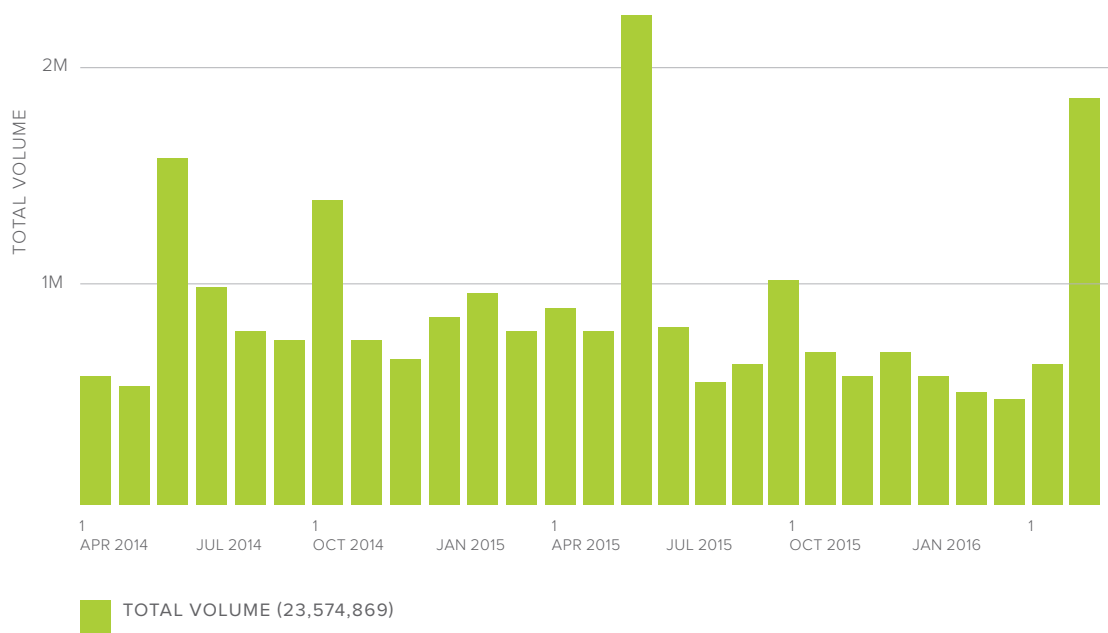
FIGURE 9: VOLUME OF AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT WITH 40 SAMPLED TELEVISION SERIES (APRIL 2014–JUNE 2016)

Types of Engagement

The viewing of television content has become a highly interactive and collective activity in recent years as social media has enabled fans to more directly engage with content in real time. In our analysis, audience engagement with popular television shows typically fell into one of three categories:

1   **Expression of excitement** about the release of a new shows

2   **Reaction** during viewing or airing of a show

3   **Meme and gif** creation and social commentary

Expression of Excitement

A significant portion of social media content engaging with the popular television titles in our sample focused on audience members' excitement about new content and individual's intention to "binge-watch" the series. On-demand and streaming platforms and the ability of users to access an entire series at once enable binge-watching. The result has been the emergence of an alternative viewing culture, where individuals can establish their own viewing preferences and no longer be subject to weekly scheduling.

As seen in *Figure 10*, fans of television shows released on streaming services often shared their experiences watching the entire season in one viewing or expressed their plans to do so in the future. This type of engagement frequently resulted in particular shows becoming a trending topic on social media sites as fans shared in their excitement and reacted to newly available content. In addition to show titles trending, popular characters in the shows were regularly mentioned in this form of engagement; in the case of *Orange Is the New Black*, cast members actively engaged in this excitement by liking and retweeting fans' posts.

I finished the new season of oitnb already and now I have no new episodes to look forward to 😪😔

I finished the new season of oitnb already and now I have no new episodes to look forward to 😪😔

— Keisha (@lakeishaasmithh) Jun 15, 2015

Jun 15, 2015

Klout score:
30

BASIC POSITIVE

SADNESS
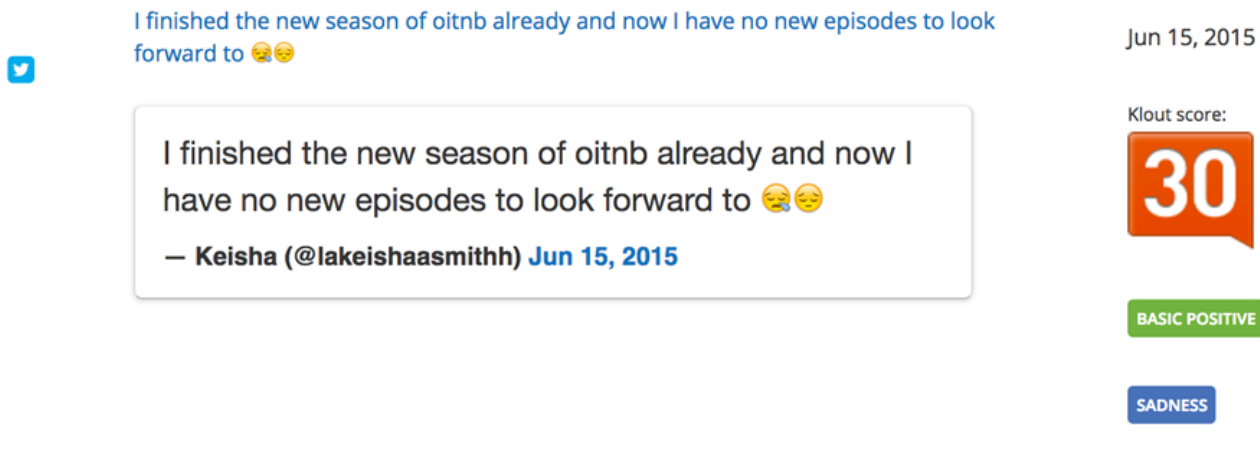
FIGURE 10: SAMPLE SOCIAL MEDIA POST: JUNE 15, 2015

Reaction During Viewing

Reactions during the airing of shows also made up a significant portion of the social media content generated. This finding is in keeping with a 2014 Twitter study that found that 85 percent of people who use Twitter during primetime hours reported tweeting about TV.[31] Certain shows have been able to capitalize on this trend in recent years.

For instance, our analysis showed that titles such as ABC's *Scandal* and *Grey's Anatomy* generate significant social media traffic during air time, with fans participating in so-called virtual watch parties and sharing humorous memes and gifs throughout the show. The popular hashtag #TGIT (Thanks God It's Thursday) is associated with the Thursday airing of *Scandal*, *Grey's Anatomy*, and *How to Get Away with Murder*, and between April 2014 and June 2016 #TGIT was included in more than 250,000 social media posts (as seen in *Figures 12 and 13*). As noted by Shelli Weinstein in a 2014 article published in *Variety*, the popularity of this hashtag is largely the result of clever marketing on the part of ABC, who recognized the importance of Twitter and other social media networks for expanding fan bases.

[31]   Anjali Madha, "Study: Exposure to TV Tweets drives consumers to take action—both on and off of Twitter," Twitter Blog, 2014, https://blog.twitter.com/2014/study-exposure-to-tv-tweets-drives-consumers-to-take-action-both-on-and-off-of-twitter. Retrieved May 5, 2017.

Meme and Gif Creation & Social Commentary

Alongside reactions to television content, a large portion of social media content emerged in the context of people referencing a show or using a popular character for comedic effect and/or to stress a political or social point, generally through the use of memes and gifs. A meme is a cultural idea or behavior that can be replicated and spread person-to-person; a gif is a sharable image or animation. Memes and gifs have grown in prominence on social media and are important aspects in user-generated content and participatory culture online. Research also suggests that memes are useful persuasive tools that can succeed in conveying moral lessons and also evoking emotions like anger, fear, or disgust.[32]

The term meme was coined by biologist Richard Dawkins to describe "any cultural idea or behavior." Memes are popularized through competition that is not solely based on truth or even the usefulness of the idea. In their article "Emotional Selection in Memes," Chip Heath and colleagues make the argument that the success of a meme—that is, a cultural idea or behavior—is based on emotional selection. Memes that gain traction among the masses do so because "they evoke an emotional reaction that is widely shared across people" that can be both positive or negative. This understanding of memes is still very much applicable to Internet memes and the online engagement with television content observed in our analysis.

Memes acted as a shorthand for conveying emotional reactions, and as seen in *Figure 11*, were also used to make po-litical and social commentary, often in a humorous or satirical way. These social media posts tended to generate more retweets and likes than other forms of online engagement with television content and also demonstrate the growing ability of media consumers to create new content from source material that often serves a wholly different function.

FIGURE 11: SAMPLE SOCIAL MEDIA POST

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32   Heath, Chip, Chris Bell, and Emily Sternberg. "Emotional selection in memes: the case of urban legends" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 81.6 (2001): 1028.

AUDIENCE DEMOGRAPHICS AND INTERESTS
Most Influential Shows

Another result of this shifting viewing culture appears to be the prominence of streaming television shows in on-line discussion of television content. Examination of Twitter mentions and hashtags provided even more insights into the shows that tend to generate the most audience engagement. A mention is a Tweet that contains another person's @username anywhere in the body of the Tweet; a hashtag on Twitter is a word or phrase preceded by a hash or pound sign (#) and used to identify messages on a specific topic.

Between April 2014 and June 2016, of the shows analyzed in the content analysis, The CW's *Arrow*, *Orange Is the New Black*, *Grey's Anatomy*, *NCIS*, *American Horror Story*, *Parks and Recreation*, and *Scandal* (all shows available on streaming service Netflix) garnered some of the highest levels of audience engagement in terms of the volume of mentions and hashtags. As previously noted, shows like *Scandal* and *Grey's Anatomy* also benefited from highly active fan bases.

TOP HASHTAGS

#Arrow	2,400,000+
#OITNB	2,200,000+
#NCIS	430,000+
#ParksandRec	360,000+
#AHSHotel	310,000+
#Olicity	250,000+
#ScandalABC	220,000+
#AmericanHorrorStory	200,000+
#TheFlash	190,000+
#WeAreAllFreaks	140,000+
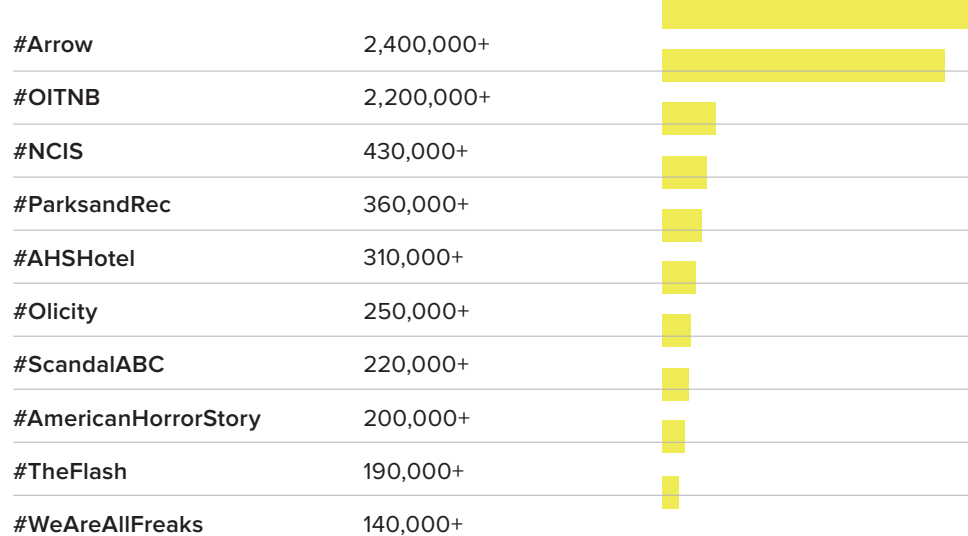
FIGURE 12: TOP HASHTAGS (APRIL 2014–JUNE 2016)

TOP MENTIONS

@oitnb	680,000+
@GreysABC	550,000+
@ScandalABC	510,000+
@AHSFX	490,000+
@YouTube	270,000+
@CW_Arrow	170,000+
@amellywood	150,000+
@netflix	140,000+
@EmilyBett	100,000+
@turnamc	89,000+
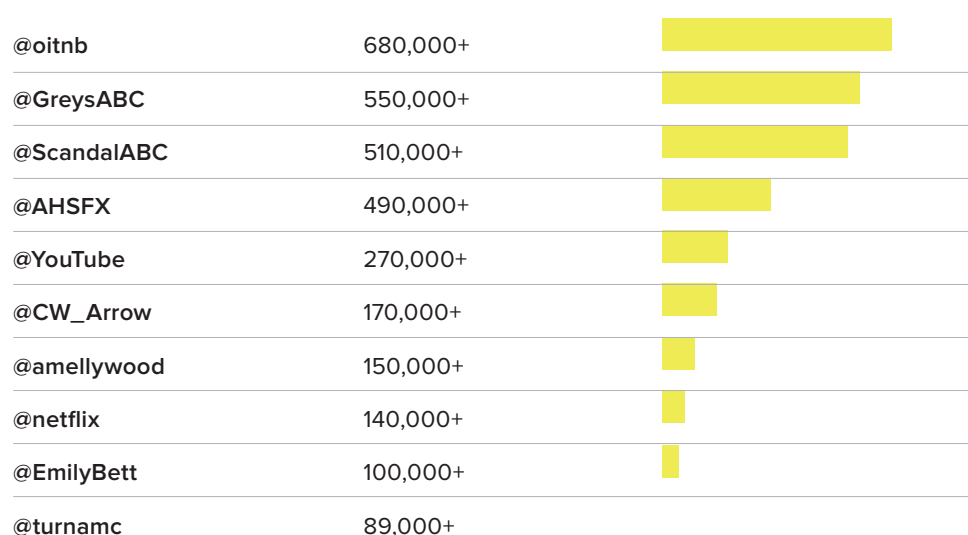
FIGURE 13: TOP MENTIONS (APRIL 2014–JUNE 2016)

Audience Demographics

Using Crimson Hexagon's demographic feature, we were also able to examine the gender and age of audiences engaging in discussions about television content. Between April 2014 and June 2016, 59 percent of individuals discussing the 40 television titles included in this study were women and 41 percent were men.
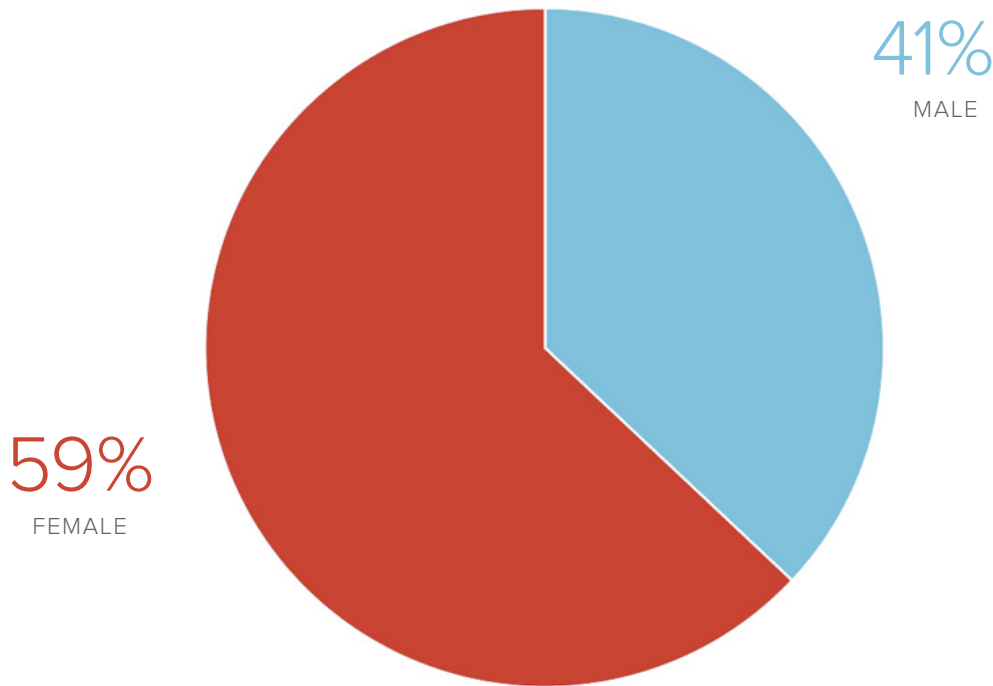
FIGURE 14: ONLINE AUDIENCE DEMOGRAPHICS: GENDER

Online audiences were also significantly more likely to be younger than age 25 years—22 percent were aged 17 or younger, 30 percent were aged 18 to 24, 11 percent were aged 25 to 34, and 37 percent were 35 or older. Sixty-five percent of people engaging with the television content examined in this research were white, non-Hispanic, 15 percent black, 11 percent Asian, and 9 percent Latino.

Sub-Interests and Affinities

Another feature of Crimson Hexagon is the affinities tool, which allows users to examine the interests of audiences engaging in particular online discussions and compare the interests between different key audiences. Affinities can provide important insights into the mediums and cross-issue interests of key online audiences.

Audiences engaging with the television content sampled in this research had several distinct interests and media preferences (compared to the general population of Twitter), including an affinity toward CBS, NBC, and Snapchat, as well as interests in LGBTQ issues, comics, and celebrity news. Critically, there appeared to be significant interest in social justice issues among particular fan bases. For instance, fans of *Scandal* were 32 times more likely than the general population of Twitter to share the image seen in *Figure 15* promoting the Women's March and were twice as likely to share information about the potential impact of a repeal of the Affordable Care Act.

FIGURE 15: AUDIENCE INTEREST: IMAGE SHARED BY INDIVIDUALS FOLLOWING @SCANDALABC

DISTINCT INTERESTS	LIKELIHOOD OF SHARING INTEREST	
Celebrity News	32 x	Overall Population of Twitter
Snapchat	19 x	Overall Population of Twitter
CBS	12 x	Overall Population of Twitter
NBC	6 x	Overall Population of Twitter
Comics	3 x	Overall Population of Twitter
LGBTQ	3 x	Overall Population of Twitter

TABLE 2: DISTINCT INTEREST OF ONLINE AUDIENCES

In the following sections, we provide some context for understanding the key findings in this report and the potential real world implications on public attitudes toward immigrant communities. We conclude with a series of recommendations for how to effectively encourage more inclusive and accurate representation of immigrants and how to engage fan bases to promote social justice causes.

PART IV:

ANALYSIS

UNDERREPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS OF COLOR

The findings from this research present important implications for our overall understanding of the factors currently shaping public perception and attitudes toward immigrants. Our analysis of sampled popular television shows revealed that immigrant characters are significantly underrepresented in television content, relative to the current foreign-born population in the United States. When focused specifically on shows set in contemporary America, immigrant characters accounted for just 3 percent of total character representation in our sample. Alongside an overall underrepresentation of immigrants, our research also found a significant underrepresentation of immigrant characters of color.

The underrepresentation of immigrants of color is in keeping with prior entertainment media research that has consistently shown that communities of color tend to be underrepresented in broadcast and cable television shows. In their extensive analysis of primetime television shows spanning a 20-year period, Riva Tukachinsky and colleagues found that communities of color in general are underrepresented in primetime television; however, the frequency of representation varies significantly between racial and ethnic groups.[33] For instance, whereas black Americans comprised roughly 12 percent of the population between 2000 and 2010, black characters constituted fewer than 10 percent of the primetime television population in the 2007 to 2009 television seasons.[34]

The latest data from the annual diversity in Hollywood report produced by the Bunche Center for African American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles show that the percentage of people of color in lead roles in broadcast programming increased from 6.6 percent in the 2013–2014 television seasons to 8.1 percent in the 2013–2014 seasons. However, this still reflects a significant underrepresentation of people of color, who currently comprise roughly 37 percent of the total U.S. population. Representation was even more limited for other racial and ethnic groups. Despite representing just fewer than 15 percent of the U.S. population, Latinos made up only 3.3 percent of the primetime television population in the same timeframe, while Asian/Pacific Islander Americans (who comprised roughly 4 percent of the overall population in the United States between 2000 and 2010) constituted only 2.8 percent of the television population between 2007 and 2009.

Research and experience show that both the frequency and quality of representation in the news and entertainment media have important implications for public attitudes and perceptions of traditionally marginalized communities.[35] Specifically, research has consistently found that representation can play a central role in shifting public attitudes in a positive direction on an issue or familiarizing individuals to a community or group they may have limited or no contact with. For instance, recent research conducted by the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) has noted the link between increased portrayals or LGBTQ characters and public acceptance and understanding of these communities. Their latest report, *Accelerated Acceptance*, notes that millennials (aged 18–34) are significantly more likely to not only identify as LGBTQ, but also be LGBTQ allies. This comes at the same time as heightened representation of LGBTQ characters in broadcast television programming.[36]

Our findings suggest there is currently a pressing need for an increased visibility of immigrant characters in television programming, particularly immigrants of color.

[33] Tukachinsky, R., Mastro, D. & Yarchi, M, "Documenting portrayals of race/ethnicity on primetime television over a 20-year span and their association with national-level racial/ethnic attitudes," 2015, *Journal of Social Issues*, 71, 17–38.

[34] Ibid.

[35] See: Greenberg, Bradley S., Dana Mastro, and Jeffrey E. Brand. "Minorities and the mass media: Television into the 21st century." Media effects: *Advances in theory and research* (2002): 333-351; The Opportunity Agenda, "Media Representations of Black Men & Boys," 2013.

[36] GLAAD, "Acceptance Acceleration," 2017, http://www.glaad.org/publications/accelerating-acceptance- 2016

IMMIGRATION AND UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES

As noted earlier, popular entertainment has acted as a transformative space where compelling stories and characters have had lasting, positive effects on audience's perceptions of particular communities or issues. However, repeated negative representation can have the opposite effect and entrench inaccurate and harmful attitudes in people exposed to media content.

In our analysis, we identified a troubling trend in the popular portrayals of immigrant characters, specifically significant portions of storylines centered on immigrant characters' involvement in unlawful activities. Immigration from Latin America was closely associated with the issue of drug dealing and human trafficking, particularly in cop dramas. For instance, in an episode of the cop drama *NCIS New Orleans*, two Ecuadorian women are depicted being held captive in a trunk as a human trafficker attempts to smuggle them into the United States. The women's trafficking played only a minor role in the overarching narrative of the episode but, again, formed part of a wider pattern of representation in the fall 2014 to spring 2016 television season. Taken together, the overall representation of immigrants from specific regions of the world, particularly Latin America, is currently limited to a very narrow and harmful set of storylines that tend to reinforce negative stereotypes and justify anxiety concerning the supposed threat immigrants pose to community safety in the United States.

Beyond simply perpetuating negative stereotypes, the everyday portrayal of immigrants and people of color has been shown to have a marked impact on public attitudes toward these groups. Our 2013 research exploring the media representation of black men and boys identified a series of real-world effects. Similar effects have been found in terms of the representation of Latinos. As noted by Bradley Greenberg, Dana Mastro, and Jeffrey E. Brand in their book *Minorities and the Mass Media: Television into the 21st Century*, a significant association has been found between exposure to television content and perceptions of the work ethic and socioeconomic status of black and Latino people.[37]

Additionally, how foreign nations are represented has been shown to be a major influence on the reception of immigrants in receiving nations, specifically the public's perception and support for accepting asylum seekers and refugees from these regions.[38]

These findings present important implications for immigrant communities, particularly in the current political and social climate. In recent months, talk of immigration has become increasingly conflated with issues of national security and criminality—a conflation that is presenting far-reaching implications for immigrant communities across the country. Recent studies have pointed to a disturbing increase in nationalist sentiment and Islamophobia,[39] while survey and polling data show strong support for heightened policing of Muslim communities.[40] Despite this somewhat bleak outlook, the majority of Americans (75 percent) continue to support a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants currently in the United States and agree with the statement that "immigrants strengthen the country." The majority of Americans (62 percent) also oppose the construction of a border wall.[41]

There is clearly fertile ground to shift public sentiment in a positive direction; however, it is necessary to challenge existing representations of immigrant communities that reinforce negative and dangerous stereotypes.

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[37]   Greenberg, Bradley S., Dana Mastro, and Jeffrey E. Brand. "Minorities and the mass media: Television into the 21st century." Media effects: Advances in theory and research (2002): 333-351.

[38]   See: King, Russell, and Nancy Wood, eds. Media and migration: *Constructions of mobility and difference.* Routledge, 2013.

[39]   Pew Research Center, "Anti-Muslim Assaults Reach 911 Era Levels," November 2016, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/21/anti- muslim-assaults- reach-911- era-levels- fbi-data-show/. Retrieved April 28, 2017.

[40]   YouGov, "Divide on Muslim neighborhood patrols but majority now back Muslim travel ban", March 2016,https://today.yougov.com/news/2016/03/28/divide-muslim-neighborhood-patrols/. Retrieved May 5, 2017.

[41]   Pew Research Center, "Most Americans Continue to Oppose U.S Border Wall," February 2017, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/24/most- americans-continue- to-oppose- u-s- border-wall-doubt-mexico- would-pay- for-it/. Retrieved April 20, 2017.

REPRESENTATION OF NON–ENGLISH-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS

The connection between immigrant representation and bilingualism/multilingualism is also deserving of consideration.

As previously noted, the representation of bilingualism in the television shows was frequently tied to secrecy and deception. This finding is in keeping with existing research into code switching between languages, which has detailed the politicized use of multilingualism in Hollywood. As noted by linguist and author of *Multilingualism in the Movies: Hollywood Characters and Their Language Choices*, Lukas Bleichenbacher (2007), "attitudes towards certain languages, or indeed towards multilingualism in general, can in part be informed by media representation even when people who develop these attitudes have plenty of opportunities in real-life instances of language contact." Further, the narrative function of contrasting the most commonly spoken language among audiences with another language has been used in film and literature to invite audiences "to empathize with some characters, but also to create an atmosphere of foreignness"—an arousal that can have both positive or negative connotations depending on the audience. For instance, English–Spanish code switching, specifically "mock Spanish," has been used as a tool in mainstream Hollywood to subtly poke fun at and delegitimize Spanish-speaking communities. However, in the case of Chicano theater, the use of code switching between Spanish and English has been used as a legitimizing and empowering tool.

Americans' perceptions of languages other than English are currently playing a central role in shaping attitudes toward immigrant groups. In a recent research collaboration between The Opportunity Agenda, National Council of Laza, and Lake Research Partners, registered voters were asked about their perceptions of what it means to be American. Survey results found that the majority of voters (63 percent) hold the belief that speaking English is an essential part of what it means to be American.[42]

Taken together, these findings suggest that greater attention must be paid to the coded use of language in popular entertainment and its potential impact on people's overall attitudes toward non–English-speaking and/or bilingual Americans.

63%

Voters hold the belief that speaking English is an essential part of what it means to be American.

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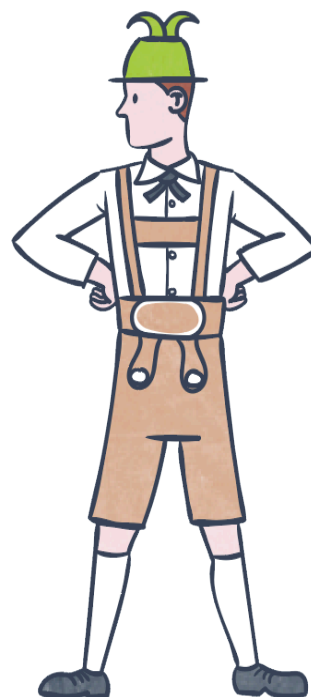
42 National Council of La Raza, The Opportunity Agenda, and Lake Research Partners, "Rise Above: Countering Fear-Based Narratives Messaging Research," March 2017.

PART V:

RECOMMENDATIONS

Our findings and analysis lead to a series of recommendations for how social justice advocates, media commentators, entertainment executives, and creatives can improve the overall portrayals of immigrants and immigration and also leverage popular entertainment to advance a social justice issue.

STRATEGIES FOR

IMPROVING THE PORTRAYALS OF IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING

Uplift nuanced portrayals of immigrants in popular entertainment.

From Aziz Ansari and Alan Yang's original Netflix series *Master of None* to Eddie Huaug's comical depiction of the immigrant experience in ABC's *Fresh Off the Boat*, the spring 2014 to fall 2016 television season gave way to a number of more complete and varying depictions of immigrant communities that we were unable to touch upon in this study. Acknowledging and uplifting helpful and nuanced representations when they exist are essential to improving the overall portrayal of immigrants and immigration in popular entertainment. Advocates should positively reinforce existing character portrayals and storylines that provide a positive example of nuanced and compelling storytelling. Possible tactics and best practices include the following:

> **Give positive reinforcement for good portrayals.** This could be as simple as starting a hashtag for fans to thank show writers and networks for an authentic character or storyline. It could include providing an award to the networks or individuals using their platforms to tell compelling stories about immigrant communities or promote a social justice narrative, similar to the National Hispanic Media Coalition's annual IMPACT Awards to uplift positive Latino/a representation in the media or our own annual Creative Change Award, which honors a creative who has made transformative change working at the intersection of culture and social change.

> **Write a blog post or op-ed highlighting the importance of a new type of storytelling or character.** This article from E. Alex Jung in Vulture is illustrative of this type of commentary:
> http://www.vulture.com/2015/07/asian-immigrants- tv-respect.html

> **Host screenings, film festivals, or exhibits.** For example, in 2016 Define American hosted a small film festival in Iowa ahead of the Iowa Caucuses, showing movies that highlight different immigrant experiences. As another example, University of Michigan professor Jason De León worked with students to create the "State of Exception" exhibit to tell the human story behind migration across the U.S./Mexico border. Featuring an assemblage of videos, photographs, and objects left behind in the desert by undocumented migrants, the exhibit garnered national attention.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES/EXAMPLES:

- AndAction's pop culture storyline alerts: **www.andaction.org**

- AndAction's How to Host a Screening: **http://andaction.org/how-this- works/how-to- host-a-screening**

- The Opportunity Agenda's Creative Change Awards:
  https://opportunityagenda.org/approach/communicationsculture- narrative-change/creative-strategies

- National Hispanic Media Coalition's Report, "The Power of Media to Breed Hate, Impact Health and Shape Opinions": **http://www.nhmc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/NHMC_Report_Final_2.pdf**

- GLAAD's Media Reference Guide:
  http://www.glaad.org/sites/default/files/GLAAD-Media-Reference-Guide- Tenth-Edition.pdf

Challenge and reframe negative portrayals of immigrants in popular entertainment.

Our research unveiled a troubling trend in the representation of immigrant characters, specifically a correlation between immigrant character representation and storylines focused on unlawful activities. This was particularly true in the case of Latino immigrant characterization. In a time when political discourse has become more openly hostile to immigrant communities and people of color, challenging harmful portrayals in popular entertainment is of critical importance. Advocates should actively challenge and reframe negative portrayals of immigrant characters when they occur by not only drawing attention to particularly stereotypical depictions, but also providing audiences with a context for understanding why a particular representation is problematic. As our research notes, prolonged and recurring representations of immigrants typically results in more authentic and positive representation. As such, advocates should also pressure entertainment executives to provide more varied and quality representations of immigrant characters. Possible tactics and best practices include the following:

Respond on social media in a timely manner. Things move quickly online and issues come in and out of focus at a rapid pace. If you choose to address a particularly negative representation, ensure you respond within a 48-hour window for simple social media engagement and within a week for more detailed media pieces.

Create your own hashtags or memes to draw attentions to a problematic representation. For example, #StarringJohnCho memes went viral as people photoshopped John Cho into famous movie posters that starred white male actors, creatively criticizing the lack of diversity in Hollywood. The #OscarsSoWhite hashtag was started by April Reign to raise the same issue and sparked a national debate that resulted in changes in the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

Educate your audiences. If it's a more widespread problem, consider a more in-depth response, such as a blogpost or op-ed that links this particular representation to systemic issues or a pattern of representation. Jason De León worked with students to create the "State of Exception" exhibit to tell the human story behind migration across the U.S./Mexico border. Featuring an assemblage of videos, photographs, and objects left behind in the desert by undocumented migrants, the exhibit garnered national attention.

Hold networks and executives accountable. Similar to GLAAD's model of accountability for LGBTQ representation, this can include conducting additional studies tracking portrayals of immigrant characters by particular networks over time, publicly grading networks for their quality of representation, and celebrating them when networks do it right.

Activate engaged fans to help counter stereotypes. A very vocal community of online consumers is actively discussing the representation of women and communities of color in television shows and challenging stereotypes. One example is the recent fan backlash on Twitter against the lack of Asian representation in Marvel's *Iron Fist*. These active audience members can be found through social media, fan websites, and online discussion forums and should be prioritized for outreach and engagement efforts.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES/EXAMPLES:

- AndAction's Social Media Guides: **http://andaction.org/how-this- works/diy-social- media-guides/**

- GLAAD's Where We Are on TV Report 2016: **http://www.glaad.org/whereweareontv16**

- Miss Representation: **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oiD9SbeaDEs**

- USC Annenberg's Norman Lear Center's Media Impact Project: **http://www.mediaimpactproject.org**

- Harmony Institute: **https://www.harmony-institute.org/projects/**

Encourage new storylines that fully depict the immigrant (and American) experience while avoiding tired and harmful stereotypes.

Key to increasing and improving the overall portrayals of immigrants in popular entertainment is developing new storylines and characters. In recent years, as the media landscape has become increasingly interactive and the line between content producer and consumer has blurred, the opportunity for social justice advocates, entertainment executives, and creatives to collaborate has also increased. Social justice advocates seeking to more actively engage popular culture should seek to engage entertainers and creatives in the development of new storylines that better reflect the complex immigrant experience. Possible tactics and best practices include the following:

Build relationships with script writers, producers, and show runners. Introduce script writers, producers, and show runners to first-hand, inspiring, real-life stories of immigrants that not only are personal and compelling but also are diverse, are affirmative, and more fully depict the immigrant experience. ColorOfChange.org, AndAction, and The Global Media Center for Social Impact are leaders in this practice and are models for how it could be done. Note that to be effective, this strategy may require more significant long-term investments in both time and resources.

Partner with artists and creatives. The collaboration between musician Aloe Blacc, filmmaker Alex Rivera, and the National Day Laborer Organizing Network in the production of a powerful music video telling real stories of undocumented immigrants is just one example of artists and creatives combining their skills to advance social justice causes. Artists should be included in strategic conversations early because their perspectives often lead to out-of-the-box innovations. Just like graphic designers, researchers, or anyone else with a specialized skillset you wouldn't ask to work for free, keep in mind that artists should also be paid. Consider budgeting ahead of time to be able to include their talents.

Produce your own content. As creatives like YouTube star Issa Rae and podcaster Zahra Noorbakhsh have demonstrated, creating your own content is now more accessible than ever. Creatives with limited resources are making use of content sharing platforms like YouTube and SoundCloud and crowdsourcing sites like Kickstarter to launch independent projects and tell otherwise untold stories. Videos, web series, and podcasts are within reach, although we recommend partnering with a creative that is skilled at storytelling in your chosen format to maximize the impact.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES/EXAMPLES:

- PopJustice Report: **http://www.lizmanne.com/popjustice**

- AndAction's tips on engaging with entertainment insiders: **http://andaction.org/how-this-works/how-to-experiment-with- hollywood/**

- The Global Media Center's Hollywood and community outreach models: **https://www.gmimpact.org/programs**

- IndieWire, Tip for producing your own web series: **http://www.indiewire.com/2014/11/7-things-to-consider-before- launching-your- web-series- 68244/**

- Transom.org's Podcasting Basics: **http://transom.org/2015/podcasting-basics- part-1- voice-recording-gear/**

STRATEGIES FOR

USING POPULAR CULTURE TO ADVANCE YOUR CAUSE AND ENGAGE NEW AUDIENCES INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

Use storylines and popular characters to frame your issue.

For those seeking to leverage popular culture in their own work, making use of popular cultural storylines can help build an emotional understanding and connection to your issue. Research has shown that we develop para-social relationships with characters we regularly watch on television, identifying them (in our brains) as friends of sorts. So talking to some audiences about the immigration or cultural experiences of Raj from the *Big Bang Theory*, for instance, will help them see those experiences in a new light and likely with more empathy. As with any individual storytelling, however, doing this needs to be balanced with other kinds of stories that broaden the focus so that audiences aren't just focused on that individual's plight, strengths, and weaknesses. Some tactics and best practices include the following:

Leverage popular portrayals, storylines, and characters to highlight your issue. AndAction teaches us to take advantage of moments when pop culture trends. Social media engagement with television content spikes significantly when a show first premieres on streaming services like Netflix. Season finales, significant episodes, and major award shows also draw significant audiences. AndAction suggests to raise the profile of your issue or campaign by using these moments to live tweet, host a Twitter chat, or host an online watch party. Connecting with trending shows that touch on your issue has the potential to engage the show's fandom with your cause.

Use pop culture references. Pop culture can become a nearly universal language, providing visuals, stories, and characters that can become useful symbols and metaphors. Using widely recognized references can successfully frame an issue by evoking a conceptual understanding and emotional connection for an audience familiar with the original storyline. AndAction's recent report on pop culture featured the example of Progress Michigan, which dubbed legislation they opposed as the "Death Star" bill (a reference to a weapon in the movie series *Star Wars*) because it prohibited common worker protections like paid sick days and raising the minimum wage. The name stuck and was widely used in media reporting and in social media conversations about the bill.

Blog about pop culture. Integrating pop culture can generate more interest in blogposts that may normally have a limited audience. Writer Amy Lynn Smith suggests one way to use pop culture in a blogpost is through a "what if" scenario: "What might happen to *Jane the Virgin* characters under a new immigration policy?" The Drug Policy Alliance features a regular blog segment titled "Your Dose of Pop" in which they comment on cultural representation of drugs and celebrities who speak out about addiction or legalization.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES/EXAMPLES:

- AndAction's 7 Creative Ways to Use Stories to Advance Your Issue:
  http://andaction.org/how-this- works/7-creative- ways-use- stories-advance- issue/

- AndAction's Pop Culture Works for Social Change report: **http://andaction.org/reports/popcultureworks/**

- Cultural Pulse's pop culture analysis and news: **www.culturalpulse.org**

Audiences are actively engaging in online discussions of popular television shows, a cultural phenomenon that represents an important opportunity for social justice advocates to leverage popular entertainment to tell more accurate and empowering stories about immigrant communities.

Help audiences become educated consumers of entertainment and other media.

The importance television preferences play in predicting political decision-making has come to the forefront of media research in recent months and presents an important new avenue for advocates to reach otherwise disengaged audiences. Audiences educated in media literacy are less likely to be susceptible to stereotypical portrayals. Advocates and creatives seeking to minimize the impact of stereotypical media representation need to help young people become educated consumers of entertainment and other media. Some tactics and best practices include the following:

> **Hold a watch party.** Organize watch parties and discussion groups around helpful, harmful, and nuanced portrayals.

> **Provide guides.** Develop study guides and curriculum that help support young people to become more educated consumers of entertainment and other media.

> **Make yourself a resource.** Offer cultural critiques of select shows on a regular basis. Pitch yourself as a resource to media who cover pop culture and are interested in how portrayals interact with real-life experiences.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES/EXAMPLES:

- AndAction's How to Host a Screening: **http://andaction.org/how-this- works/how-to- host-a-screening/**

Engage progressive fandoms.

Our analysis of social media data revealed that audiences are actively engaging in online discussions of popular television shows, a cultural phenomenon that represents an important opportunity for social justice advocates to leverage popular entertainment to tell more accurate and empowering stories about immigrant communities. Fans of shows developed or headed by people of color and children of immigrants in particular are prime for cross-issue engagement concerning immigrants' rights, women's rights, and racial justice. These fan bases should be prioritized for outreach and engagement and targeted during show premieres or season finales, periods when they are most active online. One tactic and best practice includes the following:

> **Create social media toolkits.** Our partners at the Harry Potter Alliance are already taking the lead in providing social justice advocates with toolkits detailing how to interact with and activate particular fan bases.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES/EXAMPLES:

- Harry Potter Alliance's Fandom Forward Campaign: **http://www.thehpalliance.org/fandomforward**

- AndAction's Digital Toolkit for "Bill Nye Saves the World":
  http://andaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Bill-Nye- Social-Media- Toolkit-2.pdf

Define immigration in the modern context.

In our analysis, historical dramas emerged as an important space where stories of immigration are being told in complex and innovative ways. The representation of immigration within this genre touched on a variety of themes, including the establishment of new identities and homes. The historic representation of immigration, specifically to the United States, in shows like *TURN: Washington's Spies* may not be viewed by audiences as related in any way to contemporary immigration. It is important for advocates and media commentators to make this connection explicit for audiences. Linking the desire of characters in historical shows to find a new home and begin new lives to current immigrant communities' desire to do the same may be a strategy for engaging and educating new audiences. One tactic and best practice includes:

Visualize the connection. Sometimes a picture or meme speaks a thousand words. Using visuals can be a great way to stress a point to audiences in a new and engaging way the show's fandom with your cause.

Our analysis consisted of a random sample of 40 shows, with some genres better represented than others. Future research projects should focus on representation with specific genres and also expand the scope of research to include additional mediums.

APPENDIX I:
Immigrant Characters

	Show Title	Character Name/Role	Nation/ Region of Origin	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Receiving Country	Role Type	Speaking Role?	Context of identification as immigrant
1	The Big Bang Theory	Raj	India	South Asian	M	United States	Leading, regular character	Yes	Self-identified in script
2	NCIS: New Orleans	Solomon Ekpo	Unidentified West African country	Black sub-Saharan African	M	United States	Leading, non-recurring	Yes	Identified by other characters
3	NCIS: New Orleans	Ekpo's Daughter	Unidentified West African country	Black sub-Saharan African	F	United States	Minor, non-recurring	No	Identified by other characters
4	NCIS: New Orleans	Solomon's accomplice	Unidentified West African country	Black sub-Saharan African	M	United States	Minor, non-recurring	No	Identified by other characters
5	NCIS: New Orleans	Ecuadorian Woman 1	Ecuador	Latina	F	United States	Minor, non-recurring	Yes	Identified by other characters
6	NCIS: New Orleans	Ecuadorian Woman 2	Ecuador	Latina	F	United States	Minor, non-recurring	No	Identified by other characters
7	Marco Polo	Marco Polo	Italian (Venetian)	White	M	Mongolia	Protagonist	Yes	Self-identified
8	Marco Polo	Yusuf	Middle East	Khazarian/semi-nomadic (historic)	M	Mongolia	Leading, regular character	Yes	Identified as such by other characters
9	Marco Polo	Ahmet	Middle East	Persian/Arabic	M	Mongolian	Leading, regular character	Yes	Coded identification
10	Scandal	Navid	Bandar (fictional Middle Eastern country)	Bandarian	M	United States	Leading, non-recurring	Yes	Part of episode storyline
11	Scandal	Bandarian Chef	Bandar (fictional Middle Eastern country)	Bandarian	M	United States	Minor, non-recurring	No	Part of episode storyline
12	TURN	Major Hewlett	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
13	TURN	Lt John Simcoe	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
14	TURN	Major John Andre	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
15	TURN	Gen. Charles Lee	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
16	TURN	Eastin	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Minor, recurring		Part of show storyline
17	TURN (2nd episode)	Major Hewlett	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
18	TURN (2nd episode)	Lt John Simcoe	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
19	TURN (2nd episode)	Major John Andre	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
20	TURN (2nd episode)	Gen. Henry Clinton	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
21	TURN (2nd episode)	Eastin	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Minor, recurring		Part of show storyline
22	TURN 3rd ep	Major Hewlett	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
23	TURN 3rd ep	Lt John Simcoe	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
24	TURN 3rd ep	Major John Andre	United Kingdom	British	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
25	TURN 3rd ep	Hewlett's Guard	United Kingdom	British/White	M	United States	Minor, non-recurring	No	Part of show storyline
26	Penny Dreadful	Ethan Chandler	United States	American/White	M	United Kingdom	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of character storyline
27	American Horror Story	Elsa Mars	Germany	White	F	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of character storyline
28	American Horror Story	Massim Dolcefino	Italy	White	M	United States	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of character storyline
29	American Horror Story	Paul the Illustrated Seal	United Kingdom	White/British	M	United States	Leading, recurring	Yes	Part of character storyline
30	Parks & Recreation	Shoe shiner	Mexico	Latino	M	United States	Minor, non-recurring	No	Identified as immigrant by another character
31	Vikings	Ragnar Lothbrok	Scandinavia (historic)	White	M	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Protagonist	Yes	Part of show storyline
32	Vikings	Lagertha	Scandinavia (historic)	White	M	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
33	Vikings	Rollo	Scandinavia (historic)	White	M	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
34	Vikings	Floki	Scandinavia (historic)	White	M	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
35	Vikings	Bjorn Lothbrok	Scandinavia (historic)	White	M	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
36	Vikings	Aslaug	Scandinavia (historic)	White	F	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Leading, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline

	Show Title	Character Name/Role	Nation/ Region of Origin	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Receiving Country	Role Type	Speaking Role?	Context of identification as immigrant
37	Vikings	Kalf	Scandinavia (historic)	White	M	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Leading, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
38	Vikings	Porunn	Scandinavia (historic)	White	F	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
39	Vikings	Viking Warrior	Scandinavia (historic)	White	M	Viking settlement in Germany/semi-nomadic	Minor, non-recurring	No	Part of show storyline
40	The 100	Clarke Griffin	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	F	United States, Earth	Leading, regular		Part of show storyline
41	The 100	Dr. Abigail Griffin	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	F	United States, Earth	Leading, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
42	The 100	Bellamy Blake	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	Bi-racial	M	United States, Earth	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
43	The 100	Octavia Blake	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	F	United States, Earth	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
44	The 100	Jasper Jordan	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	M	United States, Earth	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
45	The 100	Raven Reyes	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	Bi-racial	F	United States, Earth	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
46	The 100	Monty Green	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	East Asian	M	United States, Earth	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
47	The 100	Thelonious Jaha	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	Black	M	United States, Earth	Leading, regular	Yes	Part of show storyline
48	The 100	Marcus Kane	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	M	United States, Earth	Leading, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
49	The 100	John Murphy	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	M	United States, Earth	Leading, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
50	The 100	Kyle Wick	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	M	United States, Earth	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
51	The 100	Jackson	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	South Asian	M	United States, Earth	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
52	The 100	Nathan Miller	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	Black	M	United States, Earth	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
53	The 100	Zoe Monroe	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	F	United States, Earth	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
54	The 100	Craig	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	M	United States, Earth	Minor, non-recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
55	The 100	Harper McIntyre	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	F	United States, Earth	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
56	The 100	Fox	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	F	United States, Earth	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
57	The 100	Sgt. David Miller	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	Black	M	United States, Earth	Minor, recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
58	The 100	Richards	The Ark (Space station outside of Earth)	White	M	United States, Earth	Minor, non-recurring	Yes	Part of show storyline
59	Between	"Citizen" (concerned member of town)	Unidentified	East Asian	M	United States	Minor-non-recurring	Yes	Coded identification
60	Between	Prisoner	Unidentified	Latino	M	United States	Minor, non-recurring	Yes	Coded identification
61	NCIS	Donald Mallad	United Kingdom	White/Scottish	M	United States	Leading, regular character	Yes	Part of episode storyline
62	Blue Bloods	Lech Choinski	Poland	White	M	United States	Leading. Non-recurring	Yes	Part of episode storyline
63	Blue Bloods	Milena	Poland	White	F	United States	Minor, non-recurring	Yes	Part of episode storyline
64	Blue Bloods	Natalia Bajek	Poland	White	F	United States	Minor-non-recurring	Yes	Part of episode storyline
65	Blue Bloods	Polish Bartender	Poland	White	M	United States	Minor-non-recurring	No	Part of episode storyline
66	Modern Family	Gloria Delgado-Pritchett	Columbia	Latina	F	United States	Leading. regular	Yes	Part of character storyline
67	Orange is the New Black	El Leon	Dominican Republic	Latino	M	United States	Minor, non-recurring	Yes	Part of episode storyline
68	Orange is the New Black	Dominican Inmate 1	Dominican Republic	Latina	F	United States	Minor, non-recurring	No	Part of episode storyline
69	Orange is the New Black	Dominican Inmate 2	Dominican Republic	Latina	F	United States	Minor,	No	Part of episode storyline
70	Orange is the New Black	Galina 'Red' Reznikov	Russia	White	F	United States	Non-recurring	Yes	Part of character storyline

APPENDIX II:
Media Analysis Codebook

This code book is designed to assist in the process of coding and analyzing television show for the portrayal of immigrants and immigration. The media content analysis will analyze the content of 40 television episodes randomly sampled from 53 popular television series. Our content analysis will focus on the frequency of inclusion and trends in the representation of immigrant characters. Our analysis will also focus on storylines associated with immigrant characters and immigration more broadly.

Characters should be coded as immigrants in instances when explicit references are made that identify a character as an immigrant (through scripted dialogue) and also in instances when more implicit social/cultural markers are used to differentiate intended immigrant characters from other characters (i.e., accent, coded use of second language skills, or the use of signs and symbols such as national flags).

1. CODER INFORMATION

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME/DESCRIPTION	CODER NOTES
V1	Coder Name	
V2	Date of first viewing	
V3	Date of second viewing	
V4	Also watched by other coder	a. Yes b. No

2. EPISODE VARIABLES

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME/DESCRIPTION	CODER NOTES
V5	Name of Series	
V6	Episode Title	
V7	Season	
V8	Episode Number	
V9	Originally Air/Released on	a. Broadcast b. Cable c. Streaming Service d. Other
V10	Network	
V11	Show Length (minutes)	
V12	Genre	a. Drama b. Historical Drama c. Comedy d. Sci-Fi/Fantasy e. Reality f. Action g. Crime h. Horror i. Other
V13	Production Location (country)	
V14	Creative Control- According to gender (male or female), race/ethnicity, nationality of	Producer(s) Director(s) Writer(s) Editor(s)
15	Time Period in which television show takes place	e.g. 1980, Present, Fictional timeline.
V16	Location of show (country, city/town)	
V17	Episode Storyline	
V18	Major Episode Themes/Topics	
V19	Immigration/border issues touched upon?	a. Yes b. No

2. EPISODE VARIABLES CONTINUED

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME/DESCRIPTION	CODER NOTES
V20	**Context I: If yes, in what context?** This variable aims to map the context in which discussions of immigration emerge in relation to the overall episode storyline.	
V21	Immigrant experience touched upon?	a. Yes b. No
V22	**Context II: If yes, in what context?** This variable aims to map the context in which a character's identity as an immigrant emerges in relation to the overall episode storyline.	
V23	Episode Tone	e.g. Ominous, happy, dramatic, serious etc.
V24	Setting	e.g. City, Desert, Suburbs etc.
V25	Overall Tone of Show- Taking into account setting and characters	e.g. Comedic, satirical, light-hearted etc.

3. CHARACTER VARIABLES

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME/DESCRIPTION	CODER NOTES
V26	Number of Characters (not including background extras)	
V27	Number of Recurring, Leading Characters	
V28	Number of Non-Recurring, Leading Characters	
V29	Number of Minor Character/s (Spoken)	
V30	Number of Minor Characters (no speaking role, but prominent in a scene)	
V31	**Lead Character's connection to central storyline in episode** This variable aims to outline the role lead characters played in connection to the overall episode storyline.	
V32	Nationality of characters specified?	a. Yes b. No
V33	Immigration Reference - any reference to immigration or the nationality of a particular character made and in what context?	e.g. Visual, Verbal e.g. Humorous, Serious etc.
V34	Immigration Metaphors - How characters reveal through coded language what they think about immigration/immigrants/related topics	

4. IMMIGRANT CHARACTER IDENTIFICATION VARIABLES

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME/DESCRIPTION	CODER NOTES
V35	Immigrant character represented?	
V36	Type of role	
V37	Speaking role	
V38	Quality of representation	
V39	Identification as an immigrant	
V40	**Framing Context I** If self-identified, in what context did this emerge?	
V41	**Framing Context II** If identified by others, in what context?	
V42	Immigration status component of storyline?	a. Yes b. No
V43	Name of character identified?	a. Yes b. No
V44	If yes, name of character	
V45	Themes/topic connected to immigrant storyline or immigration more broadly	
V46	Character's Race/Ethnicity	

4. IMMIGRANT CHARACTER IDENTIFICATION VARIABLES CONTINUED

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME/DESCRIPTION	CODER NOTES
V47	Character's Nation of Origin	
V48	Character's immigration status?	a. Citizen b. Resident (permanent resident) c. Undocumented immigrant d. Refugee/Asylum seeker e. Unidentified
V49	Accent/Dialect	
V50	Is Accent/Dialect distinct from other characters?	a. Yes b. No
V51	Marital Status	a. Single b. Married c. Divorced d. Separated e. Widowed f. Unidentified
V52	Education	a. Less than HS b. High School c. Some College d. College Graduate e. Graduate f. Trade school g. Other h. Does not apply/not identified
V53	Age Range	a. Infant b. Child c. Teenager d. Young adult e. Middle aged f. Senior g. Unable to tell
V54	Employment Status	a. Employed b. Unemployed c. Looking for work d. Does not apply/unidentified
V55	Occupation	e.g. Service, Soldier, Student, Agent, Officer, Manual Labor, Parent (as occupation), Maid, Lawyer
V56	Clothing/ Attire	e.g. Tight, Baggy, High fashion, Business, Casual
V57	Is clothing/attire distinct from other characters?	a. Yes b. No
V58	Gender identification	a. Cisgender Female b. Cisgender Male c. Trans-Gender d. Non-Gender Conforming
V59	Sexuality	a. Gay b. Lesbian c. Straight d. Bisexual e. Not specified f. Other (please specify)
V60	Physical Characteristics	
V61	Behavioral Characteristics	e.g. Happy, Angry, Shy, Nice, Aggressive, Violent
V62	**Relationship to other Characters** This variable is intended to map the relationship of immigrant characters to other characters within the episode. Please provide specific examples.	e.g. friend, spouse, employee, acquaintance, stranger, etc.
V63	Primary Language Spoken by Character Being Coded	a. English b. Spanish c. Chinese (including Cantonese and Mandarin) d. Vietnamese e. Japanese f. Korean g. French/French Creole h. Italian i. German j. Hindi k. Urdu l. Polish m. Portuguese n. Yoruba o. Wolof p. Cannot tell q. Other

4. IMMIGRANT CHARACTER IDENTIFICATION VARIABLES CONTINUED

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME/DESCRIPTION	CODER NOTES
V64	**Other Languages Spoken** When or in what context are other languages spoken	
V65	**Language Used to Describe Character** Language used by others- AND in what context; positive or negative	e.g. by name, informal colloquialism (guy, girl), no reference made to character, etc.
V66	Social Status- in comparison to others	
V67	**Perspective- Storyline of immigrant is told from** This variable is intended to describe the perspective from which a particular immigrant character is represented.	a. From perspective of immigrant character b. From perspective of other characters c. From perspective of a narrator d. Other (please specify)
V68	Presented Likability	e.g. Talented, Honest, Physically Attractive, Friendly, Funny
V69	Lines Spoken	a. Yes b. No
V70	Frequency of Spoken Lines	Frequent - Not at all frequent
V71	Level of Respect- by other characters	High Esteem, Praised, Ignored, Derided, Complimented
V72	**Religious Affiliation Represented?** If yes, list religion	a. Yes b. No
V73	**Religious Belief—** If religious belief included in character representation, how is religious beliefs depicted?	e.g. Verbally (part of storyline), through character actions, religious imagery, religious attire
V74	Subtitles Present-AND in what context?	a. Yes b. No
V75	Voiceover-When is a voiceover present	e.g. When character is speaking language other than English, to assure anonymity