

REPRESENTATION
OF HISPANIC CULTURE
IN DELTA'S *SKY* MAGAZINE

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For Dad

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ABSTRACT

As part of the largest minority group in the U.S., Hispanic people play an increasingly significant role in media consumption. Prior studies have investigated this key demographic's consumption of advertising, but research about editorial content targeting this key demographic is lacking. To fill this gap, this study examined the representation of Hispanic culture in the articles and photos that compose the Spanish section, *Despegando*, of Delta Air Lines' *Sky* magazine from 2014 to 2019. The content was examined for the presence of five stereotypes realized in prior research: family, soccer, ethnic pride, experience with discrimination, and spirituality. The study found that all five stereotypes were discussed in the articles, but the results did not provide conclusive evidence to establish that the text in *Despegando* reinforced stereotypes. However, the minimal amount of photos that depicted stereotypes suggested that the photos do not reinforce them. The most frequently addressed stereotype in the text was family, whereas the most prevalent stereotype in the photos varied between ethnic pride, religion, and family. Further, it was shown that *Despegando*'s inclusion of stereotype-related content rose and fell over the past 6 years, suggesting that its content hasn't been influenced greatly based political changes and sentiments.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Hispanic¹ people constitute the largest minority group in the U.S. (CNN, 2018). Almost 29% of the total population of the U.S. will comprise Hispanic people by 2060, a nearly 115% increase in the population from 2014 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015, p.9). Spanish is the second most used language behind English in the U.S.; out of the 21.8% of U.S. citizens who report speaking a language other than English, 13.3% reported they speak Spanish (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Because this demographic's influence is growing, this study seeks to analyze how an English-first in-flight magazine represents Hispanic culture. It is clear that based on previous literature, media marketing strategies are tied to the use of Spanish, among other methods, when targeting Hispanic populations. Delta Air Lines Inc.'s in-flight publication, *Sky* magazine, exemplifies this method of targeting, utilizing Spanish in its editorial content, both in the editor's letter and in a special section titled *Despegando*.

There has been research conducted on the sociology of Hispanic consumption and, more specifically, on Hispanic consumption of advertising in magazines (Deshpande, Hoyer, & Donthu, 1986). Researchers have also studied the implications of

¹It is essential to address the definition of "Hispanic" as it is operating in this research. The term "Hispanic" denotes populations that either speak Spanish or are descended from Spanish speakers, which encompasses dozens of countries (*Hispanic Network Magazine*). The U.S. Census Bureau—which essentially uses "Hispanic" and "Latino" interchangeably, a rather confusing notion, as "Latino" points more specifically to anyone of Latin American descent rather than anyone descending more generally from Spanish-speaking groups regardless of location—defines "Hispanic" as "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (Lulu Garcia-Navarro, 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). *Despegando* targets "Latin American consumers in a tightly targeted monthly Spanish section, featuring translated content and topics specific to Spanish-speaking audiences," and because of the overlapping definitions of "Latin American," "Latinx," and "Hispanic," this study assumes that *Despegando*'s target audience is Hispanic given that the term "Hispanic" also refers to Latin Americans and people who are Latinx.

English versus Spanish use in advertising across media platforms and how translation impacts persuasiveness of ads for Hispanic audiences (Callow & Gibran McDonald, 2005; Faber & O’Guinn, 1991; Hernandez & Newman, 1992; Luna & Peracchio, 2005; Roslow & Nicholls, 1996). Additionally, researchers have discussed the Hispanic market in the U.S. regarding advertising as well as differences between Hispanic consumer expectations and “Anglo” consumer expectations (Herbig & Yelkur, 1997).

A limit on prior research studying Hispanic audiences’ media consumption lies in the lack of readily available recently completed studies, “recently” meaning within the last 10 years, and the lack of research surrounding Hispanic consumption of editorial content. The majority of the accessible content—or content that engaged with search engine optimization and showed up in database queries when phrases such as “Hispanic audience,” “Hispanic audience media consumption,” “Hispanic magazine,” “Hispanic magazine audience,” etc. were submitted—was published in the 1990s and early 2000s and could likely need updating. Additionally, in-flight magazines have not been studied extensively—rather, there are no studies that appear when searching the topic in academic databases—let alone *Sky* magazine, which, in its current iteration, is relatively new. Perhaps this dearth of research reflects a more negative attitude by marketers toward in-flight publications, which could potentially be attributed to features that are unattractive to advertisers; nonpaid circulation and the nonspecific nature of in-flight magazines, for example, could draw criticism from a marketing perspective (Ives, 2011). This research attempts to fill these gaps and contemporize the discourse on Hispanic media consumption overall.

It is imperative to examine magazine consumption behaviors of Hispanic audiences today because the Hispanic population has become more influential in terms of size and purchasing power, and magazine use has remained a staple of U.S. media culture. According to the Magazine Media Factbook created by The Association of Magazine Media (2019), as of fall 2018, 91% of adults, 93% of people under 35, and 94% of people under 25 have read magazine media within the 6 months before the study was conducted. This research assesses current Hispanic marketing strategies—namely the use of Spanish in Delta’s in-flight magazine—by examining how it represents Hispanic culture. Ultimately, this research attempts to examine information that can be practically applied by any American English-first magazine attempting to cater toward a Spanish-speaking audience or really any English-first magazine that attempts to tailor its content to speakers of different languages.

Specifically, this study examines how the editorial text and photos represent Hispanic stereotypes in *Sky*’s Spanish section in order to determine how or whether such information reinforces Hispanic stereotypes or diversifies the representation of the Hispanic population by portraying Hispanic culture as more diverse than its stereotypes—and whether this representation has changed over time. To do so, stereotyping will be discussed as a framework to examine how *Sky*’s strategy of incorporating Spanish relates to its target audience: Hispanic people.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review discusses the following: first, background of in-flight publications; second, Delta Air Lines and its *Sky* magazine; third, existing research on English versus Spanish use in advertising; fourth, the importance of acknowledging the non-homogeneity of the Hispanic population when implementing marketing strategies; fifth, an applicable framework: stereotyping, which includes discussion of Hispanic stereotypes and how they are affected by the current geopolitical climate in the U.S.; and lastly, the questions around which this research is centered.

In-Flight Publications

Currently, there are hundreds of airlines operating around the world. Out of the 11 mainline airlines in the U.S.—Alaska Airlines, Allegiant Air, American Airlines, Delta Air Lines, Frontier Airlines, Hawaiian Airlines, JetBlue Airways, Southwest Airlines, Spirit Airlines, Sun Country Airlines, and United Airlines, listed in alphabetical order—6 have in-flight publications. The longest-running in-flight magazine is *Holland Herald*, published for KLM, an airline founded in 1919 (Holland Herald Media Kit, p. 3). *Holland Herald* first appeared on KLM flights in 1966 (Ogier, 2016). In addition, in-flight magazines have undergone a shift from focusing more on aesthetics and marketing to incorporating more editorial content (Moses, 2009).

Delta Air Lines and *Sky* magazine

Delta Air Lines Inc. is consistently among the most trafficked airlines in North America, and its presence is growing. According to an operating performance report released August 2, 2019, 118,478,399 passengers had boarded a Delta flight in 2019 to

date, up 6.1% from the previous year (Delta Air Lines Inc., 2019, “Delta reports operating performance for July 2019”). The airline, headquartered in Atlanta, services 304 destinations in 52 countries and offers more than 15,000 flights daily (Delta Air Lines Inc., 2019, “Corporate Stats and Facts”). Although other airlines such as American Airlines, which is even larger than Delta in terms of destinations and passengers served, also offer in-flight publications, access to the magazines is more limited, and the readership of *Sky* surpasses all other North American in-flight publications (American Airlines Newsroom, 2019) (2019 Media Kit, p. 4). For those reasons, this study will examine *Sky* instead of other in-flight publications. In the case of American Airlines specifically, the company does not make its issues accessible online for further research, and the presence of a separate bimonthly Spanish and Portuguese magazine, *Nexos*, suggests that the airline’s monthly mainstream title, *American Way*, likely wouldn’t have a section devoted solely to Spanish content (Magazines.aa.com).

Delta’s in-flight publication, titled *Sky*, has been in its current iteration for approximately 10 years, after MSP Communications announced it would begin publishing the magazine in 2008 (Foliomag.com, 2008). Before MSP Communications took over the magazine’s production, *Sky* was published for 16 years by Halsey Publishing Co. and more than 10 years by Pace Communications (Foliomag.com, 2008). The magazine boasts 6.3 million readers per month, an audience whose average household income totals \$132,864 (Deltaskymag.com). As of November 3, 2019, 98 issues of *Sky* published by MSP Communications since April 2009 are available online (Past Issues, Deltaskymag.com).

Despegando.

According to a Delta press release, *Sky* began including the Spanish-language section, *Despegando*, in March 2012 (Delta Air Lines Inc., 2012). This section aims to “reach Latin American consumers in a tightly targeted monthly Spanish section, featuring translated content and topics specific to Spanish-speaking audiences” (2019 Media Kit, p. 8). It is edited and translated by Edgar Rojas, who was born and earned advanced degrees in Colombia.

Despegando is highly structured and includes 4-6 articles per issue. Each issue features a mini profile of a Hispanic celebrity to open the section along with a 2-page spread on places to go and activities to do in a certain city. The rest of the section comprises any or all of the following: a celebrity discussing his or her favorite street in a particular place, a Q&A with an entrepreneur, a feature on another city, and/or a recipe by chef Ingrid Hoffman (or in the case of the June 2017 issue, a story written by Ingrid about visiting a specific restaurant in Peru that was featured on Netflix series *Chef’s Table*).

English Versus Spanish Use in Advertising

Historically, media marketing toward a Hispanic audience has first and foremost involved language use and what, if any, difference it makes in the effectiveness of advertising. Among the researchers who have examined language use in advertising targeted toward Hispanic people, some have found that the use of Spanish has garnered positive results. For example, research has shown that when information is given in high quantities to bilingual people in their “subordinate,” or non-native, language, it can impair a recipient’s decision-making ability; because of this, researchers found that

presenting high amounts of information in a bilingual person's native language ensures the optimization of decision-making skills which, ostensibly, increases the likelihood of rational consumer decisions based on the information given (Dolinsky & Feinberg, 1986). Media that is presented with Spanish language and cultural orientation presents a perspective that encourages emotional connection and is more relatable to bilingual Hispanic people (Guernica, 1982). The moderate use of Spanish in print advertising promotes positive perceptions of Hispanic consumers toward advertising content because it signals that advertisers are sensitive of the consumers and their culture (Koslow, Shamdasani, & Touchstone, 1994). Another benefit of advertising in Spanish is that Spanish speakers remember advertisements more often when they're presented in Spanish (Moran, 2006).

Other research has found that using Spanish in advertising in an attempt to target Hispanic audiences produces negative consequences. For example, positive effects of using Spanish in advertising are mitigated by other forces such as the appearance of potentially offensive images and context of the advertisement itself, which impacts Hispanic consumer feelings toward implementation of Spanish negatively (Foster, Sullivan, & Perea, 1989) (Chávez, 2008). Additional negative consequences can include misunderstanding messages when translated from English to Spanish, either because of translation mistakes or inherent differences among messages when literally translated from one language to another (Foster, Sullivan, & Perea, 1989; Kelsmark, Dion, Abratt & Mischel, 2011).

It is important to note that there has been research not just on using only Spanish in advertising versus only English in advertising but also on advertisements that

implement codeswitching, or switching from one language to another within the same sentence. Because of similar reasons as the research above found, there appear to be positive impressions of incorporating bilingualism within an advertisement along with neutral impressions (Becker, 1997; Faber & O'Guinn, 1991; Luna & Peracchio, 2005). For the purposes of this research, however, only discussing the use of Spanish in *Sky* is more pertinent because there is no codeswitching present in its Spanish section.

Aside from assessing the effectiveness of using Spanish in advertisements, scholars assess the practical function and implications of Spanish use and highlight points that should be considered when examining Spanish in media, especially in the case of *Sky*. Firstly, research has found that advertising choices regarding language use in magazines often depends on the magazine in which the advertising appears (Callow & Gibran McDonald, 2005). For example, advertisers are more likely to tailor the language used in advertisements when the advertisements appear in Spanish-language magazines. In the same study, the purpose of using Spanish in English media is deliberated, the scholars positing that mainstream magazines shouldn't target Hispanic audiences with Spanish use because essentially, if consumers are buying an English-only magazine, there's no reason to incorporate Spanish given that they're consuming magazines like the English-speaking mainstream audience. This poses an interesting question for *Sky*'s Spanish use; if the magazine is considered a mainstream English publication, there perhaps is not a need for the Spanish section or a Spanish editor's letter in each issue. The answer becomes unclear, however, when considering definitions of "mainstream" media, especially considering that in-flight magazines are not typically sought out but are available to an ostensibly captive audience.

Secondly, research has shown that using one language versus another can have class-based implications (Peñaloza, 1994; Rodriguez, 1997). It was found that utilizing Spanish in media caters to Hispanic people with a lower socioeconomic status while incorporating English caters to Hispanic people with higher socioeconomic status (Rodriguez, 1997). In light of these implications, it is interesting to consider the specifications of *Sky* magazine—specifically, that its average household income of readers is \$131,208, according to the magazine’s website.

Non-Homogeneity of the Hispanic Population

When discussing preferences of Hispanic consumers to ultimately create marketing strategies to better target them, it is necessary to recognize that the Hispanic population cannot be considered a homogenous population with a single universal perception of the media. The population can be divided into any number of subgroups, depending on the criteria for separation. Below, three means of division are outlined—country of heritage, demographic information such as age and gender, and acculturation level—along with why each should be considered when completing media research on Hispanic consumers.

First, the country of heritage possesses cultural influences that could impact Hispanic consumer preferences. Research has found that Hispanic people from different countries don’t necessarily perceive stimuli in the same way based on cultural factors, and drawing generalizations about a population has implications for power dynamics among majority and minority groups and oversimplifies people and cultures (Burton & Yang, 2014; Chávez, 2008; Chávez, 2014).

Because “Hispanic” refers to descendants of Spanish-speakers from all over the world, cultural influences can vary widely from country to country. Take a social custom as quotidian as greetings, for example, which differ based on both region and gender.

Men generally greet each other with a hug or warm handshake, with the exception of Argentina, where male friends and relatives lightly kiss on the cheek. Greetings between men and women, and between women, generally include kissing, but can differ depending on the country and context. In Spain, it is customary to give *dos besos* [or two kisses], starting with the right cheek first. In Latin American countries, including Mexico, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Chile, a greeting consists of a single “air kiss” on the right cheek. Peruvians also “air kiss,” but strangers will simply shake hands. In Colombia, female acquaintances tend to simply pat each other on the right forearm or shoulder. (Blanco, 2012, p. 10)

This example, perhaps, is rather trivial—a greeting might not be as significant other cultural practices—yet it still illustrates that cultural differences among Spanish-speaking countries exist, even in ostensibly banal practices. Considering country of heritage could provide insight into consumer preferences and inform potential marketing strategies regarding editorial or advertising content.

Secondly, research has shown that an audience’s age and gender impact Hispanic media preferences regardless of country of heritage. In prior research, Spanish-language radio stations, for example, were found to be preferred by older Hispanic people and female Hispanic people (Dunn, 1975). Another study found that Hispanic men accepted sexual imagery in print advertising more than women, and the researchers posit that older, possibly more diverse Hispanic people might have different reactions to advertisements based on their level of assimilation into American, English-speaking culture, which will be discussed further below (Kelsmark, Dion, Abratt & Mischel, 2011). Therefore, the idea that Hispanic consumers differ not only according to ethnic

divisions but also social divisions is significant to consider when researching consumer media preferences.

Thirdly, level of acculturation, or distance from country of heritage and its practices, can impact consumer preferences, especially regarding language use.

Acculturation describes assimilation and integration of immigrant populations into the host culture, which involves a blending of native language, customs, values and traditions with dominant values of the host culture (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000). It has been shown that the media assist acculturation in that they provide a means by which culture of the host country can be transmitted to immigrants, even if the immigrants be linguistically or culturally isolated (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000). Researchers have defined consumer acculturation as “the general process of movement and adaption to the consumer cultural environment in one country by persons from another country” (Peñaloza, 1994). Previous studies have found that there is a strong significant relationship between need for acculturation and motivations behind consuming media of the host culture (Reece & Palmgreen, 2000). Palumbo and Teich (2005) discuss four coping strategies that people use in response to acculturation, originally introduced by Berry (1980):

Integration refers to adopting elements of the new culture while retaining facets of the old. Assimilation involves giving up the original culture in favor of the new. Separation usually means that people segregate themselves from their host society. Marginalization relates to relinquishing both the old and new cultures.

In the case of Hispanic acculturation in the U.S., prior research has shown that it is common for Hispanic people retain native values while becoming integrated into U.S. culture, which reflects Berry’s first coping strategy written above (Palumbo & Teich, 2005; Peñaloza, 1994). In addition, demographic information such as age and time spent

in the U.S. impacted ease of acculturation (Peñaloza, 1994). It was also found that agents of acculturation include family, friends, media, retail businesses, schools, and churches (Peñaloza, 1994).

Dimensions of acculturation vary across literature; for example, some models divide the Hispanic population into three acculturation categories. One study utilizes the following levels: fully acculturated, partially acculturated, and nonacculturated (Burton & Yang, 2016) while others utilize yet a different three-level model that incorporates the following stratifications: largely unacculturated, partially acculturated, and highly acculturated (U.S. Census Bureau, cited by Palumbo & Teich, 2005). Other research considers acculturation models with even more levels—for example, a-symbolic Hispanics with relatively weak ethnic identity, symbolic Hispanics with the strongest ethnic identity, strong Hispanics with the second highest strength of ethnic identity, and weak Hispanics with the weakest ethnic identity (Villareal, 2004, cited in Burton & Yang, 2014). On the other hand, more simplified considerations of acculturation might only make distinctions between those who are born in the U.S. and new immigrants or between those who are strong Hispanic identifiers and weak Hispanic identifiers (Burton & Yang, 2014) (Deshpande, Hoyer, & Donthu, 1986).

Studies that use acculturation as a theoretical framework have discovered that consumption of host media and level of acculturation are related (Faber, O'Guinn and Meyer, 1985, cited in Burton & Yang, 2014; Guernica & Kasperuk, 1982, cited in Burton & Yang, 2014; Raman & Harwood, 2008). A consistent finding regarding how level of acculturation affects preferences for English versus Spanish media has shown that Hispanic people at a lower level of acculturation prefer Spanish-language media across

platforms (Faber, O’Guinn & Meyer, 1985, cited in Burton & Yang, 2014; Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000; Guernica & Kasperuk, 1982, cited in Burton & Yang, 2014). However, there is conflicting research that, above all, supports the claim that certain dimensions of acculturation—ethnic identity as a variable, for example—can be unpredictable (Burton & Yang, 2014). It is also worth noting that prior research suggests there might be a relationship between age and level of acculturation in media studies; according to previous studies, both older people and less acculturated people had similar media preferences (Dunn, 1975; Faber, O’Guinn & Meyer, 1985, cited in Burton & Yang, 2014; Guernica & Kasperuk, 1982, cited in Burton & Yang, 2014). Overall, the ability to break the Hispanic audience into groups based on the criteria mentioned in this section, whether those be country of heritage, age, gender, or level of acculturation, indicates that research strategies must recognize the diversity of the population and incorporate methods that acknowledge its variations.

Stereotyping Framework

Researchers have posited that the reinforcement of stereotypes² in advertising poses negative consequences. Observing stereotypes repeatedly can construct expectations that influence the way society views a population, which can lead to othering the stereotyped group and perpetuating prejudices toward said group (Taylor & Bang, 1997). It can also result in generalizations about the stereotyped population as a whole and associating specific traits with that population (Sui & Paul, 2017). This

²According to Merriam-Webster online dictionary, *stereotype* is defined as “a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment.” Previous research has found that stereotypes are typically seen as 1) shared beliefs about members of a certain group, 2) perceptions of correlation between members of a group and particular traits, and 3) “standardized, stabile and preconceived images” (Leyens et al., 1994; Smith & Bond, 1994; Doise et al., 1999; Leyens et al., 1994; Drozda-Senkowsks, 1999; Gavreliunc, 2006, cited in Glăveanu, 2007).

provides the rationale for studying whether media—*Sky*, in particular—depicts Hispanic people with cultural stereotypes.

There are a variety of theoretical approaches detailing the origin and function of stereotypes. One is the psychodynamic model, which describes how criticism of an out-group arises from one group's need to defend its members against unpleasant feelings and thoughts about themselves (Chamberlin, Caldwell, Griffin, & Newman, 2005). According to this approach, stereotypes are considered projections (Chamberlin, Caldwell, Griffin, & Newman, 2005). Other models that address stereotypes include the cognitive perspective, which holds that stereotypes are created by groups to make an environment more manageable psychologically, and the sociocultural perspective, which describes how 1) stereotypes are created to make sense of what exists in society and 2) how society affects the way in which humans view the world (Ashmore & Del Boca, cited in Hamilton, 1981).

Hispanic stereotypes.

Prior literature has discussed historic Hispanic stereotypes in the media, which include an emphasis on familism/collectivism, extended family, ethnic pride, experience with discrimination, spirituality, and soccer, among others (Chávez, 2008; Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000; Palumbo & Teich, 2005; Rinderle & Montoya, 2008). Researchers have also studied stereotypical frames in which Hispanic people have been depicted in the media, which include the success frame, oppression frame, family devotion frame, and sensuality frame (Correa, 2010). In addition, research has shown that media targeted to and led by Hispanic people does not necessarily mean that said media won't reproduce Hispanic stereotypes (Correa, 2010).

Geopolitical context.

Recently, given the political climate in the U.S., more negative stereotypes about Latinx people have been reinforced through certain media outlets, stereotypes that depict the group as violent, criminal, and undocumented (Sui & Paul, 2017). Government officials have facilitated a surge of racial and ethnic tensions and have perpetuated these negative stereotypes. In a speech that introduced his candidacy in June 2015, President Donald Trump himself explicitly stated that people who emigrate from Mexico are inherently violent and problematic (Simon, 2018). He has publicly made other inflammatory and untruthful comments about Latin American immigrants—and other immigrants in general³—and has pushed to implement policies to limit their entrance and assimilation in the U.S. Because of the increased marginalization of Latin American and Hispanic people due to current political rhetoric, there is a greater need for accurate and inclusive representation of Hispanic audiences. In light of this need, the motivation of this study is to see how *Sky* represents Hispanic culture and if it this representation has been affected by political hostility.

Keeping the research discussed above in mind, this study will address the following stereotypes found in prior research in a quantitative content analysis: family, soccer, ethnic pride, experience with discrimination, and spirituality. Thus, the following research questions are asked:

³For more examples of Trump reproducing stereotypes about immigrants for political gain, read AP's [fact checking article](#) written by Josh Boak.

Research Questions

Hispanic stereotypes.

As mentioned previously, prior literature has discussed historic Hispanic stereotypes in the media, which include an emphasis on familism/collectivism, extended family, ethnic pride, experience with discrimination, spirituality, and soccer (Chávez, 2008; Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000; Rinderle & Montoya, 2008).

This study attempts to assess how *Sky* magazine represents Hispanic stereotypes through the content of its Spanish articles and accompanying photos in *Despegando*, its Spanish section. The stereotypes addressed in this study include family, soccer, ethnic pride, experience with discrimination, and spirituality. Thus, research questions 1 and 2 are as follows: 1) How does the editorial text in *Despegando* represent Hispanic stereotypes? 2) How do the photos in *Despegando* represent Hispanic stereotypes?

Historical comparison of *Sky*'s content.

In the 98 issues of *Sky* available online, it is possible that its content and marketing strategies differ across time. For example, over time, does *Despegando* diversify topics that are being handled? Are changing political climates reflected? Therefore, this study posits the third research question: How has the representation of Hispanic stereotypes in *Despegando* changed over time?

Chapter 3: Methods

This study will employ a quantitative content analysis to answer the research questions introduced in the previous section.

Sample

Sky is the in-flight publication of Delta Air Lines and is published by MSP Communications. This study's unit of analysis is an individual article or photo in *Sky*'s Spanish section, *Despegando*, across each of the 98 issues available online. However, despite *Despegando*'s existence since March 2012, issues from 2012 and 2013 are unavailable. Because of this, coding began with the first issue with *Despegando* available: January 2014. Considering those missing issues and that issues before January 2014 do not feature *Despegando*, 71 issues were examined in this study. For the stories, elements that were coded included titles, decks, body text, sidebars, captions, and all other non-body text.

Coding and Variables Analyzed

In order to calculate intercoder reliability, two coders who are proficient in Spanish coded 10% of samples. After achieving the acceptable intercoder reliability, one coder—the researcher of this study—completed coding the material. Coding items and elements were created with the goal of answering two questions: (1) How are Hispanic stereotypes represented by the text and photos in *Despegando*? and (2) How has the representation of Hispanic stereotypes in *Despegando* changed over time? To address the former question, the following variables were used: mentions or depictions of family/familial relationships, mentions or depictions of soccer, mentions or depictions of

ethnic pride, mentions or depictions of experience with discrimination, and mentions or depictions of spirituality.

Stereotype.

Stereotype is defined as the extent to which *Despegando* portrays Hispanic culture through stereotypes that reflect what the general population might believe to be true about the culture. Stereotype has multiple dimensions including family, soccer, ethnic pride, experience with discrimination, and spirituality based on prior research (Chávez, 2008; Fullerton & Kendrick, 2000; Rinderle & Montoya, 2008).

Family. Family is operationalized as the presence of any words relating to family or familial relationships or any photos showing affection. In each story, the number of times a word relating to family or familial relationships was counted and documented; for example, the coder counted the mentions of “madre,” “esposo,” “hermana,” etc. However, after the study was completed, the researcher simplified the coding of this variable in the articles by indicating if an article discussed family in order to compare the data across all stereotypes. For photos, the coder assessed whether affection is shown—for example, two women hugging. If a photo depicted affection or a specific familial relationship, the coder coded (1); if a photo did not depict affection or a specific familial relationship, the coder coded (0).⁴

Soccer. Soccer is operationalized as the presence of the word “fútbol” in the text (given that it is not followed by “americano”; in that case, it would be referring to football) or the depiction of soccer or something soccer-related in photos. In the textual

⁴Other than through captions, there is no way to know whether they are married or related in some other way, but they are displaying affection. The photo can, therefore, be considered as portraying a familial relationship because familial relationships usually involve affection to a certain degree.

analysis, the coder counted the number of times the word “fútbol” was used (again, as long as it is not followed by “americano”) and documented that number. However, after the study was completed, the researcher simplified the coding of this variable in the articles by indicating if an article discussed soccer in order to compare the data across all stereotypes. In the photo analysis, the coder coded (1) if a photo depicted soccer or something soccer-related and (0) if a photo did not depict soccer or something soccer-related.

Ethnic pride. Ethnic pride is operationalized as the presence of discussion of pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin in the text and the depiction of pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin in photos. This variable required the coder to assess whether the writer or source in a story discussed pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin and whether ethnic pride showed in photos (is there a flag, for instance?). The coder coded (1) if the writer or source discussed pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin and (1) if a photo depicted ethnic pride. The coder coded (0) if the writer or source did not discuss pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin at least once and (0) if a photo did not depict ethnic pride.

Experiences with discrimination. Experiences with discrimination is operationalized as the presence of discussion about experiencing discrimination in the text and the depiction of experiencing discrimination in photos. This variable required the coder to assess whether the writer or source in a story discussed experiences with discrimination and whether experience with discrimination was depicted in photos. The coder coded (1) if the writer or source discussed experiences with discrimination and (1) if a photo depicted experiences with discrimination. The coder coded (0) if the writer or

source did not discuss experiences with discrimination and (0) if a photo did not depict experiences with discrimination.

Spirituality. Spirituality is operationalized by the presence of words relating to religion in the text and the depiction of religion in photos. In the textual analysis, the coder counted and documented the number of times a word relating to religion was used. For example, the coder counted “iglesia,” “dios,” “templo,” etc. However, after the study was completed, the researcher simplified the coding of this variable in the articles by indicating if an article discussed spirituality in order to compare the data across all stereotypes. In the photo analysis, the coder coded (1) if a photo depicted spirituality and (0) if a photo did not depict spirituality.

Intercoder reliability.

To establish intercoder reliability, the researcher and one other person proficient in Spanish piloted the study with 10% of the sample. As of when the study was piloted, there were 68 issues that contained *Despegando*, so 7 issues were coded to assess the reliability of the researcher and methods. The issues studied were the earliest issues available: January 2014, February 2014, March 2014, April 2014, May 2014, June 2014, and July 2014. Intercoder reliability⁵ was calculated based on Holsti’s equation, where r represents the reliability measure, M represents the number of answers that are the same between coders, $N1$ represents the number of items coded by coder 1, and $N2$ represents the number of items coded by coder 2 (Holsti, 1969): $r = \frac{2M}{(N1+N2)}$

⁵ Reliability was calculated separately for text coding and photo coding according to each variable.

Figure 1. Reliability in article coding	
<i>Variable</i>	<i>r</i>
Family	.833
Soccer	.976
Ethnic pride	.452
Experience with discrimination	.976
Spirituality	.833

Figure 2. Reliability in photo coding	
<i>Variable</i>	<i>r</i>
Family	.878
Soccer	.995
Ethnic pride	.947
Experience with discrimination	.992
Spirituality	.983

Through calculating reliability using Holsti's equation, it was found that $r \geq .8$ for every variable except ethnic pride in the text coding ($r=.452$), meaning that the coding criteria produced similar results between coders who analyzed the same sample for the coding categories aside from ethnic pride in articles. The researcher kept this in mind when coding the rest of the sample.

Chapter 4: Results

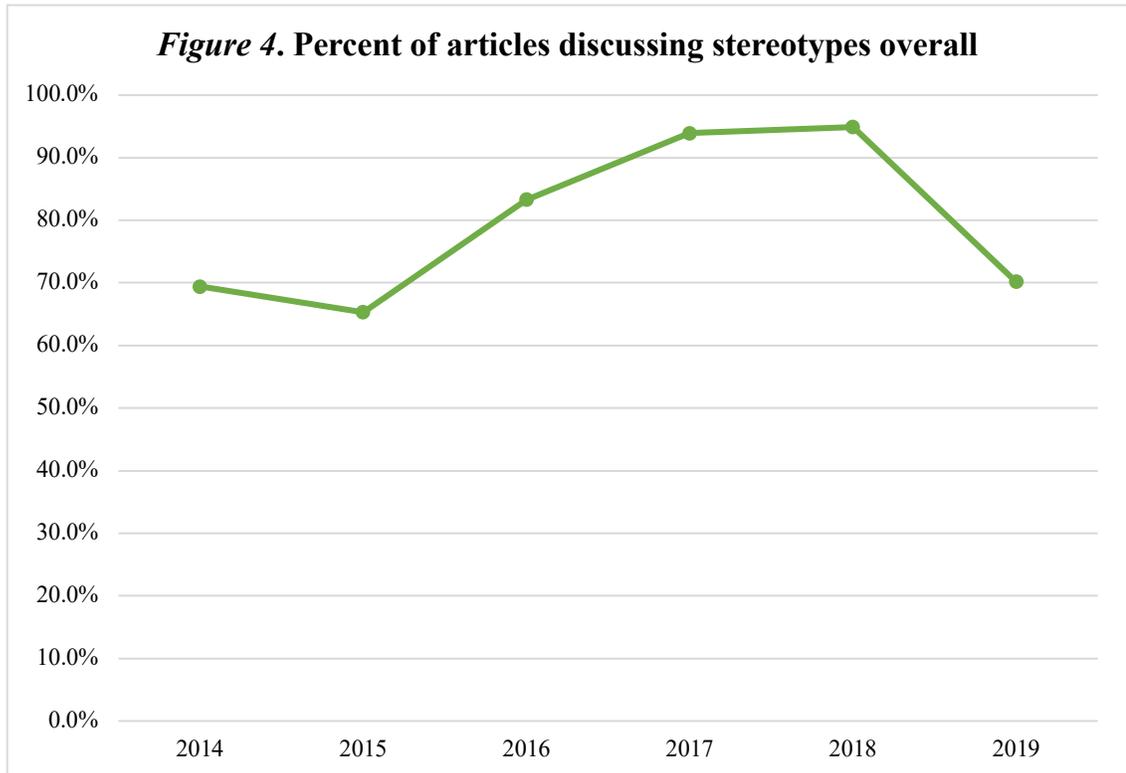
The study examined the representation of Hispanic stereotypes in *Despegando* and how it has changed over time. This section includes the frequency of the five stereotypes in the sample as well as the proportion of articles and photos that discuss or depict the stereotypes overall. Additionally, the frequency of the five stereotypes and proportion of articles and photos in which they were discussed or depicted is presented by year.

Figure 3: Overall results				
Stereotype	No. of articles that discussed stereotype	% of articles that discussed stereotype	No. of photos that depicted stereotype	% of photos that depicted stereotype
Family	187	47.7%	57	2.8%
Soccer	16	4.1%	8	0.4%
Ethnic pride	13	3.3%	46	2.3%
Discrimination	10	2.6%	0	0.0%
Religion	84	21.4%	40	2.0%
Total	392	100.0%	2,020	100.0%

Article coding

Family was discussed in the most articles—187 out of the 392 read—followed by religion, which was discussed in 84 articles; soccer, which was discussed in 16 articles; ethnic pride, which was discussed in 13 articles; and discrimination, which was discussed

in 10 articles. In terms of percentages, family was discussed in 47.7% of articles, religion was discussed in 21.4% of articles, soccer was discussed in 4.1% of articles, ethnic pride was discussed in 3.3% of articles, and discrimination was discussed in 2.6% of articles.



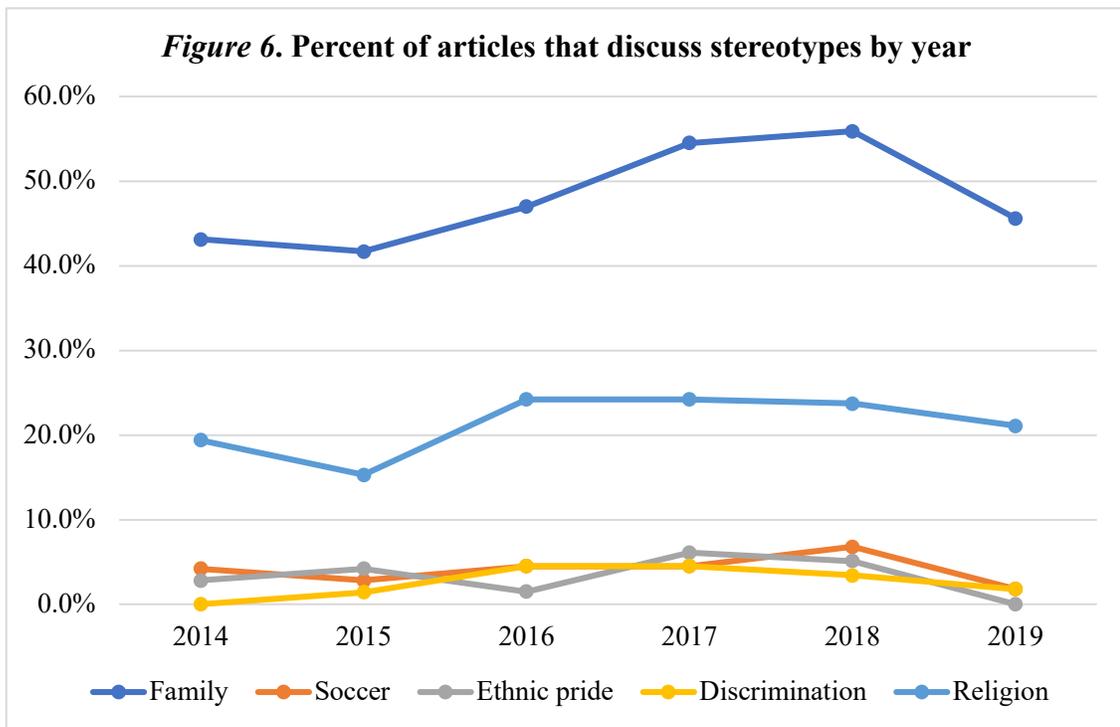
Data by year.

2014 and 2015 included the most articles—72—while 2019 included the least⁶ at 57. The overall percentage of articles discussing the stereotypes peaked in 2018 at 94.9%; the lowest overall percentage of articles discussing the stereotypes was the lowest at 65.3% in 2015. The following stereotypes were discussed in a higher percentage of articles in 2019 than in 2014: family, religion, and discrimination. Soccer and ethnic pride were discussed at a lower rate in 2019 than in 2014. However, all stereotypes experienced increases and decreases in coverage from year to year.

⁶When the study was conducted, 2019 was not complete; there were 11 issues published this year so far.

Figure 5. Number of articles discussing stereotypes by year

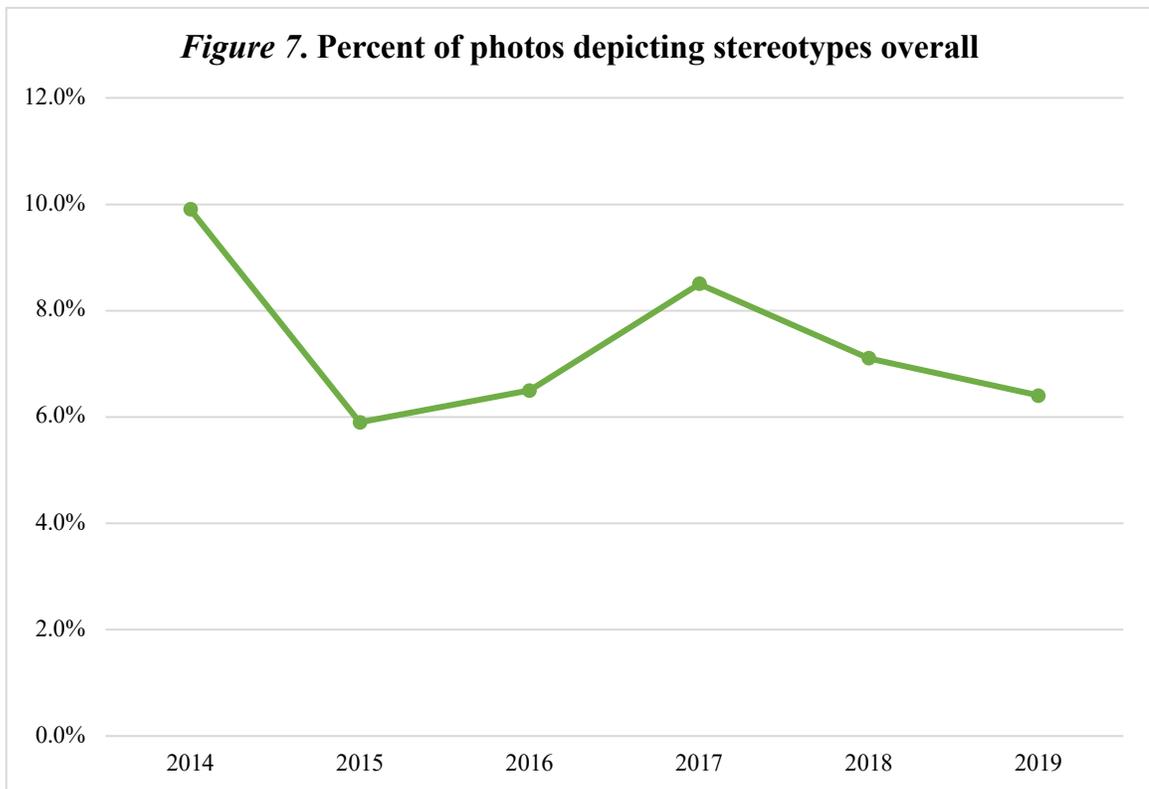
Stereotype	Year					
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019 ⁷
Family	31	30	31	36	33	26
Soccer	3	2	3	3	4	1
Ethnic pride	2	3	1	4	3	0
Discrimination	0	1	3	3	2	1
Religion	14	11	17	16	14	12
Total # articles depicting stereotypes	50	47	55	62	56	40
Total # articles	72	72	66	66	59	57



⁷When the study was conducted, there were 11 issues published in 2019.

Photo coding

Family was depicted in the most photos—57 out of the 2,020 examined—followed by ethnic pride, which appeared in 46 photos; religion, which appeared in 40 photos; and soccer, which appeared in 8 photos. In terms of percentages, family was shown in 2.8% of photos, ethnic pride was shown in 2.3% of photos, religion was shown in 2% of photos, and soccer was shown in 0.4% of photos. Discrimination was not depicted in any photos.



Data by year.

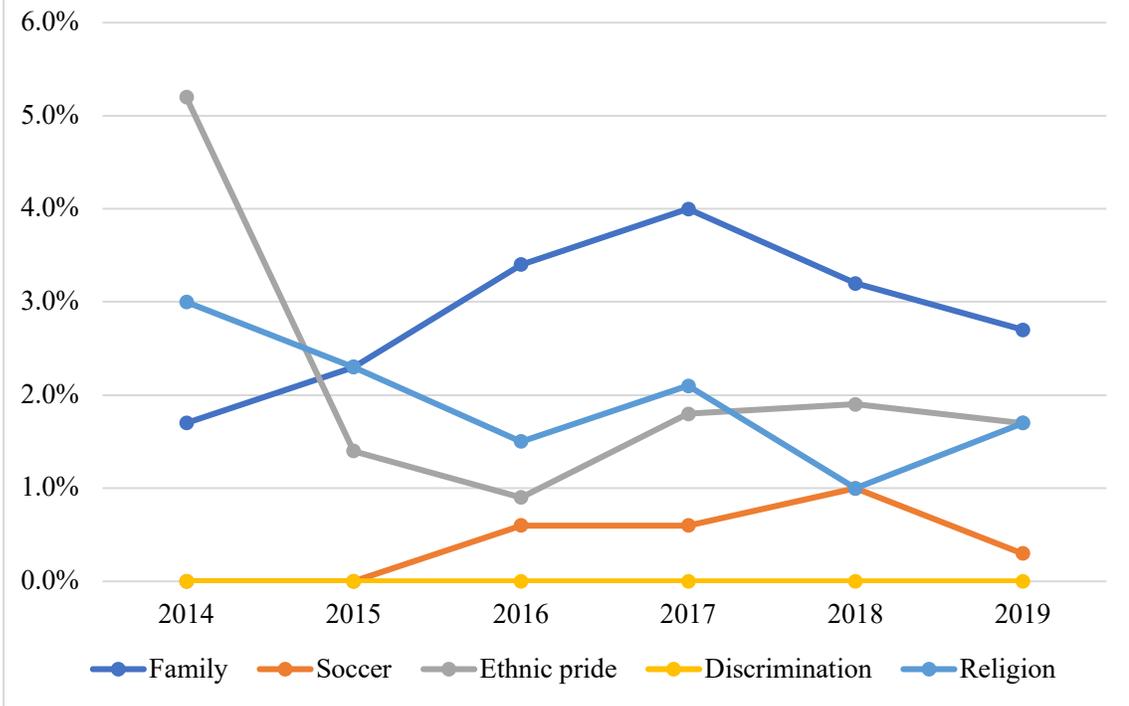
Despegando included 405 photos in 2014, 354 photos in 2015, 325 photos in 2016, 328 in 2017, 310 photos in 2018, and 298 photos in 2019. 2014 saw the most photos depicting stereotypes with 40. 2019 included the least amount of photos depicting stereotypes with 19. Soccer was not depicted in any photos in 2014 and 2015. Soccer and

family were discussed in a higher percentage of articles in 2019 than in 2014, whereas ethnic pride and religion were discussed in a lower percentage of articles in 2019 than in 2014. The percentage of articles overall discussing stereotypes did not exceed 10% at any point from 2014 to 2019. Coverage of every stereotype experienced increases and decreases over the 6 years except discrimination, which stayed static at no coverage.

Figure 8. Number of photos depicting stereotypes by year

Stereotype	Year					
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Family	7	8	11	13	10	8
Soccer	0	0	2	2	3	1
Ethnic pride	21	5	3	6	6	5
Discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religion	12	8	5	7	3	5
Total # photos depicting stereotypes	40	21	21	28	22	19
Total # photos	405	354	325	328	310	298

Figure 9. Percent of photos that depict stereotypes by year



Chapter 5: Discussion

This study examined how *Despegando* represents Hispanic culture and how it depicts Hispanic stereotypes in its editorial text and photos.

The first research question asked how the editorial text in *Despegando* represents Hispanic stereotypes. The results showed that family was the most prevalent stereotype reflected in the text; 47.7% of the articles discussed family. The second most prevalent stereotype appearing in the text was religion, with 21.4% of the articles discussing it. The remaining three stereotypes—soccer, ethnic pride, and experience with discrimination—appeared in 4.1%, 3.3%, and 2.6% of articles respectively.

Overall, the text did employ all of the stereotypes in its content, relying most heavily on discussion of family. Therefore, it is suggested that the text represents all five stereotypes as useful in marketing toward a Hispanic audience. However, it is important to look at how coverage of these stereotypes is utilized. This study examined the text for the appearance of words relating to Hispanic stereotypes, but the focus of the articles wasn't considered. Although family-related words appeared in nearly half of the articles examined, family wasn't the focus of any of the stories, as evidenced by the lack of family-related words in the story titles⁸. There were first-person narratives written by people traveling with their families, but the focus of these stories remained on exploring travel destinations and experiences. In reality, no articles focused entirely on any of the stereotypes; brief profiles of soccer players that discussed the players' lives—which

⁸The coder could have assessed the stereotypes based on the focus of the stories in addition to the words contained in them; however, the coding for specific words did inform about the focus of the stories — especially when considering display type — and the coder could, therefore, tell from conducting her study that none of the stereotypes was the focus of any of the stories.

obviously included soccer—and first-person stories of writers who traveled with their families were the closest to doing so. Therefore, the text does not provide conclusive evidence that *Despegando* reinforces nor combats the stereotypes.

The second research question posited how the photos in *Despegando* represented Hispanic stereotypes. The proportion of photos depicting stereotypes was minimal; 2.8% depicted family, 2.3% depicted ethnic pride, 2% depicted religion, 0.4% depicted soccer, and 0% depicted discrimination. Therefore, the results suggest that *Despegando* does not represent Hispanic stereotypes as useful in media marketing nor perpetuate said stereotypes through photos.

The third research question asked how the representation of Hispanic stereotypes in *Despegando* has changed over time. Regarding articles, 2018 experienced the highest incidence of stereotype-related words when measured in percentage of articles that used the words while 2015 experienced the lowest. However, in 2015, *Despegando* included 72 articles—in 2018, there were 59. This apparent increase in discussing stereotypes is due in part to fewer articles being published per issue, which could inflate the percent given that the pool of articles to consider is smaller. In terms of numbers, 2018 had 9 more articles discussing stereotypes than 2015. The year with the most articles that included words relating to the stereotypes was 2017.

Regarding each individual stereotype, the coverage remained relatively stable, increasing and decreasing slightly from year to year. Coverage of family increased the most dramatically from 2014 to 2018; in 2014, the proportion of articles that incorporated stereotype-related words increased 12.8 percentage points. However, because of the

overall decrease in the proportion of stories included in *Despegando* as time progressed, this change translates to a mere 2 articles more discussing family in 2018 as did in 2014.

The depiction of stereotypes in photos decreased overall, with almost 10% of all photos showing stereotypes in 2014 versus 6.4% in 2019. The most dramatic increase occurred from 2014 to 2015; even then, the proportion of photos displaying stereotypes only dropped 4 percentage points.

In terms of individual stereotypes, depiction of ethnic pride decreased the most. The proportion of photos that showed experience with discrimination remained the same at 0%. However, the proportion of photos that depicted each stereotype each year did not exceed 6%—so yearly increases and decreases don't signify much change in how the photos represented Hispanic stereotypes.

In conclusion, the results showed that the photos in *Despegando* did not depict stereotypes as much as the articles did—the sheer amount of photos could have played a role in this—but the presence of stereotype-related words in the articles did not necessarily reinforce Hispanic stereotypes given that none of the articles were focused on the stereotypes. Therefore, it is inconclusive whether the text reinforced stereotypes, but the low visual reproduction of stereotypes suggests that the stereotypes are not reinforced through the photos.

Significance

Because this study examined coverage in the Spanish language section of *Sky* magazine to assess how it represents Hispanic culture, it not only fills a gap in research of magazines—specifically in-flight magazines—but also non-advertising-related research regarding Hispanic audiences. It also suggests that media with a strong focus — travel in

Sky magazine, for example — are less likely to succumb to utilizing stereotypes in marketing strategies. Additionally, there is an immense need to represent Hispanic audiences accurately and promote inclusion given the current political rhetoric, and this study assessed how a form of media with the potential for high visibility represents this increasingly marginalized population.

Limitations

Firstly, a significant limitation of this study is that there is a vast difference between using words relating to a Hispanic stereotype versus focusing on that stereotype. Just because an article discusses family does not necessarily mean that the story is utilizing the stereotype. The methods of this study do not factor this point into consideration.

Secondly, despite establishing acceptable intercoder reliability for all categories except ethnic pride in articles, the criteria for evaluating some stereotypes in photos relied on some level of subjectivity. For example, to assess whether a photo depicted family, coders were instructed to determine whether affection was shown in the photo as a way of operationalizing what a familial relationship could look like.

Thirdly, there was a discrepancy in coding of ethnic pride in text versus in photos. In the text, coders were instructed to look for discussion of pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin. The standard for photos was more ambiguous; they were instructed to assess whether ethnic pride was shown with no specific reference to Hispanic heritage. However, the results revealed that less than 3% of articles and less than 3% of photos discussed or depicted this stereotype, so the more ambiguous definition did not appear to skew the data significantly.

Lastly, there was no baseline level of *Sky*'s content, so it was difficult to determine how the content in *Despegando* differed from the rest of the magazine; family, for example, could be mentioned as many times in *Sky*'s English language articles, meaning that the content of *Despegando* would not be utilizing the stereotype any more than *Sky*'s English language articles do.

Directions for Future Research

Although this study provided a look into representation of Hispanic culture in an English-first publication, *Despegando* is very clearly a travel magazine, so results might differ if the study were conducted with a magazine in another genre. Another possibility for continuing to study *Despegando* could be to compare the content of its articles with the rest of *Sky* to determine whether there are differences in the Spanish language content versus the English language content. Additionally, because this research informs marketing toward a specific audience, it might be helpful to expand the study to survey people from that population on their perceptions of *Despegando* and whether they feel stereotypes are being reproduced textually or visually.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As part of the largest minority group in the U.S., Hispanic people play an increasingly significant role in media consumption dynamics. There has been informative research conducted about this key demographic's consumption of advertising, but research on its consumption of editorial content is lacking. To address the Hispanic population's growing presence, the dearth of research surrounding magazines and Hispanic consumption of non-advertisement media content, and the importance of depicting the Hispanic population accurately to combat the current political climate, this study examined the representation of Hispanic culture in the articles and photos that compose the Spanish section, *Despegando*, of Delta Air Lines' *Sky* magazine from 2014 to 2019. The content was examined for the presence of five stereotypes realized in prior research: family, soccer, ethnic pride, experience with discrimination, and spirituality. The data found that all five stereotypes were discussed in the articles but that the presence of words relating to the stereotypes did not necessarily mean the articles were reinforcing the stereotypes. The photos displayed stereotypes at a much lower degree, especially discrimination, which was not shown at all. The most utilized stereotype in the text was family, whereas the most prevalent stereotype in the photos varied between ethnic pride, religion, and family. Ultimately, the research showed that *Despegando's* inclusion of stereotype-related content rose and fell over the past 6 years, suggesting that its content hasn't been influenced greatly based political changes and sentiments.

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Appendix

Codebook

In this study, the unit of analysis will be each editorial article and individual photo included in *Despegando*. Please read the entire story through once before coding anything.

V0: Item Number: ID numbers are assigned to the editorial articles already.

V0: Item Date: Use only digits and the MMDDYYYY format (i.e. 10032010 is October 3, 2010) For variables 1 through 5, please code textual information of each article.

For variables 1 through 5, please code the text of each article.

Variable 1: Family/familial relationships

Count the number of times a word relating to family or familial relationships is used. For example, “parent,” “child,” “husband,” “sister”

Variable 2: Soccer

- Count the number of times the word “fútbol” is used.

Variable 3: Ethnic pride

- Write 0 if the article has no discussions of pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin and 1 if the article contains discussion of pride in Hispanic heritage or country of origin.

Variable 4: Experience with discrimination

- Write 0 for if the article has no discussion of experiences with discrimination and 1 if the article contains discussion of experiences with discrimination.

Variable 5: Spirituality

- Count the number of times a word relating to spirituality is used. For example, “god,” “church,” “religion,” etc.

V0: Photo item number: It should be created as [Item Number] provided for article + the sequence of the photos in that particular article. [Item Number]01, [Item Number]02, ... And repeat coding below variable for each photo

For variables 6 through 10, please code the photos of each article.

Variable 6: Family/familial relationships

- Is affection or a specific type of familial relationship revealed? Type 0 for no and 1 for yes.

Variable 7: Soccer

- Are there any depictions of soccer or something soccer-related? Type 0 for no and 1 for yes.

Variable 8: Ethnic pride

- Is there any ethnic pride shown in the photo (for example, a flag)? Type 0 for no and 1 for yes.

Variable 9: Experience with discrimination

- Is experience with discrimination shown in the photo? Type 0 for no and 1 for yes.

Variable 10: Spirituality

- Is spirituality shown in the photo (someone wearing a cross necklace, for example)? Type 0 for no and 1 for yes.