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***Decisión 2016: A comparative analysis of Journalistic Role Performance on Spanish- and English-language TV Networks***

**Abstract**

This study is one of the first to compare journalistic role performances of English– and Spanish–language TV news networks of 523 news stories during the 2016 U.S. primaries. Previous research finds that the corporate structure of Spanish–language media in the United States is looking more like its English–language counterparts and that Latino journalists share the norm of objectivity. Meanwhile, research suggests that individuals of different ethnicities turn to different communication channels and that this divergence can be explained by the degree of alignment in linguistic and cultural orientation. In this study, we therefore assess how the linguistic difference of TV networks impact journalistic culture during an important political decision-making period; the presidential primaries. As a crucial component of journalistic culture, we focus on journalistic role performance and find important distinctions: Results suggest that the Spanish–language networks performed significantly more civic journalism roles than their English–language counterparts that perform an interventionist and service role. The study’s findings further suggest that the greater coverage of presidential candidates as sources on English-language networks compared to Spanish-language networks have significant consequences for the roles journalists perform. These journalistic cultural differences are discussed alongside different audience-orientation of the networks that reflect deep racial and ethnic divides.

***Keywords:*** Hispanic journalism; Spanish–language media; journalistic role performance; presidential election; United States

In 2016, Hispanics represented nearly 18% of the total U.S. population—the largest ethnic minority in the United States (Krogstad, Lopez, López, Passel, & Patten, 2016; Krogstad & Lopez, 2016). As a consequence, their vote is increasingly affecting politics in the United States: The U.S. electorate in 2016 was the country’s most racially and ethnically diverse ever (Krogstad & Lopez, 2016). Political communication research has shown that presidential candidates have strengthened their campaigns by focusing on obtaining the Hispanic vote (Barreto, Segura, Collingwood, Manzano, & Valenzuela, 2014).

Because of the rate of this population’s growth, Spanish-language television networks like *Telemundo* and *Univision* play an increasingly important role in shaping the public political agenda of this transnational pan-ethnicity. For *Univision* and *Telemundo*, the Spanish language is what sets it apart from the nation’s biggest English-language television networks. Since 2013, *Univision* has had the largest audience of Hispanic-oriented TV news network in the United States (Mitchell, Holcomb, & Weisel, 2016, Univision Communication, 2018<sup>1</sup>). And rather than functioning as alternative media channel, *Univision* competes with English-language networks. Examples include when *Univision* received the highest rating among all U.S. TV networks (English-language networks and Spanish-language networks) in prime time in July 2013 and July 2014 (Wilkinson, 2015) and this trends has continued.

In light of the historically important role that television networks play as source of political knowledge for both citizens and immigrant populations (Patterson, 2016) this study seeks to assess the differences between Spanish- and English- language TV networks in the coverage of the 2016 U.S. presidential race. The presidential primaries offer an opportunity to study journalistic cultures in a time of intensified political coverage and to directly compare how Spanish- and English-

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<sup>1</sup> <https://corporate.univision.com/press/2018/04/05/univision-network-wraps-up-first-quarter-2018-as-the-no-1-spanish-language-network-in-primetime/#gs.fF0GBcxY>

language networks cover the same beat. While both work under the same normative role of the state, U.S. Latino journalists are committed to their ethnicity and that of their imagined audience of U.S. Latinos (Rodriguez, 1996) that have cultural ties to countries mostly in Central and Latin America. Meanwhile, the journalistic cultures and the roles journalists perform in Central and Latin America differ significantly to those in the United States where the watchdog and interventionist models are dominant (Mellado et al., 2016).

A comparative research based on linguistic distinctions is relevant because the Spanish-language TV networks may share a language but not necessarily an ethnicity, and the U.S. Hispanic population is composed of individuals who come from an array of Spanish speaking countries. Thus, the Latino audience is simultaneously the objective and the motivator of news production of Spanish-language media: It symbolically denationalizes Latinos and renationalizes them as U.S. Hispanics, but still preserving the Latino identity as a distinctive of content (Rodriguez, 1999; Gómez, 2016). In other words, the Spanish-language journalists have a detailed conceptualization of their audience as a community supportive of U.S. structure and norms (Chávez, 2015). The Spanish language further serves as an integrative force in informing Hispanics and Latinos about U.S. politics.

The language in which journalism is produced also functions as much as a marker of social distinction as semantic sense (Myles, 2010, p. 10) and linguistic capital (Chávez, 2015). Language reflects the symbolic power struggles across social groups within a society (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Myles, 2010). In fact, a report by Pew Research (2016) exposed deep racial and ethnic divides between the White population and other ethnicities in the United States: socioeconomically speaking, Hispanics' median household income in 2014 was 61% of White household income; Hispanics in 2014 were more than twice as likely as Whites to be living in

poverty; and more Hispanics (52%) than Whites (30%) reported experiencing discrimination because of their ethnicity (Pew Research, 2016). Thus, Spanish-language media are reporting for an audience that is socioeconomically different from a English-language media audience. This begs the question how it impacts journalistic culture. The national reach of the TV networks studied here make this study particularly interesting for future work on presidential election campaign and the way journalists perform their roles when reporting on primaries in various languages.

Essentially, this study argues that the identification with a TV audience to some extent shapes journalistic practice, as it becomes a routinized performance and eventually shaping a specific journalistic culture. Therefore, the present analysis turns to specific markers reflected within journalistic cultures—i.e., the performance of journalistic roles (Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2017)—that distinguish between English- and Spanish-language coverage of the presidential primaries, beyond its language distinction. We understand journalistic role performance as “collective outcome of concrete newsroom decisions and the style of journalistic reporting” (Mellado, Hellmueller & Donsbach, 2017, p. 7).

We find distinctions as English-language networks focus mostly on elite sources (i.e., presidential candidates) contributing to more interventionist journalistic role performance. The reliance on civic sources of Spanish-language networks, on the other hand, produces a significant higher amount of civic journalistic role performance.

### Literature Review

Media coverage matters a great deal because the overall narrative discourse in news media gives Hispanics a way to identify with the U.S. culture and motivates political participation (Branton, Franco, & Wrinkle, 2014). However, the English-language U.S. news media system has

helped build a semantic meaning of the Hispanic identity as a metonym for illegal immigration (Stewart, Pitts, & Osborne, 2011); moreover, news media underrepresent the Hispanic minority: “while Latinos make up more than 17% of the U.S. population, a report found that only 7% of guests on English-language Sunday shows were Hispanic” (Torres & Lopez, 2015, p. 1). The media’s tendency to stereotype minority groups is partly because of journalists’ weak identification with Hispanics (Chávez, 2015; Correa, 2010).

Meanwhile, the Spanish–language media helped to build the notion of a Hispanic identity through entertainment programs and news programming, beginning in 1962 with *Univision* and later with *Telemundo*, by producing content in Spanish that served to build closer ties and stronger identification with the Hispanic community (Wilkinson, 2015). Even though ethnic media is not considered a decisive media outlet in other Western countries, the Spanish language media in U.S. remains as a powerful exception (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

This process, nonetheless, has been a major challenge for Hispanic media when considering how to create media content able to integrate this population as a unitary group. English–language news media and their journalists have often dismissed the notion of the Hispanic pan–ethnicity as the idea of a unified audience, which is also a contested notion for Spanish–language media as “business talk,” but the notion of pan–ethnicity nevertheless serves as a touchstone of editorial decisions (Chávez, 2015). However, relatively little research exists about editorial decisions in Spanish-language newsrooms compared to their English-language counterparts, and this can be assessed by comparing the different journalistic cultures between both language–newsrooms in the United States. Even though the two language–media work under the same political system and the role of the state works under the same normative coordination, the Spanish–language media and its audience is sociocultural different (Gomez, 2016). Ergo, the

important inquiry is whether the Spanish-language media networks functions as a subsystem in the U.S. media system by examining how its journalistic roles differ from English-language networks.

### **Hispanic Journalism Alongside English-Language Journalism in the United States**

News production is not an individualistic outcome, rather it can be considered a collective result from the interaction between concrete newsroom decisions and different journalistic styles (Mellado, et al., 2017). For example, Fernandes and Shumow (2016) content-analyzed election articles produced by four Hispanic immigrant media outlets in Miami-Dade County during one year, and the authors argued that immigrant media are of central importance because they help immigrants to stay connected to their home country while adapting to the host country. News in the mother language is crucial for political information for this population (Félix, González, & Ramírez, 2008). Notwithstanding, there are few studies that investigate Spanish-language journalism cultures in the US (e.g., Correa, 2010; Fernandes & Shumow, 2016; Moran, 2006), and this limits our understanding of the Spanish-language system in the U.S. De Fina (2013) investigated the construction of Latino identities within a Spanish language radio station broadcasting to Latin American audiences. She finds that “ethnic media are at the center of the interplay of varied socioeconomic forces operating at different scales that push for certain identity representations” (De Fina, 2013, p. 570). Top-down strategies propose an image of a homogenous united transnational community, while hosts negotiate concrete identity and illustrating divisions within such imagined community.

Some studies have compared English- and Spanish-language media in the United States. For example, Turner and Allen (1997) compared the coverage of the 1996 presidential elections in the *LA Times* and the leading Spanish-Language newspaper, *La Opinion*, and their findings

suggested that the Spanish–language newspaper lacks context and depth in the election coverage when compared to the *LA Times*. Later, Moran (2006) found more consistency between Spanish–language and English–language news when comparing broadcast news between the Univision affiliate and the ABC affiliate in San Diego, California. In fact, the content analysis revealed that “the corporate structure of Spanish–language media is looking more like its English–language counterparts and this oligopoly structure may make it more likely to follow trends such as displacing public discourse with entertainment and reducing the availability of diverse voices” (Moran, 2006, p. 389). Furthermore, as Rodriguez (1996) observed, the role of the Spanish language serves as a symbolic system that embodies all nationalities and identities that compose the Hispanic ethnic group, but language is not the only commonality while producing news in Spanish for Hispanics. Rodriguez (1996) compared the production of *Noticiero Univisión* with ABC’s *World News Tonight* and supplemented her study with production ethnography. The results reveal deep similarities in form and news–making routines and thereby in the content of the two programs. What Latino journalists shared with their English counterparts is the norm of objectivity, perhaps because journalists in both language news networks share the same higher education formation (Moran, 2006).

The primary integrative role of the Spanish language in TV news may be a result of its spoken element of language instead of print; in other words, there is no literacy requisite to consume news on TV. In fact, TV remains Hispanics’ main source of political news, Hispanics are much more likely than Whites (60%; 45%) to say they trust the information they get from national network news very much or completely (American Press Institute, 2014). Even though the language integrates Hispanics into the larger U.S. society, “[v]ariations in spoken language thus makes us unconsciously ‘position’ ourselves against others” (Myles, 2010, p. 11), and producing

symbolic violence that replicates the power of the dominant class working through cultural forms upon a subordinated language community (e.g., Chávez, 2015; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991). Subsequently, the issue to explore is to what extent Spanish–language media in the United States adopt a different form of reporting and journalism culture than its English counterpart.

We might suspect to find such differences in journalistic cultures defined as “a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful” (Hanitzsch, 2007, p. 369). We focus on journalistic practices in this study and particularly on journalistic role performance, because previous research shows that roles journalists perform in Central and Latin America differ significantly to those in the United States (Mellado, Marquez–Ramirez, Mick, Oller–Alonso, & Olivera, 2016).

We asked how this impacts Spanish–language media that produce political news for Spanish–speaking audiences with cultural ties to countries mostly in Central and Latin America. Moreover, the Spanish-language media may only function as a subsystem subordinate to English–language media, because it targets a minority rather than a majority in terms of audience orientation; nevertheless, they function as important democratic force in integrating Hispanics into U.S. political culture and encourage them to vote and participate in political life in the United States. An investigation of of journalistic role performance (Mellado et al., 2017) remains crucial to understand the journalistic culture in the US as it reveals how Spanish–language media in the United States negotiate their transnational journalistic cultures alongside English–language media—which manifests most strongly during decision-making events, such as the presidential primaries.

### **Journalistic Role Performance as Manifestation of Journalistic Culture in News Content**

The concept of *Journalistic role performance* is defined as the “collective outcome of concrete newsroom decisions and the style of journalistic reporting” (Mellado et al., 2017, p. 7), and, follows that the practice of journalistic professionalism is culture dependent. For example, Hellmueller and Mellado (2016) compared U.S. and Chilean journalists’ role performance finding that the media systems in the two countries exercise different professional performances of the watchdog role; specifically, the watchdog role was performed significantly less in Chile than in the United States and it was less centrally connected to political and government sources in news stories; and, in Chile, political sources were commonly covered with the interventionist, infotainment, or civic journalistic role performances (Hellmueller & Mellado, 2016). Journalism is a cultural practice shared by journalists as interpretive communities that materialize in actual journalistic values and practices. It is, therefore, important to address how Hispanic journalists in the United States negotiate the heterogeneity of journalism roles among Latin American, Central American, and U.S. media systems while simultaneously constructing a U.S. Latino journalism identity.

To examine specific journalistic roles as reflected in the news content, this study applies measurements of journalistic role performance that have been established and validated for the *Journalistic Role Performance Around the Globe* project (see [journalisticperformance.org](http://journalisticperformance.org)). Specifically, six journalistic role models are analyzed from these three domains: (1) the presence of journalistic voice in the news story, (2) the way journalists perform their relationship with (relate to) those in power, and (3) the way the audience is perceived by journalists (e.g., as consumers, citizens, or passive observers).

The first domain deals with the presence or absence of journalistic voice in the news and focuses on the *disseminator* role (i.e., neutral and impartial) versus the *interventionist* role (i.e.,

actively involved). The *interventionist* role is a more journalist-centered model (Esser, 2008) in which journalists sometimes act as advocates for various groups in society (Mellado, 2014). The *interventionist* role manifests through journalists' interpretation, opinion, demands and the use of personal involvement of journalists (Mellado et al., 2017).

The second domain deals with the way journalists perform their relationship with those in power that manifests in the *watchdog* and the *loyal-facilitator* models. The third domain deals with different understandings of the audience: the *service*, *infotainment*, and the *civic-oriented* models. The *service* model combines interests of the audience, creating a client-professional relationship between the journalist and the public. The *infotainment* model (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001) addresses the public as spectator, in which the audience's relaxation and emotional experiences become the center of attention. The *civic* model (Rosen, 1999) is concerned with encouraging the public to get involved in public debate and to participate in social, political, and cultural life. Previous research has found that U.S. journalists are most likely to perform the *interventionist* role (Hellmueller, Mellado, Blumell, & Huemmer, 2016), but the study was limited to newspaper coverage and did not take into account election coverage. Most importantly, it did not focus on television news. The present research therefore attempts to fill this gap by comparing the English-language election coverage to the Spanish-language election coverage. It is a first attempt to examine journalistic role performance through television news coverage. Research questions are posed as follows:

*RQ1*: How do English- and Spanish-language TV networks differ in the way they perform journalistic roles?

*RQ2*: What differences can be observed on Spanish- and English- language TV networks in the news coverage of candidates from both political parties?

Past research has shown that in Spanish–language news, there is a strong tendency to include civic and ordinary sources rather than government sources (Rodriguez, 1996). However, mainstream news coverage often follows the lead of government sources (Hallin, 1989); subsequently, the English–language news reporters may be more likely to index their coverage to the range of government debate. Thus, this study examines similarities and differences in sourcing during presidential elections as a potential theoretical link to explain journalistic role performance differences.

*RQ3*: What are similarities and differences in sourcing practices between English- and Spanish-language TV networks during presidential elections?

## Method

### *Sampling*

To compare journalistic role performances in both languages TV newscast, the sampling criteria considered the leading Spanish–language TV newscasts with the highest household ratings based on Statista (2017): *Noticiero Hoy* on *Univision* (9.2) and *Noticiero Telemundo* on *Telemundo* (6.3), to be compared to *ABC* (2.6) and *NBC* (2.1) as the most consumed English counterparts among U.S. Hispanics, which are also third and fourth respectively, after *FOX* and *CNN*, among U.S. non–Hispanics places these networks. Specifically, for those households, *Noticiero Univision* had the largest Hispanic viewership, with nearly 1,852,000 viewers (Mitchell et al., 2016), whereas *Noticiero Telemundo* had 771,000 viewers (approximately one third) during prime time (Shearer, 2016). In addition, *NBC Nightly News* had 1,967,000 viewers and *ABC World News* had 2,040,000 viewers (Ariens, 2014).

The four TV newscasts (i.e., *Telemundo*, *Univision*, *ABC*, and *NBC*) were recorded for all days of the 2016 U.S. presidential primaries (see Table 1), including two days before and two days after the primaries to improve our knowledge of the routines of covering presidential primaries.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

### ***Measurements***

Based on the measurements used in previous studies for journalistic role performance comparisons in both language contexts (i.e., Hellmueller & Mellado, 2016; Mellado et al., 2016), the following indicators measured the presence of each role but adapted for TV news:

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

There was also coding done for the three variables of sources, source functions, and presidential candidates. For sourcing, each sound bites and political image bite (Bucy, 2011) were coded and analyzed for each news story, and if it included a presidential candidate, the coding used the actual name of the presidential candidate; source functions included civic, expert, government, ordinary people, and the presidential candidates.

The next step involved sampling stories within newscasts that focused on the presidential elections (to keep content comparable). Five coders (two in Spanish and three in English) were all trained in English first and then the two bilingual coders in Spanish had additional training. The coding phase was completed in May 2017. To guarantee the validity and reliability of the results, all five coders coded 10% of the final sample in English to test for intercoder-reliability. This resulted in the coders working on 50 newscasts that included 523 news stories. Satisfactory levels of intercoder-reliability were reached after three testing phases in February 2017. Cohen's  $\kappa$  was run to test for intercoder-agreement. The results revealed acceptable agreements ranging

from ( $\kappa = .92$ ) for images, sound bites ( $\kappa = .93$ ), to the *reporting of external investigation* ( $\kappa = .71$ ) as one item to measure the watchdog role.

### Results

Following previous empirical studies on journalistic role performance (Hellmueller & Mellado, 2016), the items for the six roles were combined according to each dimension (range: 0-1), resulting in a final score on every role for each news story. A higher score thus expressed a higher performance of each journalistic role and vice versa. The raw scores (sum of points divided by the total items in each role) were calculated.

For the final analysis, all newscasts that dealt with the primaries were included. The analysis included a total of 523 news stories. From the total sample, 152 aired on *ABC*, 103 aired on *NBC*, 122 aired on *Telemundo*, and 146 aired on *Univision*.

Overall, when considering all four media networks, the most performed role during the 2016 U.S. presidential primaries was the interventionist role ( $M = .22$ ,  $SD = .24$ ), followed by the civic and infotainment role performances (civic:  $M = .15$ ,  $SD = .18$ ; infotainment:  $M = .10$ ,  $SD = .14$ ). The service role was performed less ( $M = .03$ ,  $SD = .08$ ), the watchdog lost in importance compared to previous studies ( $M = .06$ ,  $SD = .11$ ), and the facilitator role was almost inexistent ( $M = .001$ ,  $SD = .01$ ).

To answer the first research question, an analysis of variance was conducted to determine significant differences among the four news organizations. Overall, the results suggested that the largest differences could be found for the service, civic, and infotainment role performances (see Table 2). The three role performances constitute the audience approach of the journalistic role performance model, shedding light on how news organizations define and conceptualize an understanding of their audiences. In regards to the service model mentioned previously, *NBC* ( $M$

$M = .15, SD = .13$ ) performs this role to a significantly higher degree than any other of the three news organizations. For the infotainment role performance, *NBC* ( $M = .22, SD = .11$ ) and *Telemundo* ( $M = .12, SD = .14$ ) perform this role to a higher degree than *ABC* ( $M = .07, SD = .14$ ) and *Univision* ( $M = .05, SD = .10$ ). This result aligns to the fact that *Comcast/NBCUniversal* owns *NBC* and *Telemundo* since 2012, and *Disney/ABC* partnered with *Univision* since late 2013 (Gomez, 2016). Thus, the four news outlets perform journalistic practices that evinces clear commercial liaisons.

Finally, it was interesting that the differences among language networks manifests most significantly in the civic role performance: *Univision* ( $M = .16, SD = .14$ ) and *Telemundo* ( $M = .32, SD = .21$ ) are most likely to perform the civic role comparatively speaking among the six roles and are also more likely to perform the civic role than *ABC* ( $M = .07, SD = .11$ ) and *NBC* ( $M = .08, SD = .17$ ). Among the six roles analyzed, *ABC* ( $M = .19, SD = .19$ ) and *NBC* ( $M = .35, SD = .21$ ) are most likely to perform the interventionist role, offering opinion and interpretation to news stories.

#### INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

To consider the differences among Spanish–language and English–language newscasts, another set of one-way ANOVAs was run to determine variations in the two different languages and their production of TV newscasts during the 2016 primaries. Results revealed there are significant differences in regards to journalistic role performance that occur on either English– or Spanish–language newscasts. English–language newscasts most likely perform the interventionist role during the primaries ( $M = .25; SD = .22$ ), and those findings support previous findings that show interventionism as the most important role performed by journalists in the United States (Hellmueller et al., 2016). The differences to Spanish–language networks ( $M = .19; SD = .25$ ) are significant and account for 2% of the overall variance ( $F = 8.858; df = 1; p = .015; \eta^2 = .02$ ).

Meanwhile, Spanish-language newscasts performed the civic role more than the interventionism role (civic:  $M = .23$ ,  $SD = .19$ ). The civic role performance was significantly higher than on English-language newscasts, which accounted for 18% of the variance ( $F = 116.573$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p = .000$ ;  $\eta^2 = .18$ ). These findings are also comparatively higher than most studies on role performance when it comes to civic and infotainment roles (Mellado et al., 2016); this is due to the unique transnational news production process of Spanish-language media in the United States that rely on sources from the Hispanic community and prefer sound bites in Spanish. Another reason is that most previous studies examining journalistic role performance looked at newspaper content and did not account for the coverage of television.

*RQ2* examined the way the four media networks integrated sound and image bites into their newscasts. Overall, English-language newscasts included more presidential candidates in their first sound bites: 85.7% of English newscasts were significantly more likely to begin with presidential candidates' sound bites, compared to 44.1% of Spanish-language newscasts ( $\chi^2 = 116.883$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Spanish-language newscasts included significantly more civic and ordinary people (5.3% and 19.4%, respectively) as well as expert sources (15.2%), compared to English-language newscasts that included 0.4% civil society sources, 1.3% ordinary people sources, and almost no expert sources.

Specifically, the association between sound bites and presidential candidates during the primaries by all four news networks was examined by a chi-square of association test. The test yielded significant results ( $\chi^2 = 51.696$ ,  $df = 18$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $V = .23$ ). A comparison of proportions is shown in Table 2. In all four networks, Donald Trump (> 50%) received the highest percentage of sound bite inclusions. Secondly, the same pattern was found in terms of images frequency for each candidate, a chi-square of association test indicated significant differences ( $\chi^2 = 47.706$ ,  $df =$

18,  $p = .001$ ,  $V = .18$ ). In all four networks, Trump again (> 50%) received the highest percentage of image inclusions (see Table 4).

INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

This study was also interested in analyzing the differences between the language used in the news production and the presidential candidate used in the first sound bite that triggered a particular journalistic role performance. To determine whether there was a difference, a multivariate analysis of variance was calculated using the sound bite and language of newscasts as independent variables and journalistic role performances (i.e., interventionist, watchdog, facilitator, civic, service, and infotainment) as dependent variables. Wilk's Lambda results show significant effects for TV language ( $F = 29.983$ ) as well as for the use of Trump's sound bites ( $F = 3.42$ ) and the use of sound bites by Clinton ( $F = 3.25$ ) as well as for the interaction between language of newscasts and sound bites of Trump ( $F = 2.24$ ). The use of Trump sound bites (see Table 5) had a significant effect on the interventionist, civic, and service role performances (see Tables 4-10 for test statistics and Figure 1 for the interaction effects). The use of Clinton sound bites showed significant differences in the civic, service, and infotainment roles (see Table 5 for test statistics). For both presidential candidates, the use of their sound bites most likely triggered an interventionist role performance, with Clinton receiving more coverage ( $M = .23$ ;  $SD = .26$ ) in this role performance than Trump ( $M = .21$ ;  $SD = .21$ ). The second most performed role in Trump's coverage was the infotainment role ( $M = .13$ ;  $SD = .16$ ), compared to Clinton ( $M = .08$ ;  $SD = .12$ ). For Clinton, the second most performed role was the civic role ( $M = .12$ ;  $SD = .19$ ), similar in its frequency as in the case of Trump ( $M = .12$ ;  $SD = .16$ ).

INSERT TABLES 5-10 ABOUT HERE

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Finally, Wilk's lambda criteria further showed significant group differences for the interaction between TV language and Trump's sound bites: Wilks,  $F(5, 193) = 2.24$ ,  $p = .03$ , multivariate  $\eta^2 = .03$ . Results revealed that the difference is significant in affecting the interventionist role ( $F = 5.36$ ;  $p = .02$ , eta squared = .01, observed power = .64) and in affecting the service role ( $F = 9.134$ ;  $p < .001$ , eta squared = .02, observed power = .86). Pairwise comparison further revealed that this difference was significant for Trump's sound bites in affecting interventionism for English-language news stories ( $t(250) = 1.999$ ,  $p = .04$ ). English-language newscasts performed less interventionism ( $M = .22$ ;  $SD = .20$ ) when using Trump's sound bites than when using sound bites of other presidential candidates ( $M = .28$ ;  $SD = .20$ ). The difference was not significant in Spanish-language newscasts, in which interventionism was performed to a lower degree overall (Overall:  $M = .19$ ;  $SD = .25$ ; Trump coverage:  $M = .19$ ;  $SD = .25$ ).

Furthermore, a post-hoc analysis for which sound bites were divided into three groups (1 = Clinton, 2 = Trump, 3 = other candidates) revealed another interesting dynamic between Spanish- and English-language news coverage of the primaries. The average performance for interventionism on English-language news stories ( $M = .36$ ;  $SD = .28$ ) when not using a Clinton or Trump sound bite was significantly higher than when using a Clinton sound bite ( $M = .27$ ;  $SD = .22$ ) or a Trump sound bite ( $M = .23$ ;  $SD = .20$ ). However, the average performance of interventionism when using a Clinton sound bite was higher than when covering Trump, but lower than when not covering either one of the presidential candidates ( $F(2) = 4.507$ ,  $p = .01$ ). There were no significant differences in Spanish-language newscasts. In fact, comparatively speaking, Trump was covered more with the interventionism role ( $M = .20$ ;  $SD = .25$ ) than Clinton ( $M = .14$ ;  $SD = .21$ ) or other candidates ( $M = .19$ ;  $SD = .25$ ).

## Discussion

The present findings indicate that the English–language newscasts performed the interventionist role significantly more than any other of the six journalistic roles. Whereas the Spanish–language networks performed the civic-oriented role to a significantly higher extent. The interventionist journalistic role is characterized by offering opinions and interpretations to news stories. The 2016 U.S. primaries were colored by news media bias toward the negative along with the horse race frame accounting for 63% of the news media coverage compared to 37% allocated to the democratic race (Patterson, 2016). Therefore, this type of news coverage combined with overuse of the interventionist journalistic role serves as an advantage for the Republican candidate to set his political communication campaign agenda to become the most covered candidate as one of the main political implications (e.g., Wells, et al., 2016).

The primaries help citizens and political parties to choose a candidate who can win (Azari, 2016). Thus, the second implication is that English and Spanish language news media helped Donald Trump to win the primaries when half of image and sound bites were allocated to his candidacy. This in turn may have had an impact on Hispanic voting turnout: if Donald Trump was attacking Hispanic identity and news media covered him the most, then Hispanic political involvement by means of voting turnout may have been substantially harmed later in the general election. Our findings suggest that at least 5 out of 10 sound and image bites were dedicated to Trump in both language news media outlets. This result becomes insightful when we consider that 72% of Hispanics in U.S. get their news primarily from TV (Flores & Lopez, 2018) and at least half of them obtain news information in both languages (Lopez, et al., 2013).

Increased journalistic interventionism has been documented by previous research (Hellmueller et al., 2016), and presents “the gradual transformation of the objectivity ritual toward

a more interpretative approach” (Esser & Umbricht, 2014, p. 245). Such a transformation can be explained with previous research that shows that since 1970 the primaries have been covered under the horse race frame (Patterson, 2016), which focuses mainly on which presidential candidate is “leading,” “trailing,” “gaining ground,” or “losing ground”. One could argue that horse race frames invite journalists to provide opinions rather than facilitating more profound political discussions, because of its communicative necessity to explain who is leading or losing ground. Consequently, the tendency to journalistic interventionism might have favored the coverage of Trump’s outrageous comments on TV and Twitter, because they provoke certain reactions and challenge the disseminator role of journalists.

However, and somehow counter-intuitive, we find that English–language media used their journalistic voice significantly less when covering Trump. This can be explained by research conducted by Patterson (2016b) who found that Clinton often was attacked in the press while Trump attacked the press. In other words: with the comparatively high media presence of Trump compared to other candidates, media failed to disrupt the growing image of Trump’s populist anti–elite discourse from the beginning on all four networks. This seems to be a result from the Republican candidate to set his agenda since he received most of the news media coverage.

Somewhat expected, the highest coverage in images and sound bites across all four networks for Trump signals how Hispanic media compete with English–language media by adopting similar editorial decisions such as the selection of images and sound bites. In fact, 5 out of 10 sound and image bites used in all four TV newscasts were devoted to Trump, 2 out of 10 for Clinton, 1 out of 10 for Sanders, and only 1 out of 10 for Cruz and Rubio combined. Thus, such news media competition made Trump to be the main image and voice of news content, and this

finding is also important because news media coverage during primaries actually affect candidates' chances to become a party nominee (Patterson, 2016).

For the media, this disproportionate coverage was driven more by economics than political bias. In a competitive 24/7 news cycle, news organizations publish stories that will drive traffic. Thanks to his preexisting fame and ability to generate controversy, those stories were often about Trump (Lawrence, R. G., & Boydston, 2017).

On the other hand, there are important differences in terms of sources and journalistic roles performed between the two languages. Most importantly, the Spanish-language newscasts included significantly more civic and ordinary people as well as expert sources and, subsequently, suggesting more enactment of the civic journalistic role by *Univision and Telemundo*. Perhaps the avoidance of sound bites from elite sources (such as presidential candidates) was used to counter the elite-discourse. The integration of elite sources to some extent limits the engagement of audience identification.

The strong focus on the interventionism role on English-language televisions might have actually widened the divide between mainstream media and Trump's agenda. By covering journalists' opinion in the news, media organizations position themselves on the political spectrum by taking a particular stand and are therefore more vulnerable to attacks against their historically institutionalized core functions: independence and autonomy. Opinionated journalism in the United States has increased over time (Esser & Umbricht, 2014) and our findings support these results—replicated during presidential primaries coverage.

Trump's strategy to attack the media might have found acceptance during the primaries to increase media's level of interventionism even more, and the psychological impact on audience was to believe there was a news media conspiracy to lock Clinton's election. While Spanish-

language networks performed more of a civic–journalistic role by integrating a diverse set of sources, they simultaneously adopted horse–race frame and agenda–setting dynamics from English–language networks by putting a strong focus on Trump. Meanwhile, the story of Trump for Spanish-language networks was more a story of ordinary people and civic society affected by his political program.

### **Conclusion**

This study is one of the first to empirically contrast the differences between Spanish–language and English–language newscasts in covering the U.S. presidential primaries. However, there are some important limitations. First, the research examined only the presidential primaries, so the coverage of the actual election cycle should be further examined.

Furthermore, there is a need for more studies that combine image bites literature with literature on journalistic role performance to understand how interventionist journalistic culture manifests by framing an image in a certain way. Despite these limitations, this study can serve as a theoretical framework for understanding how journalistic culture can shape political discourse in the United States.

While Spanish- and English-language networks both work under the same normative role of the state, the professionalism in terms of journalistic role performance offers insights into their very unique journalistic culture that depends on their audience orientation and journalistic routine that developed quite differently for Spanish-language media.

More voting-eligible Hispanics are turning to English-language networks nowadays and this will be an important future avenue of research to understand how Hispanics in the U.S. are engaged with news and particularly politics.

Even though news media's negative bias and horse race frames are aimed to hold audiences' attention, ironically it generates news media distrust (Patterson, 2016). Thus, empirical research is required to test associations between horse race frame, negative bias, and journalistic roles performance on news media credibility. Finally, more content analyses are needed to examine news media coverage related to journalistic culture during upcoming U.S. presidential elections to generalize our findings.

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Table 1. Days of Recording the U.S. Presidential Primaries, 2016

Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July
2 <sup>nd</sup> , 9 <sup>th</sup> , 20 <sup>th</sup> , 23 <sup>th</sup> , 27 <sup>th</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup> , 5 <sup>th</sup> , 6 <sup>th</sup> , 8 <sup>th</sup> , 12 <sup>th</sup> , 15 <sup>th</sup> , 22 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup> , 9 <sup>th</sup> , 19 <sup>th</sup> , 26 <sup>th</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup> , 10 <sup>th</sup> , 17 <sup>th</sup> , 24 <sup>th</sup> ,	5 <sup>th</sup> , 7 <sup>th</sup> , 14 <sup>th</sup> , 28 <sup>th</sup> ,	3 <sup>rd</sup> , 9 <sup>th</sup> , 15 <sup>th</sup> , 18 <sup>th</sup> , 20 <sup>th</sup> , 23 <sup>th</sup> , 25 <sup>th</sup>

Table 2. Journalistic Roles Performance Indicators description

<b>Journalistic Roles Performance</b>	<b>Number of Indicators</b>	<b>Indicators Description</b>
INTERVENTIONIST	3	opinion, interpretation, and proposal/demands
WATCHDOG ROLE	10	information on judicial/administrative processes, questioning by the journalist, questioning by others, criticism by journalists, criticism by others, denouncement by the journalist, denouncement by others, reporting of external investigation, reporting of conflict, and investigative reporting
LOYAL ROLE	9	defense/support activities, defense/support policies, positive image of the political elite, positive image of the economic elite, emphasis on progress/success, comparison to the rest of the world, emphasis on national triumphs, promotion of the country's image, and patriotism
SERVICE ROLE	4	impact on everyday life, tips and advice (grievances), tips and advice (individual risks), and information/consumer advice
INFOTAINMENT ROLE	6	personalization, private life, sensationalism, scandal, emotions, and morbidity
CIVIC ROLE	9	citizen perspective, citizen demand, credibility of citizens, education on duties and rights, background information, local impact, citizen questions,

information on citizen activities, and support of citizen movements

Table 3. Frequencies of Sound Bites of Candidates on Four News Channels

Candidate	Frequencies of Sound Bites			
	<i>ABC</i>	<i>NBC</i>	<i>Telemundo</i>	<i>Univision</i>
Trump	59.70%*	51.60%*	54.40%*	53.3%*
Clinton	31.0%	25.8%	10.5%	18.3%
Sanders	6.2%	12.9%	8.8%	8.3%
Rubio	0.0%	1.1%	10.5%	6.7%
Cruz	2.3%	4.3%	10.5%	6.7%
Others	0.8%	4.3%	5.3%	6.7%

\* $p = .001$ .

Table 4. Frequencies of Images of Candidates on Four News Channels

Candidate	Frequencies of Images			
	<i>ABC</i>	<i>NBC</i>	<i>Telemundo</i>	<i>Univision</i>
Trump	59.6%*	56.9%*	57.0%*	61.2%*
Clinton	33.8%	29.4%	15.8%	18.7%
Sanders	3.3%	9.8%	7.0%	7.2%
Rubio	1.3%	1.0%	7.9%	4.3%
Cruz	2.0%	2.0%	9.6%	4.3%
Others	0.0%	1.0%	2.6%	4.3%

\* $p = .001$ .

Table 5. Trump's Sound Bites and Journalistic Role Performance

Trump's Sound Bite	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
Interventionist	4.645	.03	.01	.576
Watchdog	0.482	.49	.00	.107
Facilitator	0.075	.79	.00	.059
Civic	4.001	.05	.01	.514
Service	8.866	.00	.02	.844
Infotainment	0.224	.64	.00	.076

Note: The reported test statistics are based on Wilks' Lambda.

Table 6. Clinton's Sound Bite and Journalistic Role Performance

Clinton's Sound Bite	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
Interventionist	3.174	.08	.01	.428
Watchdog	0.571	.45	.00	.117
Facilitator	1.566	.21	.01	.239
Civic	3.760	.05	.01	.490

Service	9.267	.00	.02	.860
Infotainment	5.363	.03	.01	.612

Table 7. Journalistic Role Performances Across News Organizations

	Interventionist <i>M (SD)</i>	Watchdog <i>M (SD)</i>	Facilitator <i>M (SD)</i>	Civic <i>M (SD)</i>	Service <i>M (SD)</i>	Infotainment <i>M (SD)</i>
<i>ABC (N = 152)</i>	.19 (.19)	.05 (.08)	.00 (.00)	.07 (.11)	.00 (.01)	.07 (.14)
<i>NBC (N = 103)</i>	.35 (.21)	.09 (.16)	.00 (.02)	.08 (.17)	.15 (.12)	.22 (.11)
<i>Univision (N = 146)</i>	.12 (.21)	.09 (.10)	.00 (.01)	.16 (.14)	.00 (.01)	.05 (.10)
<i>Telemundo (N = 122)</i>	.28 (.27)	.04 (.09)	.00 (.01)	.32 (.21)	.01 (.04)	.12 (.14)
ANOVA	$F = 23.97; df = 3; p = .001, \eta^2 = .12$	$F = 6.335; df = 3; p = .001, \eta^2 = .04$	$F = .678; df = 3; p = .57, \eta^2 = .00$	$F = 66.665; df = 3; p = .001, \eta^2 = .28$	$F = 191.231; df = 3; p = .001, \eta^2 = .53$	$F = 42.523; df = 3; p = .001, \eta^2 = .20$
Total ( <i>N = 523</i> )	.22 (.24)	.06 (.11)	.00 (.01)	.15 (.18)	.03 (.08)	.10 (.14)

Table 8. Journalistic Role Performances Across Languages

	Interventionist <i>M (SD)</i>	Watchdog <i>M (SD)</i>	Facilitator <i>M (SD)</i>	Civic <i>M (SD)</i>	Service <i>M (SD)</i>	Infotainment <i>M (SD)</i>
English ( <i>N = 255</i> )	.25 (.22)	.07 (.12)	.00 (.01)	.07 (.14)	.06 (.11)	.13 (.15)
Spanish ( <i>N = 268</i> )	.19 (.25)	.06 (.10)	.00 (.02)	.23 (.19)	.00 (.03)	.08 (.13)
ANOVA	$F = 8.858; df = 1; p = .003, \eta^2 = .02$	$F = .487; df = 1; p = .486, \eta^2 = .00$	$F = .002; df = 1; p = .97, \eta^2 = .00$	$F = 116.573; df = 1; p = .001, \eta^2 = .18$	$F = 75.144; df = 1; p = .001, \eta^2 = .13$	$F = 16.793; df = 1; p = .001, \eta^2 = .03$
Total ( <i>N = 523</i> )	.22 (.24)	.06 (.11)	.00 (.01)	.15 (.18)	.03 (.08)	.10 (.14)

Table 9. Multivariate Tests

	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
TV language (Wilks' Lambda)	29.984	.000	.26	1.00
Trump SB (Wilks' Lambda)	3.42	.003	.04	.943
Clinton SB (Wilks' Lambda)	3.25	.003	.04	.934
TV language × Trump SB (Wilks' Lambda)	2.24	.03	.03	.789
TV language × Clinton SB (Wilks' Lambda)	1.81	.10	.02	.680

Table 10. Interaction Effect (Trump's Sound Bite Trump × Language of Newscasts) and

Journalistic Role Performance

Language × Trump's Sound Bite	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
Interventionist	5.363	.02	.01	.637
Watchdog	0.087	.77	.00	.060
Facilitator	0.075	.79	.00	.059
Civic	0.086	.77	.00	.060
Service	9.134	.00	.02	.855
Infotainment	0.009	.50	.00	.108

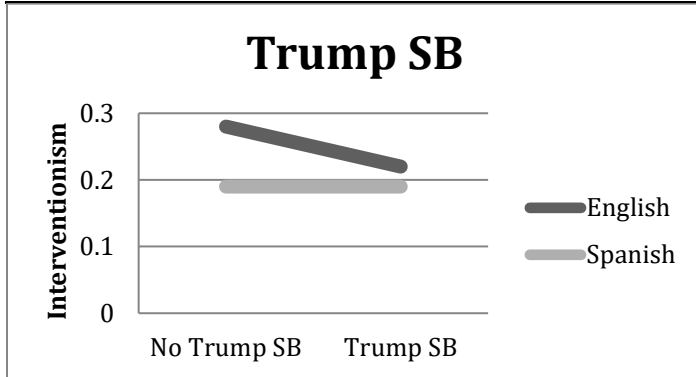


Figure 1. The interaction effect for language and sound bite on the performance of interventionism.