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Latino Masculinities Under the Microscope: Stereotyping and Counterstereotyping on Five Seasons of *CSI: Miami*

Diane J. Klein*

I. INTRODUCTION: LATCRIT AND/AS CULTCRIT

Between its premiere in the fall of 2002 and the summer of 2007, more than 125 hour-long episodes of *CSI: Miami* aired on CBS in the United States, and on many other stations worldwide. It is now entering its seventh season, and has been, at times, the most-watched television program on the planet.¹ This top-rated show brings images of Miami, Florida, and its inhabitants—men and women of all races, ethnicities, national origins, immigration statuses, and linguistic competencies—to many North Americans who live in communities almost devoid of Latina/o inhabitants, to the great Latina/o population centers in the U.S., and to millions of non-U.S. viewers (some Spanish-speaking, some not) all over the world. For many of them, this program is surely their most sustained exposure to Latinas/os in crime and law enforcement in Miami – or, perhaps, to Latinas/os at all. For others, it may be the most vivid way in which aspects of their own identity are reflected back to them by popular culture. For the purposes of this article, I focus on a set of themes that emerge from all those words, sounds, and im-

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¹ Press Release, Informa Telecoms & Media, *CSI: Miami and Spider-Man To Global Free-To-Air Charts* (February 21, 2006) (on file with author), available at <http://www.informamedia.com>; *CSI: Miami* Official Site on CBS, http://www.cbs.com/primetime/csi_miami/. In 2007-2008, it finished 16th in the Nielsen ratings, with an average of 13.87 million viewers a week. Available at <http://tvdecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/05/22/the-top-20-shows-of-the-season/>.

ages: the representation of Latino masculinities in the world of Miami crime and law enforcement.

At first glance, the cultural study of scripted televisual representations may seem to be a rather trivial or superficial part of the larger LatCrit endeavor. Evaluating whether these portrayals are accurate or inaccurate, progressive or reactionary, liberating or subordinating, anti-essentialist or utterly stereotyped, dwindles in significance in comparison to larger LatCrit projects such as resisting globalization, critical development of international human rights law, immigration reform, North-South relations, and so on. At the same time, the cultural analysis of fictional characters and narratives, and the performing artists who bring them to life, is an important component of LatCrit scholarship. Popular culture is not exempt.² The subject's importance is reflected by the fact that LatCrit V devoted a plenary panel to "Multi/Cultural Artistic Re/presentation in Mass Media: Capitalism, Power, Privilege and Culture Production,"³ and a number of LatCrit scholars work primarily or largely in cultural studies.⁴ This is not surprising, as the LatCrit project fits together well with the project of cultural studies, which "rejects the distinction between so-called low culture and high culture and argues that all forms of culture need to be studied in relation to a given social formation. It is thus interdisciplinary in its approaches."⁵ Cul-

² "LatCrit scholars have engaged in the serious discussion of cultural production - of culture generally and popular culture in particular. LatCrit theory has analyzed cultural production mostly by 'Others,' that is, cultural production internal to outsider communities. LatCritters also have studied how United States mass media portrays Latinas/os, African-Americans and Filipinas/os." Pedro Malavet, *The Accidental Crit II: Culture and the Looking Glass of Exile*, 78 DENV. U. L. REV. 753, 754-55 (2001) (footnotes omitted) (hereinafter *Accidental Crit II*).

³ <http://nersp.nerdc.ufl.edu/~malavet/latcrit/lcvdocs/substantiveprogram.htm>. Malavet, "Accidental Crit II," *supra* note 2, at 755.

⁴ See, e.g., Imani Perry, *Of Desi, J. Lo and Color Matters: Law, Critical Race Theory The Architecture of Race*, 52 CLEV. ST. L. REV. 139, 141 (2005) [hereinafter *Architecture of Race*] (analyzing Desi Arnaz (Cuban) and Jennifer Lopez (Puerto Rican), in which Perry "us[es] a cultural studies approach to delve into questions of race that are relevant to law. Popular cultural images are reflections, as well as arguments for certain kinds of social ordering and ideologies."). See also Imani Perry, *Cultural Studies, LatCrit, and Methodological Harmony*, 50 VILL. L. REV. 915 (2005) [hereinafter *Cultural Studies*] (analyzing daytime television talk shows with the "paternity test" theme, addressing the cumulative image of promiscuous young mothers (mostly women of color)); Juan F. Perea, *Killing Me Softly, With His Song: Anglocentrism and Celebrating Nouveaux Latinas/os*, 55 FLA. L. REV. 441, 442 (2003) (examining "Anglo-conformity," including singing in English, as a necessary precondition for the success of such popular Latina/o musicians as Ricky Martin, Jennifer Lopez, and Carlos Santana). Other LatCrit works on the "Latin Music Craze" include Malavet, *Accidental Crit II*, *supra* note 2, at 786-92; Steven W. Bender, *Will the Wolf Survive? Latino/a Pop Music in the Cultural Mainstream*, 78 DENV. U. L. REV. 719 (2001) (a Chicano perspective); Nancy Ehrenreich, *Confessions of a White Salsa Dancer: Issues of Appropriation, Appreciation, and Identity in the "Latin Music Craze,"* 78 DENV. U. L. REV. 795 (2001) (presenting a White Anglo perspective).

⁵ CARLA FRECCERO, *POPULAR CULTURE: AN INTRODUCTION* 14 (1999), *quoted in* Malavet, *Accidental Crit II*, *supra* note 2, at 756, n.12.

tural studies can also be seen as a response to many of the same forces that have shaped LatCrit: “industrialization, modernization, urbanization, the rise of mass communication . . . commodification . . . imperialism . . . a global economy.”⁶

Because of its worldwide viewership, *CSI: Miami* is, intentionally or otherwise, a contribution to “a sustained national debate about the salience of race as a force that continues to structure opportunity and relations within this society, a debate that is LatCrit’s *raison d’être*.”⁷ Reginald Oh reminds us that cultural representations are both causes and effects of larger structures of racism that make themselves felt throughout the social world. For example:

[I]t is also necessary for critical scholars to heed the call of Professor Perry and interrogate the cultural narratives that reinforce and perpetuate racially biased workplace situations. The unconscious biases that are triggered by normatively ambiguous workplace situations do not come from thin air, nor are they the product of internal cognitive processes of various individuals. Rather, unconscious biases and stereotypes are transmitted through ubiquitous cultural practices, and it would be enlightening and informative to be able to link the workings of unconscious bias in the workplace to the transmission of values, stereotypes and biases through cultural texts.⁸

The “cultural practices” and “cultural texts” analyzed here, comprising more than a hundred hours of television, thus connect to central issues of anti-subordination, anti-essentialism, and anti-discrimination in at least three ways. First, *CSI: Miami* is *itself* the workplace of a small group of Latinas/os, members of the cast (and crew), some of whom are among the most highly visible Latinas/os in our culture. Second, the television show *represents* a workplace—in this case the crime lab of the Miami-Dade Police Department⁹—in which Latinas/os play a significant role. Third, the program is viewed widely enough to surmise that it can and does *influence* the perception of Latinas/os in workplaces all over the U.S. and, indeed, the world. A cultural studies approach to this important pop-cultural artifact,

⁶ Cary Nelson, Paula A. Treichler & Lawrence Grossberg, *Cultural Studies: An Introduction in CULTURAL STUDIES 5* (Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson & Paula A. Treichler, eds., 1992).

⁷ Margaret Montoya, Foreword, *LatCrit at Ten Years*, 26 CHICANO-LATINO L.REV. 1, 4 (2006).

⁸ Reginald Oh, *LatCrit Introduction: Methods*, 50 VILL. L. REV. 905, 914 (2005).

⁹ “The Miami-Dade Police Department’s crime scene processing unit is called the ‘Crime Scene Investigations Bureau (CSIB),’ but unlike the TV show, MDPD’s CSI technicians do not conduct laboratory testing. The Miami-Dade Police Department has a separate Bureau that operates the Miami-Dade Crime Lab.” *CSI: Miami* (2002) – Trivia, <http://imdb.com/title/tt0313043/trivia> (last visited Feb. 14, 2008).

replete with images and narratives of Latinos/as in crime and law enforcement, is therefore a promising LatCrit undertaking.¹⁰

A. Methodology

The basic methodology of this research is familiar from media studies. Every episode of the program has been viewed multiple times, and “coded” on an elaborate form. The categories ultimately used for this coding were not set in advance; beginning with a preliminary set of traits of characters (gender, sexual orientation, age, marital status, occupation, national origin, immigration status, language status, and phenotype), all Latina/o lead, recurring, and guest characters were analyzed. As other relevant categories emerged, episodes were re-coded to reflect the enriched data set, in a recursive process. Other data was collected, including the fraction of episodes with overt Latino/a themes. Qualitative analysis was performed to illuminate specific themes.

The panoply of Latino/a characters and performers has been analyzed almost precisely in the terms laid out for LatCrit’s future development by leading thinkers in the movement:

The interdependence/indivisibility paradigm permits an analytical framework that considers a person’s myriad locations-including culture, race, ethnicity, religion, class It enables the asking of the sex, race, gender, sexuality, color, religion, language, nationality, ethnicity, culture, and poverty questions, i.e., whether there are such implications to the structure, process, circumstances, or institution at issue. These are precisely the questions that the LatCritical project poses and the interdependence and indivisibility paradigm allows them to be asked contextually without atomizing complex identities.¹¹

This analysis also determinedly, yet quite naturally, heeds Mary Romero’s methodological call to focus on institutional, rather than psychological, sources of racism and discrimination.¹² An episode of a television program, to say nothing of five seasons’ (more than one hundred episodes’) worth, is a complex cultural object, whose production involves a multitude of decisions and choices by many people and entities: writers, script supervisors,

¹⁰ Similar priorities govern a recent contribution to this field. Russell K. Robinson, *Casting and Caste-ing: Reconciling Artistic Freedom and Antidiscrimination Norms*, 95 CAL. L. REV. 1 (2006) (focusing on the use of racialized “breakdowns” in casting feature films).

¹¹ Berta Hernandez-Truyol, Angela Harris & Francisco Valdés, *LatCrit X Afterword: Beyond the First Decade: A Forward-Looking History of LatCrit Theory, Community and Praxis*, 26 CHICANO-LATINO L. REV. 237, 286 (2006).

¹² Mary Romero, *Revisiting Outcasts with a Sociological Imagination*, 50 VILL. L. REV. 925, 933-37 (2005).

story editors, directors, producers, actors, costume and make-up designers, as well as corporations – including production companies, television networks, and advertisers. Whether any one or more of these suffers from “unconscious” (or conscious!) racism, or is individually attempting to carry out any particular agenda in relation to race and ethnicity (as opposed to making a “hit show”), is not, to my mind, a fruitful subject of speculation.¹³

Instead, the programs, and the series in which they are embedded, are taken as nearly autonomous objects (which is, of course, how they present themselves), which can meaningfully be analyzed for what they “say” and “show” about, in this case, how Latinas/os are represented in popular culture at this moment. Put another way, rather than treating these representations as primarily the product of any single person’s *intentions* (be it writer, actor, or director), they are treated as part of an institution. That institution—commercial television—has its own imperatives and patterns of subordination, which are sought to be first illuminated and ultimately changed.

Context was provided in multiple directions. The analysis of *CSI: Miami* characters and storylines includes episodes of the program in which Latina/o identity is *not* foregrounded – in which we see our lead Latina/o characters performing their jobs in an otherwise “de-raced” setting (without Latina/o suspects, perpetrators, or distinctively Latina/o story elements).

B. Overview of Latino Coverage

Season One consists of the pilot and twenty-four episodes. Of these, a total of fourteen have major or minor Latino themes.

Season Two consists of twenty-four episodes. Just three focus centrally on Latino themes (two Cuban stories; and the episode introducing the villain Clavo Cruz). No more than eight others have any Latino characters or content at all. The Latino characters in Season Two tend to be quite “incidental,” as are the details—an example would be the fried ants in Episode 218, “Wannabe,” which lead the CSIs to a Colombian nightclub.¹⁴

Season Three consists of twenty-four episodes. Four have plots that center on Latino themes and characters (one Clavo Cruz episode, one drug story, one gang story, and one Cuba story); about seven others have significant Latino themes or characters.

¹³ A similar approach was taken in Diane Klein, *Ally McBeal and Her Sisters: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Representations of Women Lawyers on Prime-Time Television*, 18 LOY L.A. ENT. L.J. 259 (1998), in which no space was devoted to speculating upon the sexism (again, conscious or unconscious) of the hundreds of people involved in the production of dozens of television programs depicting women lawyers over a period of two decades.

¹⁴ *CSI Miami: Wannabe* (CBS television broadcast Mar. 22, 2004).

Season Four consists of twenty-five episodes. Eleven of these have Latino themes or important characters: four are part of the continuing Mala Noche storyline; of the remaining seven, most, but not all, fall into the usual “sex and drugs” stereotypes.

Season Five consists of twenty-four episodes. Nine of these have Latino themes or important characters, of which two conclude the Clavo Cruz storyline and two have explicitly Cuban themes (Cuban baseball players and Santería).¹⁵

Over the show’s first five seasons, the percentage of Latino-themed episodes has steadily declined, from fourteen out of twenty-four (or twenty-five, if the “Cross-Jurisdictions” pilot, employing the cast of the original CSI, is also counted) (about 55-60%), to nine out of twenty-four (37.5%). In other words, it is no longer the case that “most” of the episodes have significant Latino content. Moreover, while in the first season, five of the fourteen Latino-themed episodes primarily or exclusively focused on those themes, 20% of the total twenty-five episodes, by Season Five, it was just four of nine Latino-themed episodes, reflecting a reduction in both number and percentage of episodes with *either* major or minor Latino themes.

C. Background on Latino Stereotypes

In discussing the employment of stereotypes in popular culture, one is likely to encounter the objection that all movie or television characters are stereotypes, white people as well as people of color, women as well as men; that comedic or dramatic conventions, or cinema or the televisual form, in some way require it—that types are just a “shorthand,” not intended to discriminate against anyone. To counter this objection, Berg employs the “stereotype commutation test,” originally developed by John Thompson in his 1978 “Screen Acting and the Commutation Test.” Charles Berg explains how to apply the test:

Try to substitute another ethnicity into the role being analyzed. If the part can be played just as well as another ethnic, national, or, for that matter, gender group, then it is probably not a stereotype, but rather a stock comic or dramatic type (the jealous husband, the flirtatious wife, the deceptive best friend, and so forth). If no other ethnicity can be

¹⁵ As of the date this article was presented at LatCrit XII, two of Season Six’s episodes had aired. Neither had any significant Latino themes or important characters; in fact, the storylines were strikingly white/Anglo (the first focused on a kidnapping in which Horatio discovers a teenage son he never knew he had; the second concerned a high school love triangle involving a blonde swimmer, her boyfriend, and a female rival). LatCrit XII was held October 4-6, 2007. LatCrit XII Conference: *critical localities: Epistemic Communities, Rooted Cosmopolitans, New Hegemonies, and Knowledge Processes* (Oct. 4-6, 2007).

readily substituted for the role, then chances are that it relies on specific stereotypical traits of a particular cultural group to make its . . . impact.¹⁶

As we will see, most Latino characters function in precisely this stereotyped way on *CSI: Miami*.

D. Berg and Keller's Latino/A Stereotypes

Berg identifies six stereotypes—three for Latinos, three for Latinas. They are, respectively, *el bandido* (meaning the outlaw or bandit), the male buffoon, and the Latin lover; and the harlot, the female clown, and the dark lady. In coming up with this list, Berg drew on, but also simplified and modified, a longer list of stereotyped Latina/o characters identified by Gary Keller in his analysis of the first generation of Hollywood films (through the 1930s). The male stereotypes identified by Keller are greasers, the bandit, the bad Mexican, the gay caballero, the good/faithful Mexican, the good bad man, and the Hispanic avenger. The female stereotypes are cantina girls, the faithful/moral/self-sacrificing *senorita*, and the vamp/temptress.¹⁷ I would argue that Berg's three are actually meaningfully different than Keller's earlier set (though both include just three female types), but this will be spelled out in more detail in what follows.

It is also important to understand that in Berg's stereotype analysis the Latino characters are situated in relationship to white/Anglo characters, particularly the white male hero. Speaking about Hollywood cinema leading men, Berg states, "we can say with a high degree of certainty that, sociologically speaking, that goal-driven hero will be a white, handsome, middle-aged, upper-middle-class, heterosexual, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon male."¹⁸ This is a pretty close description of Horatio Caine, played by David Caruso, although as a Catholic of possibly Irish background, he is not a "WASP."¹⁹ Because he is in charge, the subordination of all other characters (younger and non-white males, and all females) in relation to him is continuously demonstrated and justified.

In determining the degree to which *CSI: Miami* employs and relies on Keller and Berg's stereotypes, we also need to keep in mind that they analyzed motion pictures, typically involving characters and stories told in one

¹⁶ CHARLES RAMIREZ BERG, *LATINO IMAGES IN FILM: STEREOTYPES, SUBVERSION, & RESISTANCE* 67 (2002).

¹⁷ *Id.* at 282.

¹⁸ *Id.* at 67.

¹⁹ The red-haired Caruso, an Italian, is phenotypically more Irish-looking, as is Dean Winters, who played Caine's brother Raymond, and both of these ethnicities are well-represented among police forces, particularly in New York, where the characters are from.

to two hours. Even the “series” of motion pictures Berg analyzes (such as Lupe Velez’s “Mexican Spitfire” series) only consisted of several films, less than 20 hours all told. *CSI: Miami*, now entering its seventh season, consists of approximately 150 hour-long episodes so far, 125 of which are analyzed here. In theory, the producers, writers, directors, and actors have had the opportunity to present a much wider array of characters and stories than can appear in any single motion picture.

At the same time, *CSI: Miami* is a single program in a particular genre, the dramatic police procedural. For that reason, we would not expect to find (and indeed we do not find) the comic stereotypes Berg describes as the “female clown” and the “male buffoon.” At the same time, we would expect to find (and we do find) a variety of changes rung on villainous and other derogatory stereotypes, some of which are not found in Berg and Keller.

E. Overview of Findings

Distressingly, two trends are discernible over the course of the show’s first five years. The first is that the overall Latino content (number of characters/actors, and Latino themes as major or minor story components) has steadily declined. More troublingly, the show appears to have become more and more stereotyped in its representations of Latinos over the course of the past five years. Where the first season counterbalanced the *bandidos* and Latin lovers with a broad array of Latino police officers, as well as professionals with roles outside law and law enforcement, in the more recent seasons only the stereotypes remain. The steady drop in Latino content, coupled with the short-lived *Cane*, a serial drama about a wealthy Cuban family in Florida (think of a Latino *Dallas* with sugar and rum rather than oil), does not bode well for *CSI: Miami*’s commitment to these themes and performers.²⁰ CBS’s failed attempt to quarantine its Latino performers and themes on its own show leaves no prime-time show with central Latino

²⁰ *Cane* featured an all-star Latino cast including Jimmy Smits as “Alex Vega,” Hector Elizondo as his adoptive father, patriarch “Pancho Duque,” Rita Moreno as Pancho’s wife “Amalia,” along with former Miss Colombia Paola Turbay as Alex’s wife “Isabel Vega (née Duque), Nestor Carbonell as jealous brother “Frank” (sometimes “Franco”), and Eddie Matos (a Puerto Rican actor) as younger brother “Henry.” *Cane* debuted at number 27 for the week, with a bit over 11 million viewers; the best premiere for a new prime time program in the 2007-2008 season. By comparison, *CSI: Miami*’s sixth season premiere came in 11th, with a bit over 15 million viewers. The last of 13 episodes aired December 18, 2007, and it was not renewed for 2008-2009. Available at <http://tvseriesfinale.com/articles/cbs-announces-their-2008-09-schedule-whos-been-cancelled/>.

themes (although Hector Elizondo is now on *Monk* and Nestor Carbonell on *Lost*).²¹

II. ¡VIVA! LATINO STEREOTYPES

A. *Los Nuevos Bandidos*: Clavo Cruz, the *Mala Noche*, and Other Villains

As Berg describes him, the motion picture *el bandido* is “dirty and unkempt, usually displaying an unshaven face, missing teeth, and disheveled, oily hair. Scars and scowls complete the easily recognizable image. Behaviorally, he is vicious, cruel, treacherous, shifty, and dishonest; psychologically, he is irrational, overly emotional, and quick to resort to violence.”²² Berg recognizes that this older cinematic stereotype has undergone an important evolution in two directions, both of which appear on *CSI: Miami*: “[t]he first is the Latin American gangster/drug runner . . . slicker, of course, and he has traded in his black hat for a white suit, his tired horse for a glitzy car, but he still ruthlessly pursues his vulgar cravings—for money, power, and sexual pleasure—and routinely employs vicious and illegal means to obtain them.”²³

“A second *bandido* variant . . . is the inner-city gang member seen in numerous urban thrillers and crime dramas. If the story takes place in New York, he is the volatile Puerto Rican; if in Southern California, he is the East L.A. homeboy,”²⁴ and, we would add, if in Miami, he might be a member of the *Mala Noche*, the Nicaraguan gang whose criminal enterprise dominates Season Four. As Berg remarks, *el nuevo bandido* has undergone “only superficial changes to the external details of the stereotype; at their core these characters are the same inarticulate, violent, and pathologically dangerous *bandidos*.”²⁵ In addition to Clavo Cruz and the *Mala Noche*, a number of other single-episode villains fall into this stereotype.

1. Clavo Cruz

Clavo Cruz is a classic updated *bandido*, combining elements of the “slick” white-suited drug kingpin with the conscienceless sociopath of the street. Clavo’s story is told over the course of four episodes, spread over Seasons Two, Three, and Five. He is portrayed by Gonzalo Menendez, a Miami-born Hispanic actor.

²¹ *Id.* (same website). The Showtime program *Dexter*, set in Miami, does include significant Latina/o characters and themes, but it is not a (free) broadcast show.

²² BERG, *supra* note 16, at 68.

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Id.* at 69.

He is introduced in Episode 201, "Blood Brothers,"²⁶ in which he kills a beautiful model by deliberately hitting her from behind the wheel of a yellow Lamborghini, his trademark "glitzy car." Clavo is one of two sons of the ruler of Baracas, an imaginary Spanish-speaking South American country, and he therefore enjoys diplomatic immunity for his crimes and depravity.

In Episode 315, "Identity,"²⁷ Clavo's luck changes. Horatio discovers that Clavo is behind a scheme in which drugs are smuggled into the U.S. inside rare snakes (one of which kills a woman before dying itself). Clavo's symbol, a bright yellow Lamborghini Diablo, reappears in this episode also. Horatio meets with the General and Mrs. Antonio Cruz at the Baracas Consulate (played by Argentinean actor Castulo Guerra and Brazilian Sonia Braga), to try to convince the father to revoke Clavo's diplomatic immunity, but he refuses, based on their blood tie. Horatio obtains a sample of the General's blood and reveals to the General that Clavo is not his son, but his wife's child by another man. The General revokes Clavo's immunity, and leaves Miami with his wife. Clavo goes to prison for his crimes.

Clavo Cruz finally meets his end in Episodes 514, "No Man's Land,"²⁸ and 515, "Man Down."²⁹ Even from prison, Clavo is involved in hijacking a government weapons truck. While Horatio is visiting him in prison, Clavo escapes, killing a guard in Horatio's presence. Clavo is behind an attack on the courthouse, in which a bailiff is killed in Alex's presence. While searching the parking lot for the apparently kidnapped court stenographer, Cruz's men shoot Delko, very nearly killing him. Clavo also kills General Cruz, the man he grew up believing was his father; Clavo turns out to be the child of a blood diamond/arms dealer. Ultimately, Horatio kills Clavo.

(In addition to the updated *bandido* stereotype, Clavo, too, is the irresistible "Latin lover"; the Anglo court stenographer, Cathy Gibson, becomes his lover and accomplice, only later becoming his kidnapped victim.)

Clavo's story is rife with stereotypes, even beyond Clavo himself. The man he believed was his father, General Cruz, is the "proud" man, humiliated by his wife's infidelity (20+ years ago), and with no genuine feeling for the child he reared, once he learns Clavo is not his "blood." He is a primitive, just as much as his son. The under-drawn character of Mrs. Cruz is a powerless creature, apparently the faithful *señorita*, only later revealed to be a faithless "harlot." The plot implicitly suggests that while white people can remake themselves (Horatio is not like his philandering, drug-

²⁶ *CSI: Miami: Blood Brothers* (CBS television broadcast Sep. 22, 2003).

²⁷ *CSI: Miami: Identity* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 14, 2005).

²⁸ *CSI: Miami: No Man's Land* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 5, 2007).

²⁹ *CSI: Miami: Man Down* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 12, 2007).

abusing brother, Raymond, or his own father, who killed his mother; Angla ballistics expert Calleigh Duquesne, played by the platinum blonde Emily Procter, is not like her alcoholic father), for Latinos, blood is everything—the “mystery” of how a basically decent man like General Cruz could have such an evil son is “solved” when we learn that Clavo is the product of infidelity between his unfaithful mother and the blood diamond/weapons dealer (and not, apparently, the result of his upbringing by the General).

2. The *Mala Noche*

The story of the *Mala Noche* figures centrally in Season Four and the Season Five premiere. In Season Four, *Mala Noche* episodes “bookend” the season, occupying the season premiere and the two last episodes of the season, as well as one mid-season episode.

The *Mala Noche* are not simply criminals. They are radically anti-social, and their activities represent a threat to “civilization” in general and the CSIs in particular. Their anti-social stance is illustrated by the venues in which their crimes are committed, to the horror of “decent” people. In Episode 401, “From The Grave,”³⁰ a *Mala Noche* gang member emerges from the casket of Mrs. Fuentes, in time to make his escape and shoot her son, Alberto, who was allowed out of prison for the funeral. In Episode 413, “Silencer,”³¹ a *Mala Noche* murder of *Mala Noche* gang member Jose Sambrano is committed at the Miami Latin Festival, on the dance floor. In Episode 424, “Rampage,”³² the gang opens fire at a trial.

As these examples show, the *Mala Noche* kill “their own.” They also do not spare women. In “From The Grave,” the deceased Mrs. Fuentes turns out to have died of a heart attack brought on by fright or stress, due to a *Mala Noche* grenade, and the escaping *Mala Noche* assassin also sexually assaulted Celia Gonzalez, the Latina housekeeper for an Anglo man who runs a business the *Mala Noche* have been using as a front. In “Silencer,” two other Latino characters, Hector Ramirez, a tattoo artist, and Mario Pilar, a landscape gardener, are both victimized by the *Mala Noche*: Ramirez was ordered to kill Sambrano because he had not earned the particular tattoo he wore; Pilar was set up by the *Mala Noche* on a robbery charge.

The *Mala Noche* are also a direct threat to the CSI team. In “Rampage,” as Horatio closes in on a large *Mala Noche* leadership meeting, Delko and his sister Marisol are both shot—Marisol fatally. As the season ends

³⁰ *CSI: Miami: From the Grave* (CBS television broadcast Sep. 19, 2005).

³¹ *CSI: Miami: Silencer* (CBS television broadcast Jan. 23, 2006).

³² *CSI: Miami: Rampage* (CBS television broadcast May 15, 2006).

(Episode 425, “One Of Our Own”³³), Antonio Riaz (played by Vincent Larresca) who shot Marisol, is in custody, but because of a deal with the federal government, is going “back to stand trial in Brazil.” (It is unclear why, since the *Mala Noche* is not a Brazilian gang.) As with Clavo Cruz, Riaz first escapes justice, but in Episode 501, “Rio,”³⁴ *CSI: Miami* concludes the storyline as Horatio and Delko go to Rio to track him down; ultimately, Horatio shoots him to death.

Yet, as Latinos, even members of the irredeemable *Mala Noche* have elements of the “Latin lover” in them—the imprisoned Alberto’s former girlfriend, Michelle Burke, is an affluent Anglo woman; Jose Sambrano, the gang member/victim at the Latin Festival is a skilled samba dancer, whose dancing with the Anglo woman Claire Trinner results in her (accidental) death.

3. Citizenship and Immigration Status

It is no coincidence that the most important villains on the program are Latinos who are not U.S. citizens, not “Americans.” One of these identities in effect stands for the other. Clavo Cruz is “Baracan,” and his use (and later, loss) of diplomatic immunity is a continual reminder of the threat he (and those like him) pose. Similarly, the *Mala Noche* are Nicaraguan, and Marisol’s murderer Antonio Riaz nearly escaped Horatio’s justice when he was extradited to Brazil. Because these men are foreign, and Latino, a close association is created between foreigners, non-citizens, Latinos, and criminals—notwithstanding that Miami’s population is more than 60% Latino, and more than 70% of them are non-U.S. born (more than 80% if one includes U.S.-born persons with at least one foreign-born parent). Of all the cities in the U.S., Miami may be one where Latinos are least likely to be undocumented, and occupy the widest range of social roles—yet the show encourages the viewer to look upon Latinos suspiciously, as “Others” who threaten “us” even in Miami. It also implicitly postulates a connection between non-citizens and criminality, a kind of xenophobia deeply at odds with Miami’s role as a point of entry for countless law-abiding, pro-social immigrants.

4. Gangs

Of course, representations of the contemporary *bandido* are not confined to those villains with multiple-episode story arcs. Every episode of *CSI: Miami* features at least one villain, generally a murderer, whose crime

³³ *CSI: Miami: One of Our Own* (CBS television broadcast May 22, 2006).

³⁴ *CSI: Miami: Rio* (CBS television broadcast Sep. 18, 2006).

is solved during the episode. In many such cases, those villains are not only Hispanics, but are highly stereotyped in their identity, motive, criminal “style,” and so on.

Two episodes focus explicitly on gang violence, and in both cases, the gangs have a distinctly Chicano flavor – although the Mexican population of Miami is approximately 1%! The *Mala Noche* is a Nicaraguan gang. If there is “homegrown” Miami organized crime among Latinos (or anyone else), *CSI: Miami* does not show it to us.

Episode 312, “Shootout,”³⁵ is about gang “warfare,” and includes numerous highly stereotyped portrayals. The crime that precipitates the events is the murder of “Primerio”/Johnny Garcia (played by Luis Esteban Garcia), leader of the “East Side Hermanos.” A teenage member of the gang, Hector Del Rio (played by Chicano actor Joseph Julian Soria), comes into the E.R. of Dade Memorial Hospital and shoots at Calvin Joyner (played by Jason Quinn). Orderly Ramon Morales (played by Demetrius Navarro) tipped Del Rio off to Joyner’s presence there, in the (mistaken) belief that Joyner killed Primerio. In fact, Joyner was shot by another member of Primerio’s gang, Rico Dominguez (played by Noel Guglielmi, an actor with a Mexican father and an Italian mother). Distinctive tire marks from outside the hospital also lead the CSIs to Eddie Davids, the Anglo owner of an auto shop, and his customer Jesse Navedo (played by Reynaldo Gallegos). Navedo turns up at Primerio’s house, in the company of his widow, Ana Garcia (played by Rosa Blasi, an actress of Puerto Rican, Italian, and Irish descent), and daughter Carmen (played by Jackie Pereida), who witnessed her father’s murder. It turns out that Ana was discovered by her husband in bed with Davids; Primerio beat his wife up, and Davids killed Primerio.

Primerio is a stereotyped *bandido*, a gang leader in a Chicano mold. He is a criminal leader who is a violently jealous and possessive man. The portrayal of Ana is more stereotypical still—she is a classic “harlot” type, who prefers an Anglo man to her own Latino husband; her sexual irresponsibility leads to the murder of her daughter’s father in front of the child. Every other gang member is violent, predatory, and “hot headed”—they take “revenge” upon the wrong people because they are not as “smart” as the Anglo CSIs who solve the crime. As with the *Mala Noche*, the Latinos do not respect dominant social institutions. The Latino orderly, who works in a hospital, cares so little for human life that he invites a gun-toting killer into the E.R.; this threat is heightened by placing both a pregnant woman and a woman with a baby into the E.R. at that time, making clear that Del

³⁵ *CSI: Miami: Shootout* (CBS television broadcast Jan. 3, 2005).

Rio has no respect for the lives of completely innocent bystanders including women and children. The “macho” masculinity of the gang members—which does not include protection for women and children—is thus contrasted with Horatio’s Anglo style, which brings the wrongdoer to justice without violence (except to the criminal), and ensures the protection of women and children (including the baby in the B-storyline, not related to the gang war).

In Episode 511, “Backstabbers,”³⁶ the show postulates a strange criminal connection – between Al-Qadr, Middle Eastern terrorists, and Los Craneos, another East L.A.-style gang that is somehow in Miami. One murder victim is an ex-gang member, Gabriel Cervantes (played by Enrique Almeida), killed by gang member, Hector Rivera (Rick Gonzalez, possibly Puerto Rican). The gang boss, Rulon Domingo (played by Rolando Molina, born in El Salvador), ordered the murder.

Both of these single-episode treatments of gangs conform to the contemporary *bandido* stereotype of mindlessly anti-social conduct, disdain for the lives not only of enemies, but also of “outsiders” and even other gang members, and abusive attitudes towards women and children.

5. Drugs

Perhaps because the drug trade is primarily a late-20th century phenomenon (at least as a pop culture subject), neither Berg nor Keller specifically discuss stereotypes that link particular ethnic groups of color to the U.S. traffic in illegal narcotics. Yet such stereotypes surely exist. Certain countries have nearly become metonyms for particular drugs: Colombia for cocaine; Afghanistan for heroin. Similarly, the consumption of particular drugs has become closely associated with specific racial or ethnic groups: crystal meth with “White trash,” crack cocaine with African-Americans, ecstasy with late-adolescent white “ravers,” etc. This is not to suggest that particular countries or groups are not disproportionately involved in producing or consuming particular drugs; of course, they are. However, when illegal drugs are classed and raced in this way, the association can spill over into stereotypes, including assumptions that everyone in the group is associated with the drug, and that only those group members are.

For example, Episode 304, “Murder in a Flash,”³⁷ focuses on Latinos and drugs, and also places the family relationships of Latinos in stark counterpoint to that of Anglos. The episode moves from a “flash mob,” consisting mostly of highly privileged Anglo teenagers from an exclusive prep

³⁶ *CSI: Miami: Backstabbers* (CBS television broadcast Dec. 11, 2006).

³⁷ *CSI: Miami: Murder in a Flash* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 11, 2004).

school, to Latinos. The white teenagers turn out to have a drug dealer in common with a Latina addict, who is also murdered. Blood found on a meth bag at the home of one of the prep school students leads the CSIs to Latino/a siblings Raul and Madonna Arias (played by Douglas Spain and Lorena York, a.k.a. Lorena Maria Segura Chardon, a Puerto Rican actress). (Fidel Barroso, the Cuban drug dealer/thug who beat Madonna to death, is played by Francesco Quinn, the son of Mexican-born actor Anthony Quinn and an Italian mother.) In this episode, we can contrast Madonna, the Latina who is both an addict and a victim—she is killed because her brother has destroyed drugs her dealer fronted her to sell, and she cannot account for them—with Jenna and Sarah, two Anglas. Jenna is the daughter of the headmaster, and she kills Daniel Kleiner, a rival student, (accidentally) by overdosing him with GHB in retaliation for his cheating at school. Sarah is an Anglo girl who buys drugs from the same dealer, but apparently suffers no consequences from doing so. Where Jenna and even Sarah are active, Madonna is passive. Moreover, we are expected to be surprised that the privileged prep school girls, Jenna and Sarah, use drugs (particularly the down-market meth), and less so about Madonna.

We can also contrast Raul, whose attempt to get his sister off drugs ends tragically in her murder, with two Anglo youths, Justin Gillespie and Chad Van Horn. Justin's father, defense lawyer Martin, protects his son, who had nothing to do with the murder of Kleiner. Chad is another similarly privileged student. The Anglo students are protected, for better or worse, by their parents; the Latino/a siblings apparently have none, or none who can help them. Madonna and Raul are loyal to each other, but Raul's devotion to Madonna cannot save her (and of course, his "protective" impulse to destroy the drugs led to her murder), while the self-involved, self-interested Anglo teens—who are just as involved in drugs and illicit activity, with worse motives—seem to escape punishment.

A number of other episodes also apparently "naturally" link Latinos and drugs. In Episode 322, "Vengeance,"³⁸ the two Latino characters are drug dealers: cocaine dealer Julio Pena (played by Andre Royo, an actor with a Cuban father), and his colleague, Luis Rivera (played by Marcus Patrick, who had a European father and a mother of Jamaican, Cuban, and Cherokee descent). Both are violent hotheads. It should be noted that the primary story of the episode concerns a fifteen year high school reunion—but none of the alumni are Latino/a (though there is no plot-driven reason why there might not be some). Hence, the contrast between the successful white alumni and the criminal Latinos is more starkly racialized.

³⁸ *CSI: Miami: Vengeance* (CBS television broadcast May 9, 2005).

In Episode 420, "Free Fall,"³⁹ three Latino men end up victims, a pair of brothers (one killed, one very nearly so) and a hotel owner, all of whom are working for a drug cartel laundering money.

In Episode 423, "Shock,"⁴⁰ El Salvadoran women are victimized by an Anglo research scientist who is also a synthetic drug and crystal meth dealer. Horatio liberates a group of women imprisoned working at a meth lab, and finds the missing sister of one of the women.

Episode 501, "Rio,"⁴¹ is set in Brazil and involves Horatio and Delko's search for Riaz, the extradited murderer of Marisol. Horatio's brother Raymond, Yelina, and Ray, Jr. now reside in Brazil as well, and Ray Jr. is involved in running drugs (specifically heroin) to Miami, working for Riaz.

In each of these episodes, typically the only Latinas/os who appear are connected to the drug trade (whether as victim or dealer, or both). While white people are often also involved, other white characters are not, which makes clearer that the white characters are not stereotypes.

6. Other Criminals

The link between Latinos and miscellaneous forms of criminality is strong. In episode after episode, we are presented with Latino petty criminals, often working for others in a variety of anti-social enterprises.

In Episode 217, "Money for Nothing,"⁴² Chicano actor Ben Bray plays Danny Pilar, an armored-car robber shot by Horatio.

In Episode 220, "The Oath,"⁴³ Puerto Rican actor Wilmer Calderon plays Jimmy Azario, a criminal who works with a prostitute, stealing cars from her clients.

In Episode 307, "Crime Wave,"⁴⁴ a pair of Latino thieves plans a robbery to take advantage of the coming tsunami. The partners are Leon Caldwell (played by Nicaraguan actor Pedro Miguel Arce) and Manny Orantes (played by Dominican actor Manny Perez). The "mastermind" of the crime is a white man.

In Episode 311, "Addiction,"⁴⁵ one of the murder victims is Victor Tinocco, a convicted carjacking felon.

Episode 314, "One Night Stand,"⁴⁶ has a Cuban villain, Juan Fernandez (played by Jose Pablo Cantillo). One clue to his identity was that he

³⁹ *CSI: Miami: Freefall* (CBS television broadcast Apr. 10, 2006).

⁴⁰ *CSI: Miami: Shock* (CBS television broadcast May 8, 2006).

⁴¹ *CSI: Miami: Rio* (CBS television broadcast Sep. 18, 2006).

⁴² *CSI: Miami: Money for Nothing* (CBS television broadcast Mar 1, 2004).

⁴³ *CSI: Miami: The Oath* (CBS television broadcast Apr. 19, 2004).

⁴⁴ *CSI: Miami: Crime Wave* (CBS television broadcast Nov. 8, 2004).

⁴⁵ *CSI: Miami: Addiction* (CBS television broadcast Dec. 13, 2004).

rented a hotel room under the name “Fulana Perez,” Cuban slang for “Jane Doe.” He later killed the bellman who opens one of his suitcases. The crime is a complex counterfeiting operation.

B. The Latin Lovers

The other primary Latino stereotype employed time after time is the “Latin lover.” As Berg describes him, the Latin lover is:

the possessor of a primal sexuality that made him capable of making a sensuous but dangerous—and clearly non-WASP—brand of love....[with] the erotic combination of characteristics instituted by [Rudolf] Valentino: eroticism, exoticism, tenderness tinged with violence and danger, all adding up to the romantic promise that, sexually, things could very well get out of control.⁴⁷

1. Eric Delko

There is only one regular Latino lead character on *CSI: Miami*: Eric “Delko” Delektorsky, portrayed by Adam Rodriguez, an actor of Cuban and Puerto Rican parentage. As a result, he carries a heavy burden, both of stereotyping and counter-stereotyping. The official character description for Eric Delko describes him as:

a first generation Cuban [sic—he is a first generation *American*], having crossed the Florida Straits while still in his mother’s womb. Upon arrival, his Russian born Father changed the family name from Delektorsky to Delko Delko is a natural athlete, having graduated with a swimming scholarship from the University of Miami Despite his freewheeling nature—his love of the nightlife and fast cars—he is an invaluable asset to the team with strong ties to Miami’s Cuban-American community.

By Season Four, the official character description of his “freewheeling nature” included “*his love of women*, Miami’s non-stop nightlife and fast cars.”

Whether as a piece of irony or deliberate counter-stereotyping, although he is an athlete, he is not a baseball player, but a swimmer and diver. He speaks Spanish and English—but he also speaks Russian.

⁴⁶ *CSI: Miami: One Night Stand* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 7, 2005).

⁴⁷ BERG, *supra* note 16, at 76.

Delko is a highly sexualized character, with two modes of relating to women: as the sexually voracious Latin lover, and as the protective Hispanic avenger. The middle seasons developed this persona, while Season Five emphasized his Cuban identity.

Episode 320, "Killer Date,"⁴⁸ presents him in this stereotyped role most directly. The episode itself has a highly sexual theme: a murder has taken place at "Club Prone," something between a bar and a sex club, where patrons "rent" beds for \$1,500. The episode's A-story is the murder of a woman who had been "matching" men and women at the club; her killer was a woman raped by one of those men. Delko, who was supposed to work the case, has lost his police/CSI badge, and confessed to Calleigh that he lost it while having sex with a stranger. Delko later divulges some of his wireless dating escapades using his Bluetooth-enabled device.⁴⁹ The search for the missing badge becomes the B-story. Delko's attempt to find it brings him back to the (outdoor) scene of his encounter, and he lifts a woman's handprints from a glass wall. This woman's brother used the badge, which the woman took from Delko, in a robbery and murder. The episode ends with Delko visiting Psychological Services, apparently to seek help for his sexual "problem."

Both storylines make the didactic point that indiscriminate sex is deadly, and not just for those who participate in it themselves. For Delko, the central theme of this episode is the incompatibility between professionalism as an officer of the law, and an unconventional sex life—misplacing his badge during a sexual encounter is therefore the perfect symbol of this conflict. We might think of Delko as having taken the Latin lover persona as far as it can go, perhaps too far, given the confines of his professional role.

As the official Season Four biography of the character describes, Delko's initial response to his colleague Tim Speedle's death in Season Three "was to immerse himself in anonymous sexual encounters." In Season Four, a somewhat chastened Delko turns his amorous attention closer to home. He and a Latina CSI begin a relationship in Episode 413,⁵⁰ later derailed by a pregnancy scare in Episode 415,⁵¹ where we also learn that Delko is intimately acquainted with many of the women who play volleyball on the beach he frequents. Delko's sexually-dominant personality is also dem-

⁴⁸ *CSI: Miami: Killer Date* (CBS television broadcast Apr. 18, 2005).

⁴⁹ Episode 320, "Killer Date" first aired on April 18, 2005. However, on April 4, 2005, "tooth-ing" as a means for arranging anonymous sexual encounters was revealed as a media hoax. (See Wikipedia entry). See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eric_Delko.

⁵⁰ *CSI: Miami: Silencer* (CBS television broadcast Jan. 23, 2006).

⁵¹ *CSI: Miami: Skeletons* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 6, 2006).

onstrated when, in Episode 421,⁵² a younger white CSI asks Delko if he can pursue the Latina CSI with whom Delko had been involved. Meanwhile, Delko's dangerous appeal to Anglo women is confirmed when he becomes the target of an obsessed ex-lover, a beautiful Angela who vandalizes the cars belonging to Eric and his sister Marisol (Episode 424, "Rampage"⁵³).

At the same time, Delko is a "Hispanic avenger," who rides to the rescue when women, particularly women of color, are threatened. For example, in Episode 409,⁵⁴ Delko is present during a bank robbery, but does not act until a female teenage bank customer is accosted by one of the robbers, at which point Delko uses his gun and kills another of the robbers. He repeatedly jeopardizes his career to help his cancer-stricken sister, Marisol (for example, by buying her marijuana in Episode 406, "Under Suspicion"⁵⁵). The same protective impulse threatens his career again in Season Five, Episode 513, "Throwing Heat,"⁵⁶ when Delko breaks up a bar fight between a married couple. The husband threatens to sue Delko, and is later killed by the bartender; the two had been conspiring to split the money from a lawsuit against Delko and the police department.

Delko's relationship with Calleigh includes considerable sexual tension, but no sexual relationship; the dynamic is similar to that between white Catherine Willows (Marg Helgenberger, an American actress of Irish and German descent) and black Warrick Brown (Gary Dourdan) on the original *CSI*. As Season Five concluded (and as Season Six began), Calleigh became involved with a younger Anglo homicide detective, "Jake Berkeley" (played by Johnny Whitworth). In the Season Six premiere, Episode 601, "Dangerous Son,"⁵⁷ we learned that Calleigh and this man spent a week in Antigua together, and Delko is visibly jealous.

Both of these relationships present the mutual attraction between white women, who are very beautiful by conventional Anglo standards (very fair skinned; long, light hair; very slender; long-legged), and handsome, well-built, younger, black, and/or Latino men. In workplaces where romances are not infrequent, the couples are inexplicably not "permitted" to one another. The primary difference between these relationships and the classic "plantation" sexual fantasy/paranoia about the mistress and the "black buck" is that the white women and the men of color have equal professional and social standing. That this romantic pairing (white woman—Latino) is

⁵² *CSI: Miami: Dead Air* (CBS television broadcast Apr. 24, 2006).

⁵³ *CSI: Miami: Rampage* (CBS television broadcast May 15, 2006).

⁵⁴ *CSI: Miami: Urban Hellraisers* (CBS television broadcast Nov. 21, 2005).

⁵⁵ *CSI: Miami: Under Suspicion* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 24, 2005).

⁵⁶ *CSI: Miami: Throwing Heat* (CBS television broadcast Jan. 22, 2007).

⁵⁷ *CSI: Miami: The Dangerous Son* (CBS television broadcast Sep. 24, 2007).

not permitted is made especially noticeable on *CSI: Miami* because there are several relationships between white *men* and Latinas, including a brief marriage between Horatio and Eric's fatally ill sister, Marisol. (Horatio's brother, "Raymond Caine," was married to the Colombian detective "Yelina Salas," played by Greek-Italian actress Sofia Milos;⁵⁸ that character later dates white IAB Sergeant "Rick Stetler" (played by David Lee Smith)). For all his sex appeal and professional accomplishment, Eric Delko is still not a suitable romantic partner for the *über*-white Calleigh.

A valuable theoretical device for thinking about the character of Eric Delko is the "Exemplary Other." This concept was developed primarily in the context of the black/white binary in American racial thinking, but it applies more broadly. As Lolita Inniss explains:

Exemplary Others are unlike the downtrodden masses of regular Others; they are almost as good as insiders. Moreover, exemplary Others must, by definition, be recognized by the mainstream society as exemplary, and they must themselves have a belief in their own "specialness" which sometimes leads to this mainstream recognition. The exemplary Other is somewhat akin to the myth of the 'model Minority.'⁵⁹

The construction of certain members of a group as "Exemplary Others" is a subordinating technique. It co-opts those it identifies as "exemplary," and does so by enforcing their differences from other members of the subordinated group. In a program which presents Latinas/os *both* as part of the law enforcement hierarchy, *and* as frequent criminal suspects and defendants, it is important to evaluate whether the Latina/o lead characters—professional, English-speaking, law-abiding—function as "Exemplary Others," set up against more "typical" Latina/o criminals, who speak with accents and break the law.

Arguably, Eric Delko functions as an "Exemplary Other." Particularly in comparison to Adell Sevilla, he aligns himself with law enforcement rather than the Cuban community; he also, in the end, privileges his professional identity over his sexual "Latin lover" persona. Compared to other Latin lover characters, whose sexuality is often linked to criminality (in themselves or others), and often incites criminal behavior in others, he recognizes his sexual "problem" and manages his sexuality in a more conventional way. His Cuban-American identity is also privileged vis-à-vis other Cuban characters, particularly those who immigrated to the U.S. under dif-

⁵⁸ See Sofia Milos Official Website, <http://sofiamilos.com/home.html>.

⁵⁹ Lolita K. Buckner Inniss, *Bicentennial Man: The New Millennium Assimilationism and the Foreigner Among Us*, 54 RUTGERS L. REV. 1101, 1116-17 (2002).

ficult, quasi-legal circumstances. In “Wet Foot, Dry Foot,”⁶⁰ which explicitly focuses on Cuban illegal immigration, we learn, among other things, that Eric is *not* “illegal” or even a naturalized citizen – his pregnant mother arrived in the U.S. before his birth, so he is a native-born U.S. citizen.

2. *Los Otros* Latin Lovers

Delko is joined by a whole host of “Latin lovers” in single-episode roles. Unlike the *bandidos*, as a group these men tend to be victims, not killers – however, their sexuality often incites others to murder.

In Episode 103, “Just One Kiss,”⁶¹ the hired bartender Estevan Ordonez (played by Joe Duer) is murdered after having a sexual encounter with a party guest at a Kennedy-like beach compound. (Although it is not clear whether the actor is Latino, the character clearly is.) In Episode 104, “Losing Face,”⁶² the first victim of the “necklace” bomb, blown up in his own home, is Aurelio Moreno, devoted husband to *two* devoted and unwitting wives—one in Florida, and one in Colombia.

In Episode 211, “Complications,”⁶³ the murder victim is a fancy cosmetic surgeon, Dr. Carlos Garza, played by Randy Lewis Hernandez. He is counterstereotyped, as a member of a highly elite profession. However, he is a classic “Latin lover,” sexually involved with his female medical partner, who ultimately kills him, either out of jealousy or because he is threatening the practice by becoming sexually involved with patients.

Episode 306, “Hell Night,”⁶⁴ concerns a family murder set in a very affluent neighborhood. The victim, Miranda Lopez (played by Elisa Leonetti) is the wife of Donny Lopez (played by blond actor Lester James Brandt, the Texas-born son of a German father and a Honduran mother); their daughter Chelsea is played by Alyssa Diaz.

Donny’s profession is stereotyped; he is a professional baseball player, and he is an unfaithful husband, caught by his daughter fooling around with another woman. The daughter confronts her mother, who does not believe her; the fight leads to the daughter accidentally killing her mother, a crime of which her father is accused, and then exonerated. This episode thus includes a stereotypically over-sexed Latino, along with a dangerously jealous and volatile young Latina.

⁶⁰ *CSI: Miami: Wet Foot / Dry Foot* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 7, 2002).

⁶¹ *CSI: Miami: Just One Kiss* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 14, 2002).

⁶² *CSI: Miami: Losing Face* (CBS television broadcast Sep. 30, 2002).

⁶³ *CSI: Miami: Complications* (CBS television broadcast Jan. 5, 2004).

⁶⁴ *CSI: Miami: Hell Night* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 25, 2004).

In Episode 405, “Three-Way,”⁶⁵ “Armando [Diaz], the hotel’s sexy Latino pool boy” (played by Vincent Rivera) is the victim of murder – after he was sexually involved with two of three women spending a “wives weekend” at “the beautiful five-star Graciana Hotel.” He is killed by the husband of one of the two women, who was himself involved with the third of them. In Episode 417, “Collision,”⁶⁶ another sexy young Latino is murdered, a parking valet played by Italian actor Victor Alfieri. In this case, he is a gay blackmailer, killed by his married Anglo blackmail victim. (Episode 311, “Addiction,”⁶⁷ also included a Latino valet, Enrique, played by Jose Solano.)

III. CUBAN MASCULINITY

Obviously no analysis of Latino representations on *CSI: Miami* would be complete without at least a brief discussion of its representations of the Cuban community in Miami.

Episode 102, “Wet Foot, Dry Foot,”⁶⁸ one of the very first episodes aired, is perhaps the most thorough treatment of Cuban issues on any episode of the show. This episode foreshadowed a commitment to exploring these matters in a nuanced way, which unfortunately did not come to pass. In this episode, the central crime is the death of a teenage girl attempting to escape from Cuba. She was shot intentionally by her teenage brother, in the hopes of attracting a ship to rescue them, but she died too soon. The real villain behind her death was a drug trafficker, who threw his human cargo overboard to save the drugs in a storm. Much of this episode takes place in Little Havana, where Horatio and the other CSIs find themselves dealing with community leaders, families, and so on. In this episode we also meet Adell Sevilla (played by Wanda de Jesus, whose ethnicity is variously identified as black and Latina), a female police detective of Cuban background, setting up a contrast between her and fellow Cuban Eric Delko. A good deal of Spanish is spoken in this episode, with varying degrees of proficiency, by Anglo and Latino characters. Not all of the Spanish dialogue is either translated or subtitled, a trend which also unfortunately did *not* continue over the seasons. This episode begins to frame Delko’s Cuban identity, particularly in distinction to Adell Sevilla’s, and in the figure of the brother, introduces us to an arguably positive representation of sibling devotion in the Latina/o family echoed both by Delko and Marisol, and by Raul and

⁶⁵ *CSI: Miami: Three-Way* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 17, 2005).

⁶⁶ *CSI: Miami: Collision* (CBS television broadcast Mar. 6, 2006).

⁶⁷ *CSI: Miami: Addiction* (CBS television broadcast Dec. 13, 2004).

⁶⁸ *CSI: Miami: Wet Foot / Dry Foot* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 7, 2002).

Madonna Arias (Episode 304, “Murder in a Flash”⁶⁹). Importantly, however, each of these pairings ends tragically, with the death of the sister—these *hermanos* may be devoted, but their illegal and dubious conduct, rather than saving their sisters, dooms them.

Two episodes in Season Two have explicitly-Cuban themes. In Episode 213, “Blood Moon,”⁷⁰ the owner of a “tiny cigar shop in Little Havana” turns out to be Miguel “The Butcher”/“*El Carnecero*” Bernardo, an exiled torturer from the Castro regime, living under an assumed identity as Juan Marco Varon until his murder. We are also introduced to Marisela Coto, a woman who helps Cuban émigrés—“Balseros”—who survive the crossing to Miami. The episode includes a scene of Delko and Horatio helping two people to shore in the middle of the night. The killer turns out to be Coto’s son, who has come from Cuba to take revenge: Coto was raped by Bernardo, and the son was the result. *El Carnecero* thus again embodies the sexualized violence of the *bandido*-Latin lover figure, and Coto’s son, the Hispanic avenger.

In Episode 219, “Deadline,”⁷¹ a Cuban extremist group, “Las Sombras” (The Shades) is the subject of a murdered journalist’s research. The story includes a bomb threat by that group, as well as rivalry with another journalist. The group consists of pro-Castro terrorists, who oppose Cubans coming to the U.S.

Episode 309, “Pirated,”⁷² is a quite densely plotted story involving pirates, cannibalism at sea, and rocket-mounted grenades—but the episode touches down in Little Havana, when a shop belonging to Roberto Lopez is destroyed. The community and the CSIs discover a militant white racist group behind the attack, who engage in xenophobic rhetoric; Lopez’s failure or refusal to learn English is foregrounded. The racist group are clearly the villains, and when their leader Wesley Morgan suggests that the presence of non-English speaking Latinos has rendered Miami “a foreign country,” Delko replies that many of them have been there longer than Morgan and his group. The Cuban Lopez is unmistakably a victim of white racism (shared to some degree by white Detective Tripp), with the Cuban CSI Delko as his primary defender.

Two episodes in Season Five have explicitly Cuban themes, and Delko is centrally involved in both of them. Episode 506, “Curse of the Coffin,”⁷³ concerns Santería. Santería objects are found near a dead body of an Anglo

⁶⁹ *CSI: Miami: Murder in a Flash* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 4, 2004).

⁷⁰ *CSI: Miami: Blood Moon* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 2, 2004).

⁷¹ *CSI: Miami: Deadline* (CBS television broadcast Mar. 29, 2004).

⁷² *CSI: Miami: Pirated* (CBS television broadcast Nov. 22, 2004).

⁷³ *CSI: Miami: Curse of the Coffin* (CBS television broadcast Oct. 23, 2006).

woman, who has other Santería paraphernalia in her closet. Delko recognizes the objects and is spooked by them; Wolfe teases him about it. The motive for murder turns out to be some gold bars buried in pre-paid cemetery plots by a divorcing Anglo couple – there do not appear to be any Santería practitioners in the episode, and the only “strange” or “spooky” events are explained by the use of blowfish poison, scientifically debunking any religious element. Delko’s Cuban identity is thus linked to these “superstitious” views, which run contrary to his professional training as a CSI.

Episode 513, “Throwing Heat,”⁷⁴ involves the murder of a refugee Cuban baseball player, Ario Pastano (played by bilingual Hispanic actor Brandon Michael Vayda). Jorge Zamareno, another refugee baseball player (played by American-born Latino actor Walter Perez), believes a Cuban hit man and Castro loyalist might be behind the murder, but a jealous Anglo pitcher actually turns out to be the killer.

As these episodes demonstrate, while the coverage of Cuban themes and characters is an important component of *CSI: Miami*, it rarely breaks free of the stereotypes already articulated. The show also demonstrates an unfortunate tendency to become more and more stereotyped over time, with the later episodes being less sensitive and nuanced than the earlier ones.

IV. LESS OR COUNTER-STEREOTYPED LATINO CHARACTERS AND PLOTLINES

A. Ordinary Men

A handful of episodes present less or counter-stereotyped presentations of Latino masculinity. In Episode 206, “Hurricane Anthony,”⁷⁵ Martin Medesto, played by Raymond Cruz, is murdered. His pregnant wife is played by Marisa Ramirez de Loaysa, an actress whose other credited work is entirely in Spanish-language productions. We suspect his brother-in-law, Miguel, played by Cuban-born actor René Lavan, but the killer turns out to be his white neighbor; Medesto’s death resulted from a fight over a ladder the neighbor wanted to use before the hurricane hit.

In Episode 316, “Nothing to Lose,”⁷⁶ prison labor is used to help fight a fire in the Everglades, and the prisoners work ably and nobly at this task. One of the prisoners, Rico Garza (played by Hector Atreyu Ruiz, a Chicano and native Angeleno), is a victim of a spree killer on the loose.

⁷⁴ *CSI: Miami: Throwing Heat* (CBS television broadcast Jan. 22, 2007).

⁷⁵ *CSI: Miami: Hurricane Anthony* (CBS television broadcast Nov. 3, 2003).

⁷⁶ *CSI: Miami: Nothing to Lose* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 21, 2005).

In Episode 414, “Fade Out,”⁷⁷ Cesar Morales (played by Cuban actor Jsu Garcia), a doorman at the hot Burgundy Club, is working with two screenwriting students; he ends up murdering himself in a “life imitates art” scenario. His ambition makes him disloyal, however; he is behind the murder of his boss, Jake Richmond, and pays for leaving the service of Joey Salucci, the mob boss, with his life.

These portrayals are important, to the extent that they situate Latinos to any extent outside the dominant stereotypes of criminality and hypersexuality. They also pass the “stereotype commutation” test: that is, non-Latinos could also have successfully played these roles, which do not depend for their dramatic usefulness on ethnic stereotypes. However, such roles on the show are comparatively quite infrequent.

B. Latinos in Upper Class Racially-Mixed Neighborhoods

Within the stereotyped paradigm, those few Latinos who are wealthy are typically illicitly so. However, there are a few exceptions. In Episode 416, “Deviant,”⁷⁸ Victor Terraza (played by Alex Fernandez) is a leading suspect in the murder of Anglo Philip Gordon, a registered sex offender living with family in Terraza’s (racially and ethnically mixed) neighborhood. Terraza has even apparently used his own daughter to draw out the offender, and participated in beating Gordon up when he approached her. But Terraza does not turn out to be the killer; instead, the offender’s own brother did it when he became convinced that stress from his brother’s presence has caused his wife to miscarry, and that his brother may not ever change. Victor Terraza therefore fits more closely into the “Hispanic avenger” type, with whom we remain somewhat sympathetic throughout.

Episode 516, “Broken Home,”⁷⁹ is also set in an upper-class, ethnically mixed neighborhood. One central family in the episode is Latino in name and phenotype, the Montavos, played by Marco Sanchez and two actors of less obvious Latino origins, but dark-haired: Julie St. Claire (originally Capone) and Lorenzo James Henrie. This Hispanic family has an Anglo babysitter (whose parents are murdered); although the Montavos are suspects, and presented as somewhat decadent (partying with GHB with a young child at home), they are not criminals—the babysitter’s boyfriend was sleeping with her mother, and killed her jealous father; the jealous babysitter herself killed her own mother when she learned of the affair. (Note: as in

⁷⁷ *CSI: Miami: Fade Out* (CBS television broadcast Jan. 30, 2006).

⁷⁸ *CSI: Miami: Deviant* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 27, 2006).

⁷⁹ *CSI: Miami: Broken Home* (CBS television broadcast Feb. 19, 2007).

Episode 306, “Hell Night,” mothers are killed by daughters over sexual indiscretions of some kind.)

These two episodes present successful Latino men, who are suspected of crimes but who are completely exonerated, and whose social standing lacks any air of criminality. These episodes also pass the stereotype commutation test, though again are unfortunately few in number.

V. CONCLUSIONS

During its first five seasons, *CSI: Miami* gave viewers a wide array of Latino characters, including villains, heroes, and men from more ordinary walks of life. Unfortunately, the representations have only very occasionally broken out of highly stereotyped images of the Latino—as *el bandido*, the Latin lover, or the Hispanic avenger. Despite its setting in Miami, the show is clearly Anglocentric: the central protagonist, Horatio Caine, is a white Anglophone man, and all other characters are subordinated to him professionally and even morally and psychologically. Horatio is the standard of masculine competence and self-control, by comparison to whom all other characters are found wanting. With a handful of exceptions, the plot-lines and cast reinscribe white norms—when non-white characters appear, their race is almost always central to their presence on the program, and most portrayals cannot pass the stereotype commutation test.

At the same time, the show does not suffer too heavily from that aspect of Anglocentrism Pedro Malavet calls “the myth of homogeneity,”⁸⁰ closely related to Latina/o essentialism.

This essentialized vision posits that all Latinas/os constitute one “foreign nationality,” relative to the U.S., and a single mixed race Racially, Latinas/os are essentialized, and often essentialize themselves, as *una raza* (one race), *india*, *espanola y africana* (Indian—meaning Native American—Spanish and African).⁸¹ For example, references to Puerto Rican singers as “hot tamales” or “hot jalapeños” essentialize Latino/a otherness, because the two foods are part of the Mexican, but not the Puerto Rican, diet.⁸² In fairness, *CSI: Miami* is not especially guilty of this variant of essentialism. A wide variety of actors and actresses, some not Latina/o, portray Latina/o characters. But, in general, care is taken to distinguish, particularly, Cuban identity from other forms of Latino ethnicity and nationality. At the same time, postulating an imaginary South American country like “Baracas” (in the Clavo Cruz storyline) permits the show creators to indi-

⁸⁰ See Malavet, *Accidental Crit II*, *supra* note 2, at 789.

⁸¹ See *id.* at 789-791 (footnote omitted).

⁸² *Id.* at 789.

scriminately mix various elements of South American identities to create a “composite” that is, in fact, a fantasized identity rather than a historically accurate one.

The good news is that more than a hundred hours of *CSI: Miami* have offered as wide an array of Latino characters as any U.S. television show has ever presented (and provided work to a very large number of Latino performers); the bad news is that these portrayals run mostly along well-worn stereotypical paths.