

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF IMMIGRANTS IN BORDER STATES
DURING THE 2006 MIDTERM ELECTION

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Abstract

The power of metaphor and language in the media is well known. The relationship between this fact, regional variation, and the divisive Hispanic immigration issue is less well known. Building on previous research, this critical analysis explored the coverage of immigrants and immigration in 64 news articles published during the two weeks preceding the 2006 midterm election in “elite” national newspapers and border-state newspapers. Using the sources cited in news articles, as well as the language employed in these articles, this study examined the differences in portrayal of Hispanic immigrants. Specifically, it explored how proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border influenced media coverage of immigrants and the issue of immigration. This analysis found that border-state newspapers presented immigrants as both victims and perpetrators of the immigration process. Importantly, the study revealed that immigrants were generally criminalized within the local context of the social and economic ramifications of immigration. In contrast, national newspapers placed immigrants as a group within the border context of policy, law, and business; stories of individuals tended to be human-interest pieces, glorifying a Hispanic immigrant. These results suggest that proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border may have played a role in media treatment of Hispanic immigrants before the 2006 midterm election.

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Preface

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Introduction

Media as an institution plays a fundamental role in informing the public. In fact, some would argue that “[i]n democratic societies the most fundamental obligation of the media is the dissemination of information” (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1991, p. 121). More specifically, by disseminating information in certain ways, media ultimately shape public opinion (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1991; Domke, McCoy, & Torres, 1999; Weaver, 1996; Zhongdang & Kosicki, 1996; see also Entman, 1993; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Because public opinion plays such an important role in modern democratic society, it is important to understand how the media shape public opinion. This is especially true during election cycles, when the opinions of individuals help to determine electoral outcomes, thereby affecting the course that society will take. By examining the role of the media during elections or electoral cycles, we can gain valuable insight into how the media contextualizes information for the public who then perceive it within that contextual framework.

Media theorists often debate the role of the media in shaping public opinion. Weaver (1996) argues, “[a]ttitudes and opinions are not constructed from thin air but rather from the information that people believe to be true” (p. 36). This view, that the media shape public opinion, accounts for the subjective criteria that individuals place on issues that either directly affect them or for which they have high levels of emotional involvement. Messages in mass communications help shape public opinion, and “what is learned from media presentations will be used to reinforce previously held opinions” (p. 43).

Electoral media campaigns are another institution that shape public opinion. For example, communicators for national campaigns often develop messages to suit the demographics and opinions of different target audiences. Communicators must also consider how audiences receive and understand messages to ensure that the messages impart the right idea: “[m]edia campaigns do not take place in a vacuum; information is received and elaborated within networks of family members, friends, or colleagues” (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1991, p. 133). Within this perspective, media theorists contend that during elections, media serve primarily to reinforce previously existing ideologies among the audience (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1991; Domke, McCoy, & Torres, 1999; Weaver, 1996; Zhongdang & Kosicki, 1996). Importantly, the media do not relinquish their primary obligation of informing the public, who are generally poorly informed or inactive in terms of political thought (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1991). In communications with largely uninformed individuals, the way in which media present the news becomes more influential in shaping the public’s knowledge or reinforcing public opinion.

In his seminal article, Entman (1993) claimed that communicators make “conscious or unconscious framing judgments” (p. 52) when deciding what issues to make more salient to the audience. For Entman, communicators frame the text by emphasizing or omitting certain words, phrases, images, sources, and sentences that “provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (p. 52). Frames have particularly important implications in political communications because they highlight some facts while obscuring others, thus determining how people understand and interpret problems and ultimately how people act upon those problems.

Election cycles highlight divisive issues and provide a useful opportunity to examine how the media frame such issues. In every election, whether national or local, certain issues will typically come to the fore as important – usually from a personal perspective (direct effect), emotional perspective (ideology, religion), or academic perspective (economic, policy). Because “the media play a major role in teaching...voters which issues are most important and how the candidates stand on them” (Weaver, 1996, p. 38), the way in which communicators select and frame issues becomes extremely relevant in understanding the impact of media on public perception. For example, Domke, McCoy, and Torres (1999) found that the news frames used in experimental conditions influenced whether or not the subjects drew upon common racial stereotypes of Hispanics when describing their position on immigration-related legislation.

Recently, the issue of Hispanic immigration has become increasingly divisive and controversial. During the 2006 midterm election, debates on immigration reform played an important role in many campaigns, some of which were based solely on this issue. The growth of Hispanic populations in the U.S., especially through immigration, has developed into a controversial issue that is regarded differently in different parts of the country (e.g., Pew Research Center, & Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). Immigration is a multifaceted issue that encompasses many aspects of American public affairs and policy, such as economics, social policy, ethnic and racial division, and political affiliation. Despite the wide cross-section of issues that immigration covers, rhetoric and partisanship have largely dominated the debate surrounding immigration. As such, an analysis of the news media’s coverage of immigration may shed light on the underlying

arguments and viewpoints that are often obscured by the rancor of the immigration debate.

This study examines the language used in media coverage in the period immediately preceding the 2006 midterm elections. It seeks to compare the treatment of Hispanic immigrants in newspapers from states on the U.S.-Mexico border and “elite” national newspapers. While several studies have examined the language used to describe immigrants and immigration in regional newspapers or national newspapers, none have disaggregated newspapers based on their proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border. This comparison may illuminate the role of geographic proximity in the treatment of Hispanic immigrants in newspaper coverage during electoral periods as a means of understanding how geographically diverse media reflect or shape the opinions of its target audience. First, I will review the scholarly literature on the treatment of Hispanics in print media. Then, I will conduct a critical analysis of primary sources from the most recent national elections in November 2006.

Background on Hispanics in the United States

According to the Pew Hispanic Center [PHC] (2005), approximately 40 million Hispanics were living in the United States in 2004, representing 14% of the total U.S. population. Demographers project that by 2010, the number of Hispanics living in the United States will reach 47.7 million, and by 2020 that number will increase to more than 60 million. Hispanics will then represent the largest minority group in the country.

Though trends in population distribution are currently changing, a significant majority (80%) of the Hispanic population lives in 10 states: California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, Arizona, New Jersey, New Mexico, and Colorado (Pew Hispanic

Center, 2005). Metropolitan areas in these states, in addition to metropolitan areas in states close to the U.S.-Mexico border, i.e. Arizona, California, Texas, and New Mexico, have relatively high concentrations of both documented and undocumented Hispanic immigrants. Of the total population of undocumented immigrants in the United States, which demographers estimated at 10 million in 2004, approximately 60% hail from Mexico and 20% come from other Latin American countries (Pew Hispanic Center, 2005). Thus 80% of the undocumented immigrants in the U.S. are believed to be Hispanics. In 2005, the total number of undocumented immigrants grew to an estimated 11.5 to 12 million people (Pew Research Center & Pew Hispanic Center, 2006).

Background on Immigration

A nationwide survey conducted by Pew Research Center & Pew Hispanic Center [PRC & PHC] (2006) showed that a narrow majority (53%) of respondents thought unauthorized immigrants should be deported to their countries of origin, while 40% expressed their belief that the United States should grant these immigrants some form of legal status. Outside of the deportation debate, 67% of respondents believed that those unauthorized immigrants already in the U.S. should be ineligible for social services, while 71% believed that children of undocumented immigrants should be allowed to attend public schools. When compared with other national problems, such as health care, terrorism, and crime, 42% of respondents thought of immigration as a national issue, ranking it fifth, ahead of the availability of good-paying jobs, and behind corruption. From these data, we might view immigration as an important national issue that elicits a number of contradictory beliefs.

Beliefs surrounding the immigration debate largely depend on perceptions of

Hispanic peoples. Though the PRC & PHC in 2006 showed that Americans thought of Latin Americans more positively than they did in 1997—when 63% believed Latin Americans were hard-working, compared to 80% in 2006—their results suggested that, both nationally and regionally, Americans still held stereotypes of Hispanic immigrants.

Proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border is another factor that influences the range of views on Hispanic immigration. Exposure to immigrants and immigration tends to affect popular perception of this issue. Individuals who live in areas with high concentrations of Hispanic immigrants hold more positive opinions of that group, suggesting that exposure to and experience with immigrants result in a better impression of them. For example, the report revealed that people living in areas with high concentration of Hispanics were less likely to view Hispanics as placing an outsized burden on the housing and job markets than their counterparts in low concentration areas (47% to 65%, respectively) (Pew Research Center & Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). Conversely, 47% of those in high concentration areas expressed the view that Hispanics strengthened the United States through hard work or talent. Only 27% of individuals in low concentration areas believed this to be the case (Pew Research Center & Pew Hispanic Center).

Regarding the impact of Hispanics on local cultural beliefs, those in areas of high concentration were less likely to see Hispanics as a threat to American customs and values than those in low concentration areas (47% to 60%, respectively). However, 33% expressed more concern for immigration as an important problem in their community, as opposed to 10% of residents of low concentration areas. These beliefs translated into their convictions about whether or not legal immigration should be decreased; 37% of those in high concentration areas believed immigration should be decreased; a majority (52%) of

respondents in low concentration areas believed the same (Pew Research Center & Pew Hispanic Center, 2006).

Metropolitan areas such as Phoenix, which are close to the U.S.-Mexico border, displayed a very nuanced understanding of the immigration debate. While 55% of Phoenix residents interviewed say that immigration is a big problem in the city (the highest percentage for any issue facing the city), they also “hold immigrants in high regard for their hard work and strong family values” (Pew Research Center & Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). This duality in the perception of immigrants by Phoenix residents demonstrates that constant or daily exposure to large Hispanic populations creates both positive and negative shifts in opinion, which are primarily the result of the local implications of the immigration debate.

Implications and Research

The evidence thus suggests that public perceptions of immigration vary depending on where survey respondents reside. Respondents from border-states experience the effects of immigration in primarily local ways, such as how immigration affects the quality of local health care or education, while respondents from non-border-states often consider immigration within the context of national security and economic growth. One commonality between these two geographically distinct populations derives from the use of immigration as an election issue. Both local and national politicians use immigration as a primary campaign platform, solidifying it as one of the most important (and sometimes divisive) issues of the present day. During the 2006 midterm election, media coverage reinforced the notion of immigration as an increasingly polarizing and complex issue.

As information providers and opinion shapers (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1991; see also Weaver, 1996), the media take on an important role in the immigration debate. This is all the more true when the relevance of framing to political communications is taken into account (Entman, 1993). This essay adds to the body of literature on framing theory by examining a specific instance of framing— and the external pressures (such as location, religion, ethnicity, and environment) that influence framing and its subsequent interpretation by the audiences. The research and analysis in this essay shed light on the larger issue of how the media contextualizes information for the public, who then perceive it within that context.

While others have studied the portrayal of immigrants in national newspapers (e.g., Coutin & Chock, 1997; Hardy, 2003) this investigation disaggregates the national print media into two geographic groups to examine whether proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border influences how newspapers portray immigrants. In doing so, it will provide insight into the study of media's ability to shape public opinion about controversial or important domestic political issues in different areas of the United States. By looking closely at one moment in which news media have the opportunity to influence perceptions (the 2006 midterm election), the research illuminates the larger role of the media during elections in established democracies.

Literature Review

Immigration has been debated in media since at least the 1870s (e.g., Streitmatter, 1999). Immigration's position as a divisive issue is evidenced in the print media, whose use of specific language, rhetoric, and metaphor serves to shape how the public perceives the issue. This literature review will examine the coverage of immigration and the treatment of immigrants in print media to build an analytical base from which to examine differences between regional and national press in their coverage of immigration.

Historical Coverage

Since at the least the 19th Century, coverage of immigrants and immigration in the news media has contributed to the shape and direction of the policy debate surrounding this issue. Immigration is often polarizing (see Hadley, 1956), and media on both sides of the debate tend to use emotional or galvanizing language (e.g., Hardy, 2003; Santa Ana, 1999)—even if their primary concern is objectivity and fact-based reporting (although this is sometimes not the case). The rhetoric and language used in the newspaper coverage of immigrants and of immigration is a key component for understanding the shape and course of this debate.

America in the 1870s was becoming a crowded nation (Higham, 2002). Farmers and ranchers were settling the last sections of the Great Plains, just as immigrant populations from China and Europe were carving out greater niches in America's cities. For the first time, the "ingenuous faith in the open road westward [that] had long supported belief in an open road upward" was flagging, as both of those roads seemed to close (p. 38). This was also a time of unheard prosperity, but only for a few. The combined sense of a "closed space" in the United States and a situation where

"[c]orporations cut wages savagely," "unemployment mounted to a million or more," and "poverty stared with fiercer eyes" contributed to the nascent anti-immigrant feeling (p. 37). The feeling was so intense that journalists of the time assailed "the [Southern] European immigrant with a bluntness and sweep perhaps unknown in a general magazine" before that time (p. 35).

In the 1880s, the feelings of economic despair subsided, but changes in immigration patterns compounded Americans' fear of losing territory and employment to newly arrived immigrants (Higham, 2002). According to Higham, the anti-foreign sentiment known as *nativism* evolved into explicit hostility in the treatment of immigrants in the United States.

According to Streitmatter (1999), nativism, a movement comprised of families who had been in the United States for more than a generation, gave voice to "anti-immigrant attacks" (p. 673). The ubiquity of anti-immigrant discourse, especially discourse directed at immigrants from Asia and Southern Europe, fostered the creation of a "nativist press" (p. 673); by 1895, nativists had founded more than 100 publications to express their concerns about immigrants in the United States.

In his analysis of four representative nativist newspapers, Streitmatter (1999) discussed prominent editorial themes regarding the treatment of immigrants. In identifying the harsh language of headlines that referred to immigration as a "problem" (p. 675) and a "disease" (p. 675), Streitmatter found that writers employed derogatory terms describing immigrants as immoral, stenchful and troublesome. Moreover, he identified editorial campaigns that carried severe criticism of immigrants, calling for

immigration restrictions and blaming the recent immigration of southern Europeans (see also Higham, 2002) for the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

Streitmatter's (1999) analysis of the language employed in four newspapers suggests that the press prominently featured anti-immigrant sentiments. Furthermore, it indicates that the nativist press set the tone for the creation of restrictive legislation against immigrants in the late nineteenth century. Some of this legislation included provisions for admitting only those immigrants approved by American consuls, and forcing immigrants to take strict language tests before obtaining employment in the United States (Higham, 2002). Throughout the history of the immigration debate, journalists have used the media to express public sentiment, and to affect or engender support for new legislation.

Hadley's (1956) critical analysis of Congressional hearings and news reports examined the language used to express anti-immigrant sentiments during the early 20th century. Using archival records, she studied the "wetback decade", a wave of immigration that, in Hadley's view, took place between 1944 and 1954. Interestingly, Hadley's use of the pejorative term "wetback" to describe immigrants entering the United States illegally is itself an instance of anti-immigrant rhetoric.

The analysis showed that speakers in Congressional hearings often portrayed Mexican immigrants as an economic issue or burden (Hadley, 1956). Instead of identifying Mexican immigrants in human terms, they were discussed in terms of "farm labor" and "material welfare" (p. 338). This kind of dehumanizing discourse was reflected in the voice of American citizens, including a fruit picker from Sonoma, California, who described in a letter to officials how he had "worked hard to pay for our

small homes, [and had] also been paying taxes for years”, but was forced to “compete with wetbacks” (p. 345) for low-paying jobs. Hadley’s evidence suggested that the language used in political, and also journalistic materials, depicted immigrants as an economic problem affecting job security for American soldiers returning from World War II.

The abovementioned articles examined the negative treatment of immigrants and immigration in both social-cultural and economic contexts. Recent research has continued to examine the depiction of immigrants as economic and social outsiders (e.g., Coutin & Chock, 1997; Hardy, 2003), while other studies have shed light on the identification of immigrants beyond those contextual frameworks, identifying them as distinctly non-American (e.g., Fishman & Casiano, 1969).

Flores (2003) examined media representations of Mexican immigrants published in the 1920s and 1930s during deportation drives and repatriation campaigns. The researcher found that newspapers that once described Mexican immigrants as peon laborers later constructed a descriptive rhetoric of immigrants as “illegal alien[s]” (p. 380). Specifically, the use of the term “illegal” fostered a common perception of immigrants as a criminal element responsible for unemployment among Americans. Labeling immigrants as “illegal aliens” contributed to their depiction in the national discourse as non-American; the heavy language in this phrase further marginalized Mexican immigrants as unassimilated “aliens”.

In light of these findings, Flores (2003) surmised that by the early 1930s, white Americans equated Mexicans with the term “illegal alien” and “potentially, every Mexican-American became a walking target” (p. 379) for discrimination or aggression.

Moreover, she claimed that constant reporting on deportations not only drew attention to the problems of deportation drives but, more importantly, also legitimized the negative public opinion of Mexican-Americans (Flores). In tying together the rhetorical descriptors “illegal”, “deportation”, and “immigrant”, newspapers of the time solidified the concept of Hispanic immigrants as dangerous individuals who did not belong in (and had no chance of ever belonging to) the United States.

These findings indicated that redefining Mexican immigrants (from peon workers to illegal aliens) helped to “create rhetorically a border between Mexico and the U.S., between ‘Americans’ and Mexican-Americans” (Flores, 2003, p. 364). The rhetorical border existed previously in a geographic form that mainly affected border populations, or as an implicit cultural difference separating Mexicans from Americans. However, discussion of deportation drives highlighted the role of negative press coverage in influencing immigration policy debates on a national scale. In this sense, both regional and mainstream media helped shape the perception of immigrants and immigration through the use of charged rhetoric and metaphors. By describing immigrants in terms of their criminality, the news media allowed communities seeking to exclude foreign workers to avoid speaking of immigration in terms of racial distinctions.

The previous articles documented the historical roots of the negative treatment of immigrants in the American press. Each study examined how language choice or usage ultimately portrayed immigrants or the immigration issue in a negative light. Contemporary discussions of the coverage of immigration also use language to examine negative portrayals of Hispanics.

Contemporary representations in print media

More recent news media coverage on immigration has followed the tradition of linguistic distinction between “American” and “immigrant”. However, in addition to this explicit linguistic distinction, recent news coverage also demonstrates a trend toward the use of implicit rhetoric and metaphors to describe Hispanic immigrants living in the United States.

Hardy (2003) examined metaphorical representations of Hispanics in newspaper coverage of the 1986 debate about Proposition 63, which made English the official language of California. By identifying recurring metaphors in the framing of language and immigration in national and California news sources, the researcher found that articles generally described Hispanic immigrants as lazy, or as a collective mass (“waves”) invading or flooding the country. Hardy attributed this portrayal to the metaphors employed in describing the immigration issue and immigrants themselves (metaphors of water, barrier, and imminent danger). The research found that regardless of whether articles argued for or against the passage of Proposition 63, they portrayed Hispanics in a negative light.

Similarly, Santa Ana (1999) identified metaphorical representations of immigrants published in *The Los Angeles Times* prior to the Proposition 187 debate. This “anti-immigrant referendum” (p. 191) proposed to deny public benefits (such as education and non-emergency health care) to undocumented immigrants. Santa Ana conducted a textual analysis of 107 articles, and catalogued over 1900 instances of metaphor, of which he examined only articles that discussed “the metaphoric characterization of the immigrant and immigrants, as individuals,” excluding articles that

discussed immigration generally (p. 220). The research indicated that immigrants were portrayed with antipathy and a negative bias, evidenced by the use of words such as “onerous burdens” (p. 196) to describe undocumented immigrants in California.

Santa Ana (1999) claimed that the dominant metaphor was of immigrants as animals, since articles often depicted employers as “hunt[ing] out” (p. 201) foreign workers. This metaphor elucidated evidence of a racist discourse, which allowed news writers to implicitly dehumanize and demean immigrants. The author concluded that the ubiquitous metaphor of immigrants as animals shed light on an accepted view of undocumented immigrants in the United States: “the foundational racism of American society is mirrored in the *Los Angeles Times*’ language practice” (p. 217).

Santa Ana, Morán, and Sánchez (1998) used materials from *The Los Angeles Times* (Santa Ana, 1999) to investigate how closely the concepts articulated in this publication resembled the predominant metaphoric representations of immigration. The researchers analyzed the editorials published during the six months prior to the campaign for Proposition 187 (Santa Ana, et al., 1998); they found that the editorials generally opposed the proposition, and that “editorial writers were scathing in their characterization” (p. 159). The critical analysis of the editorial pieces showed that editorial writers often provided quotes from opponents of the proposition and sought to discredit its supporters. Overall, while the editorials did not directly support Proposition 187 (which in essence limited rights to immigrants), the writers employed negative language to describe immigrants, referring to this group as “illegal”.

Editorials are opinion pieces and not ‘objective’ news articles. The authors claimed that these editorials contained explanatory prose and rhetorical questions

intended and structured to “persuade the reader of the *Los Angeles Times* point of view” (Santa Ana, et al., 1998, p. 161). This is significant because it allowed the authors to examine explicit points of view that reflected the newspaper’s ideologies. In analyzing the rhetorical structures of the editorials, Santa Ana, et al. found that the editorials described immigrants in dehumanizing terms, assessing the fiscal impact of the anti-immigrant referendum rather than its human costs.

The prevalence of immigration policy debates in 1986 led to extensive newspaper coverage of the issue and the undocumented immigrants involved. Coutin and Chock (1997) analyze the coverage of The U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (referred to as IRCA), to examine legal and cultural discourses, and the subsequent construction of the identities of amnesty applicants, citizens, and illegal aliens. The research included 283 articles published in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Tucson Citizen*, and *The Arizona Daily Star* between 1986 and 1988.

Coutin and Chock (1997) found similarities between the language employed to characterize illegal immigrants and the language used to describe criminals or individuals aligned against the American cultural ideal. The authors claimed that the journalists placed immigrants eligible for amnesty under the proposed legislation in the same group as those who had a successful “American immigrant experience” (p. 129); the articles emphasized applicants’ commitments to the United States, rather than to their country of origin.

The articles above suggested that key points of legislative debates, such as the IRCA (Coutin & Chock, 1997) and anti-immigration propositions (Hardy, 2003; Santa

Ana, 1999; Santa Ana, et al., 1998) fueled significant coverage of immigrants and relevant immigration policies. These articles provide important insight into the portrayal of Hispanic immigrants in U.S. news media. In general, they claim that news writers employed negative metaphors to describe immigrants, thereby creating a socially accepted discourse of immigrants as animals (Santa Ana, 1999; Santa Ana, et al., 1998), as lazy or greedy (Coutin & Chock, 1997), or as an invading force (Hardy, 2003) directed at the United States. Overall, the researchers exposed a negative portrayal of immigrants during elections, as well as during key points of legislative debates and prominent immigration-related events, suggesting that the images disseminated through news coverage could influence public perception of the issue, and in turn affect the electoral, legislative, or policy outcomes.

A similar, more recent study questioned the transformation of public discourse surrounding immigrants and the immigration debate. Padín (2005) conducted a critical analysis of newspaper coverage over a period of fourteen years to investigate the “climate of new immigrant reception” (p. 50) in the media. The author sought to understand how underlying frames and themes in news coverage of Latinos reflected tacit normative distinctions between groups. Using articles published in *The Oregonian* between January 1998 and December 2001 (a period of high Hispanic immigration), Padín concluded that many news stories presented Hispanic immigrants as a social liability.

In contrast to other contemporaneous research (e.g., Santa Ana, 1999; Santa Ana, Morán, & Sánchez, 1998), Padín (2005) found that news articles in *The Oregonian* portrayed Latino immigrants as autonomous and strongly motivated when compared with other ethnic or racial minorities, while unsympathetic news about welfare, crime, and

“cultural incompatibility” (p. 68) presented Latino immigrants as a social burden. Reports of crime and cultural alienation generally muted the depictions of Latino immigrants as autonomous and self-reliant, suggesting that despite positive representations in *The Oregonian*, Latinos were generally portrayed as racial and cultural outsiders.

The articles discussed above focused on the use of language in print coverage of immigration within socio-cultural, political, and economic contexts. Documentary evidence from the late nineteenth century (Streitmatter, 1999) to the early-twentieth century (Flores, 2003) to the present day (e.g., Coutin & Chock, 1997; see also Hardy, 2003) depicted immigrants in a negative light. Most often, the articles portrayed Hispanics as unwelcome (e.g., Padín, 2005).

Moreover, the metaphors employed in current newspaper coverage of immigrants and of the issue of immigration indicated that key policy debates generated significant coverage that reflected and influenced (Santa Ana, Morán, & Sánchez, 1998) public perception. This information sheds light on the general treatment of Hispanic immigrants in the media, and specifically provides insight into the possible role of language and rhetoric in shaping the public discourse.

The articles in this literature review analyzed the use of language to depict immigrants and immigration in the nation’s news media. While these articles are useful for examining patterns of language usage, none compare the coverage of immigration across different regions, or between regional and national news, in the United States. Such a comparison would be useful, since immigration affects different regions in different ways. While immigration is a much more consistent issue in states near the U.S.-Mexico border or in areas with high concentrations of Hispanic immigrants,

immigration is likely to be viewed as a national issue with national implications in other areas of the country. Because of the lack of literature discussing the influence of proximity on news coverage, this research will focus on the differences in coverage between national “elite” newspapers and newspapers from areas near the U.S.-Mexico border.

Method

Based on the existing literature, I developed the following research questions:

RQ1: How do local newspapers from border-states portray Hispanic immigrants?

RQ2: How does coverage of immigration in national newspapers differ from border-state coverage?

I performed a critical analysis on newspaper articles from "elite" newspapers (opinion-shapers read in large metropolitan areas) and on local-market newspapers from urban areas in "border states" (American states proximate to the United States-Mexico border). To examine representations of Hispanic immigrants in "elite" newspapers, articles were taken from *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post* archives contained in the ProQuest Newspaper database. The selected newspapers, in addition to belonging to the list of top ten newspapers in the country by circulation (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2007), also target their writing to a national audience.

For articles about immigrants in "border-state" newspapers, I selected publications based on circulation and the proximity of the city in which they were published to the U.S.-Mexico border. All newspapers were selected from the top-200 list (by circulation) to ensure that a sufficiently large number of people (at least 50,000) read the examined publications. Although a few newspapers from border-states ranked higher on the Audit Bureau of Circulation's list (such as *The Arizona Republic* or *The Houston Chronicle*), the selected newspapers were published in urban areas closer to the U.S.-Mexico border: *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, *The San Antonio Express-News*, *The*

Arizona Daily Star (Tucson), and the *El Paso Times*. I excluded newspapers from New Mexico and Nevada because of the relative distance of their largest cities and capitals (Albuquerque and Santa Fe and Las Vegas and Carson City, respectively) from the United States-Mexico border, and due to the lack of an alternative newspaper from that state in the Audit Bureau of Circulation's top-200 list.

The articles selected were published in the two weeks prior to the 2006 Midterm elections (October 19, 2006 – November 2, 2006), a time during which the intensity of articles concerning important legislative topics (such as immigration) tended to increase. An initial search using the string “immigrant” OR “immigration” within the aforementioned date range yielded the following number of articles in each newspaper: (a) *The Wall Street Journal*: 37 articles; (b) *The New York Times*: 145 articles; (c) *The Washington Post*: 150 articles; (d) *The San Antonio Express-News*: 44 articles; (e) *The San Diego Union-Tribune*: 37 articles; (f) *The El Paso Times*: 43 articles; and (g) *The Arizona Daily Star*: 5 articles.

The articles were further parsed by searching the text of each article for a number of subjective criteria. First, the articles must have referenced only Hispanic immigrant groups or individual Hispanic immigrants. Second, the articles must have subjected these groups or individuals to some kind of evaluation by the journalist, resulting in human or public interest, metro or crime reporting, economic or financial reporting, or legislative reporting. Third, the references must have been central to the article, not merely included in a laundry list of a candidate's issues.

I excluded more articles based on a set of objective criteria. First, the articles could not have been written by a wire service such as Reuters or the Associated Press, but

must have been original material written by a staff writer on the relevant newspaper to avoid repeated articles in different newspapers. Second, I excluded all editorials; letters to the editor; commentaries; features; and art, book, restaurant, and movie or theater reviews. Third, I excluded all news summaries under 100 words. The sample for textual analysis included a total of 64 articles, and did not include any articles from *The Arizona Daily Star*, since none of the news articles from this source fit the previously established criteria for analysis.

A critical analysis serves as an appropriate method because it can analyze relationships of power—in this case, it can shed light on whether the dominant discourse of White Americans overshadows the opinions of minorities (immigrants) in print media. One benefit of critical textual analysis is that it allows us to isolate the different structures of a narrative to understand which elements of a certain story have been included or excluded (Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999). Additionally, because the textual analysis highlights the author’s discursive strategies for the reader, the reader is able to better understand the subjective elements of the author’s narrative.

The comparison between the factual components of newspaper articles and the subjective elements embedded within those accounts is telling. This is true because (1) the issue of immigration might affect different regions of the country in different ways and (2) while the “elite” newspapers typically reflect the national mood on important issues like immigration, local newspapers, such as those found in the “border states”, may shed light on the mood and opinion of their local markets.

The textual analysis identified broad ideas, messages or lessons conveyed in each story (themes), the types of words used to address immigrants (rhetoric), speakers

(individuals used as references or as authorities on the subject), and the portrayal of immigrants (character descriptions—whether individuals were vilified, glorified, or neutrally portrayed). I will address the elements of analysis in further detail in the results and analysis section of this paper.

Results and Analysis

This study analyzed news articles as a means to answer two research questions regarding the differences in coverage of immigrants and immigration between national newspapers and those from states near the U.S.-Mexico border. First, this discussion will address how border-state newspapers portray immigrants and immigration. Then, national newspaper coverage will be analyzed in light of border-state coverage. This analysis will lend itself to answering how proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border might play a role in the portrayals of Hispanic immigrants in news coverage.

RQ1: How do local newspapers from border-states portray immigrants?

Amount of coverage. The critical analyses performed on news articles revealed several important trends in media coverage in local newspapers from border-states. The amount of coverage, both in numbers of articles published and in the length of each article, intensified when locally oriented immigration issues were debated. For example, a city ordinance in Escondido, California that banned undocumented immigrants from renting apartments (and proposed fines to landlords who did so) dominated the coverage on immigration issues in *The San Diego Union-Tribune* (Jones, 2006; Soto, 2006a). Similarly, the distribution of a mailer for a medical center that claimed that “uninsured illegal immigrants” (Jenkins, 2006, ¶3) crowded emergency rooms generated a significant amount of coverage in San Diego. Spikes in coverage based on one event were identified in neither *The San Antonio News-Express* nor *The El Paso Times*, as the number of articles (and their length) remained constant throughout the analyzed time range.

Sources. Articles in local border-state newspapers rarely cited immigrants (legal or undocumented) as sources in news stories. Generally, “experts” consulted for their opinions ranged from local officials (police officers, Border Patrol agents) to political figures such as Texas Governor Rick Perry (Grissom, 2006) and immigration advocates. Border-state newspapers often resorted to the opinions of immigration advocates to portray the immigrant point of view. Immigrants were rarely used as primary sources in the stories, except for the notable exception of “a former migrant worker who is now a U.S. citizen” (“Immigration forum planned”, 2006, ¶6). In general, only spokespeople or staff communicators, such as directors of organizations like the Escondido Human Rights Committee (Soto, 2006a), the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (Martin, 2006), and the League of United Latin American Citizens (Rozemberg, 2006b) voiced the immigrant perspective.

The implications of omitting direct quotations from first-hand immigrant perspectives are twofold. First, immigrant perspectives might have been silenced because of the availability of more authoritative views on the issue of immigration, not merely because of their condition as immigrants. Yet while leaders of the abovementioned advocacy organizations have extensive knowledge of the problems faced by immigrants living in the United States, these leaders often lack personal experience with the immigration process. On the other hand, the views replacing those of immigrants are not necessarily anti-immigrant. The second implication, then, is that the voices representing immigrants led to the belief that immigrants cannot speak for themselves. This is true for a number of reasons. Undocumented immigrants might fear publicly identifying themselves. They may fear reprisals from either the immigration authorities or from the

individuals who smuggled them into the country, especially since many of the immigration stories focus on smuggling (e.g., Soto, 2006d; see also Contreras, 2006). The lack of direct quotations may be attributed to a language barrier. According to the Pew Hispanic Center (2005), fewer than one-quarter of first-generation Hispanics speak English. Typically, undocumented immigrants do not speak English, necessarily making it hard for immigrants to discuss their issues with English-speaking journalists.

Portrayal of Hispanic immigrants. Articles in border-state newspapers largely portrayed Hispanic immigrants as victims or passive actors in stories about immigration, specifically when reporting on criminal activities or fatalities. The news articles typically discussed events happening to immigrants, usually caused by other groups or individuals or by nature. For example, rather than focusing on the act of trespassing the border, articles depicted the harsh conditions imposed by nature on the immigration struggle. Articles described immigrants as “victims” (Bogan & Pinkerton, 2006, ¶1) who had drowned while crossing the “treacherous” Rio Grande, and were found “tangled” in “fast-moving water” (¶1). News coverage constantly depicted the risk from exposure to the elements as central to the immigrants’ plight.

In this sense, articles portrayed immigrants as victims of the struggle of immigration, rather than blaming them for self-inflicted suffering. Journalists described undocumented migrants as “desperate” (Rozemberg, 2006c, ¶12) upon arrival, dying of “dehydration, heatstroke, drowning, and other causes” (Gilot, 2006b, ¶1) and “succumb[ing] to the heat” (Contreras, 2006, ¶3). The “plight of...migrant children” (Gilot, 2006a, ¶1) was portrayed in a similar way, as articles presented descriptions of a

13-year old boy dragging through the desert the dead body of his mother who “died from dehydration or exposure to heat” (Gilot, 2006c, ¶9).

Constant references to smuggling allowed journalists to further portray migrants as passive actors or victims of the immigration process. Rather than depicting migrants as actively crossing the border, articles often described them as the objects (and victims) of smuggling activities (Bogan & Pinkerton, 2006; Castillo, 2006; Contreras, 2006; Soto, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d; Torres, 2006). Importantly, the act of passing through the border was generally attributed to the smugglers, who “bring in” (Soto, 2006b, ¶6) immigrants or “funnel” (Rozemberg, 2006c, ¶11) them into the United States. Moreover, while articles spoke of immigrants being “led astray by coyotes” (Bogan & Pinkerton, ¶21) and having to pay to be “crammed” (Castillo, ¶21) into a passenger van with more than sixty people, they demonized the smugglers (generally immigrants themselves) who bring people into the United States.

In border-state newspapers, articles described smugglers as “ruthless” and “vicious” (Grissom, 2006, ¶15). Articles closely linked the practice of smuggling individuals through the border to larger societal issues such as corruption within the police force (Contreras, 2006; Soto, 2006b, 2006d). One article in *The El Paso Times* attributed the link between smuggling, corruption, and human trafficking to proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border, which “creates a unique environment in which immigrant smuggling operations can easily transition into abusive, exploitative human trafficking” (Meritz, 2006, ¶1). Articles discussing bribes from smugglers to immigration officials (e.g., Contreras, 2006; Soto, 2006b) contextualized the immigration issue as part of a

larger problem of corruption and border security while rarely, if ever, judging immigrants in this context.

While most articles from border-state newspapers victimized immigrants in their portrayals, the tone of their description changed significantly when discussing the local ramifications of immigration. Specifically, several articles described the tension between the Tohono O’odham tribe (whose reservation touches the U.S.-Mexico border) and newly arrived migrants (Gross, 2006; Rozemberg, 2006c). In these articles, members of the tribe referred to immigrants as a group, and never identified individual immigrants. Rather, the articles depicted the incessant onslaught (Rozemberg, 2006c) of the “flood of illegal immigration” (Gross, ¶5), comprised of individuals seeking to usurp the land and take advantage of the reservation’s resources. Generally, accounts of “illegal immigrants” (¶39) leaving trash behind dominated the text.

Moreover, articles describing the impact of immigration on a vulnerable population (indigenous people who live near the border) closely aligned border crossing with illicit activities such as drug trafficking. In one article, a tribal leader claimed that “[immigrants] steal clothes” (Gross, 2006, ¶20), and “what some of the (illegal immigrants) have started doing is carrying small amount (of illegal drugs) to trade for food and water” (¶26, parentheses in original).

For border-states, immigration is a local issue that impacts groups or populations inside the community other than Hispanics. In the two previous cases, in which articles criminalized, rather than victimized immigrants, the scope of the articles generally included the local implications of the immigration issue. In contrast to other news articles in which writers described individuals and their stories of struggle (e.g., Gross, 2006;

Rozemberg, 2006a), these articles focused on the effect of a group on a population. By focusing on vulnerable populations, it would seem logical that readers would sympathize with the plight of the locals, and see the immigrants as taking advantage of local residents' space and its resources. Despite the relative level of acceptance with which immigrants are greeted in border-states, they are still viewed as outsiders. This is especially true when the actions of immigrants impact vulnerable local populations.

Articles reflected these views when discussing the cost of immigration to society. One article, about a mailer from a hospital linking poor healthcare to the presence of undocumented immigrants, quoted the mayor of Hazleton, Pennsylvania—which in July 2006 passed the Illegal Immigration Relief Act, fining landlords for renting to undocumented immigrants and employers for hiring them (Powell & García, 2006)—stating that hospitals had taken a hit “from treating uninsured immigrants” (Rozemberg, 2006b, ¶22). Another article about the same mailer discussed the perception of undocumented immigrants as “an unsustainable burden”, since emergency rooms were “overrun by uninsured illegal immigrants” (Jenkins, 2006, ¶3). Articles about resource scarcity caused by the presence of undocumented immigrants (housing and medical care) generally portrayed their presence as criminal, which departed from the majority of news coverage of immigration-related issues in border-state newspapers.

In the three border-state newspapers analyzed in this study, the portrayal of immigrants was ambiguous at best. The juxtaposition of articles criminalizing immigrants and those victimizing the group illuminates the dual representation of immigrants in border-state news media. Articles that victimized immigrants generally described them in the passive voice; news reports routinely described immigrants as tricked or deceived by

smugglers, as the victims of exposure in the desert, or as unfairly targeted by local policies. The exception to this involved the immigrants' role in harming, or imparting costs to, the community or to vulnerable populations, where the example of immigrants crowding residents out of health care facilities (e.g., Jenkins, 2006) demonstrated the local perspective on the immigration issue.

Border-state newspapers presented a very nuanced, yet ambiguous view of immigrants and immigration, one that takes into account the local implications of immigration issues. Immigrants were portrayed passively and as victims most likely because of the constant exposure of border-states residents to the direct consequences of immigration. The occasional exceptions, when articles did not portray immigrants in this manner, are most likely attributable to the tension between immigrants and other populations having to deal with the repercussions of immigration activities, or to localized crime (normally unrelated to the actual immigration process) and the conflict over limited resources.

RQ2: How does coverage in border-state newspapers differ from national coverage in elite newspapers?

Coverage. In national newspapers, the coverage of immigration was often folded into coverage of other prominent national issues. For example, articles in *The Wall Street Journal* generally centered on other issues such as business or politics, devoting significant space to immigration within those contexts. This study did not identify any spikes in the coverage of immigration issues in national newspapers. Instead, immigration was often discussed as part of long-term investigative stories or in articles detailing or analyzing certain policies or business practices (e.g., Chang, 2006; Millman

& Bauerlein, 2006), or presented human-interest stories on individuals involved in recent incidents (e.g., Lee & Schweber, 2006).

Sources. In the three national newspapers examined in this study, the majority of the individuals quoted as sources in immigration-related stories were political officials, academics, or prominent business leaders (e.g., Berman, 2006). Specifically, sources included council members (e.g., Turque, 2006), professors (e.g., Etter, 2006), and campaigning politicians (e.g., Brulliard, 2006). In contrast to national newspapers, border-state news articles consistently relied on local immigrant advocates or local residents (e.g., Kugel, 2006) as sources when portraying other immigrants in human-interest stories.

Portrayal of Hispanic immigrants. Articles portrayed immigrants as having a critical mass, envisioning them as a major interest group. Articles typically described the Hispanic demographic as the “fastest-growing” (Berman, 2006, ¶4) or as a “driving force” (Etter, 2006, ¶9) of population growth. While Hispanics are a growing demographic (PHC, 2005), their direct power comes mostly from pro-business or pro-immigration advocacy groups, not necessarily from the immigrants themselves.

However, in describing Hispanic immigrants as a dynamic force, national news articles also combined this imagery with depictions of “Latino migrants mov[ing] from immigrant-heavy states...to new frontiers” (Porter, 2006, ¶13) in the form of a “flood of illegal immigration” (Fletcher & Weisman, 2006, ¶6). This language reflects the kind identified in the literature review (Hardy, 2003), which described immigrants in terms of waves and barriers.

This very general type of language differed from the kind found in border-state newspapers. There, immigrants were usually described in terms of small groups (“three Latino men were shot by deputies” (Rodriguez, 2006)) or as individuals (Gilot, 2006c). Most likely, this is because border-state newspapers report more on local issues rather than national news, and the individuals involved in immigration related issues are often identifiable victims (or perpetrators) of events that affect the community. One counterexample, however, is the *Washington Post*, which had a number of news articles reporting on immigration and labor issues in the Herndon, Virginia area (Trejos, 2006b; Turque, 2006).

Local reporting, such as the kind that covers Herndon, is an exception in national newspapers, where articles often portrayed Hispanic immigrants as players or factors in major legal and business affairs because of their size and perceived power. Several articles on prominent lawsuits (Bernstein, 2006) and appeals cases (“Business Brief”, 2006) focused on issues ranging from immigrants’ roles in bribing immigration officers for citizenship permits to the constitutional implications of seizing remittances to the immigrants’ home countries (Archibold & Sander, 2006).

Legal issues surrounding immigration appear to have national significance in national newspapers, as the situations and questionable activities that occur during the immigration process often carry implications for policy. Differently, border-state newspapers tended to focus on localized legal issues such as a rape allegedly committed by immigrants crossing near a border town (Chávez, 2006) or stolen cars (Gross, 2006).

The Wall Street Journal dedicated a significant amount of column space to articles that discussed immigration within the context of the national economy. By

depicting the wealth undocumented immigrants were able to amass, *The Wall Street Journal* presented one perspective, the image of immigrants as illegally or unjustly benefiting from the American economy (Berman, 2006). In addition, by compounding language that described immigrants as a large collective or mass (Etter, 2006) able to engage in lawsuits (e.g., Millman & Bauerlein, 2006) or challenge the Constitution, and able to benefit financially to such a large extent, the articles created two distinct images. First, these articles portrayed immigrants as a relatively powerful group in the United States, a statement generally attributed to their increased power of acquisition and population size. Second, immigrants' power was imputed to their ability to disrupt the normal business of the nation, by appealing to previously settled lawsuits. Still, a large number of national newspaper articles alluded to the persistence and hard-working nature of immigrants. Generally referred to as a group, Hispanic immigrants were seen in *The Washington Post* as “struggl[ing] to make [their] share” (Trejos, 2006a, ¶17), or as “migrant workers” (Williams, 2006) striving to send remittances to support their families in their countries of origin.

National newspapers, while often discussing immigrants in very general or statistical terms, moved away from this tendency when discussing what they perceived as “model” immigrants, thereby glorifying the Hispanic immigrant worker. Generally, these pieces included human-interest news stories that focused on individual immigrants depicted, in one instance, as a “petite whirlwind of charm and compassion” (Lee & Schweber, 2006, ¶5). Articles associated the struggle of Hispanic immigrants with the “high price of the American dream” (Kugel, 2006, ¶1), tracking those with “little hope of ever buying a home” (¶7) to their success as homeowners or business owners (Lee &

Schweber). National newspapers included in this study identified a few individuals as the idealized immigrant—hard working, family- and community-oriented, and values-focused. Interestingly, the language employed in these articles was found to be similar to that of the descriptions of immigrants or immigrant groups in border-state newspapers. Quite differently, however, national newspapers focused more on the national policy implications of immigration rather than explicitly commenting on criminal activities. Thus, articles in *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The New York Times* were less likely to criminalize Hispanic immigrants in light of local incidents; rather they focused on contextualizing immigration within national issues and highlighting a few personal and emotional stories.

Conclusion

This analysis of the treatment of immigrants and immigration in news articles before the 2006 midterm elections illuminated differences in coverage between national “elite” newspapers and border-state newspapers. This study found that proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border bore a significant relationship to language and messages in news articles. Specifically, the analysis showed that border-state coverage was localized and personal, while national coverage tended to either discuss immigrants in terms of national issues like policy, law, or business. National newspapers generally embedded within news articles stories about model immigrants struggling to succeed.

Border-state newspapers often presented Hispanic immigrants as victims of the immigration process, smuggling rings, or nature. Articles generally portrayed individuals as struggling against corruption and the elements to arrive safely in the United States. This portrayal, however, was not unanimous. In a few articles published in *The El Paso Times*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, and *The San Antonio News-Express*, where the coverage centered on local incidents related to immigration, Hispanic immigrants were presented in a negative light. Specifically, articles criminalized immigrants in light of the ramifications of immigration and its impact on local infrastructures (such as healthcare, housing, or employment). This demonstrates that the border-state newspapers portrayed immigrants in a dual role, as victims of the immigration process, and as perpetrators of incidents related to the existence of immigrants in the United States.

Quite differently, news articles in national newspapers almost always contextualized immigration and the immigrant community within the larger context of national policy, law, and business. This portrayal conveyed an image of Hispanics as a

large demographic force, and as a market with increasing purchasing power. Individual immigrants and details of their lives appeared only in human-interest stories. These news pieces generally glorified individual immigrants as models of successful lives in the United States. This portrayal differed greatly from that of articles presenting statistical data on Hispanic immigrants or lawsuits involving American companies.

The analysis did not reveal a unified perspective on immigration. Rather, it suggested that proximity to the border was related to how individuals in different regions view the issue. Regionally specific perceptions, then, are closely related to how individuals experience the immigration issue in their daily lives. In border-states, residents see images of immigration every night on the news, interact with immigrants often, and witness firsthand the effects immigration has on individuals, families and communities. Alternately, national newspapers discuss national issues and try to place the immigrant population in the context of those national issues. While there are Hispanic immigrants in Washington, DC and New York City, it is likely that the public interacts with Hispanic immigrants in a way much different than their counterparts in the Southwest. How individuals experience situations often determines how they perceive these situations. This tends to relate to the way these experiences are discussed in the media.

These findings depart significantly from the research discussed in the literature review. While the previous studies identified an overwhelmingly negative tone, this research did not find an explicit anti-immigrant rhetoric. This significant finding might indicate a concern for political correctness that often guides journalistic behavior. That is, journalists might want to express an anti-immigrant sentiment, but feel obligated to

restrain the words they use to avoid alienating their audience. It is equally possible that exposure to immigrants or the issue of immigration sensitizes individuals to the problems faced by this group.

During the 2006 midterm election, the issue of immigration proved divisive to both sides of the political spectrum. Many candidates, regardless of their party affiliation, focused on immigration as an important issue and used highly stylized and simplified talking points to address their constituents' concerns. However, the reality, as expressed in the border-state print media, is that those who experience immigration on a daily basis might have a more nuanced view of this issue than what appears in the national media. With this knowledge, national campaigns may be better able to target their communication about immigration on a regional level, largely based on the degree to which their constituents interact with Hispanic immigrants.

One limitation of this study was the small sample size of 64 articles. While it can be argued that the findings from the selected newspapers and articles cannot be projected to the national level, the publications were representative of news media coverage, and each article was closely analyzed for nuances in text, tone, and message.

Further research

Further research on the views presented in editorials, commentaries, and other opinion pieces could reveal widely held perceptions of immigrants reflected in the text. Previous analyses of editorials showed that the structure of these articles allowed writers to persuade readers or to shape their opinions (Santa Ana, Morán, & Sánchez, 1998). In light of recent policy debates and controversy surrounding the immigration issue,

replicating this study, while comparing national media with local coverage, would illuminate a less objective (or seemingly objective) point of view.

Another interesting avenue for study might be the agenda-setting effect (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987) within television newscasts. By examining choices in coverage and the predominance of certain issues, one could further understand the effect of media on public perception of immigration-related issues. In addition, a close analysis of the narrative in broadcast news programs in conjunction with the study of gestures and intonations could provide for great insight into the personal imprint of broadcast journalists in reporting news about immigration. Such an analysis at the local level could also reveal whether reporters' perspectives reflected or differed from widely held beliefs about Hispanic immigrants.

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Vita

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