

A CONTENT ANALYTIC COMPARISON  
OF NEWS FRAMES IN  
ENGLISH- AND SPANISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

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by  
EMILY DULCAN

Dr. Wayne Wanta, Thesis Committee Chair

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

A CONTENT ANALYTIC COMPARISON  
OF NEWS FRAMES IN  
ENGLISH- AND SPANISH- LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

Presented by Emily Dulcan

A candidate for the degree of Masters of Arts

And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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Professor Wayne Wanta

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Professor Byron Scott

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Professor Michael Ugarte

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Professor Earnest Perry

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Dr. Wayne Wanta, Thesis Committee Chair

ABSTRACT

As the Hispanic population in the United States tops 40 million people, it is important to look at ways in which American and Latino cultures compare and interact. More than any other U.S. immigrant group, Hispanics rely on media in Spanish to get information and entertainment. This study compares the measurable elements of news frames in English- and Spanish-language newspapers to find differences in the ways Latino and White media portray issues related to immigration.

A content analysis of 148 articles about the ad hoc border patrol group, the Minutemen, looks at framing elements identified in the literature. The findings show there are measurable differences between the frames employed by English- and Spanish-language newspapers. A lack of difference where difference was hypothesized was also discovered. Differences and similarities are explained by research of the newspapers, their regions and the roles of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

Journalists at newspapers across the country have had to expand their worldviews in order to effectively cover the growing Hispanic population. The *Miami Herald* and the *Los Angeles Times* started responding to the influx of Latin Americans in the 1960s, and, more recently, newspapers in the South and across the Midwest are trying to do the same. The 2004 American Community Survey, conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, found that more than 40 million Hispanics live in the United States, approximately 75% more than in 1990. By 2020, one in five residents is expected to be Hispanic (Porter 2003). In the decade between 1993 and 2003, the number of Hispanic newspapers alone nearly doubled from 355 to 652, according to the Latino Print Network (Porter 2003). Also according to the Latino Print Network, the combined circulation of Hispanic newspapers in the United States is 16.2 million (Porter 2003).

Spanish-language newspapers are an important part of Hispanic media because they communicate news and information in the native tongue of many Hispanics. Rufus Browning, former director of the Public Research Institute of San Francisco State University, has found that “Latino immigrants, who learn English rapidly, retain their attachment to ethnic media longer than Asian immigrants” (Porter 2003, p. 52). His study found that nearly 75% of second-generation and about half of third-generation Latinos continue to use Spanish-language print or broadcast media (Porter 2003).

Journalists, editors and publishers are beginning to realize that reporting accountable to Latinos is crucial for newspapers’ survival, especially as they compete

with newspapers founded and run by Hispanics. Most publishers, editors and reporters who produce Spanish-language newspapers have an advantage over their English-language counterparts: they know the cultures, attitudes and language because they are their own. English-language publications are slowly committing themselves to learning about the variety of Latin immigrant cultures and attitudes and to learning Spanish and hiring reporters that already speak it (Cunningham 2002).

Frank del Olmo, an associate editor at the *Los Angeles Times*, told *Columbia Journalism Review* in the Spring of 2002 that the *Times* considers different approaches to covering stories now that they are writing for and about southern California Latinos. “We try to figure out if there is a different way that Latinos view the same issues that everyone else is dealing with,” said del Olmo. “If there isn’t okay, but at least we ask the questions.”

\* \* \*

This study asks the same question as the editors of the *Los Angeles Times*: Is the way Latinos view the issues different from the ways the same issues are viewed by others? This study attempts to quantify news frames about immigration in English- and Spanish-language newspapers in order to find an answer to this question. The question is loaded with a lot of assumptions, many of which I hope to address with a review of relevant humanistic (qualitative) and scientific (quantitative) theory. The growth in number and circulation of daily Spanish-language newspapers in the United States provides an opportunity to make a cross-cultural comparison of framing elements and get a better sense of what makes a frame in any language.

The primary hypothesis of this research is that the data from a content analysis of English- and Spanish-language newspaper stories will show a difference between the content and tone of the stories, the cause of which may be evaluated in future studies. Language is not the cause *per se* of differences, but the languages speak (for lack of a better word) for distinct cultures – one for Latin American, Latino or Hispanic, culture, the other for American and traditionally European, or White, culture. Content analysis is not meant to determine cause of differences or similarities in news presentation, but it does show us what exists in terms of difference and association. It is important to determine *how* things are related or disparate as we ask the meaning of ‘*why?*’

Chapter Two reviews the extant theoretical and scientific literature about framing, framing and race theory, the framing of immigration-related issues and how to quantify news frames. Chapter Three takes an in-depth look at the roles of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States, and Chapter Four details the backgrounds of the Spanish-language newspapers selected for this study. Chapter Five outlines the study’s methodology. Chapter Six displays the results and finding of the analysis, and Chapter Seven offers a discussion and conclusions.

The study consists of a content analysis of text from six daily newspapers in the United States, three English-language and three Spanish-language. One English-language and one Spanish-language newspaper were selected from three U.S. cities where Spanish speakers make up a significant portion of the population: the *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald* from Miami, Fla.; the *Los Angeles Times* and *La Opinión* from Los Angeles, Calif.; and the *San Antonio Express-News* and *Rumbo San Antonio* from San Antonio, Tex. Each story was analyzed for the presence of pre-determined

news frames, tone, metaphor and dominant issues in relation to immigrants and immigration. Specifically, coders examined all news stories from January 1, 2005, through January 31, 2006, related to the Minutemen vigilante border patrol group.

It is important not to omit the social implications this study could have as scientific data are counted and evaluated. The seemingly cold, hard numbers can provide insight into the nature of race and power in the American media landscape in addition to addressing the research questions and hypotheses.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Review of Literature

This chapter reviews literature on foreign-language print publications and previous research on Hispanics and immigration in the news. The literature review continues by reviewing framing theory and the ways in which it has been applied to race. Finally, this chapter covers aspects of the current debate about effective ways to quantify frames for scientific analysis.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

The research dissects numerous aspects of framing theory, which posits that the presentation of news is treated subjectively by media. The relevant aspects of framing theory that are treated throughout this study include framing and its relationship to race theory and quantitative analysis.

#### **Hispanics and the Media**

There are numerous areas of research that include information about the relationship between Spanish-speaking or Hispanic populations and the news media. This section examines the history and function of foreign-language print media. The rest of the section reviews previous studies about how Hispanics and immigration are portrayed in the mainstream media.

### *Foreign-Language Print Publications*

There is a variety of data about the function of foreign-language media, a subset of ethnic media. In the context of the United States, foreign-language publications are a manifestation of what is typically known as the “ethnic” or “immigrant” press.

Immigrant publications differ from mainstream publications because their audience is composed of new immigrants, whose newspaper use differs from mainstream, English-language readers.

The immigrant press content formula includes local news that often advocates for the specific needs of an immigrant community, news from the immigrants’ countries of origin and practical information about how to survive in the new culture. Miller suggests the ethnic press is

informational, carrying news of the country of origin, of compatriots elsewhere in the United States, and, of course, of the local community. It expressed a group’s values and changing sense of identity. It also socialized its readers to the United States as it educated them and became itself a tool of adjustment. (Miller 1987, xvi)

In 1922, Robert Park published “The Immigrant Press and its Control,” arguing that the ethnic press served primarily to acculturate and assimilate immigrants into mainstream American culture; Park’s book set the tone for three decades of Chicago-school sociological studies. In 1958, Jerzy Zubrzycki outlined a history of the foreign-language press in the United States, Canada and Australia. He described foreign-language publication content and content function with an emphasis on assimilation. Some contemporary studies argue the ethnic press helps immigrants maintain a connection with native identities after moving to a new country, and others continue to

emphasize acculturation and assimilation functions (Danielson, Reese & Shoemaker 1985).

Historical analysis tends to predominate in qualitative studies of Hispanic-ethnic and Spanish-language newspapers. Huntz and Kent provide a comprehensive survey of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States. They trace Spanish-language newspapers' rises and declines through the early 1990s. Other scholars have focused on specific regions and publications, prominent newspaper figures such as publishers and editors, social movements or important national or local events (Chacon 1977; Oczon 1979; DiStefano 1985; Subervi-Velez 1988; Smith 1990; Ledesma 1995; Anderson 1998; Walraven 1999; Rodriguez 2003; Rivas-Rodriguez 2004). Many studies of contemporary Spanish-language and Hispanic-focused media analyze the media's role in forming Hispanic/Latino identity or *Latinidad* (Croucher 1996; Davila 2000; Levine 2001; Avery 2004; Guzmán & Valdivia 2004; Martínez 2004). There are also a number of studies that examine how immigrants and Hispanics are portrayed in the mainstream media (Croucher 1996; Vargas & DePyssler 1998; Davila 2000; Dixon & Linz 2000; Mastro & Stern 2003). Media depictions of Latinos generally portray them as having less power and status than Whites (Mastro 2003).

### *Depictions of Hispanics in Mainstream Media*

Despite the recent growth of Spanish-language media in the United States, there is little literature that attempts to quantify it. Most studies about the framing of Latinos in American and Latino media relate to the creation, maintenance and impact of



stereotypical images related to crime and poverty (Poindexter et al. 2003; Bullock et al 2001) or media effects of stereotyping (Domke et al. 1999).

In a content and textual analysis of more than 259 stories between 1992 and 1995 from the *Raleigh News and Observer*, Vargas (1995) observed that Latinos were consistently portrayed as “criminal aliens” or “helpless victims.”

Since 1996, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) has conducted a study of portrayals of Hispanics in network news entitled, “Network Brownout Report.” The 2005 report has the results of data from an analysis of the 16,000 stories that aired on ABC, CBS, CNN and NBC during 2004. The study found that only 115, or 0.72%, of those stories were exclusively about Latinos. One out of three of those stories, or 34.7%, was about immigration. Crime-related stories dropped: In 2004 nine stories were about Latino crime, and in 2003 27 stories were about Latino crime. Other popular topics in which Latinos appeared included affirmative action, welfare and drugs. The study also determined that, overall, Latinos were viewed as burdens to society and that stories on politics portrayed Latinos as a monolithic block of voters (Subervi 2005).

As part of the same report, NAHJ also performed a comparison of coverage over 10 years, between 1995 and 2004. During that decade, immigration and crime predominated as topics for Latino stories. Of 1,201 stories sampled, 36% of those dealt with either immigration or crime. Subervi (2005) writes: “Coverage of Latinos has not advanced since 1995. The networks still explore the same issues and themes in coverage of the Latino community, such as undocumented immigration and the growing influence of the Latino vote” (p. 3).

But perhaps the most descriptive finding in the studies of Latinos and the media is their absence from English-language mainstream media – a discovery that helps explain the proliferation of Spanish-language and Latino-targeted publications in the United States. In a content analysis of the nation’s largest-circulation dailies in 40 U.S. cities, DeSipio and Henson (1990) found that 60% of the papers and days reviewed had no coverage of Latinos at all, and 49% of the remaining papers contained on average 1.6 articles. Even in 2004, when Latinos made up more than 11% of the population, network newscasts virtually ignored Latinos’ contributions to business and culture and their concerns about education and health (Lehrman 2005).

Researchers use both quantitative and qualitative methods to determine the content and frequency of how racial groups are framed in selected broadcast and print media outlets (Richardson & Lancendorfer 2004; Miller & Dente Ross 2004). Framing content analyses tend to focus on historical or current issues in English-language newspapers in the United States. The analyses also cover both *episodic* news, which refers to specific events, and *thematic* news, which refers to analytical, contextual or historical coverage.

### *Immigration News Coverage*

Research mapping immigration coverage has found that many mainstream publications view immigration and immigrants with ambivalence or outright hostility. Large-scale immigration is often viewed in the media as a problem or crisis (Greenberg & Hier 2001; Santa Ana 2002). In a content analysis of mainstream U.S. magazines and other print media, including *Time*, *Life*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and*

*World Report*, and editorials from the *New York Times*, Simon and Alexander (1993) concluded that most magazines advocated restrictive immigration policies and that Latin-American and Asian immigrants were seen as social and economic burdens who were unable to assimilate into U.S. culture. Pomper (1996) decries the over-coverage of Hispanic and Asian immigrants compared to European immigrants in the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*, which indicates a racist pattern in news production.

Quiroga (1998) recognized a confluence in the media's portrayal and perceptions of Hispanics in that they often link "Hispanic" with "immigrant," despite the fact that two-thirds of the majority of Hispanics (Mexican Americans) was born in the United States.

## **Framing**

### *Framing in Perspective*

Before delving into the intricacies and nuances of framing theory and how to use it to find similarities and differences between English- and Spanish-language newspapers, it is important to briefly outline framing theory's place in the larger study of media effects. Framing theory is one of a triumvirate of theories that compose the communication field of media effects. Agenda-setting, priming and framing are all features of media and news presentation, and they all have measurable effects on audiences. These three theories attempt to describe what people know and believe as a result of media consumption.

The foundation for understanding agenda-setting and priming is accessing memories (Scheufele 2000). Agenda-setting theory proposes that the issues selected for coverage in the news will become the issues that are most important in the minds of the public (Capella & Jamieson 1997). Priming is the individual psychological outcome of agenda-setting by audience members who access memories related to the issues presented by the media in order to evaluate their government leaders and policy (Scheufele 2000). “[M]edia priming, like agenda-setting, is not concerned with how issues are treated in news coverage, only with their relative frequency” (Capella & Jamieson 1997).

Framing looks, on the one hand, at how issues are treated in news coverage and, on the other hand, like agenda-setting and priming, at how those different treatments affect audience members. Framing theory takes on framing causes (What are the contents of a particular frame and how did journalists create them?) and framing effects (How does the employment of a particular frame influence the people who consume it?). The concept “framing” describes the “various ways of looking at and depicting events in news media that depend on the framework employed by journalists” (Scheufele 2000, p. 301). People are in turn affected by news frames, central organizing themes of news accounts. But people react differently based on their personal experiences and previously held beliefs.

Most scholars agree that the interpretation derived from the reception of any message is a simultaneous function of both the message (and how it is framed) and the knowledge the audience brings to bear during the process of interpretation. ... persons interact with the themes imposed by mainstream media constructing their own themes for understanding social and political events. (Capella & Jamieson 1997)

The media effects of frames on audiences are measurable, but this study examines and compares the elements that compose the news frames created by journalists.

### *Framing Theory*

There are myriad studies, both humanistic and scientific, that deal with framing identification and analysis. It is perhaps best to begin the explanation of framing with metaphors. Tankard (2001) proposes three metaphors to conceptualize the function of news frames: News frames function as “picture frames,” isolating certain material to draw attention to it; as picture frames made of a particular material – elaborately carved, wood or mass-produced metal – to suggest a tone for viewing the picture; and as “the frame of a house or other building” to organize the structure of a news story.

There is extensive literature on the function and manifestations of framing, especially with respect to political and international news. Stephen D. Reese (2001) provides a comprehensive definition of frames: “Frames are *organizing principles* that are socially *shared* and *persistent* over time, that work *symbolically* to meaningfully *structure* the social world” [italics his] (p. 11). Capella and Jamieson (1997) write that news frames are consistent and composed of rhetorical and stylistic choices that alter audience interpretations of the subject, providing a way to think about events. Frames draw “attention to certain features of an issue while minimizing attention to others” (p. 40). Frames “serve as interpretive shortcuts for audience members, leading them to make attribution of responsibility or other judgments, based on different frames or interpretations offered by mass media for the same factual content” (Scheufele 2002).

To summarize, according to contemporary media researchers, news frames comprise elements that organize information, highlight selected features at the expense of others, “alter” interpretations of news and events and make “judgments” about them.

Of primary importance in a postmodern age, as the social construction of reality dashes the possibility of pure journalistic objectivity, framing offers an alternative to the objectivity/bias paradigm. Tankard (2001) cites Hackett (1984), who has argued that studying framing is a useful approach for understanding mass mediated ideology, which transcends the notion of bias. British communications research has a history of analyzing news texts from an ideological standpoint, focusing on historical and sociological perspectives. British studies “pay attention to the basically ideological nature of the media reconstruction of social reality as a form of reproduction of the dominant forces and ideologies in society” (van Dijk 1988, p. 13). Journalists’ framing of an issue may be influenced by individual or ideological variables in addition to social-structural variables and organizational variables (Scheufele 1999).

Framing is a cultural phenomenon. Therefore, news frames can differ across cultures as the creators of news frames (journalists and editors) make assumptions about audiences based on traditional affinities and behaviors.

Audiences who share the same cultural background may also share familiarity with a set of classification schemes, behavioral scripts, archetypes and narrative models. The frame of a media text, the way it presents an issue, activates specific schemata or associations in the minds of audience members. (Hall 2000, p. 233)

News frames help to define for an audience those who belong inside a cultural group and those who do not, effectively defining “us” and “them,” or who is “other.”

“[F]raming may impact the way audiences understand their own national or cultural

group memberships” (Hall 2000, p. 232) Culturally-based news frames assign roles to individuals, groups, organizations and institutions. Different cultures produce different frames that consolidate shared meaning. Under these frames the same individuals, groups, organizations and institutions may play different roles and have varying levels of responsibility for an issue or problem depending upon which cultural group is framing the issue (Hertog & McLeod 2001). Such a “portrayal defines out whole groups of people or organizations, marginalizing them and, by extension, their views” (Hertog & McLeod 2001, p. 143). In other words, frames help to determine the boundaries through which individuals identify themselves with social group identities and make value judgments based on similarity and difference.

Hertog and McLeod write, “[o]ne of the most significant tasks of socialization is to teach new members of society the significant frames employed within a culture to construct social reality” (Hertog & McLeod 2001, p. 141-142). A familiarity with the historical and sociological roles of the ethnic press in the United States leads to the conclusion that Spanish-language newspapers play a role in socializing its audience into the Hispanic-American experience.

From a post-modern theoretical perspective, framing presents an opportunity to perpetuate institutional power by “controlling social meaning. ... [C]onstructed frames offer journalists a way to perpetually reconstruct journalism as a static institution in an otherwise changing world” (Durham 2001, p. 133). A variety of literature assumes that mainstream or dominant media are controlled by institutions and individuals that prefer white, male, heterosexual, and middle class values and norms (Liera-Schwichtenberg 2000; Strelitz 2002).

### *Framing and Race Theory*

Race has long been used in the United States as a grouping characteristic. Identifying active frames, critiques and analyses of racial “others” can be approached through a variety of theories. Critical race theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) identify racial categorization as a means distributing power. “CRT and LatCrit help us recognize patterns, practices, and policies of racial inequality that continue to exist in more insidious and covert ways. CRT and LatCrit can expose these insidious practices and help us dismantle them” (Villalpoando 2004, p. 42). Critical race theory and Latino Critical theory contribute to newer scholarship focused on bringing Latino voices and issues into media studies (Valdina 2004).

What is often ignored by people who point to racialized cultures – as in Black and Latino cultures – is that a White culture, too, exists. As critical race theory and LatCrit expand the definitions and identities of marginalized races in the United States, these theories also attempt to capture the meaning of Whiteness. As a central and dominant determinant of popular discourse, Whiteness has been difficult to define beyond sweeping theoretical constructs.

[White culture] is the historically specific confluence of economic, geopolitical, and ethnocultural processes. . . . White identity is an ensemble of discourses, contrapuntal and contradictory. Whiteness – and the meanings attributed to it – are always in a state of flux and fibrillation. (McLaren 1999, p. 132-3)

To deconstruct Whiteness, it is important to begin to articulate aspects of what it means to identify as *White*, just as Whites themselves can attribute stereotypical qualities to what it means to be *Black* or *Latino*.



White stereotypes of Whiteness, the depiction of Whiteness as privilege, and a certain type of Whiteness compared to non-Whites as other will always be at odds with one another unless there is action and interrogation of our language, images, and stereotypes. (Patton 1999, p. 238)

Race is often directly associated with privilege and class, and mass media tend to support these associations. Stereotypically, Whites are associated with socioeconomic power and privilege, while Blacks and Latinos are associated with socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty. Nakayama and Krizek (1999) use popular culture literature, survey data and ethnographic interviewing to identify six prominent discourses in the rhetoric of Whiteness. Two of these discourses are of particular importance to this inquiry. The first strategic discourse “*ties ‘white’ closely to power in a rather crude, naked manner*” (p. 96). Survey respondents’ identification of “White” with “majority” and “status” reveals Whiteness as a privileged social position grounded in racial identity. Yet what the authors call a “naturalized dominance” of Whiteness still remains relatively hidden from analysis.

The second strategic discourse “*confuses whiteness with nationality (a legal status conferred by social institutions)*” (p. 99). Survey respondents equated “White” with “American,” an association the authors trace back to the 1790 Constitutional provision that requires a person be “White” in order to become a naturalized citizen of the United States. “To conflate nationality and ‘race’ is an expression of power since it relegates those of other racial groups to a marginal role in national life. . . . [and] challenges the very notion of a nation of immigrants, yet the persistence of this discourse reflects territorial claims to vital political terrain” (p. 100).

An example of the equalization of Whiteness to economic privilege is evident in the term “White trash.” This phrase produces “the power of whiteness as a fully (and seemingly only) materialized economic relation; hence, when material advantage does not exist, one becomes a racialized minority, albeit within whiteness” (Wiegman 1999, p. 147). In other words, it is assumed that Whites have economic privilege until the qualifier “trash” is attached to the racial descriptor. It is important to emphasize here that *race* is not *class*, despite media portrayals and popular stereotypes that relate race with particular socioeconomic positions. As the phrase “White trash” indicates, even Whites are stratified by class.

In the introduction to the collection “Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity,” editors Thomas K. Nakayama and Judith N. Martin write: “The central argument of this collection is that whiteness, like other social identities, is productively understood as a communication phenomenon” (Nakayama & Martin 1999, viii). The media play a major role in the communication of racial identity. The mainstream media helps to characterize “Whiteness” for its audience just as it characterizes what it means to be Latino for their audience. Racial categories are understood through depictions of cultural difference. “[A] media culture . . . has transcoded racial differences as cultural differences, thereby resulting in cultural attributes that join phenotype and skin color as permanently fixed ‘natural attributes of different ethnic groups’” (McLaren 1999, p. 114).

Media inform personal identities and solidify an individual sense of belonging to social groups. Hall (2000) writes that media frames allow communities and cultures to express and maintain cultural identities (p. 246). “Individuals, organizations, and

institutions act in ways that presume members of the society share the frame. All communication is dependent upon shared meaning among communicators” (Hertog & McLeod 2001, p. 141). This includes media outlets; in the case of this research, those outlets are English- and Spanish-language newspapers, whose news frames have tremendous symbolic power and carry culturally recognized metaphors and myths for their respective audiences.

Extrapolating from literature on framing and race theory, this research attempts to identify news frames conditioned by specifics unique to the culture that uses Spanish-language newspapers aimed at a Latino, Spanish-speaking audience. By identifying “Latino frames” and comparing them to news frames in English-language newspapers written for a White audience, it may be possible to identify elements that make the mainstream media frames uniquely White. How do the frames employed by Spanish-language newspapers differ from news frames employed by English-language newspapers?

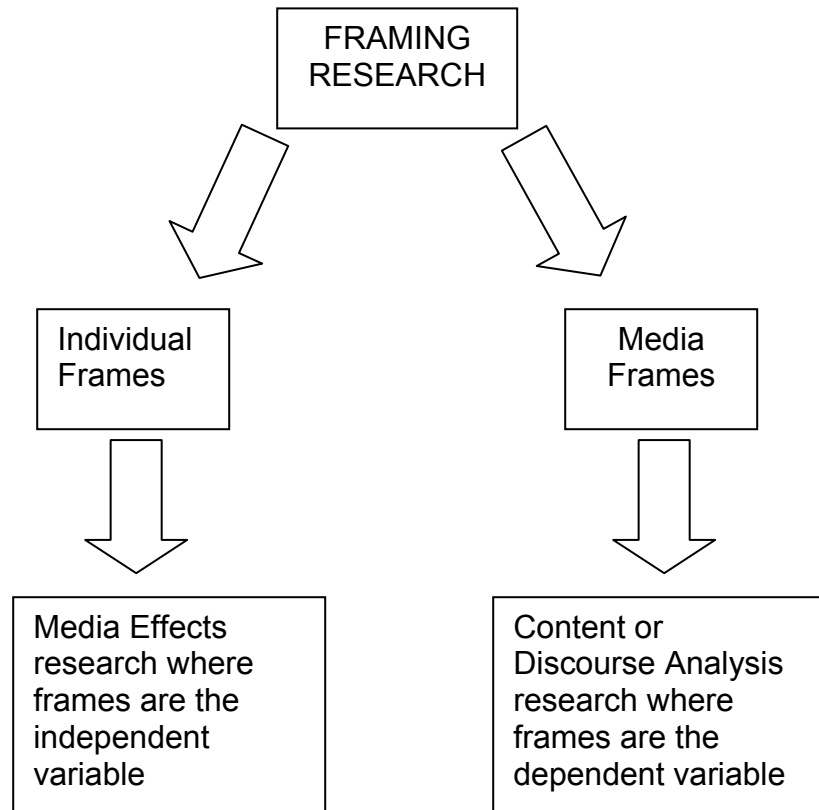
### *Framing and Quantitative Analysis*

Framing has been studied through a variety of methods. Scheufele (1999) has organized framing research into two two-level categories in order to make sense of current framing research (Figure 2-1). The first category defines who constructs frames: media or individuals. *Media frames* are constructed by journalists to classify and efficiently communicate information to an audience. *Individual frames* are constructed by individuals and are defined as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information” (Entman 1993, p. 53). This research and content

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**Figure 2-1 Scheufele's Structure for Framing Research**

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analysis will examine media frames in newspapers.

The second category organizes research into studies that use frames as either dependent or independent variables. Research examining frames as dependent variables study the roles of various factors that influence the creation or modification of frames. In regard to media frames, these factors include social-structural organizational variables and journalists' individual or ideological variables. Studies in which frames serve as independent variables tend to focus on the effects of framing on audiences. This research will look at frames as dependent variables where language is the primary independent variable. Location (city) will be another independent variable.

Content and discourse analysis are two methods that allow researchers to identify and examine media frames as dependent variables (van Dijk 1988; Tankard 2001). Quantifying frames for replicable research, however, is a difficult task. Tankard writes that frames are hard to quantify because the “specifics of measurement will differ for each topic of discourse” (p. 97). An unsystematic approach can lead to frames that are not exhaustive or mutually exclusive. He endorses three quantitative methods for determining news frames. The “List of Frames” approach looks at text and design aspects of the newspaper story (e.g. photographs, pull quotes, graphs) to identify possible frames. However, newspaper design elements are not as important now that many printed news stories are also available on the Internet. Stories may be reproduced on Web pages, on handheld wireless devices, or cut and pasted into emails so that many of the quantifiable visual elements are irrelevant.

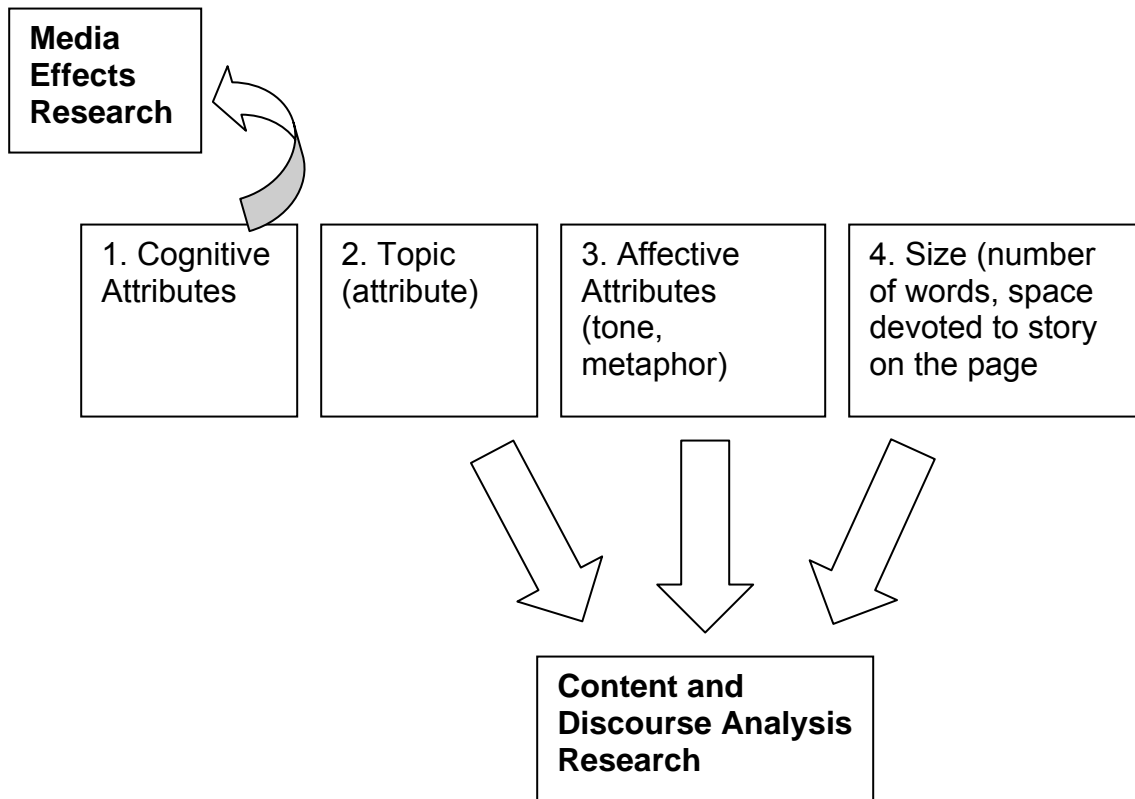
The research will examine solely textual elements of news stories, which Tankard considers in the remaining empirical framing analyses, the “Media Package” and “Multidimensional” approaches. Both involve identifying quantifiable linguistic elements in news texts, such as specific terms and topics. Capella and Jamieson (1997) also emphasize the identification of concepts and linguistic characteristics as an important element in frame identification.

Ghanem (1997) breaks down frames into specific dimensions in order to recognize the complex multidimensionality of framing (Figure 2-2). The proposed research reflects three of Ghanem’s dimensions: topic (attribute), presentation (size) and affective attributes (tone and metaphor). These elements are examined and compared to better understand the frames used by English- and Spanish-language newspapers to

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**Figure 2-2 Ghanem's Four Dimensions of Frames**

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discuss immigration. Ghanem's fourth dimension, cognitive attributes, is best left to the realm of media effects research.

At this point, it is important to devote some space to some of the ideas behind the elements that have been selected for content analysis. Specifically, this section attempts to narrow the definition or elemental structure of media constructed frames as they relate to topic, tone and metaphor.

Agenda setting theory posits that media cause users to think about certain issues, or objects, by emphasizing some issues and omitting others. Second level agenda-setting theory posits that media cause users to think more about certain attributes at the expense of others. Second level agenda-setting theory, also known as attribute agenda-

setting theory, focuses on media transmission to the public of *attributes* as opposed to *objects*, which are the subjects of first level agenda-setting.

An *issue*, or *object*, consists of a set of *attributes* that evaluate the issue, according to Scheufele (2000). Attribute agenda-setting deals with the salience of issue attributes.

By emphasizing or frequently mentioning particular issues, the media increase the salience of these issues among the public. In a similar way, attribute agenda-setting hypothesizes that certain issue attributes emphasized in the media become salient in the public mind (Scheufele 2000).

The author of a newspaper story may choose to write about immigration issues in terms of an economic frame (e.g. jobs and wealth), and she also selects the “objects” within that frame to highlight (e.g. guest worker visas or the federal laws that ban the hiring undocumented workers). In other words, the media successfully tell their users *what* to think about, and they also tell users *how* to think about it (Sei-Hill et al. 2002). Attribute agenda-setting identifies the characteristics and properties that fill out the picture of each object.

McCombs articulated a direct link between framing and attribute agenda setting in 1997: “Framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed.” In McCombs’s words, select attributes compose the interpretive frames found in news stories. Sei-Hill, Scheufele and Shanahan (2002) argue,

the concept of framing implies that *the way* a given piece of information is described creates different outcomes among audiences. Attribute agenda setting, in contrast, suggests that the media can successfully

make various aspects of an issue more or less accessible and therefore prime which pieces of information people will use when they are making decisions about policies or candidates. (p. 12, emphasis theirs)

In other words, one way to determine frames is to identify the way in which attributes are described.

Tankard (2001) writes that framing goes beyond the pro/con or favorable/unfavorable depiction and actually defines issues by setting the terms of the debate. “Media framing can be likened to the magician’s sleight of hand—attention is directed to one point so that people do not notice the manipulation that is going on at another point.” (p. 97)

Though conceptually disparate, these descriptions of frames are not mutually exclusive. Scheufele equates attributes to Plato’s forms – things outside of subjective and interpretive reality – and describes framing as subjective interpretation. Yet McCombs makes the distinction that the selection of certain attributes and the omission of others is in itself a kind of framing. Tankard goes so far as to suggest manipulation, a conscious choice of newsmakers to neatly package stories to their preferences.

Given that news frames change depending on the issue being covered, this research incorporates numerous quantifiable framing elements that have been identified in the literature to determine how immigration issues are framed in English- and Spanish-language newspapers.

### *Frames and Their Measurable Elements*

This study attempts to answer the following research question by breaking down news frames into measurable elements and analyzing quantitative data for differences



between stories published in English and Spanish. By identifying differences between frame elements it is possible to say that the frames themselves differ.

**R1:** Do differences exist between the frames in English- and Spanish-language newspapers when they cover immigration-related news?

The research extensively examines the linguistic elements of topic selection, tone and metaphor while also looking for evidence of news frames pertaining to immigration that researchers have already identified. First, pre-established frames are reviewed. Second, it is important to identify and quantify the topics frequently associated with immigration. Third, it is necessary to determine a means for measuring metaphor and tone. This section concludes with a brief overview of the six newspapers that were selected for the study and how their regional and language differences may affect the collected data.

The elements of frames presented here will not reveal a set of exhaustive frames for the issue of immigration. Their identification and quantification, however, will help us understand some of the fundamental differences between the English- and Spanish-language portrayals of news.

#### *PRE-ESTABLISHED NEWS FRAMES*

In previous research, frames applied to immigration issues include *material* and *ethical* (Domke et al. 1999), *conflict*, *consequence*, *human interest*, and *horse race* (Watson 2004). This study uses four news frames that have been identified as ubiquitous in all news and have been applied to immigration studies in previous literature: *consequence*, *human interest*, *conflict* and *economic/material*. The *horse race* frame does not apply to this study because I will not be looking specifically the

strategies of politicians. Three of the pre-established frames were culled from a study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). In their quantitative study of Dutch media, the researchers looked for five news frames to evaluate content related to the meetings of European heads of state in 1997. The authors state:

A reliable set of content analytic indicators is necessary for studying developments in the news over time and similarities and difference in the ways in which politics and other topics of national and international importance are framed in the news. (p. 94)

The fourth frame, *consequence*, is taken from Watson's (2004) study, which looks for expected frames in immigration news stories.

Referring back to critical notions of "in" and "out" group members, this study hypothesizes that English-language papers will treat Latino/immigrant issues with fewer frames focusing on individuals and more frames focusing on jobs and the economy.

**H1:** English-language newspapers will have more material/economic frames in stories about immigration and immigrants than Spanish-language newspapers.

**H2:** Spanish-language newspapers will have more human-interest frames in stories about immigration and immigrants than English-language newspapers.

Problems with immigration and their solutions, however, are important to and contentious between both cultures.

**H3:** English- and Spanish-language newspapers will have equivalent amounts of conflict frames.

But the descriptions of news frames above comprise more than these anemic structures. Frames also include the selection of topics for reporting.

## *TOPICS*

In recent research attribute, or issue, saliency has been identified by studying media effects. Content analysis, however, allows researchers to look for predetermined themes (Krippendorff 2004) relevant to the subject at hand. This study provides the opportunity to look for major themes associated with immigrants and immigration.

**R2:** What are the prominent topics, or attributes, featured in English- and Spanish-language newspapers in stories about immigrants and immigration? Does the frequency of specific topics differ?

Two prominent themes come to mind in light of President Bush's State of the Union address on February 2, 2006. Bush described immigration as an integral part of the nation's economy. According to a study conducted by the Center for Immigration studies, the number of employed immigrants between March 2000 and 2004 rose by 2.3 million. Of the 900,000 net increases in jobs during the same time, two-thirds went to immigrant workers; studies like these add fuel to the fire as the public and policymakers discuss if immigration is good for America. The economy, wealth, labor and employment as issues and frames have surfaced numerous times in previous research (Domke et al. 1999; Craft & Wanta 2003; Richardson & Lancendorfer 2004).

Also at the forefront of America's immigration debate is national security. Some politicians and law enforcement officials are using national security to justify stepping up control of the U.S.-Mexico border, including the construction of a 700-mile fence recently approved by the House of Representatives. While speculation about al Qaeda terrorists sneaking into the country from Mexico remains farfetched, there is plenty of legitimate concern about the violence and corruption that accompany drug and human

trafficking. Greenberg and Hier (2002) identified “security” as an issue related to immigration when they examined Canadian coverage of an influx of Chinese immigrants.

As media for distinct cultures residing in the United States, English- and Spanish-language newspapers might take different approaches when deciding which immigration issues to report. There are some immigration-related issues that have a stronger affect on immigrant Latino communities than native-born communities of any ethnicity. For example, stories about legislation that changes the amount of social services to which immigrants are entitled are likely to be reported more heavily in a newspaper with an audience composed primarily of immigrants and their families.

### *METAPHORS*

Of increasing interest and importance in the realms of public discourse, politics and communication studies is the role of metaphor. “Metaphors provide the cognitive framework for worldview. Metaphor, and other associated figurative language used in the daily discourse of social issues, can be studied to reveal the values underlying social order” (Santa Ana 2002, p. 21). The metaphors used in popular media reveal the common values in a society, indicating tone, attitude and ideology of the newsmakers.

According to Entman, metaphors are elements of news frames, which are determined by “key words, concepts, symbols and visual images emphasized in a news narrative” (Entman 1991, p. 7). Searching for cognitive metaphors in news texts is a fairly new method of content analysis (El Refaie, 2001; Semino, 2002; Baker & McEnery 2005). Quantifying metaphors that other researchers have already identified

and connected with social narratives contributes to understanding a news story's frame. When working with two culturally distinct texts (English- and Spanish-language newspapers), differences in the use of metaphor can be expected, as studies from different countries have shown "that the choice and specification of metaphors is fundamentally a social and political issue" (El Refai 2001, 2).

Santa Ana (2002) identified prominent metaphors of Latino immigration and immigrants in the media by using cognitive theory and critical discourse analysis, which "is concerned with the possibility of knowledge, making 'common sense' and 'reason' the objects of study. It also focuses attention on the operations of discourse that conceal unjust social practices that reinforce inequalities of wealth and power" (p. 16).

The cognitive theory of metaphor involves the relationship of two "semantic domains," the "source" and the "target." Source domains are usually something that humans can easily think about, often parts of the human, physical world. Target domains are most often conceptual. "People borrow the conceptual structure of the familiar to 'get a handle on' or ... 'embody' the target domains. Then the borrowed structure is used extensively, even exclusively, with no more thought about the target domain" (Santa Ana 2002, p. 26). For example, the target domain "love" is often expressed in metaphor via the source domain "madness." Examples of *Love as Madness* include: *I'm crazy about you. He flipped out when she arrived. She drives me out of my mind.*

Santa Ana examined hundreds of articles from the *Los Angeles Times* to identify the most frequent source domains that correspond to *immigration* and *immigrants*. Throughout his research, Santa Ana differentiated between "immigration" (as a policy)

and “immigrants” (as a group of people or individuals). The articles covered three California initiatives related to immigration policy and social services for undocumented immigrants and their children. By examining articles about California Proposition 187, Santa Ana found *Immigration as Dangerous Waters* was the dominant metaphor for immigration in newspaper discourse (58% of all observed metaphors). Secondary metaphors included *Immigration as Invasion* (23%) and *Immigration as Animal* (8%). The dominant metaphor, *Immigration as Dangerous Waters* invoked panic – as in flooding and natural disasters – and ignored the most salient issue of the Proposition 187 debate: California’s economy. “The panic expressed in *Dangerous Waters* metaphors reflecting the perceived threat to Anglo-American hegemony is also articulated by the overly anti-immigrant *Immigration as Invasion* metaphor” (Santa Ana 2002, p. 78). It is important therefore, to differentiate between topics, or attributes, and the metaphors used to describe them.

Santa Ana also found that *Immigrant as Animal* was the dominant metaphor for immigrants in newspaper discourse (32%). Secondary metaphors included *Immigrant as Invader* (20%) and *Immigrant as Water* (17%). The dominant metaphor portrays immigrants as less than human and imposes an artificial hierarchy on human beings (Santa Ana 2002).

Santa Ana’s systematic analysis of metaphor opens a door for researchers to continue to explore the existence of metaphors of immigration and immigrants in the United States. Having determined dominant and secondary metaphors in a mainstream, English-language newspaper, it is possible to see if these metaphors persist today and if

they have filtered into Spanish-language news stories. New metaphors that may be developing in English and Spanish-language news text can also be identified.

**H4:** English-language newspapers will contain more *Immigration as Dangerous Waters, Invasion and Animal* and *Immigrant as Animal, Invader and Water* metaphors than Spanish-language newspapers.

### *TONE*

In addition to the attitudes invoked by metaphors, researchers have identified overall attitudes in news stories by looking at story tone (Rodgers & Thorson 2003; Peng 2004; Watson 2005). In terms of content analysis, direction “refers to the ‘attitude expressed toward any symbol by its user.’ ... Expressions of attitude are usually categorized by the analyst as favorable or unfavorable” (Budd et al., p. 50). Researchers often use *direction* or *tone* to determine bias and stereotyping in news stories. In this case, story tone refers to what Scheufele, Capella and Jaimeson describe as *the way* a given piece of information is put forth. A comparison of tone in English- and Spanish-language newspapers is one way to reveal attitude toward immigration and immigrants. It is doubtful that Spanish-language newspapers would portray Latinos, for whom they are writing, as negatively as the English-language press.

**H6:** Spanish-language newspapers will be more positive in tone toward immigration and immigrants than English-language newspapers.

### *NEWSPAPERS*

In most respects, the two-paper-town dynamic does not come into play for the cities that will be examined in this research. The English-language daily competes for a different audience and serves a different purpose than the Spanish-language daily.

Spanish-language publications are examples of an immigrant press, which serves not only to inform about news but also helps immigrants get accustomed to a new country, get news from back home, and, to a certain degree, advocate for the needs of the community (Paul 2001; Porter 2003).

For this study, five of the six English- and Spanish-language papers are large-circulation dailies, and *Rumbo San Antonio* is a mid-sized paper (see Table 2-1). *Rumbo* was selected because its ownership situation and nature of its founding contrast with the papers in the other regions. The *Rumbo* consortium of papers is new to the Texas market, unlike *La Opinión*, which has been published for 80 years, and *El Nuevo Herald*, which has been published for 30 years. *Rumbo San Antonio* has been around for only two years and therefore represents papers that are newly tasked with serving Spanish-speaking populations. The motivating factors for founders of papers such as *Rumbo* are somewhat different from those that prompted the launch of papers 80, and even 30, years ago. See Chapter Four for a more thorough discussion of Spanish-language newspapers' changing roles over time.

Despite increasing corporate ownership (Paul 2001), every population has a different relationship with the newspaper that covers a region's news, events and culture. The relationship between the newspaper and the community can affect newspaper content. Since its inception in 1926, Los Angeles's *La Opinión* has developed a powerful voice for the dignity of Mexicans in California. In the past it has featured positive stories about the difficult lives of laborers and supported striking workers. In the 1930s and mid 1950s, the government began forcing deportations of Mexican immigrants. *La Opinión* consistently reported on beatings, raids and arrests



**Table 2-1 Newspaper Circulation Numbers**

	Daily	Sunday
<b>San Antonio</b>		
San Antonio Express-News	245,033	352,974
Rumbo* San Antonio	35,000 (M-F)	--
<b>Los Angeles</b>		
Los Angeles Times	851,841 (M-F)	1,231,318
La Opinión	125,624	not available
<b>Miami</b>		
Miami Herald	312,109	429,221
El Nuevo Herald	81,000	89,000

\*As of *Rumbo San Antonio's* launch in July 2004. The *Rumbo* papers have a combined circulation of 90,000 as of 2005.

conducted by the Los Angeles Police Department, incidents the *Los Angeles Times* rarely covered. *La Opinión* is also known for sponsoring and supporting voter registration drives.

In the case of Miami, Knight-Ridder, publisher of the mainstream daily, also publishes the Spanish-language alternative. Instead of creating a competitor, Knight-Ridder is catering to another market. Historically, the parent of *El Nuevo Herald*, the *Miami Herald*, has not built as much trust among south Florida's Hispanics, predominantly Cuban-Americans. After two incidents in the 1970s, anti-Castro Cuban activists protested the editorial decisions of *El Herald*, *El Nuevo Herald's* first incarnation, by boycotting the newspaper and defacing vending machines. At the time, the Spanish-language publication did not have its own editorial board. The *Miami Herald* continues to attempt to mend any remaining rifts with its editorially independent *El Nuevo Herald*.

Having begun publication in 2003, it is difficult to make firm statements about the relationship between *Rumbo San Antonio* and its audience. *Rumbo San Antonio* competes with *La Prensa*, which has a decades-long history of publication in San Antonio. *La Prensa* is not part of this study for the sake of variety among the relationships between the English- and Spanish-language newspapers in each region. The relationship between *La Prensa* and the *San Antonio Express-News* too closely mirrors the relationship between *La Opinión* and the *Los Angeles Times*. *Rumbo San Antonio* is an example of one of the newest manifestations of Spanish-language print media, and it provides an opportunity to examine the relationship between an established English-language daily and a new English-language one.

The relationships of the two newspapers in each city are different. This is another important factor to keep in mind when comparing data between languages *and* cities. The *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald* in Miami, Florida, are both owned by Knight-Ridder, the second-largest newspaper publisher in the United States. The *Los Angeles Times* is owned by Tribune Company and *La Opinión* is published by ImpreMedia. Tribune Co. owned a percentage of *La Opinión* until October 2003, when the two companies split as a result of different approaches to Spanish-language news production. *La Opinión* prefers to focus on local relationships and community development, while Tribune Co.'s Spanish-language daily *Hoy* is a brand with centralized content and some area-specific stories where it's distributed, which includes cities such as Chicago and New York City. The *San Antonio Express-News* and *Rumbo San Antonio* are completely independent of one another. The *San Antonio Express-News*

is owned by the Hearst Corporation, and *Rumbo* is owned by Meximerica Media, which has ties to Tribune Co.

Differences in news frames will be more apparent between English/Spanish language papers depending on the papers' relationship to one another and their historical relationships with their readerships.

**R3:** Given the regions' and newspapers' different histories with immigrant communities, how will the framing elements vary by region?

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Roles of Spanish Language Newspapers

This chapter examines the historical and current roles of Spanish-language newspapers in Hispanic communities in the United States. It begins with a brief explanation of the factual and conceptual underpinnings of the category “Latino/Hispanic” and immigration to the United States. The next sections examine the changing roles and objectives of newspapers in Spanish-speaking and Hispanic immigrant communities. Finally, the chapter surveys the history of Spanish-language newspapers in each of the three cities included in this study.

#### **Latino Immigrants in the United States**

The notion of “Latino” or “Hispanic” (which will be used here interchangeably) people and populations is a purely American phenomenon. These descriptors encompass all people in the United States who are originally from or have parentage from Latin American countries. Latino and Hispanic are not racial descriptions, like “Black” and “White,” or even referent to a continent of origin, like “European” or “Asian.” One is Latino by virtue of having direct or ancestral roots on the North and South American continents south of the Texas border *and* by being in the United States.

Of particular confusion is conflation of the concept “Latino” with a particular race. White America perhaps takes for granted that all Latinos come in some shade of brown. But blacks who dominate Caribbean islands and costal cities, Whites from major urban centers such as Mexico City, and indigenous people who live in the country, all fall into the American category “Latino/Hispanic.” In 1980 the U.S. Census Bureau

began using the term “Hispanic” on its survey forms. On the bureau’s Web site for Data Profiles<sup>1</sup> from individual states, the “Hispanic or Latino” category is separate from the “Race” category and is qualified parenthetically by the phrase “of any race.”

Mexicans are the largest percentage of those considered Latino in the United States. Though many have immigrated here, others have been here since the time when portions of the United States were still part of Mexico. In February 1836, those who considered themselves Texans in the Mexican state Coahuila-Tejas declared the territory extending to the Rio Grande to be independent; in 1845 the U.S. Congress voted to annex the Texas Republic. In the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed Feb. 2, 1848, after two years of hostilities, Mexico ceded what are today the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Colorado, Nevada and Utah. In a matter of years, territories switched from the hands of one nation to the other, causing inhabitants to feel alienated and displaced in their own homes.

After the first wave of “immigrants” who “arrived” as a result of conquest, California continued to draw a steady influx of people from other countries. Tens of thousands of Irish and Chinese immigrants settled in the west after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in the late 1860s. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese immigrants began settling in California. It wasn’t until after World War II that the regular flow of immigrants from Mexico increased, along with the entry of Filipinos, Koreans, Southeast Asians and more Japanese. Many immigrants engaged in agricultural work, and as industries expanded, immigrants provided much of the labor force for the piecemeal garment industry and construction.

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?lang=en&ts=>

More recently, Mexican immigration has steadily continued and more people are coming to California from Central American countries. Between 1991 and 2000, 46% of immigrants to California came from Mexico, up from 38% during the previous decade. Combining numbers from Mexico and Central America, Spanish-speaking newcomers accounted for 52% of all foreign newcomers to California. Latino immigrants are also moving to the Midwest and parts of the South other than Florida. The papers selected for this city are all from major U.S. cities with significant Hispanic populations (Table 2-2).

Immigration is quickly conflated with illegal or undocumented immigration. In 2003 the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service estimated the number of undocumented immigrants at between 8 million and 10 million people, as much as 25%

**Table 3-1 City Populations According to the U.S. Census Bureau**

	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>Hispanics</b>	<b>Mexican Hispanics</b>	<b>Whites</b>
Los Angeles Area	17,199,115	7,375,686	5,899,724	6,323,085* 10,518,782**
San Antonio	1,683,872	899,192	777,089	631,107* 1,198,357**
			<b>Cuban Hispanics</b>	
Miami- Ft. Lauderdale	4,051,442	1,772,206	804,701	1,311,805* 2,854,648**

\*Number of people who identify as white alone, not also as Hispanic

\*\*Number of people who identify as white and Hispanic and white alone

of the nation's 40 million Hispanics. Approximately 3 million undocumented immigrants live in California and approximately 1 million live in Texas (Gerston 2004).

### **Spanish-Language Newspapers: From Advocates to Commodities**

Spanish-language newspapers have been published in the United States for more than a century in response to two primary needs: community coherence and commercial interests. Though, like all newspapers, they differed in their political stances and content, Rodriguez (1999) writes that, historically, Spanish-language papers shared defining characteristics: "They were the public voice of Mexicans and Mexican Americans; they defended the interests of these often-embattled peoples as they helped create a common culture for their communities" (p. 14-15).

But no matter how capable a newspaper was of rallying its community, it didn't last long if it didn't make money. Increasing urbanization in the early 1900s allowed Spanish- and English-language newspapers to achieve commercial success and identify target audiences that supported them. Beginning in the 1930s, Spanish-language radio broadcasts, and later television, deepened and solidified the Latino media niche (Rodriguez 1999).

These two forces – community and commercialism – continue to shape the daily publication of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States. Some newspapers, such as Los Angeles's *La Opinión* or New York City's *El Diario/La Prensa*, have decades-long histories promoting justice or bringing news from the homeland for the populations they serve. Newer papers, such as *El Nuevo Herald* and the *Rumbo* publications, are reactions to a growing market of Spanish-speaking immigrants, their

children and grandchildren who, more and more, have money to spend on a variety of media, goods and services.

Huntz and Kent (1996) provide a comprehensive historical and geographic survey of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States. They trace Spanish-language newspapers' rises and declines from their inception through the early 1990s. Unlike other foreign-language publications, Spanish-language papers did not fold after members of the foreign-language group learned English. Instead they prospered and grew, from the first paper, published as early as 1808 in New Orleans, to papers in the West and Southwest (especially south Texas and California), the South (especially Florida), East and finally the Midwest of the United States. Between 1848 and 1992, Huntz and Kent found 582 Spanish-language newspapers were established in the continental United States. Of those, 62% were weeklies, 26% were published irregularly, 7% were dailies and 5% were monthlies.

There is a variety of literature and data about the function of foreign-language media, a subset of ethnic media. In the context of the United States, foreign-language publications are a manifestation of what is typically known as the "ethnic" or "immigrant" press. Immigrant publications differ from mainstream publications because their audience comprises new immigrants, whose newspaper use differs from mainstream, English-language readers.

The immigrant press content formula includes local news that often advocates for the specific needs of an immigrant community, news from the immigrants' countries of origin and practical information about how to survive in the new culture. Miller suggests the ethnic press is



informational, carrying news of the country of origin, of compatriots elsewhere in the United States, and, of course, of the local community. It expressed a group's values and changing sense of identity. It also socialized its readers to the United States as it educated them and became itself a tool of adjustment. (Miller 1987, xvi)

Historically, Spanish-language newspapers have stood as cultural focal points and community advocates for the populations they serve, unlike many of the large, objectivity-oriented English-language dailies. Rodriguez writes that most early Spanish-language papers were published by fraternal organizations, community groups, or "U.S. and Mexican political militants that used the broadsheets as weapons in the Mexican Revolution; some Spanish-language papers were published as merchant newspapers per early English-language papers" (p. 28). In contrast to "all the news that's fit to print," Spanish-language newspapers (and ethnic newspapers in general) include news from immigrants' home countries; information that non-native Americans might not know, including legal advice; and they often vocalize political concerns offering advocacy and tools for their readership to work for political and social parity with other Americans.

Spanish-language newspapers also have played a part in maintaining a connection to Mexican culture for a population in an assumed "exile" from the motherland. Spanish-language media in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were particularly invested in the appeal of traditional culture and language to capture their audiences. Particularly in radio, "U.S. broadcasters discovered that the emotional effect of an advertising message delivered in a listener's first learned language and suggestively enfolded in a program of music or drama, evoking the most nostalgic

memories of a listener's faraway birthplace, was infinitely greater than the same message in English" (Rodriguez 1999, p. 32).

The cultural connections and community-building aspects of ethnic media remain intact today. According to Sergio Bendixen, president of Bendixen & Associates, a Florida-based Hispanic polling company, more than 90% of the U.S. Hispanic population reads a newspaper (Paul 2001).

Readers tend to have an unusually close relationship with ethnic publications, mainly because most reach them in their native language. ... Even when ethnic newspapers are in English, they offer a cultural perspective often missing from the mainstream press. (Paul 2001)

But as the U.S. Hispanic population continues to grow – topping more than 40 million this year – large corporations and media conglomerates prefer to see it more as a demographic than a community, a demographic that is underserved by mainstream American media. Academics and cultural critics have argued that Hispanic media create the market it pursues by showing a world full of Hispanic faces.

### *Creating a Market: The Power of Spanish*

Spanish-language newspapers are an integral part of Hispanic media because they communicate news and information in the native tongue of many Hispanics. Rufus Browning, former director of the Public Research Institute of San Francisco State University has found that Latino immigrants learn English rapidly yet retain their attachment to ethnic media longer than Asian immigrants. His study found that nearly 75% of second-generation and about half of third-generation Latinos continue to use Spanish-language print or broadcast (Porter 2003). The Spanish language is an element

of Latino identity that has proven essential, over time, to understanding this otherwise disparate American population. *Latinidad*, which translates as “Latinness,” is overwhelmingly bestowed upon those who are native Spanish speakers, speak Spanish at home or are equally comfortable communicating in Spanish and English.

There are people who consider themselves Latino but who do not speak Spanish. According to ACNielsen and New American Dimensions, a multicultural consulting firm, Hispanic adults tend to speak Spanish, while second-generation youth and young adults are bilingual or English-dominant. Some second-, third-, fourth-, etc. generation Latinos did not hear enough Spanish at home or intentionally rejected their parents’ and grandparents’ native tongue and never gained proficiency, let alone fluency, in Spanish. A survey conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center determined that almost half (47%) of the 40 million U.S. Latinos speak primarily Spanish, approximately one quarter (28%) are bilingual, and one quarter (25%) speak primarily English.

Language, therefore, is a key unifier when Hispanic media is tasked with identifying its target audience. A lot of current research on Hispanics and the media look at broadcast media and its influence on *Latinidad* (Rodriguez 1999; Levine 2001), but findings about the importance of language to these media and their audiences applies equally to print media. The utilization of Spanish in television news broadcasts and in newspapers “legitimizes the Spanish language as a language of U.S. political discourse and thus Spanish speakers as legitimated U.S. political actors. At the same time, the Spanish language in these [media] is a declaration of Latino ethnic identity” (Rodriguez p. 89).

*Creating a Market: The Power of Shared Identity*

Many of the early Spanish-language media producers were Mexican. Just as many Spanish-language newspapers had owners and publishers deeply rooted in Mexico, from 1961 to 1986 the U.S. Spanish-language television was owned, financed, and operated by Mexican *Televisa*. It was easy for Mexican owners and managers to publish and broadcast culturally appropriate news and entertainment material. But as demand has grown with each wave and then a steady stream of Spanish speakers, Spanish-language media has grown to become a force that American-owned, White-oriented media and advertisers cannot ignore.

Like Rodriguez, Levine (2001) argues that market-driven media outlets help to create the very Latino community they purport to serve. “[M]arket forces are influencing the definitions of Latino/a identity offered to recent and successive-generation immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries” (p. 34). Television networks, newspapers and magazines reduce Latinos and Latinas to an identifiable segment of consumers. “A particular ethnic identity, be it an authentically Hispanic one or a bicultural, syncretic blend, is the cultural currency upon which the [U.S. Spanish-language television] networks trade” (p. 39).

Rodriguez argues that the result of grasping for a Latino-oriented identity in the context of the United States results in “pan-ethnicity”: a strictly “Latino” identity (*Latinidad*) that is not linked to a nation of origin or localized traditions. Historical and, primarily, commercially driven developments in Latino news making have helped to create a pan-ethnic Latino identity. The innocuous Spanish devoid of colloquialisms found on national Spanish-language newscasts helps to reinforce it.

Local media and marketers still use nationally and culturally distinct methods to attract Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in California, New York, and Florida, respectively. But for the sake of efficiency and the bottom line, media outlets and advertisers find it easier to transmit information in a neat package, a gift to “Hispanics.” “The denationalization of Latin American immigrants to the United States facilitated their renationalization as members, albeit marginal, of U.S. society, as a U.S. minority group” (Rodriguez 1999, p. 49).

But Levine (2001) emphasizes that *Latinidad* is not only a marketing creation: It fulfills a real void that is present when Latinos – be they immigrants or fourth generation – define themselves as residents of the United States.

Liminally located, neither fully American nor fully Hispanic, consumers of Latin-targeted media ... are eager to find a social and cultural space in which they fully belong. Thus, when commercial media offer to construct that space for them, when they present to their audiences a fully conceived, stable and secure syncretic identity, the media can significantly influence the taking on of that identity in daily life. (p. 46)

### *Creating a Market: The Power of Wealth*

With the Spanish-language and Hispanic identity as a point of access, media and marketers have been cultivating an easily identifiable and efficiently targeted Hispanic audience and consumer base for decades (Rodriguez 1999). If the Latino population has become the Latino market, media and advertisers must have a clear notion of whom they are trying to reach with news, entertainment and products. “The dominant construction of the Hispanic audience—the discursive concept that is sold in the marketplace and centrally structures Hispanic media—is racially non-white,

linguistically Spanish speaking, and socioeconomically poor” (Rodriguez 1999, p. 47). Rodriguez finds that the drive to identify and quantify the audience for Latino-oriented media is the result of a long history of advertisers refusing to believe the U.S. Spanish-speaking population was a viable market for consumer products.

Despite the constantly growing number of Spanish-speaking immigrants and laborers who have been part of or coming to the U.S. since its establishment, Spanish-speaking – and eventually “Hispanic” – audiences have had to work for credibility with national media and advertisers. “The social chasm between the Spanish speaking audience and the Anglo entrepreneurial class was wide and deep, restricting the contact between the two societies, and so Anglo owners and advertisers had difficulty conceiving of Spanish speakers as actors in their marketplace” (Rodriguez 1999, p. 34).”

The socioeconomic stereotype still rings true for numerous Hispanic households. A 2004 Pew Hispanic Center Survey found that the median net worth of Hispanic households in 2002 was \$7,932, a mere 9% of the wealth of White households, \$88,651. The recession between 1999 and 2001 hit Hispanic households particularly hard: Their net worth fell by 27%, while the net worth of White households increased by 2%.

Despite overwhelming disparity, the wealthiest 25% of Hispanic households owned 93% of all Hispanic wealth. In other words, no fewer than 10 million people have money to burn. The wealthiest Hispanics come from every Latin American origin, therefore Spanish-language marketers want “to transform the Hispanic market from a minority or foreign language market to just another market” (Rodriguez 1999, p. 53). According to the Latino Print Network, 40 Spanish-language U.S. papers made an

estimated \$850 million in advertising revenue, compared to 14 papers that made \$111 million in ad revenue in 1990 (O'Connell 2005).

According to Rodriguez, the three largest Spanish-language newspapers in the United States (*La Opinión*, *El Nuevo Herald*, and *El Diario/La Prensa*) count on poorer Hispanics' loyalty to their papers and target this demographic. Though this portion of the population has considerably less disposable income than others, the newspapers tailor their advertising to the needs of these consumers, particularly immigrants, who spend relatively more money on long distance telephone and electronic money transfer services, airline travel, and immigration-related legal advice. Clearly, these newspapers know who their audiences are. So if the advertising is tailor-made, what about news content?

### **Spanish-Language Newspapers Today**

Understanding the development of Spanish-language newspapers – in terms of their establishment as community foci for culture and advocacy and their continuation as commodities in an ethnic market – helps to explain the hypothesis expecting a significant difference between culturally-determined (White and Hispanic) news frames in newspapers. None of the newspapers examined for this study falls strictly into the “community” or “commercial” categories; it can be argued that all exhibit inclinations toward both, but to varying degrees. More important, however, is awareness about factors that have influenced the roles of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States compared to the roles of English-language newspapers. Unlike the motivations of contemporary Spanish-language publishers who identify their ethnic editorial niche

(Levine 2001), English-language publishers do not necessarily seek out a target ethnicity. As a result their content caters to Whites by default, since Whites are the ones who have the most money to spend on advertised goods and services.

Like all newspapers, the economic sustainability of Spanish-language newspapers in the United States is uncertain. Newspapers must compete with the current heavyweights in Hispanic media: broadcast outlets. An example of the broadcast medium's attraction to audiences and advertisers is the television station Univisión. Between 1998 and 1999, Univisión was the leading Spanish-language network in the United States and deemed the fastest growing broadcast or cable network among the coveted demographic of people ages 18 to 34.

But right now the number of Spanish-language papers is growing (Bailon 2005). Some people in the advertising industry question Spanish-language newspapers' sustainability in a market that constantly changes because of technology and demographic shifts. Respondents to an *Advertising Age* survey from 2005 said that many second- and third-generation Hispanics speak English as a first language and turn to English-language media for news and entertainment. This gives an upper hand to programs and publications targeted to Hispanics yet produced in English. The influx of new immigrants, however, continues at a steady stream; Spanish-language media is still necessary and allows media organizations and advertisers make a connection to immigrants. In the same survey, 31.6% of the 479 marketers and agencies that responded said they would spend more money advertising in newspapers in 2006, while 17.5% planned to cut newspapers spending, and 50% said they would stay at the same level.



## CHAPTER FOUR Regional Newspaper Histories

The research examines content from six newspapers: English- and Spanish-language newspapers from three regions. This chapter examines the histories of the Spanish-language newspapers in the selected regions in an attempt to further clarify the missions of the papers and distinguish them from White-oriented, English-language newspapers. In addition, in order to understand the possible differences in frames among the three regions, it is important to understand the historical and cultural influences that have shaped the newspapers.

### **San Antonio, Texas**

San Antonio has a long history with Spanish-language newspapers. Though not part of the explosive Spanish-language newspaper growth witnessed in the Upper Rio Grande Valley (a region extending from El Paso, Texas, through Santa Fe and as far north as Taos, New Mexico), Spanish-language papers began appearing in San Antonio during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In part as a result of immigration from Mexico because of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the establishment of 20 Spanish-language papers in San Antonio (Huntz & Kent 1996).

The most successful of these was *La Prensa*. First published in 1913 by Mexican-born Ignacio Lozano, *La Prensa* was written for educated, middle-class Mexicans living in exile during and after the Mexican Revolution. The paper contained elite content, including translated writings from authors such as Honoré de Balzac, Leo

Tolstoy and George Bernard Shaw. The paper began as a weekly but became so popular that after a year it became a daily, circulating throughout south, central and west Texas and into northern Mexico. As more Mexicans began to arrive, *La Prensa* encouraged middle-class aspirations and maintained a strong identification with Mexico and Mexican culture and traditions. The last edition of *La Prensa* was published in 1957 (Rodriguez 1999).

In 1989 *La Prensa* was revived as a weekly, and in 1994 owners Tino and Amelia “Mellie” Durán converted it from a tabloid to a bilingual broadsheet. As of 2005 *La Prensa* publishes three editions per week: its primary edition on Wednesdays, an all-Spanish tabloid on Fridays, and a Sunday edition. Although it is not audited, owners say they have a free distribution of 100,000 on Wednesdays, 50,000 on Sundays, and 10,000 on Fridays. The Duráns’ La Prensa Foundation raised more than \$1 million and awarded scholarships to 2,300 Hispanic students between 1997 and 2005 (Davis Hudson 2005).

*Rumbo San Antonio* has appeared in the wake of *La Prensa* in San Antonio, but there is little literature about *Rumbo* papers. The *Rumbo* newspapers are published Monday through Friday in Houston, San Antonio and the Rio Grande Valley in south Texas. *Rumbo Austin* folded in March 2006. *Rumbo* was launched in San Antonio in July 2004 and is owned by Meximerica Media. Edward Schumacher, a former editor at the *Wall Street Journal*, and Jonathan Friedland, who also worked for the *Journal*, founded Meximerica Media in 2003. They received financing from Recoletos, a company based in Spain. From *Rumbo*’s Web site ([www.diariosrumbo.com](http://www.diariosrumbo.com)):

The company is supported by a consortium of investors co-led by Pinto America Growth Fund L.P. of Houston and Rustic Canyon Partners of Los Angeles. Pinto America Growth Fund L.P. affiliated with Cockrell Interests Inc. is a Texas-based private equity fund focused on companies serving the US Hispanic market and Rustic Canyon is a venture capital and private equity fund with strong ties to the media industry. It was established in 1999 to invest a portion of the funds created by the recapitalization of the Times Mirror Co (since acquired by Tribune Co.).

*Rumbo San Antonio* provides this study with one of the newest examples of Spanish-language media. Its publication is the result of a market for more Spanish-language media in Texas and contrasts sharply with the well-worn name *La Prensa*.

### **Los Angeles, California**

The first Spanish-language newspaper in Los Angeles was published between 1848 and 1876, and the number grew to 11 newspapers during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of these, however, were short-lived weeklies, lasting between one and two years. Population growth remained concentrated in California, the Upper Rio Grande Valley and South Texas during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and Los Angeles continues to be an important center for Spanish-speaking immigrants today. In the last half century the founding of Spanish-language newspapers has also spread beyond major urban areas in California (including San Diego, San Jose and San Francisco) to towns in the Central Valley of Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno and Bakersfield.

*La Opinión* is the longest running Spanish-language newspaper in the United States. It began publishing in Los Angeles in 1926, founded by Ignacio Lozano, the publisher of San Antonio's popular *La Prensa*. Increasing urbanization and the migration of Hispanics, mostly Mexicans, to industrial jobs helped *La Opinión* become

commercially successful. In its early days the majority of the paper's news was about happenings in Mexico.

As with *La Prensa*, *La Opinión* held to the idea that Mexicans working in the United States would be there for only a limited amount of time, destined to return to Mexico when economic conditions improved. Its attitude therefore rejected assimilation and Americanization. Editorials from *La Opinión* also warned Mexicans to keep from behaving like the racist stereotypes held by Whites. The newspaper took the position that it was Mexicans' job to prove the stereotypes wrong, although it also recognized that the negative opinions were created by White society. *La Opinión* stood as a contrast to *El Espectador*, which was published from 1933 to 1961 in the San Gabriel Valley east of Los Angeles. *El Espectador* publisher Ignacio López encouraged his readers to establish themselves permanently in the United States and acted as a community advocate and organizer for Mexican-American rights.

*La Opinión* represented a powerful voice for the dignity of Mexicans in California. It featured positive stories about the difficult lives of laborers and supported striking workers. In the 1930s and mid-1950s, the government began forcing deportations of Mexican immigrants. *La Opinión* consistently reported on beatings, raids and arrests conducted by the Los Angeles Police Department, incidents the *Los Angeles Times* rarely covered. *La Opinión* is also known for sponsoring and supporting voter registration drives.

*La Opinión* remains community oriented to this day. Monica Lozano, president of *La Opinión*, said the paper severed ties with Tribune Co. in October 2003 because the two companies did not have compatible strategies. *La Opinión* prefers to focus on

local relationships and community development, while Tribune Co.'s Spanish-language daily, *Hoy*, is a brand with centralized content and some area-specific stories where it's distributed, which includes cities such as Chicago and New York City.

Today the majority of *La Opinión*'s readers are working-class immigrants. According to Rodriguez (1999), the paper is oriented toward civic and service journalism. When the Immigration Reform and Control Act was passed in 1986 to provide amnesty or legal residency for undocumented immigrants who could prove they had been living in the United States for seven years, *La Opinión* produced a free 24-page brochure with information about how to apply. Similarly, in 1994 after the passage of Proposition 187, which would have denied government benefits and services to undocumented immigrants, and after the passage of restrictive welfare laws two years later, the paper produced special supplements explaining the new laws.

*La Opinión* has a well-established reputation as a paper that serves the Spanish-speaking community's needs and interests. Of the study's three Spanish-language newspapers, it is the paper that holds the strongest advocacy role in its region.

### **Miami, Florida**

Of the three areas covered in this research, Spanish-language newspapers came last to Miami. Its early papers were part of the Spanish-speaking community growth that occurred between 1930 and 1959 east of the Mississippi River. Unlike the earlier growth in Spanish-language newspapers in the West and Southwest, which occurred primarily in medium-sized cities and towns, Eastern growth occurred in urban centers such as New York, Chicago, Tampa and Miami. Two papers began publishing in

Miami, one of which was *Diario Las Americas*, founded in 1953 and still published today. *Diario* founder Horacio Aguirre believed that Miami would become an important hub for Latin Americans coming to the United States before south Florida had much of a Spanish-speaking population. *Diario* was not included in this study because the *Miami Herald/El Nuevo Herald* provides the only pairing where the papers have the same owner. In the other two regions, the newspapers are under different ownership, and the study wanted to examine frame differences among papers with different relationships in terms of ownership and longevity in their respective regions.

Though the mass exodus of Cubans to the United States did not begin until after the revolution in 1959, there were small concentrations of Cubans in New York City and South Florida areas, including Miami/Ft. Lauderdale, Tampa and Key West. Most of the Florida Cubans worked for cigar factories that used Cuban-grown tobacco and manufactured their products in the United States because of favorable business conditions. After 1959, Grenier and Pérez (2003) identify four waves of Cuban migration to the United States. Between 1959 and 1962 the United States granted refugee status to approximately 200,000 Cubans, many of whom were from Cuba's skilled, educated elite – those who felt threatened and isolated by the socialist takeover. In addition, as many as 14,000 children were sent by their parents to the United States at this time, their parents often joining them later.

The second wave occurred between 1965 and 1973, when the Cuban government allowed people in the United States to pick up relatives who wanted to leave Cuba. More than 260,000 people left the country during the “airlift,” twice-daily flights from Cuba to Miami during the eight-year period. The open-migration policy

whittled away at Cuba's remaining middle class: small entrepreneurs, skilled and semiskilled workers and white-collar employees. By 1973, however, applications for departure had dwindled enough that the governments agreed to terminate the program.

For five months in 1980, the Cuban government once again allowed unrestricted migration to the United States as a result of violent protest by thousands of Cubans. More than 125,000 people, representative of Cuba's intellectuals and the lower socioeconomic classes, came to Florida, this time unregulated by the U.S. government. This incident put a damper on the United States' open-arms policy for Cubans. The United States experienced limited Cuban immigration through the 1980s and early 1990s, but in 1994 the "rafter crisis" prompted what Grenier and Pérez call the fourth wave of migration.

After numerous Cubans made several dramatic and often fatal attempts to leave the island in early 1994, the Cuban government declared it would not attempt to detain anyone attempting to leave Cuba on a raft or any other vessel. As a result, almost 37,000 Cubans were picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard and eventually allowed to enter the United States. The U.S. government also agreed to admit 20,000 Cubans per year through the normal visa process, and the Cuban government agreed to accept the return of future unauthorized immigrants who did not reach the U.S. shore. The U.S. Bureau of the Census estimated that by 2000 there were about 1.2 million people of Cuban origin or descent in the United States, nearly 65% of whom lived in southern Florida.

*El Nuevo Herald*, published by Knight-Ridder, is the reincarnation of the *Miami Herald's* first attempt to connect with south Florida's Spanish-speaking audience. *El Miami Herald* began in 1976 as a one-page insert and eventually expanded to 18 pages.

It was essentially a translation of stories and columns from the *Miami Herald* and never had its own editorial board.

The lack of independent editorial control led to one disaster after another with Miami's fervently anti-Castro Cuban-American community. In the late 1970s, *El Miami Herald* published an editorial that pointed out how Castro's regime, though extreme, had brought free health care and education to the people of Cuba. A few years later, it published an editorial attacking the *contras* in Nicaragua, whom Cuban-Americans tended to support as they attempted to overthrow a socialist government. In both cases, extremist Cuban Americans boycotted the newspaper and marked a boundary for exactly how far a Spanish-language newspaper could go when it came to Cuban-related politics and opinion.

In 1987, the *Miami Herald* began publishing *El Nuevo Herald* in an attempt to develop a new relationship with Miami's Hispanics. For 11 years, *El Nuevo Herald* was available only as a supplement to the *Miami Herald* and in vending machines in Latino neighborhoods. In 1998, the Spanish-language daily became available to subscribers and vendors independent of its English-language counterpart. Approximately 30% of its content is translations from the *Miami Herald*, but the editorial and opinion pages are completely independent. The paper also features sports, entertainment and news from Latin America. Today it has approximately 227,000 daily readers and 289,000 readers on Sunday, according to Knight-Ridder.

The recent case of Elián González also called into question the *Miami Herald's* position vis á vis Miami's population of Cuban origin and descent. On Thanksgiving Day, 1999, six-year-old Elián González was found floating in an inner-tube three miles



off the coast of Florida. He was one of three survivors from a boat of fourteen Cubans who had attempted to come to the United States. Ultimately, the U.S. government decided to return the boy to his father in Cuba, to the disappointment and anger of the majority of South Florida's Cubans. Liz Balm, a Cuban-American and Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for the *Herald* said the paper's coverage of Miami's Cuban community was not sympathetic. Other reporters were criticized for "editorializing" or giving "poor" explanations of life in Cuba.

*El Nuevo Herald* was selected for study because it is a paper influenced both by the ample Spanish-speaking market and the demands of its community of readers. The paper's 40-year history with south Florida's primarily Cuban immigrants and their families stands in contrast to market-oriented *Rumbo San Antonio* and community-oriented *La Opinión*.

## CHAPTER FIVE Methodology

In this chapter, the methods applied for analysis will be described. It begins with a brief review of content analysis, followed by the details of the sample and the specific coding procedures that were used.

### **Content Analysis**

To look for the presence of the aforementioned framing elements English- and Spanish-language daily newspapers this study employed quantitative content analysis methods to identify and analyze the information. Content analysis involves several stages of information identification and collection. The following stages as identified by Schutt (1998) were used as a guide for this analysis:

- A population of textual documents was identified for study.
- The documents were broken down into units for analysis.
- Coding procedures were outline for readings of the text.
- Coding procedures were tested and refined.
- Statistical analysis was applied to the resulting data to test for difference.

Each city (Miami, Los Angeles and San Antonio) has large Latino populations and is in a state where immigration issues are of high importance. California and Texas are border states, where every year thousands of Latin American immigrants cross the border, both legally and illegally, to work and live in the United States. Miami is a hub and destination for Cuban immigrants. Each locale is affected by changes in the volume

of immigration and immigration policy; immigration rhetoric is likely to be its most divisive and to set frames for other immigration debates around the country.

### **The Case Study**

Immigration in the United States is an issue covered broadly and constantly in the media. Because immigration is an issue that generates an overwhelming number of news stories for analysis, one immigration-related issue was selected for analysis.

Media coverage of the Minutemen project provides a fascinating case study for dealing with the overwhelming issue of immigration in the United States. The results of this study cannot definitively describe any immigration-related issue other than the Minutemen, but it can help researchers get a clearer picture of the elements of immigration frames that may be employed by English- and Spanish-language media when they cover immigration issues.

The Minuteman Project is a group of hundreds of volunteers who organized themselves to patrol the U.S.-Mexico border for undocumented immigrants. They began patrolling on public and private property in Arizona and have expanded their operation to patrol the border in Texas and New Mexico. Minutemen are also recruiting in northern states to perform a similar function on the U.S. border with Canada.

The group believes that the government's border patrol is not doing enough to prevent Latin Americans from crossing the border into the United States. According to U.S. Customs and Border Protection<sup>2</sup>, the U.S. Border Patrol caught approximately 1.1 million undocumented immigrants in 2004 and almost 1.2 million in 2005.

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<sup>2</sup>See [http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border\\_security/border\\_patrol/overview.xml](http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/border_patrol/overview.xml)

Organizers of the Minuteman Project contend that illegal immigration is “out of control,” and they feel they have the right to try to stop it in their home state (Jordan 2005). The Minuteman Project was launched in the wake of the passage of Arizona’s Proposition 200, which requires people to produce proof of immigration status when obtaining certain government services and will punish government workers for failing to report illegal immigrants who try to get aid. It also requires proof of citizenship when registering to vote (Billeaud 2005). The project also coincided with the declaration by the governors of Arizona and New Mexico of a “state of emergency” in their states because of large-scale undocumented immigrant border crossing.

The Minutemen Projects in Arizona and Texas have received a large amount of media attention. Whether you believe they are rough-riding patriots or vigilante racists, news coverage of their endeavor and the official, activist and individual responses to it provide an examinable petri dish for understanding the topics and attitudes related to immigration in the United States.

The presence of the Minutemen is specific to border regions of the United States, therefore newspapers such as the *Miami Herald*, which services the Miami area and is not located on a border, relies on wire stories more often than papers from cities close to an actual border, such as the *San Antonio Express-News*. While wire stories are not as reflective of the editorial stances of a paper’s own reporters and editors, the wire stories selected for publication are reflective of what the newspaper editors deem relevant and appropriate for their audience.

The phenomenon of the Minutemen is also highly reflective of the nation’s ideological debate about immigration. Therefore, not all of the sample articles are about

the Minutemen *per se*. In some cases the Minutemen are used as representative of a particular ideology and approach to immigration, or they are referred to in a direct quote. These articles – which may not make further reference to the Minutemen but do bring up other immigration issues – are included in the analysis, providing a sample of newspaper writing that goes beyond the Minutemen themselves.

### **Sampling Design**

The study sample includes all copy beginning in January 1, 2005, when the story of the Minutemen first hit newspapers, through January 31, 2006. In early 2005, Minutemen organizers announced that they were looking for volunteers to patrol sections of the Arizona/Mexico border. In early April they began the patrol.

The data were obtained using search engines Lexis Nexis for the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Antonio News-Express* and *La Opinión*, and Web site archive searches for *Rumbo San Antonio*, the *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald*, which are not available on Lexis Nexis. A total of 57 English-language articles and 91 Spanish-language articles resulted from this search, for a total of 148 articles. Each story was identified by two numbers: one number to identify the newspaper source (coded 1-6) and another number to identify the story from the others from the same newspaper.

Editorials, op-ed pieces, and briefs were included. Stories that include coincidental references to another group of Minutemen (e.g. sports teams, bands, the Revolutionary War contingents) were not included in the analysis. The analysis also excluded news roundups, letters to the editor, obituaries, text from graphics and outlines. Stories that were repeated in the search within each newspaper were counted

only once. Each story was assigned a number and coded for language, newspaper, word count, date of publication and story type (locally written, wire or unknown).

### **Coding Procedure**

Each story (unit of analysis) was analyzed for the four pre-established frames described above. The pre-existing frames were identified by asking a series of “yes” or “no” questions, each of which correspond to the *conflict*, *human interest*, *consequence* or *economic/material* frames. It was possible for each story to reflect more than one of the pre-established frames.

Each paragraph (unit of analysis) was coded for the issue-related object (immigrant or immigration) and the extant tone and metaphors that were employed with regard to the object. Any direct reference to immigrants or immigration led to coding of the paragraph for that object, including the mention of pro- or anti-immigrant groups, organizations with “immigrant” or “immigration” in the title. If the paragraph did not contain a reference to immigrants or immigration, it was not coded for tone or metaphor. Paragraphs could be coded for both immigrant and immigration as objects. Each paragraph was also coded for the presence of specific immigration-related issues. Headlines were also coded for the same elements. It was assumed that an average reader would not know the content of the articles, so any vague or indirect references to the objects or issues was coded as none (0) because the readers would not yet know that the context was immigration.

Coding for tone was rated as negative, neutral or positive on a scale from 0 to 2. Coders were instructed to determine paragraph tone based on a “speculation of a

common-sense kind on the likely impression made on an average audience” (McQuail 1992, p. 227). In a previous study the researcher attempted to code stories as positive, negative or neutral, sentence by sentence. The scale will allow coders to determine story tone while considering explicit word choice and overall story tone.

A positive paragraph was operationally defined as favorable toward current levels of immigration or increasing immigration. In addition, a positive paragraph was operationally defined as favorable toward the actions and pursuits of individual immigrants or dispelling stereotypes about immigrants. A negative paragraph was operationally defined as unfavorable toward current levels of immigration or in favor of restricting immigration. In addition, a negative paragraph was operationally defined as unfavorable toward the actions and pursuits of individual immigrants or reinforcing stereotypes about immigrants. A neutral story was operationally defined as neither favorable nor unfavorable toward immigration policy or individual immigrants.

Three metaphors related to immigration and immigrants were selected for coding: water, invasion and animal. If none of these metaphors were identified in the coded paragraph, the metaphor section was coded with 0. Indicators of the *immigrant/immigration as water* metaphor included words such as *wave, flow, inflow,* and *tide* in reference to the objects. Indicators of the *immigrant/immigration as invasion* included words such as *destruction, battle, invade, attack, infiltrate, hordes,* and *fighting* in reference to the objects. Indicators of the *immigrant/immigration as animal* included words such as *stampede, swarm, sniff out,* and *round up* in reference to the objects. Use of the word “coyote,” to refer to the people who smuggle immigrants over the border, and the word “immigrant hunter” (“*cazainmigrante*” in Spanish), to refer to

the Minutemen, were also considered animal metaphors and coded as such. Although the literature attributes negative connotations to each of these metaphors, the paragraphs were not automatically coded with a negative tone just because one of the metaphors was present.

Finally, each paragraph was coded for 10 topics (attributes) as they related to immigrants and/or immigration. Direct mention of the topics warranted coding for one or more of the topics in each paragraph. Paragraphs were coded with 0 if they did not contain any of the topics. The paragraphs were coded for the issues using the following criteria:

Economy: The economies and wealth of nations, regions, cities, towns, etc.

Jobs: Jobs as they relate to the economy in terms of wages, jobs as they relate to employers, and employer sanctioning for hiring undocumented workers.

Labor: The actual jobs that immigrants do (e.g. construction, gardening, etc.), reference to individuals or groups of people looking for jobs, direct references to day laborers.

Trade: Trade agreements and direct references to trade.

National Security: Direct reference to national security or security of the nation, including mentions of the Department of Homeland Security. This category did not include references to the security of neighborhoods, cities, states or the border.

Terrorism: Terrorism or terrorists.

Drug-related crime/issues: Drug smuggling, drug cartels, drug crime, etc.



Human trafficking-related crime/issues: Human smuggling, smugglers, coyotes, etc.

Policy and Politics: Specific local, state or national legislation or policy proposals, direct reference to current local or national policies, and political maneuvering (e.g. politicians using immigrants as scapegoats or immigration as an issue to garner positive public opinion, etc.).

Border: All direct mention of the border, including the border patrol, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, organizations with “border” in the title, etc.

### **Inter-Coder Reliability**

Inter-coder reliability is important to confirm the researcher’s data and so the study can be replicated of the study. To achieve reliability, 10% of the stories (15) were coded by a second coder. Reliability for the content analysis categories was computed by using Holsti’s formula:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

M represents the number of coding decisions upon which the two coders agreed, while N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding decisions made by the first and second coder, respectively. Holsti’s formula does not account for similarities according to chance, but this method was selected because of the large number of categories, particularly in the “topics” data. According to this method, reliability for the categories ranged from 75% to 98%. Reliability for the pre-established frames lay at 75%, and reliability for metaphor lay at 98%.

## **Data Analysis**

The computer program Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to organize and analyze the research data. The data were analyzed primary by Chi-square tests for difference.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Results and Findings

This study attempts to determine if there is a difference in the way in which English- and Spanish-language newspapers framed immigration-related issues by using statistical analyses to compare sets of framing elements. A content analysis of stories about an ad hoc border patrol group, the Minutemen, quantified elements of frames including objects, tone, metaphor, topics and pre-established news frames. This chapter lays out the results of the content and statistical analysis.

#### **Summary of Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses were addressed by the research data and analysis to find definitive statistical answers for the research questions:

**R1:** Do differences exist between the frames in English- and Spanish-language newspapers when they cover immigration-related news?

**R2:** What are the prominent issues, or attributes, featured in English- and Spanish-language newspapers in stories about immigrants and immigration? Do does the frequency of specific issues differ?

**R3:** Given the regions' and newspapers' different histories with immigrant communities, how will the framing elements vary by region?

**H1:** English-language newspapers will have more material/economic frames in stories about immigration and immigrants than Spanish-language newspapers.

**H2:** Spanish-language newspapers will have more human-interest frames in stories about immigration and immigrants than English-language newspapers.

**H3:** English- and Spanish-language newspapers will have equivalent amounts of conflict frames.

**H4:** English-language newspapers with contain more *Immigration as Dangerous Waters, Invasion and Animal* and *Immigrant as Animal, Invader and Water* metaphors than Spanish-language newspapers.

**H5:** Spanish-language newspapers will be more positive in tone toward immigration and immigrants than English-language newspapers.

Though certainly not across the board, measurable differences do exist between the elements of frames, and therefore the frames themselves, in English- and Spanish-language newspapers.

**Findings**

Stories about the Minutemen were culled from six newspapers, yielding a total of 148 stories, 57 in English and 91 in Spanish. A total of 2,080 paragraphs were coded (see Table 5-1 for a break down). An independent sample t-test shows that there is a difference in the number of stories by language. The Spanish-language newspapers ran

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**Table 5-1 Sample Breakdown Per Newspaper**

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	Articles	Paragraphs	Words
Los Angeles Times	8	85	5,332
San Antonio Express-News	33	736	25,191
Miami Herald	16	124	5,762
La Opinión	52	795	39,814
Rumbo San Antonio	19	235	8,138
El Nuevo Herald	20	205	10,426
<b>Spanish Totals</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>1,235</b>	<b>59,378</b>
<b>English Totals</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>845</b>	<b>36,285</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>2,080</b>	<b>95,663</b>

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**Table 5-2 English, Spanish and Grand Totals for Topics**

	Total English	Total Spanish	Total
Border	223	275	498
Policy and Politics	45	108	153
Jobs	34	21	55
Labor	24	23	47
National Security	19	25	44
Human Smuggling-Related Issues	30	13	33
Economy	15	19	34
Drug-Related Issues	14	14	28
Terrorism	5	11	14
Free Trade Agreements	1	2	3

**Chi-square  
Significance**

**.000**

---

more stories than the English-language newspapers that were about or referred to the Minutemen ( $p = .002$ ).

The immigration-related topics were identified with varying frequencies. The topic “border” was by far the most frequent, with a total of 852 references, 306 in English and 546 in Spanish (see Table 5-5 for topic totals). “Policy and politics” was the next most frequent topic but trailed “border” significantly. “Jobs” and “Labor” vied for the third-most frequent topics, followed by national security. For a complete breakdown of topics by newspaper, see Table 5-6.

Overall, there was a difference between English and Spanish-language papers for the number of topics identified (Chi-square = 34.40, p = .000) (see Table 5-5). R2 can be

**Table 5-3 Topic Frequency by Newspaper**

	LA Times	La Opinion	San Ant. Exp-News	Rumbo	Miami Herald	Nuevo Herald
Economy	5	17	5	1	5	1
Jobs	7	14	21	0	6	7
Labor	10	22	14	1	0	0
Free Trade Agreements	0	1	0	1	0	0
National Security	0	14	15	6	4	5
Terrorism	0	4	4	0	1	7
Drug- Related Issues	0	5	12	3	2	6
Human Smuggling- Related Issues	4	4	25	2	1	7
Policy and Politics	22	89	9	14	14	5
Border	11	139	156	48	56	88
Chi-Square Significance	<b>.000</b>		<b>.000</b>		<b>Not Available</b>	

answered affirmatively: Spanish-language papers more often featured all of the immigration-related topics than the English-language papers. For the Los Angeles and San Antonio papers there was a significant difference between number of topics in Spanish and English. For the Miami papers the data set was too small to determine the Chi-Square and significance values (see Table 5-6).

Paper by paper, *La Opinión* gave absolutely more coverage to all of the topics when covering the Minutemen than the *Los Angeles Times*. The opposite attention to topics is true for San Antonio: the *San Antonio Express-News* stories included more references to all of the topics than *Rumbo San Antonio*. The same data for the Miami papers are not available.

In terms of measurements for the pre-established frames (*economic, human interest, consequence* and *conflict*), no differences were found between the two languages. H1 and H2 were not supported. The closest the two-language sample came to significant difference was with more of the *consequence* frame in Spanish-language newspapers, where  $p = .122$ . The most common frames in both languages were the *consequence* and *conflict* frames (see Table 5-2). Since the analysis did not show a difference between languages for frequency of the *conflict* frame, H3 was supported.

**Table 5-4 Percentages of Stories That Contained Pre-Established Frames**

	Spanish	English
Economic Frame	30.6%	33.3%
Human Interest Frame	30.8%	33.4%
Consequence Frame	96.7%	94.7%
Conflict Frame	91.2%	87.6%

For the paragraphs coded for tone toward immigrants and immigration, the majority were neutral. Small percentages of the paragraphs had positive or negative tones, except for the *Los Angeles Times*, which had a 20% negative rate. The skewing of these data may be a result of the small sample size for the *Los Angeles Times*, only eight stories. See table 5-3 and graphs 5-1 and 5-2 for tone frequencies, percentages and Chi-Square significance.

All three of the immigrant and immigration metaphors appeared in the English and Spanish-language newspapers. *Immigrant/immigration as animal* appeared the most frequently (53 times), most often in the Spanish-language papers. The frequency of this metaphor is due in part to the papers' use of the moniker "immigrants hunters," or, "cazainmigrantes" to describe the minutemen. This metaphor was also coded when the word "coyote" was used to describe smugglers, so this also can account for the metaphor's frequency. *Immigrants/immigration as water* appeared almost as frequently as the animal metaphor, also often in the Spanish-language papers (see Table 5-4).

Only the *Los Angeles Times* and *La Opinion* differed in their use of the three metaphors (Chi-square = 8.48,  $p = .014$ ). Surprisingly, however, it was *La Opinión* that used more of the three metaphors than the *Los Angeles Times*. Like overall tone, if some leeway is given to the significance value, it can be argued the two languages do in fact differ in the number of *water*, *invasion* and *animal* metaphors employed in the stories. If a significance value of .056 is considered statistically significant, then Spanish-language papers used more of the *immigrant/immigration as water* and *animal* metaphors, while English-language papers used more of the *immigrant/immigration as invasion* metaphor. H4 was not supported by the data overall: The English-language newspapers



did not employ the three metaphors more than the Spanish-language newspapers. Part of H4 was supported, however, because the English-language papers did use the *immigrant/immigration as invasion* metaphor more than the Spanish-language papers.

**Table 5-5 Metaphors by Paper and Language**

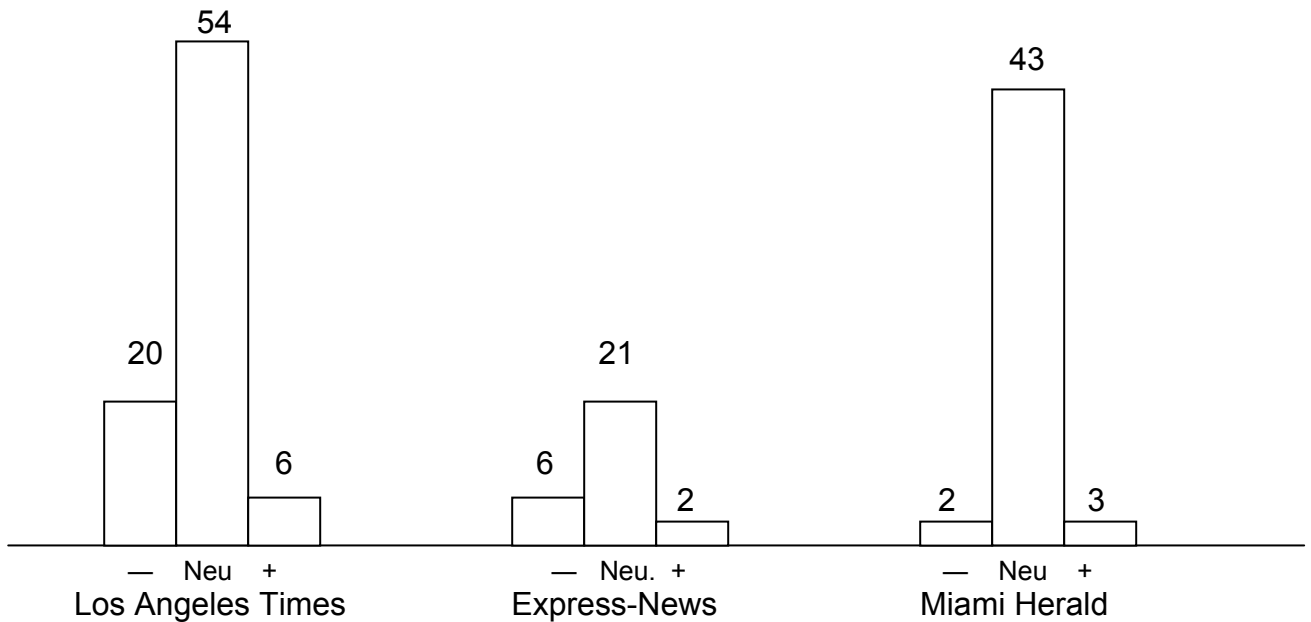
	Water	Invasion	Animal	Chi-Square Significance
Los Angeles Times	1	6	2	
La Opinión	12	7	19	.014
San Antonio Exp-News	8	12	13	
Rumbo San Antonio	2	4	4	.957
Miami Herald	12	2	2	
El Nuevo Herald	15	3	12	.152
<b>Total English</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>17</b>	
<b>Total Spanish</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>.056</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>53</b>	

Overall, the tones in between the two papers were different (Chi-Square = 38.34,  $p = .000$ ), and H5 was supported. The Spanish-language papers contained more paragraphs that were positive in tone and the English-language papers contained more paragraphs that were negative in tone. Individually, only the Los Angeles Times differed significantly from *La Opinión* by including more negative and fewer positive paragraphs (Chi-Square = 30.26,  $p = .000$ ). The difference between the *San Antonio Express-News* and *Rumbo San Antonio* neared statistical significance (Chi-square = 5.70,  $p = .06$ ).

**Table 5-6 Tone by Paper and Language**

	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Chi-Square Significance
Los Angeles Times	17	46	5	.000
La Opinión	17	275	47	
San Antonio Exp-News	42	154	15	.06
Rumbo San Antonio	9	73	4	
Miami Herald	2	53	4	.687
El Nuevo Herald	5	105	13	
<b>Total English</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>24</b>	
<b>Total Spanish</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>453</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>.000</b>

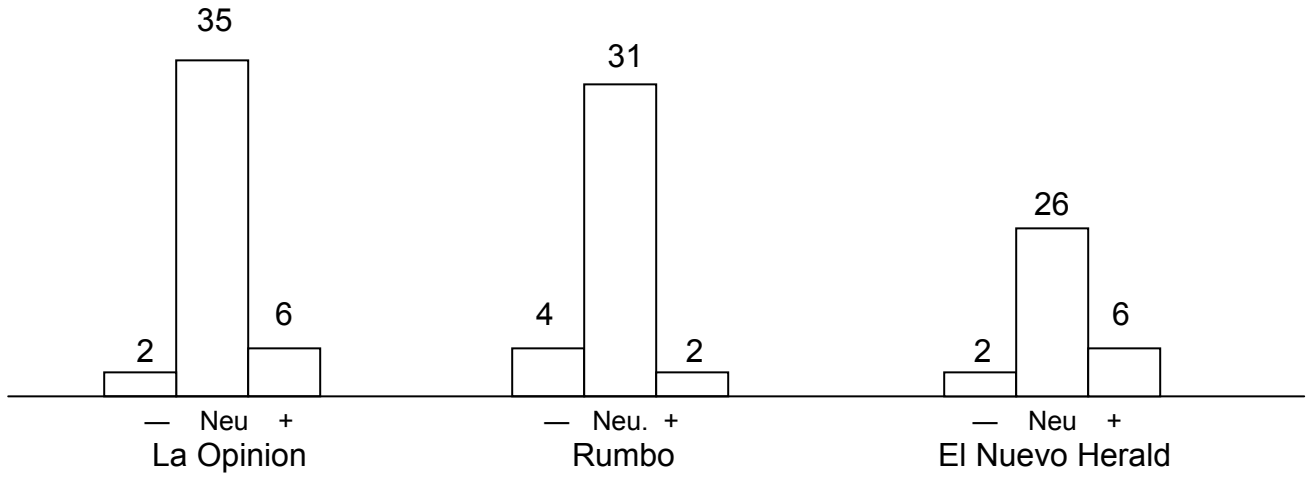
**Graph 5-1 Percentage Breakdown of All English-Language Paragraphs with Tones Toward Immigrants or Immigration\***



\*For graphs 5-1 and 5-2, the percentages that are not accounted for are paragraphs that did not include references to immigrants or immigration.

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**Graph 5-2 Percentage Breakdown of All Spanish-Language Paragraphs with Tones Toward Immigrants or Immigration**



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Discussion and Conclusions

To conclude this study, the final chapter examines the implications of the data analysis and explains the outcomes based on the literature and preparatory research. Sections on research limitations and possibilities for future research are also discussed in this chapter.

#### **Discussion of Research and Analysis**

##### *Explaining Similarities*

Before examining the differences between the frame elements based on the two languages, it is important to account for the lack of differences in some cases. Many of the hypotheses predicted that language, representing race and culture, would determine unique approaches to newspaper framing. In numerous situations, however, this was not the case. There was no difference between languages for the presence of pre-established frames, although there was a clear difference between a prevalence of the frames, with the *consequence* and *conflict* frames appearing more frequently than the *economic* and *human-interest* frames in both languages. The San Antonio and Miami papers did not differ in their use of metaphors and, according to a strict interpretation of the data where significance occurs only when  $p = .05$  or less, the papers did not differ in metaphor use overall. As for tone, the Miami papers did not differ and, again with the strictest significance value interpretations, neither did the San Antonio papers.

A probable explanation for the lack of difference in these cases, despite the Spanish-language papers' history of advocacy and the current turn toward Hispanic

marketing, comes from an adherence to similar journalistic values across language. The adherence to values comes not in spite of language but because of a shared nationhood and the journalistic ethics that the American nation instills. White-oriented journalism embraces a pantheon of values that include democracy, responsible capitalism, individualism and ethnocentrism, writes Rodriguez (1999) quoting Herbert Gans (1979). Latino journalists do the same: “Latino-oriented journalists embrace these dominant values, including U.S. ethnocentrism, albeit within a Latino ethnoracial context” (Rodriguez 1999, p. 85).

Perhaps the pinnacle value among American, White-oriented journalists is objectivity. As newspapers developed through the 20<sup>th</sup> century,

[o]bjectivity as ideology was a kind of industrial discipline ... At the same time, objectivity seemed a natural and progressive ideology for an aspiring occupational group at a moment when science was god, efficiency was cherished, and increasingly prominent elites judged partisanship a vestige of the tribal 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Schudson 2001, p. 162)

By the 1920s, a commitment to objectivity became a part of the journalistic profession (Schudson 2001).

American journalism is far from bias-free; objectivity is an ideal, an impossible reality but something for which to strive. “No one has ever achieved objective journalism, and no one ever could. The bias of the observer always enters the picture, if not coloring the details at least guiding the choice of them” (Fuller, p. 14-15). One of Fuller’s “fundamental biases” that effects the production of all news is a bias toward what occurs close to the audience’s community, be the community determined by physical proximity, shared affinities or characteristics such as race or national origin. These and other biases regularly occur yet do not preclude journalistic objectivity.

U.S. Latino journalists who are oriented to the Latino community practice the same objectivity although they are biased toward the Latino community: “The practice of objectivity is what makes these Latino journalists *U.S.* journalists. ... Objectivity is the nexus of the cultural and ideological commonality that Latino journalism shares with general market journalism” (Rodriguez, p. 85). The shared White/Latino journalistic value of objectivity at least partially explains the lack of difference and the predominance of neutral-toned paragraphs in both languages.

The Spanish-language newspapers in this study had a larger number of Minuteman-related stories than the English-language newspapers. The fact that in some cities the two languages present information relatively similarly in terms of tone and metaphor despite the larger number of Spanish-language stories, reflects Rodriguez’s assertion that, “Latino journalism absorbs the objectivity ideal into a public service orientation” (p. 88). The people in charge of the Spanish-language papers feel they are better servicing their audiences (whether that service results from impulses toward advocacy or catering to a market) by publishing *more* stories about the immigration-related issue, even though aspects of Miami’s and San Antonio’s frames do not differ based on language.

### *Explaining Differences*

The fact that the Los Angeles newspapers were the only ones to differ in terms of topic, metaphor and tone addresses R3, which was not discussed in the previous chapter. The stark differences in newspaper frames between the Los Angeles papers can be explained by the literature reviews and historical information presented in this study.

*La Opinión* has a long history of providing its readers with not only information, but also helpful advice and explanations of issues and laws that are of particular interest and concern to immigrants and Hispanics. The *Los Angeles Times*, which is targeted more toward a mainstream, White audience, has never had an advocacy role for a particular ethnic group.

*La Opinión*'s 80-year relationship with the Latino population of Los Angeles firmly establishes its audience and interests, while those of the other Spanish-language papers are not as clear. *El Nuevo Herald*, having developed some distrust among South Florida's Cubans, does not have the opportunity to diverge too dramatically from its owner, Knight-Ridder, and parent paper, the *Miami Herald*. *Rumbo San Antonio* is new and was developed during a time when fulfilling the needs of a target demographic has supplanted advocacy as Spanish-language newspapers' *modus operandi*.

The differences in topic frequency between languages reflect the same principle as the finding that the Spanish-language newspapers published more stories about the Minutemen than the English-language newspapers. The topics associated with immigration, especially the border, policy and politics, jobs and labor, the economy and national security and human trafficking are of particular importance to the Hispanics who read Spanish-language newspapers. Knowing that all three papers depend on low-income Hispanics as readers (see Chapter Three) – many of whom are probably recent immigrants – confirms the need for more attention to aspects of immigration, such as laws and the economy, that very likely affect their lives.

Interestingly, however, the two languages were fairly close when it came to which topics were mentioned most frequently (see Table 5-5). For both languages,

“border” came first, followed by “policy and politics” and “jobs.” “Labor,” “national security,” and “human trafficking” are different in order of frequency between languages yet remain high-importance topics.

Because the case study for content analysis dealt with a group of people gathered in border areas to look for illegal activity and immigrant crossing, the predominant issue in both Spanish- and English-language newspapers was the border. The other most frequently observed topics (policy and politics, jobs and labor) are topics that one would expect to observe quite frequently in other immigration-related news stories.

These very issues have recently collided in the heavily reported debate about immigration policy in Congress. In December 2005, the House of Representatives passed a punitive immigration bill. If made into law, the House regulations would criminalize all people who are in the United States illegally. It also calls for the construction of a wall along hundreds of miles of the U.S./Mexico border and provides money for ramped-up border security. Months later, hundreds of thousands of Hispanic and other immigrants publicly protested the House bill in cities across the country. The U.S. Senate passed immigration legislation in May 2006 that also called for a border wall.

The primary focus on the border and the third-tier focus on human smuggling and national security effectively reflect the U.S. Congress’s emphasis on border security. Twenty-four mentions of terrorism in Latino immigration-related stories links the two issues even though no terrorists have been found crossing the U.S./Mexico border.



This study's findings that jobs and labor were of importance in newspapers of both languages reflect the national discussion about immigrants and employment. The truism "immigrants do the jobs that Americans won't do," has been regularly repeated since the debate about immigration became a high-priority, national issue. Throughout the readings of the data for this study, a common reason among immigrants for coming to the United States was to earn more money and improve the lives of their families. In contrast to the December House legislation, the Senate legislation approved an amendment to its immigration legislation to create a comprehensive guest-worker program and path to citizenship for immigrants who work in the United States.

The employment of metaphors by both English- and Spanish-language papers means that U.S.-based journalists, be they reporting for Latino or White audiences, have assimilated common stereotypes and representations of Latinos as a racial group. The very existence of these metaphors is, for Santa Ana (2002), evidence of the sustained racist discourse that occurs in mainstream media. The three dominant metaphors identified by Santa Ana are not consciously used to invoke fear or hostility, but they have become common ways to conceptualize immigrants and immigration. In fact, it has become so natural to refer to immigrants and immigration in terms of water, invasion and animal metaphors that even Spanish-language journalists and newspapers do it with some frequency. The three dominant metaphors have become "naturalized that is, [they are] taken to be the one way to think about the issue" (Santa Ana 2002, p. 53).

If we consider the data to support an overall difference in metaphor use based on language ( $p=.056$ ), it is interesting to note that the Spanish-language papers used more

of the *immigrant/immigration as water* and *animal* metaphors, while English-language papers used more of the *immigrant/immigration as invasion* metaphor. Although Santa Ana considers all three metaphors as symbolically and linguistically negative representations of immigrants and immigration, that connection between metaphor and tone was not assumed for this study. The *immigrant/immigration as invasion* metaphor is the only one that has purely negative connotations: Immigrants are here to do battle and proclaim themselves victorious. Since the U.S. government and media have a tendency to frame issues as battles (the “war on drugs” or the “war on terror”), it is not surprising that immigrants and immigration are also portrayed as invaders in a battle. The prevalence of the *conflict* frame in both languages also reflects this metaphor.

Why the Spanish-language newspapers used the *immigrant/immigration as water* and *animal* metaphors more than the English-language metaphors is unclear. It is perhaps due to the use of sarcasm (see “Limitations”), which would use the metaphors in ways meant to support the metaphors’ targets (immigrants and immigration) and chastise those who use the metaphors in earnest.

The difference in tone between the languages is a further reflection of the newspapers appealing to and writing for their target ethnic audiences. English-language newspapers’ willingness to portray Hispanics negatively supports the notion that they are not publishing with a Hispanic audience in mind. With 25% of the U.S. Hispanic population made up of illegal immigrants, the reporters and editors at Spanish-language newspapers are more aware of statements that could be interpreted negatively by their potential audience and therefore do not include negative tones as much as English-language newspapers.

Researchers can learn about the content of newspaper frames by looking at frames element-by-element. Frames can be more than the sum of their parts, but for quantitative purposes they have been broken down here into measurable elements. In the case of the Minutemen, Spanish-language newspapers framed the stories more positively with more attention to immigration-related topics and more use of *water* and *animal* metaphors than English-language newspapers.

### **Implications**

In this quantitative content analysis, one element was almost completely ignored: the journalists who determine the content of the stories by reporting, writing and editing. While this study has numerous academic applications, it is also important to examine what these findings mean for working journalists and editors.

Objectivity is a cardinal journalistic value for which American journalists – White and Hispanic – strive. But seeking objectivity is just one aspect of a larger process that happens in newsrooms: work-place socialization.

Journalists tend to share professional values and to desire those values in their own work environment, and organizational cultures create patterns of meaning that define appropriate action. The recruitment, socialization, and control of journalists are structured to preserve “institutional mythology,” such as a commitment to objective reporting. From a sociological perspective, articulation of such norms is important both as a form of ritual solidarity and as a prescriptive expression of the way ‘we’ do things—or should do them. (Singer 2004, p. 840)

Socialization provides journalists with structures for finding sources, writing and editing stories, creating credible and reliable publications (Singer 2004). After using the same methods day after day, journalists may become entrenched in their ways of doing things. “Journalists are socialized not just to feel part of a particular group but also to do

things in a particular way and to see that way as natural and desirable” (Singer 2004, p. 841).

Socialization may keep reporters from looking for the most difficult stories, the stories that involve complicated emotions and moral shades of gray. Hence the existence of identifiable news frames such as the *conflict frame*, *human-interest frame* or *horse race frame*. Journalists may also revert to the values of their communities, whether those communities are based on race, nationality, etc., to determine appropriate topics and tones for reporting.

This study has shown that journalists, despite the objectivity value, depend on elements such as tone, metaphors and topics in their reporting and writing on immigration. These elements create subjective frames around immigration-related issues. Is this the best way to package information about immigration for the general public? Are there things that are missing that could more effectively frame the issues?

In regard to the pre-established frames, economics did not receive nearly as much attention as the conflicts and consequences of the issue. The financial and economic health of families, communities, cities, nations and even the immigrants themselves were scuttled in favor of reporting on personal, social or political conflicts. There was very little reporting on the reasons why immigrants come to the United States, many of which stem from economic policies promoted by the U.S. When reporters did write about immigrants’ motivations, the immigrants were usually either lauded as courageous heroes or criticized as dangerous criminals. To be more effective reporters, journalists for White and Hispanic publications must consider the larger economic causes and outcomes of immigration to the United States.

But perhaps the most crucial thing to be learned is how to shape immigration stories around the real lives of the people involved – namely, immigrants. Stories about the border, politicians and national immigration policies dehumanize immigration and eliminate the voices of the people who actually assume the risks and dangers of crossing the border.

The first thing journalists should do is look at whom they're talking to. If they rely on government officials, academics and bureaucrats for information, they are not getting a complete picture of U.S. immigration. Secondly, they should more carefully examine immigrants' motives. Why do people put their lives at risk to get here, only to work long hours for little pay? Journalists should take an intimate look at the personal impacts of economics on the daily lives of people living in immigrants' home countries. Only with the macro and micro approaches to economics can readers get the complete story.

Humanizing immigration would also detract from the deleterious affects of framing. The prevalence overall of negative tones and degrading metaphors in English-language newspapers does a disservice to readers, who perhaps unconsciously adopt these perspectives.

### **Limitations**

There are some limitations that may have affected the outcome of this research. The bulk of the stories came from two newspapers: the *San Antonio Express-News* in San Antonio and *La Opinion* in Los Angeles. Stories from the other papers rounded out these categories. An even distribution from each paper would have been ideal.

In terms of tone and metaphor, sarcasm was not taken into account. In other words, when a writer was being ironic by referring to immigrants in a denigrating way in order to point out racist or intolerant attitudes of non-immigrants, the paragraphs were coded as negative. Metaphors also meant to be ironic, such as “immigrant hunters,” which was often used to reflect the cold mentality of the Minutemen, were still coded as *immigrant as animal* metaphors. The use of irony and sarcasm were not quantified in the study.

For some of the categories, inter-coder reliability is not as strong as desired. Although the second coder was thoroughly briefed on coding procedure, an additional briefing might have helped with reliability.

On smaller notes, The *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald* searches for “minutemen” also pulled up articles using the key word “minuteman.” Those articles were used in the study, but I did not conduct searches using both key words for the other newspapers because the search for just the word “minutemen” turned out an appropriate number of stories for the sample. For two stories that were coded, it was impossible to tell where the paragraph breaks occurred. I had to determine where they were according to my ability to group the information appropriately.

### **Possibilities for Future Research**

To conduct this study, only one immigration-related topic (the Minutemen) was selected for analysis. As a result of this choice, any firm conclusions can be applied only to coverage of the Minutemen and not to immigration coverage in general. In addition, the selection of just one issue limited the outcome of immigration-related

topics. The research does, however, offer a springboard for future study into news framing and immigration in general or specific immigration-related topics.

One possibility for future research could involve a similar examination of framing elements but could cover a pro-immigrant/immigration group. The results of such a study could be compared to this one to determine similarities in tone, metaphor and topic.

Another possibility for future research is to examine other newspapers to see if the findings about tone, metaphor and topic remain true for newspapers in other cities. Future research can also include looking for these same elements in stories about other immigration-related issues.

Newspaper sources also determine aspects of framing that were not covered in this study. On whom do English- and Spanish-language journalists rely for their stories and quotes? It would be interesting to gauge the proportions of official sources versus unofficial sources in immigration-related stories between languages.

The government and media focus on terrorism since September 11, 2001, has drawn security of all kinds to national attention. As a result, national security and terrorism were two of the immigration-related topics included in this study, and both occurred with some frequency. For future research, it would be interesting to look for a relationship between immigration and security in the news. In the case of Latino immigration, a study could be conducted to determine the linkage of immigrants/immigration and terrorists, however unfounded this connection may be. Such a study could incorporate media effects research to determine what portion of the population identifies Latino immigrants with terrorists as a result of news media.

It is clear from all of the “0”s in the issues columns of the data set that there are numerous issues related to immigration that were not addressed here. The literature finds that each issue has its own frame, and this frame is in turn composed of different relevant topics. It was impossible to include all of the immigrant-related topics in this analysis, but this leaves an area for future research. Perhaps this research would be qualitative in nature: Linguistic and discourse analysis could be used to identify other immigration-related topics. Based on the researcher’s observations after reading the 148 stories included in the study, future immigration-issue topics can include border security, the dangers faced by immigrants as they cross the border illegally, human rights concerns, etc.

Other future research might include a content analysis for other related metaphors. It would be interesting to look for metaphors related to the border in addition to other metaphors for immigrants and immigration.

Finally, media effects research could determine how these frames actually affect an audience. As a content analysis, this study cannot come to any conclusion about how the different tones, metaphors and topic selection affect the readers of the English- and Spanish-language stories.



Appendix 1  
Sample Texts from the Content Analysis

What follows are selected paragraphs from the 2,080 paragraphs coded in this study. The selected paragraphs give examples of tones, metaphors, and topics. A brief explanation of the coded elements follows each selection.

1.

“The Minuteman Project, controversial for its border patrols, is trying something new: looking to fight illegal immigration in the nation’s interior by targeting employers. The group is organizing in communities including Atlanta, Salt Lake City, Chicago, Indianapolis and Charlotte, N.C., monitoring and reporting businesses that hire suspected undocumented workers.”

--Border Activists Draw Line in Suburbs; The Minuteman Project extends its reach to a Virginia town to fight illegal immigration, *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 2005

This paragraph and the article’s headline both include the same example of the metaphor *immigration as invasion* by referring to it as something the Minutemen must “fight.” The paragraph also offers an example of the topic category “Jobs,” as it relates to employers who hire undocumented immigrants.

2.

“‘En verano hay mucho trabajo. A veces nos llaman al celular hasta tres veces en un mismo día. Nos vienen a recoger y luego a dejar, pero no hacemos nada malo, solo trabajamos honestamente. Ni robamos ni somos delincuentes,’ dijo López.

“La ola antiinmigrante que vive el país en los últimos meses ha confrontado a defensores de ambas partes en varias ocasiones. Los más críticos no están dispuestos a ver que ‘Estados Unidos se convierta en un país del tercer mundo’ con la llegada desmedida de población indocumentada. Por su parte, las agrupaciones civiles apuntan a que no van a dejarse ganar la batalla.”

--Una batalla a gritos por los inmigrantes; Partidarios y adversaries de la población indocumentada se enfrentaron verbalment por unas tres horas, *La Opinión*, 19 junio 2005

“In summertime there is a lot of work. Sometimes they call us on our cell phones up to three times on the same day. They come to pick us up, and later they drop us off. We don’t do anything bad, we just work honestly. We don steal, and we aren’t criminals,” Lopez said.

“The anti-immigrant tide that the country has experienced in the last months has confronted defenders on both sides on various occasions. The most critical people don’t want to see ‘the United States turn into a third-world country’ with the \* arrival of the undocumented population. For their part, the civil groups point out that they are not going to let immigrants win the battle.”

--An Immigrant Shouting Match; Supporters and adversaries of the undocumented population confront each other verbally for three hours, *La Opinión*, June 19, 2005

The first paragraph provides an example of a positive tone: Lopez’s statement contradicts the stereotypes that immigrants are thieves and criminals. He also talks about how employers seek out the worker, which allowed the paragraph to be coded for the topic “Labor.”

The second paragraph includes an *immigrant as water* and *immigrant as invasion* metaphors. The “anti-immigrant tide” supplies the water metaphor, while the statement that civil groups (the Minutemen) wont let immigrants “win the battle” connotes invasion. The headline also includes this metaphor.

3.

“Movements such as the Minutemen and the border vigilantes in California and Texas are still mainly focused into harassing Mexicans, with the subterfuge of “controlling against terrorists.””

--A Musical Mosaic, *San Antonio Express-News*, August 17, 2005

Some of the stories that were coded had almost nothing to do with the minutemen. This is the one paragraph from a 31-paragraph story that references an

immigration-related issue. The story was primarily about the Latin Superstar Tour, a concert that featured famous Latin singers, and its arrival in San Antonio. The speaker's reference to controlling for terrorists as a cover for harassing Mexicans is an example of the "Terrorism" topic category.

4.

"I don't see myself letting them [immigrants] run all over me," he said. 'If they initiate something, you have to take action. You can't let them hit you in the head or bad-mouth you.'

--Minutemen Bordering on Chaos, *San Antonio Express-News*, May 6, 2005

This paragraph, a quote by the Houston Minuteman founder, reflects a negative tone toward immigrants. The language assumes that immigrants are violent and aggressive. While this kind of behavior could be associated with the *immigrant as invasion* metaphor, there is no explicit reference to invasion, so the paragraph was not coded for that metaphor.

5.

"What red-blooded American employer wouldn't rather have a reliable, English-speaking, patriotic and military-fit crop picker than an undocumented Mexican from who-knows-where? Because they volunteer their time now, the Minutemen should appreciate making the farm labor standard of approximately \$7 an hour (the state's minimum wage is \$6.75), nine hours a day with two 10-minute breaks and a half-hour lunch. The state guarantees some drinking water and a porta-potty. And there are no bothersome deductions for healthcare or dues for unions because there is virtually none of either."

--Modest Proposal; Minutemen, grab your hoes and march north, *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 2005

One of the study's limitations is that it did not code for sarcasm. Therefore the first sentence in this paragraph led to a coding of negative for tone because it implies that Mexican immigrant workers aren't reliable or trustworthy. The rest of the

paragraph, however, reveals that the editorial writer is not trying to criticize Mexican immigrants but the Minutemen. The writer implies the hardships farm laborers endure by telling the Minutemen what their “benefits” would be if they worked as immigrant laborers. The six-paragraph that includes this paragraph is written almost entirely in this critical and sarcastic tone. Most of the other paragraphs were coded as neutral.

6.

“Simcox sostuvo que muchos de los inmigrantes ilegales que cruzan la frontera también son delincuentes.

“Más de 80,000 inmigrantes indocumentados fueron detenidos por el Departamento de Seguridad Interior el año pasado en el sur de Texas. Cerca de la mitad tiene antecedentes penales.”

--Lider de minuteman renuncia; alega racismo, *Rumbo San Antonio*, 28 julio 2005

“Simcox maintains that many undocumented immigrants that cross the border also are criminals.

“More than 80,000 undocumented immigrants were detained by the Department of Homeland Security last year in South Texas. Around half of them had criminal records.”

--Leader of Minutemen steps down; he alleges racism, *Rumbo San Antonio*, July 28, 2005

Both of these paragraphs were coded negatively for tone because they reinforce the stereotype that immigrants are criminals. There are stereotypes for a reason, and the figures about immigrants with criminal records in South Texas is a case in point. But the reporting of the leader’s assertion plus the facts to back it up reconfirm, for some, that immigrants are criminals.

7.

“But Mexicans commonly refer to the volunteers as ‘migrant hunters,’ and Foreign Relations Department officials have been closely watching the border for Minuteman volunteers.”

--Mexico Blasts Schwarzenegger Over Minutemen, *The Miami Herald*, April 30, 2005

Numerous stories referred to the Minutemen as “immigrant hunters” or “*cazainmigrantes*.” During coding, these references were considered examples of the *immigrant as animal* metaphor. The term explicitly describes immigrants as “hunnable,” like animals.

8.

“Simcox, que niega ser racista, ha insinuado indirectamente que los inmigrantes son insectos, llamandoles “enjambre de refugiados.”

--Schwarzenegger atiza debate antiinmigrante, *La Opinion*, 1 May 2005

“Simcox, who denies being a racist, has insinuated indirectly that immigrants are insects, calling them a “swarm of refugees.”

This is another example of the *immigrant as animal* metaphor.

9.

“‘El hecho de que no los vemos por aquí no significa que no tartan de cruzar,’ dijo de la Rosa. ‘Buscarán otro lugar o esperarán un poco, pero no se darán por vencidos.’”

--Mexicanos Dispuestos a Cruzar La Frontera Sur Por Otros Lugares, *El Nuevo Herald*, 7 abril 2005

“‘The fact that we don’t see them there doesn’t mean they’re not trying to cross,’ de la Rosa said. ‘They will look for another place, or they while wait for a while, but they are not going to be defeated.’”

This is another example of the *immigrant as invasion* metaphor, where immigrants are described in terms of defeat.

Appendix 2  
Coding Guide

1. Story Number:
2. Language: English=0 Spanish=1
3. Newspaper: Los Angeles Times=1  
San Antonio News-Express=2  
Miami Herald=3  
La Opinión=4  
Rumbo San Antonio=5  
El Nuevo Herald=6
4. Word count:
5. Date story was published:
6. Story Type: Local=0  
Wire=1  
Unknown=2

HEADLINE TONE, METAPHOR AND ISSUES

7. Object (immigrant or immigration): none=0  
immigration=1  
immigrant=2  
both=3
8. Tone (negative, neutral, positive): none=0  
neutral=1  
positive=2  
negative=3
9. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other): none=0  
water=1  
invasion=2  
animal=3
10. Issues: Economy and Security none=0  
general economy=1

jobs=2  
 labor=3  
 trade=5  
 national security=6  
 terrorism=7  
 drug-related crime=8  
 human trafficking-related  
 crime=9  
 policy and politics=10  
 border=11

**PARAGRAPH TONE, METAPHOR AND ISSUES**

Number of paragraphs:

For each of the paragraphs in the story, evaluate paragraph tone and metaphors used toward immigration or immigrants, and determine if any of the issues were present.

Paragraph Number:

11. Object (immigrant or immigration):

none=0  
 immigration=1  
 immigrant=2  
 both=3

12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):

none=0  
 neutral=1  
 positive=2  
 negative=3

13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):

none=0  
 water=1  
 invasion=2  
 animal=3

14. Issues: Economy and Security

none=0  
 general economy=1  
 jobs=2  
 labor=3  
 trade=5  
 national security=6  
 terrorism=7  
 drug-related crime=8  
 human trafficking-related  
 crime=9





Appendix 3  
Coding Sheet

1. Story Number:

2. Language:

3. Newspaper:

4. Word count:

5. Date story was published:

6. Story Type:

HEADLINE TONE, METAPHOR AND ISSUES

7. Object (immigrant or immigration):

8. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):

9. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):

10. Issues: Economy and Security

<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>	<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>
<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>	<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>
<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>	<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>
<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>	<p>Paragraph Number:</p> <p>11. Object (immigrant or immigration):</p> <p>12. Tone (negative, neutral, positive):</p> <p>13. Metaphor (water, invasion, animal, other):</p> <p>14. Issues:</p>

PRE-ESTABLISHED FRAMES

**Consequence Frame**

29. Does the story present the issue or event in terms of its direct impact on an individual?  
Yes No
30. Does the story present the issue or event in terms of its direct impact on a group of people?  
Yes No
31. Does the story present the issue or event in terms of its direct impact on a region?  
Yes No

**Human Interest Frame**

32. Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?  
Yes No
33. Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy/caring, sympathy, or compassion?  
Yes No
34. Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?  
Yes No
35. Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?  
Yes No

**Conflict Frame**

36. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties, individuals, groups, and countries?  
Yes No
37. Does one party, individual, group, or country reproach another?  
Yes No
38. Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?  
Yes No
39. Does the story refer to winners and losers?  
Yes No

**Economic Frame**

40. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?  
Yes No
41. Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?  
Yes No
42. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?  
Yes No

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